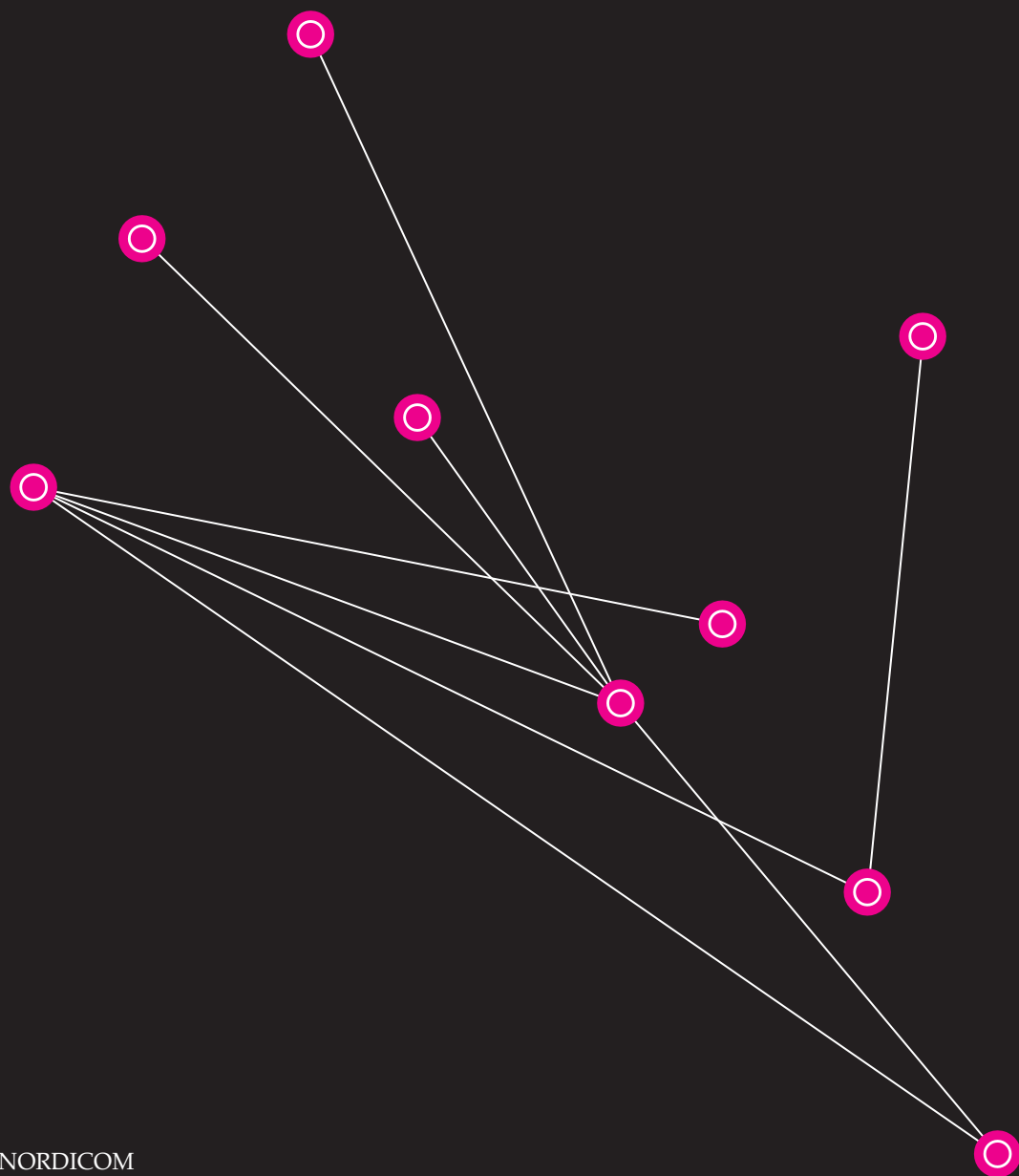


MEDIATED CROSSROADS

IDENTITY, YOUTH CULTURE AND ETHNICITY

THEORETICAL AND
METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

> INGEGERD RYDIN & ULRICA SJÖBERG (EDS.)



NORDICOM

Mediated Crossroads. Identity, Youth Culture and Ethnicity

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In the memory of Hasibe Gezduci

Preface

Questions of media, ethnicity and diaspora are of great concern in a world of globalisation and international migration. Current transnational movements and everyday life in contemporary society is an expanding field of research and has gained an increasing interest among scholars in the social and human sciences. Nevertheless, very little attention is devoted to studies of children and young people. As part of the dissemination of the project 'Media Practices in the New Homeland' with its particular focus on families and young people, the editors of this book decided to highlight relevant research data in a qualified context of international scholars.

We are therefore very happy to be able to present this collection of articles to a wider academic audience. The book is the result of an international workshop held at Halmstad University, Sweden, in June 2007. For two days, we gathered scholars who share an interest in the field of media and diaspora cultures for paper presentations and to discuss various theoretical and methodological challenges and experiences.

We would like to thank *Nordicom* for their support in publishing this book. We are also very grateful to the Swedish Research Council for their economic support of the workshop as well as their support of the project 'Media Practices in the New Homeland'. This support made it possible to engage more deeply into the subject of media and diaspora cultures during the last few years.

Halmstad, August 2008

Ingegerd Rydin & Ulrika Sjöberg

Introduction

Establishing the Context of the Book

Ingegerd Rydin & Ulrika Sjöberg

Our starting point is the understanding that cultural communities are no longer fixed in particular geographical spaces. Migrants live in a world where change in and/or continuity of family norms and traditions are constantly negotiated and contrasted with the surrounding society's norms and values. On the one hand, a migrant's life, if we think of refugees, is marked by insecure and unstable living conditions in which sometimes involuntary cultural change is a significant feature of everyday life. But on the other hand, contemporary society is characterized by cosmopolitanism, i.e. people who move because the international labour market encourages professional careers through advancement abroad (e.g. trainees). Cunningham and Sinclair (2001) used the expression 'floating lives' to illustrate contemporary migration processes. They, as well as other researchers, have also pointed to the role of the media in this process of cultural motion. There is even support for the claim that media and communication technologies play a crucial role in the processes of cultural transformation, as the media create spaces for maintaining and negotiating various identity processes.

In the following, we will briefly introduce the readers to a series of discussions and related concepts often elaborated in contemporary studies of media and migration, a field that is highly cross-disciplinary and embraces studies from a number of related disciplines, such as media and communication, anthropology, cultural studies, literature studies and sociology.

The early sociology of immigration studies examined the ways in which migrants adapted themselves to, or were socially excluded from, their place of immigration, concerning issues of access (or not) to education, health, job opportunities, and so on (cf. Carlbom, 2003; Ekberg, 2004) and on immigrant women, in particular, Freyne-Lindhagen (1997) as well as Berger (2004). In the past decade, this approach coupled with an anthropological ethos has evolved to look at the attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, and traditions outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved (Basch et al., 1994). Throughout the 1990s, immigrant studies have embraced a more *transnational* perspective (Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec and Cohen, 1999). The notion of transnationalism refers to various kinds of global

and cross-border connections and helps to frame a view of migrants as no longer trapped between assimilation or nostalgia. Rather, researchers within this field have argued that migrants are considered more able to construct their lives across borders, creating economic, social, political and cultural activities, which helps them maintain membership in both their immigration country and their country of origin.

Furthermore, it has often been stated in the public debate that we live in a *multicultural society*, but behind this term is the reality of '[...] major structural fragmentations in poly-ethnic complex societies' (Jakubowicz, 2006:249). The growing number of segregated suburbs in cities all over Europe is one example of this stratification of people, cultures, ethnicities and religions. Thus, while we increasingly hear about people's transnational lives, the blurring of physical and cultural borders, an opposite pattern is also seen in society, characterized by spatial and social segregation. It is in this complex and contradictory context that the book takes its point of departure.

There are several perspectives centring not on the migration process per se, but on the *diaspora* phenomenon. The concept of diaspora has been frequently used to describe the specific living conditions of certain migrant groups. Cunningham and Sinclair (2001:1) claimed, for example, that 'the concept of diaspora can be usefully applied to understanding many of the major population movements of this century, and the complex processes of the maintenance and negotiation of cultural identity which go along with them'. Thus, in cultural theory and post-colonial studies, diasporas have been looked at using the concepts of 'race' and ethnicity to analyse a range of cultural affiliations connecting groups that have been dispersed or migrated across national boundaries (Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1996). In addition, cultural studies has proposed that diasporas be understood from a poststructuralist perspective, in terms of a dynamic network of communities without any stabilizing allusion to an original homeland or essential identity, offering instead a common shifting and unfinished history of displacement and settlement (Hall, 1996).

The concept of *home* is important, as it has become a metaphor to describe the immigrant's special life situation (e.g. Morley, 2000; Salih, 2001). 'Home' can be 'understood both as the physical space families inhabit and as the symbolic conceptualization of where one belongs' (Salih, 2001:51). The book addresses both senses – the physical and symbolic – with an emphasis on the role of the media in structuring and shaping the symbolic process of belonging. Furthermore, as the contributions to the book stress how media use is negotiated within various contexts, they urge us to move beyond the media per se to analyse the process of *mediation*, where the media are seen as part of a process that not only involves the encounter between the audience and a specific text (Thompson, 1995; Silverstone, 1999), but where 'mediated meanings move between texts, certainly, and across time. But they also move across space and spaces. They move from the public to the private, from the institutional to the individual, from the globalizing to the local and personal, and back again' (Silverstone, 1999:15).

On another layer of understanding of the mediated experience of diasporic groups, we will turn our attention to *citizenship*, not only in its traditional association with national identity but in a broader sense, including other kinds of identities, such as cultural, social and religious (Westin, 2003) as well as informal and formal participation in the public sphere. In this context, the media are assumed to be facilitators of a living democracy, by providing a flow of information and promoting communication among people (cf. Dahlgren, 2000). However, in today's media-saturated society, with increased access to different media (e.g. minority, transnational, national and local media), claims are also being raised that democracy may be under threat and that a multicultural civil society tends to be fragmented into 'media ghettos' (Bailey and Harindranath, 2006). Several researchers, e.g. Dayan (1999), Couldry (2006) and Dahlgren (2006), have suggested that the parameters of citizenship must be reconsidered and that we need to look beyond the public sphere itself, into the realm of the private and the experiential domain of everyday life. This discussion is fundamental to a clear understanding of how diasporic groups negotiate both their 'diasporic identity' in terms of old and new belongings as well as their capacity for political organization and participation, that is, empowerment and recognition in the private and public spheres.

A dynamic *public sphere*, in which different media play key roles, is a crucial prerequisite for the functionality of a living democracy, for example the role of the media in terms of information flow, discussion and opinion-making. Researchers in this field have debated the development of new types of citizenship resulting from, e.g., the Internet (see Buckingham, 2000; Dahlgren, 2000). Current research has also stressed the need to examine everyday practices, including media practices, in the local sphere of ordinary people in an attempt to avoid a majority versus minority way of thinking and to gain more knowledge about various forms of active and mediated citizenship (Georgiou, 2006a).

Finally, embedded in all the concerns raised here is the issue of *identity*, which is of crucial importance to people who are undergoing a process of cultural change, and who may live in 'transnational communities' where the media may serve the purpose of providing important spaces for identity formation (Morley and Robins, 1995). Moreover, the cultural and social impact of transnational experiences, characterized by maintaining linkages and exchanges with the homeland, particularly through commodity and media consumption, has affected diasporic subjects with regard to practices of constructing, maintaining and negotiating collective identities. People negotiate their identities between continuity and change (Gillespie, 1995), between similarity and difference, in an increasingly 'global post-modern' society (Hall, 1996). For example, Canciani (1995) wrote about 'hybrid cultures', a concept that has its counterpart in the discourse about cultural practices through the notion of 'hybrid identities' (Gillespie, 1995), which indicate the migrant's multiple belongings in and adaptations to several cultures as well as the concept's in some sense transitory character. An increasingly contextual perspective on identity is being stressed in the academic debate today, looking at the relational nature of identity processes

that are experienced and performed within various social, cultural, political and historical contexts (cf. Madianou, 2005).

As for studies on media and ethnicity, there has been a bias towards examination of how the media (especially television) represent immigrants and ethnic minorities. Research on the complex interplay between text, context and reception has often been inspired by Stuart Hall's influential work. International audience research, focusing on media readings (e.g. interpretation of TV programmes), has been criticized for its lack of studies on ethnicity and race, and for its 'whiteness' (e.g. Gray, 1999). However, the present book includes studies covering both media use and reception, and it reveals the increasing interest in ethnic minorities – both on the macro and micro level, which is of special interest when exploring the role of the media in diasporic lives. The texts will also show that we have to move beyond the so-called *media ghetto thesis* (cf. Bailey and Harindranath, 2006), i.e. the notion that migrants turn only to ethnic media in order to preserve and confirm their ethnic identities.

The present contributing authors focus on young people and their media practices, but theoretical issues on a more general level are also explored. The collection of studies presented here is characterized by a discursive, everyday life perspective, in which concrete cases of migrant life in relation to media and popular culture are analysed. In addition, the readers will indirectly gain insights into the migration policies of various countries, which stresses the importance of viewing everyday lives in a macro perspective, taking into account the overall societal context. All countries or nations have their own migration history, which impacts on the living conditions of migrants.

Olga Guedes Bailey takes her point of departure from a British context, in which researchers have long debated, analysed and studied migration issues. Pioneer work by central scholars such as Stuart Hall, a strong cultural studies tradition and postcolonial studies constitute the background and platform for her work. Her contribution provides a reflective understanding of central issues concerning migration in the aftermath of 9/11. Besides her thought-provoking discussion on theoretical issues related to racism and 'othering', she presents empirical data from studies of Latin Americans living the UK, i.e. how diasporic groups negotiate their identities, cultural experiences and traditions in everyday life, and what role the media play (if any) in diasporic identity negotiation processes, how diasporic groups engage with the media available to them, and how the media may inform, constrain, and enable many of their practices, decisions, and behaviours.

Magnus Andersson brings a phenomenological perspective into his discussion of media and migration. He argues for trans-disciplinary approaches: How can the synthesis of theories with different disciplinary origins illuminate what it means to be a migrant? In the same vein, but disciplinary specific: How can such trans-disciplinary 'packages of theory' enrich media studies?

He uses the experiences of four migrants in Sweden as his frame of reference. The matter of media in everyday life is the particular focus of his theorizing. One important question in this context is how the media can become tools of

spatial and temporal regulation for migrants. The subsequent theorizing concentrates on the meaning of transnational media consumption and, thereafter, the relationship between identity and space. Finally, the migratory experiences are put into a framework of power and social structure.

Ardis Storm-Mathisen and *Jo Helle-Valle* discuss the concept of 'identity'. Identity-related concepts such as 'youth' or 'ethnicity' are used to describe, explain and understand patterns in media use and reflect on various consequences of this use. Although concepts of identity are diverse in social science today, they have in common the analytical purpose of pointing at and helping us discursively grasp something that has to do with some sort of continuity and unity in the complex interweaving of the personal and social aspects of individuals. Their chapter addresses the widespread tendency to use data (both quantitative and qualitative) that are of a linguistic kind to draw conclusions about the respondents' identities and offers a critical discussion of such inferences in approaches to the topic of youth, media and ethnicity. Based on late-Wittgensteinian thinking on meaning as contextualized practice, they suggest that the empirical study of identity-related aspects of linguistic data should be analysed in terms of how such practices are situated in language games.

Heinz Moser and *Thomas Hermann* address the relationship between global media and local conditions of life in diasporic migrant communities from a Swiss perspective. Migrant life conditions are seen as the best example of a lifestyle that has given up fixed spaces and local roots of heritage and past. Worldwide, recent technological developments have resulted in wider accessibility to media content and a variety of new communication tools, which has also affected migrants' media use. How do first- and second-generation migrants use media contents and technologies to maintain contact with their country of origin or to establish roots in their country of residence? And, what role do the media play in the young generation's identity-formation process – along with other socializing factors such as peers, family, school or leisure clubs? The results of a recently conducted quantitative and qualitative study in Switzerland are presented.

Kaoruko Kondo's chapter starts out from the perspective of cosmopolitan life, i.e. Japanese expatriates living in London. She discusses the research methods used in studying ethnic minorities and the media in relation to identities, based on her Ph.D. study on the media consumption of Japanese families in London, who have been sent abroad by their companies for a temporary stay. The focus is on the children's (aged 5-8) media consumption and their everyday life in London. Issues such as how the children develop their identities through media consumption and how and why their mothers chose particular media for their children, considering the goals of childrearing, are brought to fore. The approach is ethnographic and presents close-up case studies of 11 families visited by the researcher every two months over the course of a year. The issues discussed in this particular chapter concentrate a great deal on specific methodological issues of conducting ethnographic studies, such as the researcher's status in the field and how the researcher gains access to the field.

Evangelia Kourti's chapter also deals with younger children. She points out that the role of the media in the lives of younger immigrant children has been largely overlooked and under-researched. The reasons for this are probably largely methodological and have to do with this specific age group, and knowledge of the language of the host country, or simply because younger children are considered as 'naïve' subjects for research. Her chapter is the first paper to present data collected in a project on media practices among children attending a kindergarten organized by the Filipino Community in Athens. The project has a special focus on the role of media in the construction of the children's national identity in conjunction both with family politics of integration in the host country and with the school (Greek or Filipino), the politics of intercultural education.

The chapter by *Leen d'Haenens, Hasibe Gezduci* and *Joyce Koeman* addresses methodological issues through concrete examples taken from their studies on Moroccan and Turkish youngsters and adults, studies carried out in Flanders and the Netherlands during the past five years. After briefly sketching the integration policy environment in both Flanders and the Netherlands as a context for research on a sensitive issue such as integration, some of the conceptual and methodological problems the authors have been struggling with are addressed. Specific attention is paid to defining cultural and religious characteristics grounded in theory, and turning these into appropriate variables and response categories. The focus is on a selection of the questions and hypotheses raised in the research, which will serve as a case-in-point, allowing us to reflect upon the concepts chosen and the operationalizations carried out. Presented are some of the ways in which the researchers tried to 'solve' the measurement problems of the conceptual tools – such as ethnic-cultural position, integration, and religious outlook – used in their reception and content analyses.

Kaarina Nikunen's chapter is based on a study conducted in a multiethnic classroom to explore the media use of migrant teenagers as well as the social aspects of media use: How do the media articulate and shape identities, friendships and family relations? In her research design, the school is both a starting point for providing information on the students' social networks and also the site of media workshops and action research, i.e. a kind of multi-method research. The research interest is both practical and emancipatory. The aim is to understand the patterns of exclusion and inclusion provided by media in the everyday lives of these teenagers, and to reflect upon the way this understanding is gained. The teenagers' relationships with the media are discussed especially in terms of establishing and maintaining peer relations and relations with diasporic communities. This process is related to ideas of re- and deterritorializing identities. The chapter also brings methodological issues to the fore, such as voluntary participation and 'Othering' as well as issues concerning emancipation processes.

Nelly Elias and *Dafna Lemish* present a number of issues related to migration and cultural change. Their contribution stresses how difficult it can be for immigrant teenagers, who have not only been torn from a familiar culture

when moving to a new country and starting a new kind of life, but also who face severe cognitive-emotional-behavioural-social obstacles stemming from the transition from childhood to adulthood. Based on this understanding, their research investigates the place of the Internet in the social and cultural adaptation of immigrant adolescents from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) who have arrived in Israel since the beginning of the 2000, as part of a large wave of migration. In this context of migration, it appears that the Internet may have a special function, in that it provides diverse cultural and information resources and on-line communication options and becomes an efficient platform that helps immigrant youth participate in a hybrid acculturation process. The authors assume that the Internet facilitates immigrant adolescents' efforts to familiarize themselves with their new home and find their place in the circle of local peers and that it helps them maintain their original social network and previous cultural leanings, rooted in the Russian language and culture.

A somewhat similar approach is taken by *Ingegerd Rydin* and *Ulrika Sjöberg* in their analysis of Internet use among migrant families living in Sweden. Like other contributions to the book, their theoretical point of departure is inspired by recent developments within media and cultural studies and focuses on how space and place are connected to processes of identity. They look at how the Internet is to be seen as a mediator, i.e. a communicative space, for identity construction from the perspective of parents, on the one hand, and young people (12-16 years of age), on the other. This double perspective raises a series of questions related to generational differences in the migration process of cultural change. The analysis derives from an ongoing project based on ethnographic interviews conducted in the homes of 16 families. Thus, the data have been collected in contextualized settings in order to come as close as possible to these people's everyday lives and their relations with the media.

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Diasporic Identities and Mediated Experiences in Everyday Life

Olga Guedes Bailey

There is a peculiar new force to the imagination in social life today... One important source of this change is the mass media, which present a rich, ever-changing store of possible lives, some of which enter the lived imaginations of ordinary people more successfully than others. (Arjun Appadurai, 1996:53)

Immigration may now be considered one of the most fraught political issues in Europe. Over the past 40 years, immigration from developing countries – and now from Eastern Europe – has changed the face of Western Europe. The periphery has moved to the centre. This move has generated the West's response towards more draconian immigration policies coupled with more nationalist discourse in the public sphere, including the media. In the political culture of post-September 11, the question of 'othering' in terms of ethnic, national and/or religious identity assumes great significance in various parts of the world. The racialised 'other' as a designation given to non-westerners, to those at the 'fringe' of national as well as geopolitics, brings with it a constellation of meanings that are fundamental to the reinforcement of preferred discourses based on difference. In other words, contemporary forms of paranoid nationalism, working alongside discourses of 'the war on terror', often invoke the racialised 'other' in terms of religious and/or ethnic difference and its negative web of signification as threat, hostility and antagonism towards the 'other'. What these narratives fail to show is the life stories, the daily life of immigrants and diasporic groups; what it means to live in a new culture where, on the one hand, 'difference' is celebrated and, on the other, feared as a threat to the western way of life.

Being a foreigner, an immigrant, by force or choice, can change people's lives in ways they could never have imagined. People can feel scared, isolated as well as optimistic and confident about their lives in a new 'home abroad'. Suddenly everyday routines and taken-for-granted assumptions about their lives are questioned (or self-questioned). Within this new culture, with its values, norms, experiences and ways of thinking, they can feel the need to

'reshape' themselves to cope with the new realities of being/becoming the diasporic 'other', as well making sense of the challenges posed to them by (and belonging to) this new culture; a newly and chaotic globalised world, where there are massive transnational shifts of capital, people and media communication.

In this scenario of uncertainties and challenges, one should be able to re-imagine the diasporic 'other' in ways that appreciate their modes of dealing with the reality of everyday life (De Certeau, 1984) as well as the complex processes of identity and belonging that so often shape the tensions and anxieties carried by those who have experienced migration and displacement. It is in this respect that the everyday becomes crucial, as a site of contradictions where power, alienation and possible resistance are experienced and enacted as well as a resource for competing reactions and coexistence of both strategies and discourses of belonging and no-belonging (Kerner, 2007:125). In other words, how diasporic groups negotiate their identities and cultural experiences and traditions in everyday life – watching television, going to the cinema, going to the football, celebrating national or religious events. More important though to this discussion is what role television has (if any) in diasporic¹ identity negotiation processes, how diasporic groups engage with the media available to them, and how the media might inform, constrain, and enable many of their practices, decisions, and behaviours. The aim of this chapter is to explore the role of media in shaping the daily experiences of diasporic Latin American women. This involves concerns about the simultaneous process of 'diasporic', transnational identity formation in mediated experiences, and their inclusion or exclusion in the host society. This is because I recognize that diasporas are positioned in complex socio-cultural contexts characterized by diverse interactions through which their cultural identities are formed dynamically as much as through the diaspora-homeland relationship.

The every day of diasporic groups² are mostly negotiated in the convergence of different cultural influences and constrained by different power structures. Their experiences are lived 'outside' and 'inside' a 'diaspora space' which is constructed by several axes of differentiation and inequality – nationality, class, gender, ethnicity – (Brah, 1996). They face discrimination, antagonism, celebration, as well as 'internal-group' pressures to resist or/and comply with a defined 'cultural identity'. The media seem embedded in this 'in-between' cultural process lived by diasporic groups, and it is important to (try to) understand if the media help to shape the parameters within which diasporic groups articulate their experiences, articulate reflexivity or absence of it – conformity or resistance – in order to change their everyday histories. Needless to say one is not suggesting that the diasporic and mainstream media define identities or experiences, but rather that they might play a part in creating communicative spaces of inclusion and belongingness or/and segregation.

In order to ground my inquiry, I focus on a particular case study, that of Latin American migrant women living in Britain. All across Europe now, Latin Americans are using a diversity of media, mainstream and alternative, including

local, national and transnational. There are numerous transnational – satellite channels and Internet – media which are directed at Latin Americans migrants scattered across the world. These communication technologies have improved communication across spaces with significant importance to the daily life of Latin Americans migrants.

To address the role of media, particularly of television, in the lives of Latin American migrant women I draw on research I have been undertaking amongst the Latin American groups in Britain (Bailey, 2007a).

Latin Americans in Britain³

Latin American migration to the UK started mostly in the 1970s due to political and economic upheaval in their countries. Although most countries now have stable democratic regimes, people still migrate because of economic and social problems in the region. It is almost impossible to find official figures on Latin American migration to the UK as, presumably, they are included in the 'other' category of the 2001. However, guest estimates from Latin American countries embassies and community centres suggest that currently there are between 700,000 to 1,000,000 Latin Americans in the UK (<http://www.untoldlondon.org.uk/news/ART40460.html>).

The lives of Latin American migrants in Britain reveals a diversity of trajectories and histories of migration as well as a complex picture of structural disadvantages, exclusion and inequalities working at different levels across the 'group'. It includes Latinos/as originating from a wide range of class backgrounds, from professionals and an urban bourgeoisie, to villagers from the least developed areas of Latin America. In other words, they are stratified by class, education, occupation, religious affiliation, cultural interests, urban or rural background, and so forth. Therefore making them a very diverse diaspora that is constituted as much in difference and division as it is in commonality and solidarity.

In this respect, most Latin Americans in Britain organize themselves in associations based on strategic alliances and on 'ethnic minority' identification which provide a network of support and culturally shared meanings in circumstances of struggles and difficulties of immigration. Some of these associations do not seem to have a political remit; they work to facilitate the migrants' lives in the new country – providing legal advice and informational resources – employment opportunities, language courses and so on. They also promote social events to celebrate their cultures and to maintain their identity. They function as everyday spaces to reaffirm cohesion and continuity and to hold firm processes of disintegration and change in the 'community'. Nevertheless the groups' differentiation – embedded in their daily lives – such as class, gender, education, religion – are reflected in their disagreement regarding their own perception of themselves as 'diasporic' subjects. This agreement on views of their 'subject position' is also perceived in their different relationship with media.

'Emerging' Latin American identities

In England we are likely to identify ourselves as Latin Americans first, and then to say the country we come from because people see us as 'Latinas'. But, we only use this identification when abroad as it does not make sense when at 'home'. (Peruvian woman)

Latin Americans' negotiation of a 'diasporic' identity highlights the two-sided character of ethnic identities; the 'social categorization' aspect which refers to external identification placed by people and institutions with power to label and classify others; and the 'group identification', the product of self-identification based on shared meanings and experiences of belonging, an identification that groups use often to organize and understand themselves. The first relates to the power of external forces – such as state and government – on ethnic groups, the second relates to the proximity between people sharing the similar lived experience, meanings and solidarity (Jenkins, 1997; Karner, 2007).

The label 'Latin American' refers to a multitude of identities since Latin American encompasses a large and diverse geographical region, with different histories, languages, cultures, and political systems. This politics of naming ethnic categories often ends up being a strategy of oppression and levelling of differences and cultural diversity – as much as delineate them – and is a legacy of colonial times.

Identity here is deployed as a category based on contingency, 'subjects-in-process' whose identities are drawing on the 'resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being' (Hall, 1996:4) and positioned within historical, economic and cultural contexts. For Hall, identities are constructed 'within, not outside discourse' that is, in discursive practices – of daily-life which are the manifestation of specific modalities of power, thus the making of difference and exclusion. Identity is therefore, formed not on a single but a multiplicity of identities and differences and on the articulations between the fragments or differences (Isin and Wood, 1999). In that respect, identity is a political concept, and while it is not new, at present it responds to the historical problem of agency of individual and group 'identities', which are formed not against difference but in relation to difference.

This proposition suggests that it is not possible to think of Latin American identities as fixed and essentialised outside relations of power, but rather as engaged in a dynamic and constant process of negotiation of identities in-making with emphasis on the subject's agency. This highlights the complexities of social identities, the relationship between individuals and the contexts they live in, the way they conceive and symbolize the world, and the structural positions and cultural histories that shape people's history. Social identities provide a tool to seeing and acting in the world, conform and resist as well as negotiate one's subject position in the intersection of multiple 'axes of power'. The multipositionality of Latin Americans' identity is reflected and reconfirmed in

their everyday experiences, including their cultural practices. In that respect, the media is a contested cultural space in which meaning and representation of identities and the everyday are constructed. For example, while watching television many women have to be a 'mother' as well as a 'wife' by cooking dinner for the family, and a 'professional' interested in a programme about a topic related to her work interests – tourism, insurance, and so on. Other times, some of the representations related to women are close to their own experiences or if not, help them to reflect on their own position as women living in another culture where most of them want to succeed.

Moreover, Latin Americans in Britain are constitutive of a 'new' diaspora, in what Schiller et al (1992) call 'transnationalism' – the formation of social political and economic relationships among migrants that span several societies. They are composed of networks of migrants whose "activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies" (1992:1). Clifford's formulation of diasporic communities suggests that 'they maintain an imaginative tension with national spaces and identities, building public spheres and forming collective consciousness that transcend national boundaries and form alliances with similar others elsewhere' (Clifford, 1997 quoted in Harindranath, 2007:94). Thus a diasporic, transnational perspective situates Latin Americans in relation to a multi-dimensional 'web of connections' (Gillespie 1995:6) between – Latin Americans in South America, in various parts of Britain and Europe, and the USA. Here we also have a crucial intervention from Vertovec (1999:147) who argues that diasporas are a type of 'consciousness' or 'state of mind' informed by an 'awareness of multi-locality' and include forms of cultural production and reproduction facilitated in part by new communication technologies. Brah also points out an important aspect of the diasporic experience when discussing the 'diaspora space' which is 'inhabited', not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of 'diaspora space' includes the ...intertwining of the genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put' (Brah, 1996:209 quoted in Karner, 2007:81). The implication of this formulation is that the daily experiences of diasporic subjects are part and parcel of the lives of the indigenous/local people potentially avoiding the risk of them being marked as the 'other'. Most Latin Americans living in Britain thus include these three features of diaspora: transnational social relations; a type of awareness that is both local and global, and modern forms of cultural practices through which ethnic identities are negotiated. The transnational experience of Latin American migrants has become if not prevalent, certainly a familiar social type.

I would suggest that for Latin American migrants, their diasporic identity is valuable to negotiate the complexities of migration and to understand the dynamics of moving across both the British and Latin American cultural spaces such as when they access British television and are exposed to British culture while at the same time being able to preserve and maintain some of their cultural traditions in their dress style and food consumption. Although their diasporic Latin identity in many ways might reinforce the fluidity of post-mod-

ern identities based not on 'singular' but on 'hybrid' identities (Clifford, 1994; Bradiotti, 1994; Bhabha, 1994). These various sorts of 'both/and' identities are pervasive of the migrant experience, which in turn might be useful for Latin Americans to challenge tradition and to understand their process of translation across cultures and boundaries (Morley and Robins, 1995). However, celebration of multiple identities which has recently come into vogue – for example, as multiculturalism – has produced both universalist and particularist responses (see Habermas, 1998; Huntington 2004; Calhoun, 2007). One of the responses to this heated debate is that this construction of a 'new', hybrid identity, living in the limbo of an 'in-between' or 'third culture', may not be relevant to the experiences of each and every Latino/a because of their different attachments – religion, ethnicity, gender, age and class – that are "situated practices of place and the lived experience of history" (Michell, 1997:534). In addition, the view of diasporic identities as breaking away from traditional forms of identification such as ethnicity, place of birth, and religion may overlook the significance of these particularist bonds in the process of identity negotiation of the diasporic subject leading to a new form of ethnic absolutism (Anthias, 1998:561).

The tensions of Latin American identities' negotiation suggests that while there is a shift in the way cultural identity is perceived it is too precipitate to interpret this as the dismantling of the ethnic imperatives across a range of identity, and to treat the new agents of 'diasporic space' as unproblematic throwing out their investments in the resources of ethnicity politics (Brah, 1996). More importantly, the focus on hybrid identities might overlook the material reality of the everyday life of Latin American groups, the hardness of their diasporic experience which can be doubly marginal: in one respect, it is marginal in relation to the country and culture of origin, and in relation to the mainstream identity of the British culture.

This process of dual marginality is reflected in their narratives: what action to take to be pro-active and surpass feelings of alienation and exclusion to become part of the social fabric of the new 'home' as well as a tactic of resistance to multiple types of subordination that they are subjugated to:

rather than staying at home⁴ (in England) feeling sorry for myself, I decided to retrain and went to college to get a qualification which, hopefully, will help me to get a job here or there (home) if things do not go according to plan! I can not be just a housewife any longer...(Chilean woman)

The subtext here seems to be about agency, playing with the choices available to her. In some ways, this highlights the different social conditions experienced by Latin America women in Britain. These differences, particularly of class, gender, and education, have been fundamental in defining how to experience a syncretic identity while retaining a sense of their distinct identity. In a sense, it is also a negotiation to open up communication with the new home while maintaining a sense of loyalty to homeland. Her behaviour, albeit inadvertently, also cross-cuts and subverts ethnic-national boundaries, creating a conflict of

ethnic boundaries (Barth, 1969) between one's homeland heritage and one's diaspora or 'minority' condition in the 'translocal' environment. Furthermore, this example might illustrate that when discussing 'diasporic identities' one is not necessarily essentializing that identity or looking for 'particular' diasporic forms of behaviour, but engaging with the multiple identities of the individual, not only with the position of the social orders to which they belong. Therefore, individual and cultural identities are concurrent, constrained by multiple structures of power and involve the individual's self-awareness, self-consciousness and agency.

Transnational and diasporic media

In the present discussion I do not want to enter into an in-depth theoretical discussion of the media and diaspora field, but in order to understand how spaces of media diaspora – national and transnational – might shape the cultural and political experiences of diasporic Latin women, I need to concisely position the debate on what constitutes 'diasporic media' as social actors.

According to commentators on international communication, there is a shift taking place towards a transnational media order which is "remapping media spaces and involving new media practices, flows and products" (Chalaby, 2005:30). The proliferation of diasporic and transnational media results from several social and political factors: immigration and multiculturalism, the global flow of media, capital, and the reconfiguration of the media landscape facilitated by the deregulation and liberalisation in communications, the proliferation of cable television and the explosion of sites on the World Wide Web. The accessibility of these technologies has advanced cultural diversity and heterogeneity across diasporic communities. Moreover, the confluence of these factors has allowed diasporic groups to use the potential of diasporic media for the affirmation and articulation of their cultures and as a way of reaffirming difference (Gilroy, 1987). Diasporic media is understood here as social actors that are located in the multiple public – local, national and transnational – spheres where they are paramount in the articulation of minorities struggles for social, economic inclusion and cultural and political recognition.

Diasporic media like any other media are not homogeneous, they range from commercial to non-commercial enterprises, or a combination of both; a number are both produced and consumed by diasporic members; some are produced outside the diaspora. They are both locally and globally produced, and consumed by diasporic and migrant groups next to others national and global mainstream media. Diasporic media are sites permeated by local and global forces and conditions thus creating one of the many 'heterogeneous dialogues' spaces related to globalization (Appadurai, 1996), and becoming part of 'a complex form of resistance and accommodation to transnational flows' (Howley, 2005: 33). These 'public sphericules' (Cunningham, 2001) are defined by the identities of their audiences and might challenge essentialist notions of community. That

is, diasporic community, through its socialization around media events, is, to a degree, constituted through media (see Hartley and McKee, 2000:84). They are alternative public spheres, which provide not only entertainment but, potentially, counter hegemonic views of current affairs – home and abroad – and a proactive agenda of positive intervention in the ‘public sphere’.

Diasporic media vary in their political and social aims, management, professionalism, communicative strategies, media technologies, nature (commercial or not) size, and lifespan. They may represent a specific community, defend particularistic identities, and mediate a group’s participation in national and transnational public spheres, thus functioning to create and sustain transnational communities and networks of diasporic groups, particularly in locations where they are minorities. They might be minorities in the host countries while at the same time part of a wider imagined community with whom they have a common culture, language, and history. Furthermore, ‘diasporic’ media address those audiences both in their particularity, and also in the universality of their (imaginary) cultural existence (e.g. Brazilians in London share commonality with Brazilians in the USA). Taken together in their diversity, diasporic media constitute an important element in the communicative landscape of diasporas not only for their re-imagining of the self and belonging within and across spaces, but for their struggles for pluralistic representations (Bailey *et al.*, 2007a).

Nacify (1993) categorizes the diasporic television into three types: ‘exilic’ television function to create new solidarities within the community and to mediate identity negotiation, positioning themselves in the ‘spaces of liminality’ where they ‘struggle for authenticity and identity, deterritorialization and reterritorialization’ longing for the homeland stabilized individual subjectivity and cultural identity, while raising contradictions, uncertainties, and insecurities; ‘minority television’ which is produced by indigenous minorities ‘located here and now, not over there and then’; and transnational television which combines programmes produced in the homeland with those produced by different transnational commercial media corporations catering for specific ethnic groups (Nacify, 1993:165, 347).

Most users of diasporic media are those who are in a continuous process of cultural negotiation, i.e. migrants who are living dual lives; who speak more than one language, and whose family – and sometime work – ties involve transnational travel. (Portes *et al.*, 1999) Their reasons for using these media vary from sustaining a bond with their home countries or connecting with the new country, reconfirming the multipositionality of their diasporic home and its connection to numerous publics’ (Georgiou, 2006:90) to simply engaging with the pleasures and ordinariness attached to media consumption to overcoming social and cultural exclusion through the process of identity negotiation, which the diasporic media partly facilitate. Most importantly, consumption varies within diasporas according to their different generational, gender, linguistic, and ethnic differences, and distinct reasons for migration. Likewise the media practices of diasporic groups are not only constituted of ‘diasporic media’, they have a quite diverse ‘staple media diet’ (Bailey, 2007b).

The space of transnational media might be considered as a 'contact zone' for diasporic groups, providing them with transnational bonding – transporting them to home as well as bringing home to them. Pratt (1992) describes contact zones as 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination'. Her concept describes the contact of two cultures with a clear hierarchy and subjugation relationship. This might be the case with transnational media. However, she refers to a space where people who are usually separated geographically – meet, create and establish regular relationships. Her perspective stresses the interaction dimension and the manner by which subjects are defined in and by their relationship with others and, I would add, to their relationship with media. Classic colonial contexts limit the analytic scope of the 'contact-zone'. If we will stress the cultures or spatial imaginations that interact, we perceive symbolic spaces that are not necessarily physical or colonial in the territorial sense. This modification of Pratt's contact-zone directs us when looking for 'diasporic space', 'no diasporic space' and contact between them. This contact may not depend on concrete common ground, it may be found in interactions about meanings and in personal encounters. Cultural contact-zones may indeed be colonial, however space – physical or metaphoric – may be contested wherever it is constructed. In terms of transnational media, it could be suggested that they are spaces of transnational and cross-cultural encounter, sites of creativity, discussion and representation, and a space for cultural dialogue and translation where imagination guides its constant social construction of space (Shields, 1991). The same imagination guides the constant social construction of space (*ibid*), and contributes to processes of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991).

For Appadurai (1996), the power of transnational media resides in its ability to produce transnational imaginaries capable of creating and sustaining new forms of transnational publics. Comparing these transnational media forms to the powers of print capitalism in creating the imagined communities of the nation-state (Anderson, 1983) he suggests a similar development is happening with the development of modern identities helped to be shaped by transnational media that connect individual and social groups to new types of cultural experiences and spaces.

The diasporic symbolic communicative space generated by transnational media provides a complex cultural sphere where cultural identities are articulated by what Schlesinger's calls an 'audio-visual space' (in relation to European identity), that needs to be understood in combination with an analysis of cultural identities as they are not oppositional terms (*cf.* Schlesinger, 2000). Morley and Robins propose that in the context of globalization a new 'electronic space' has been created which is a 'placeless geography of image and simulation' (*cf.* 1995).

The literature on media and diaspora (Naficy, 1993; Gillespie, 2000; Sreberny, 2000; Sinclair and Cunningham, 2000; Christiansen, 2004) seems to suggest that hybrid cultural expression is part of the every day routines of diasporic sub-

jects in which the diasporic, transnational media provide the links to maintain new kinds of long-distance imagined communities, and consequently sustaining identities and culture. A different take on transnationalism is offered by Aksoy and Robins (2003) who have argued that this assumption is based on a 'national mentality' with its categories of community, identity and belonging which overlooks new possibilities of transnationalism. Based on their research on Turkish-speaking groups in London, they point out that media consumption is determined socially rather than by ethnicity. For them, the television experience of Turkish audiences is related to its ordinariness, familiarity, and everydayness – 'banal transnationalism'. They also point out that Turkish television is as an agent of 'cultural de-mythologisation', i.e. the ordinariness of Turkish television, of bringing the everyday of Turkish life to them works to demystify ideas of the homeland (Robins and Aksoy, 2005; Aksoy and Robins, 2003). This in turn leads to the argument of 'de-Ethnicization' developed by Milikowski. Her analysis is centred on how Turkish satellite television could further ethnicize or de-ethnicize of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, and argues that Turkish television 'de-ethnicizes' rather than 'ethnicizes' viewers' perception of cultural difference. While "ethnicization refers to the formation of social boundaries created to protect ethnic-cultural heritages, de-ethnicization refers to the 'undoing' of such boundaries" (Milikowski, 2000:444). In this construct, the concept of ethnic-cultural boundaries related to pos-immigration ethnicity is paramount to clarify how different groups establish their own subjectivity and dynamics. (cf. Milikowski, 2000) In this paper I work with the assumption that cultural and media practices constitute both processes of bridging and bounding diasporic groups across transnational nodes of relationships as well as demystifying essentialised and fixed notions of identity and home.

Television in the making of a Latin identity

Representation

The dynamics of Latin American women's articulation of a 'diasporic' identity – reflexivity or absence of it – through the media has several layers of mediation. It might be identified for example in the issue of western, particularly British media representation and commodification of a 'Latin' identity which prompts them to question what is presented as the 'norm' (Britishness) while rejecting the particularist, essentialist representation of their 'otherness'. The celebration of 'Latin identity' emphasises their 'difference' and extends their vulnerability both in the realm of the material and the symbolic. For example, the stereotype of 'Latin women' is in places, represented as 'exotic' and 'sensual' as in adverts (tourism), film, and music. This is not simply an issue of a particular audience engagement with such representations – interpreting, contesting, or accepting them. It is related to the wider ethos and practices of mainstream media producers, its relationship to immigrant audience and the importance – or not – of these media message to them in terms of producing accepted

hegemonic common sense meanings which are not necessarily voicing immigrants' view of the world. Mainstream media representation of immigrants is always involved in an ideological process since representation is a construction of reality. What is taken for granted as 'common sense' about immigrants, or in this case Latin American people, is not 'natural' but has been historically defined and recognized as evident (Hall, 1992). It could be suggested then that the signifier 'Latin' and its mainstream representations have been marking them and, ultimately potentialising their perception of 'otherness' and displacement in the new 'home'. It could also be argued, that these stereotypes work as a form of 'rituals of exclusion' of alterity (cf. Sibley, 1995) which can be expressed by 'their' consumption as 'exotic' in various commodified forms. The issue of the exotic body is coupled with that of the racialized body, the mixedness of her body. In relation to Latinas, the exotic functions as a mediator of racialized sexualities both in the popular and experiential spaces of mixedness. The label of 'mixed-race' reinforces a mark of difference through a binary opposition between white and non-white which reproduces the superiority of 'whiteness'. This way of thinking, which reproduces the vestiges of racism, and is in turn reproduced by mainstream media, "limits the Latina's voice to the demand for inclusion in an order of representation marking her as 'other'" (Schuttle, 2000:71). The conflicts of identity in formation here points to the importance of local cultures, in this case the 'new home', in the articulation of diasporic subject's consciousness as well as the recognition of the disjunction between that of dominant ideological discourses existent in mediated practices – media – and the immediate experience of diasporic women.

The politics of representation inherent in stereotypes then, highlights two important aspects: a Eurocentric perception of difference which supports a western value system over others, and the racial element of the politics of cultural difference – marking them as 'Latin' while homogenizing their different cultures. The representation of Latin identities as internally coherent and unified prevents the possibility of a dialogue and encounters, and encourages the dichotomy of 'we' and 'the others' (Benhabib, 2002). However, if we understand the ways in which selves are subjectified as occurring within complex relations of power/knowledge we can ask how we might think of Latin women's embodied experiences of mixedness, often perceived as undesirable and impossible positions of strength and potential, as spaces of challenge, rather than of political evasion (Foucault, 1980, 1984, 2000). Foucault's account of subjectivation suggests that although we are always constrained by the discursive regimes – including the media – in which we are induced to become (racialized, gendered) subjects, the instability of the field of power, the interaction between techniques of domination and techniques of the self, allows potential for resistance and subversion. This means that although Latinas' choices about who they might become in the 'diaspora space' are to some extent limited by the discourses available to them, they still have the possibility of subverting or resisting these, and thus challenging dominant ideals of, for example, 'race' and gender. The challenge for them lies in reconciling cultural commonalities

and continuities with great internal diversity, and the cultural context in which Latin American identities are constructed, experienced and negotiated.

This conflict of identity suggests that it is in daily social interaction and meaning-making of 'ethnic narratives' (also through media representation) that the category 'Latin' is created, imposed and quite often internalised by those labelled as such. This reinforces the significance of the process of external social classification and internal group identification emphasized by Jenkins (1997).

However, this external classification might be used by Latin women according to their convenience without signifying that their culturally shared, practices are not important to maintain their self-identification as someone from a particular culture (Brazilian, Peruvian and so on). In other words, the diasporic consciousness of Latin American women is not only about internal-external categorizations, it is also about the possibility of obtaining a 'sense of attachment elsewhere, of feeling global' (Clifford, 1997). It is also about imagining and re-imagining their existence in a transnational space where the particular and the universal coexist. In this respect, we could suggest that British television – as well as transnational media – as part of Latin Americans' media experience, provides Latin women with an understanding of British and global cultures. This allows them to make a comparison with their own culture and choose the representations of the world they see as important in their identity negotiation process, or living experiences. For example, by looking at fashion trends, how women perform different and more liberating roles than the traditional ones the Latinas are used to, which in turn become topics of conversation among them. These banal, everyday practice of conversation might work as spaces to reflect on their own experiences of oppression which could be contested by the development of 'tactics' of survival, as "set of practices...that are not in themselves subversive, but they have a symbolic value which is not to be underestimated: they offer daily proof of the partiality of strategic control and in doing so they hold out the token hope that however bad things get, they are not necessarily so. In other words, tactics operates primarily on the plane of belief" (Buchanan, 2000:89). One could suggest that the everyday practice of watching television might give ideas and commodities provided by the dominant socio-economic order in unexpected ways, hence allowing for the construction of autonomous meaning, the exercise of agency and the possibility of symbolic resistance. Thus while some women may be empowered by retaining home traditions, they also negotiate new roles, re-constructing themselves as independent and 'bread winners', breaking some of the rules of patriarchy reproduced from home. Some of these women have improved their social world by participating in the political, economic and social spheres and widening their roles – from housewives to students, professionals, and activists. This highlights the complex interactions of gender, class, religion and migratory histories in the biographies of Latinas as well as the possibility of resistance to the process of exclusion (Brah, 1996). In their new identity position Latinas are able, though not without tension, to negotiate the external power structures that exclude and oppress them as well as

sometimes reconciling their new roles with the traditional ones.

The issue of media representation – as a signifying practice – of Latinas and their media practices highlights the complexity of the process of formation of a hybrid identity which demands a negotiation between the past and the present as part of the migration experience. Perhaps their media practices have played a role in facilitating this process as mainstream media – British and transnational – provide them with new ‘ways of life’ which, in this instance, questions and encourages them to rethink their traditional roles brought from ‘home’.

The complexities and tensions of the diasporic condition of Latin American women’s identities is constructed not exclusively on the basis of the nation-state and ‘homeland’ – ‘either/or’ – but on multiple identifications as ‘and/and’ (Sreberny, 2000), the sense of fit and no-fit, difference and sameness, belonging and longing, and continuity and discontinuities in ‘transnational networks of emotional, economic and cultural connections’ (Georgiou, 2006:49). A diasporic, cultural identity is after all a “matter of ‘becoming’ as well as ‘being’, belonging to the future as much as to the past and subject to the continuous play of history, power and culture” (Cornell, 2000 quoted in O’Neill, 2007:75).

Latinas using media

As ‘diasporic’ audiences, Latinas negotiate their position from a ‘third space’ (Appadurai, 1990) which accommodates an ongoing process of imagination as well as cultural and political negotiation between different hegemonies – home and abroad. This is important for understanding the ways in which diasporic groups, through their own differences, choose their media experiences, and engage with media texts – mainstream and alternative – given that there seems to be an undeniable connection between the textual interpretations and social situations of viewers/readers. Similar to all audiences, the Latinas’ audience is critical – they appropriate the media, they interpret them and use them differently depending on context and on their position in society, in time and in relation to their cultural identities – to gender, age, class, and ethnicity. This emphasizes the importance of ‘the interplay between media consumption and other social factors – such as social location, social networks and so on – in the construction of social identity’ (Strelitz, 2002:473). Without essentializing them or ‘belying the complexity of the cultural and social formations of such communities’ (Harindranath, 2005:9) it could be suggested that diasporic audiences tend to form ‘communities’ bound by some degree of, common political and social interests, by ethnicity, language or/and culture, which, in some cases, produce and consume diasporic media relevant to their lives and, in the process, reveal commonalities – and differences – which might interlink them. Through this process, diasporic groups create an embedded alternative, mediated cultural space through the influences of both cultures and hegemonies, generating a unique new space for self-expression and/or resistance to discrimination enabled by ‘alternative’ discourses.

However, we could argue that Latinas’ practices of ‘re-imagining’ their tran-

snational lives is, at least in part, initiated by the producer of media texts. As Sinclair and Cunningham (2000) point out, even if we accept the concept of an 'active audience' who can subjectively construct the meanings of the media text, the fact cannot be ignored that the media also actively seek and construct their audiences, because "whatever collective audience preferences and desires there might be, they are still shaped commercially and ideologically as markets for certain forms and genres by media corporations" (p. 6). When we reject the presumption that audiences are 'cultural dopes' (Fiske, 1987), there is no reason to assume that the cultural industries or media producers are 'cultural/commercial dopes' either (Cheng, 2006). Moreover, although Appadurai (1996) has emphasised the importance of imagination in the formation of diasporic and global cultures through the media as one can live the experiences of the homeland and of different societies, in the case of the Latinas, imagination seem to have a double edge: it works to inform and advance their process of emancipation and inclusion while, at the same time, presenting conservative and exclusionary possibilities:

I feel that while the media help me to see a new world of possibilities as when I watch travel programmes and introduced to places I would like to visit, one day when I have money, I do not like when I see somehow a repetition of the Latin 'macho' culture in British soap-operas for example. (Argentinean woman)

These differentiated experiences of media by the Latinas are also accentuated in relation to news in the British media. Some Latinas understand news as part of an issue that involves how marginalized – and voiceless – they are in the cultural public sphere of the host country. Again the politics of representation, and of representing 'otherness', is of major importance here as Latin American cultures and their people are every so often shown as backward, and violent, as well as exotic and different. For them there is no sense of commonality being constructed in those representations and the alternative of producing and consuming diasporic media as a political voice gains a new signification in terms of counter those dominant texts. The quest for inclusion goes beyond the simple desire to belong to the new home and extend to an engagement in a cultural politics of identity or politics of recognition, which articulates both a desire to affirm identities and to transcend them (Lister, 1997:197). Latinas, particularly asylum-seekers and refugees – are aware of their economic exclusion and lack of political and cultural recognition. Their diasporic identity becomes the basis of recognition – therefore the importance of being represented – demanded by groups excluded from the scope of citizenship. The cultural politics here refers to a quest for cultural citizenship which is not only 'about rights to produce and consume symbolic goods and services' (Isin and Wood 1999: 152) but also an intervention in their diasporic identity, in the way they perform and to their sense of diasporic self. 'It is not only about redistributive justice concerning cultural capital but also about recognition and valorisation of

a plurality of meanings and representation' (idem: 152). Moreover, many Latinas are excluded from the cultural sphere on the basis of their lack of access not only to economic capital but also to cultural capital, which means much more than education but includes competence, and social and symbolic skills.

On another level, news consumption of diasporic television is used by some older women to maintain the links to 'home' and to feel visible. The responses to this need do not seem centred on a nostalgic wish to go back home but as a way of keeping their cultural background alive in what Brah suggested as a 'homing desire, as distinct from a desire for a homeland' (Brah, 1996:16). By contrast, some women felt that news in the transnational media sometimes provides a sense of isolation and distance from home as negative news reminded them of a reality they left behind, thus disrupting idealized notions of the homeland culture. The idea that diasporic media produce a sense of belonging and strengthens ties with their 'homelands' is occasionally questioned by younger women:

I love my country very much and miss my people but my life now is here, this is where I am growing up, learning about life, feeling the world. Media from 'home' makes me miss something I don't want or cannot have right now. (Brazilian woman)

The experience of watching British television particularly entertainment programmes brings ambiguous responses as there is a dynamic of withdrawal and separation of some Latinas from the British media. If broadcasting has a role in the construction of a sense of national identity, of connectivity that binds people together and creates an invisible and imagined community of audience, the Latinas' aspirations of belonging are not included. As Morley points out in relation to celebrations of national forms of broadcasting as a 'public good', providing a culture in common, is that British broadcasting fails to embrace the cultural diversity living in Britain, as it invites to participate only white, middle-class, English ethnic culture. '...we see that not everyone can feel at home in this public sphere – as opposed to feeling particularized and (at best) tolerated, as 'others' within it' (Morley, 2001:437). Yet, watching British television is still part of Latinas' media experience as they watch entertainment and news programmes which provide them an understanding of British culture.

The media practice – watching television – as a kind of ritual is representative of the dynamic of their different daily media routine; the viewing of transnational diasporic television is for some women nothing special, it might happen at a circumstantial level as they are busy juggling many other activities in their lives – working, studying, sharing the house-work – where watching television is not a priority. Conversely, to other women it is a social and cultural practice that congregates their families and friends, particularly to watch special programmes about their countries. On these occasions, their sense of belonging to a distant culture is highlighted but, at the same time, it is an activity in which the sameness of television is perceived, for example, in the programme formats – global standard – and types of programmes such as

'Big Brother' and 'Who Wants to be a Millionaire?', where the only difference is the language used. Thus, the appeal of these programmes is that they are about 'home' but also provide gratification from being familiar.

These differences in viewing of television may be related to their middle or working class background, level of education, tastes and life style. Some women do not engage in the diasporic space with the same regularity and interest as others. Their sense of mobility is within and across the diaspora but also beyond its internal borders. They recognise the value of the 'community' while also feeling that the experience of social encounters with local people and people from other cultures are paramount in their experience and identity formation especially to position themselves in these external spaces, as to avoid circumscribed lives created by a Latin ghettoization of the domestic and few public spaces regarded as 'Latin'. For other women, their families have closer ties with each other and quite often socialise among themselves particularly because of what they perceive as 'us' – based on certain shared commonalities and an uneasiness to circulate beyond the safe zone of Latinos into the social space of British people where they are unfamiliar with British social codes. Interestingly though, they show great enthusiasm in engaging with 'others' in their Latin spheres and they are often eager to share their different cultural traditions, music, food and dance. Their spaces of celebration of Latin culture become, in this instance, a positive zone of multiple contacts where different cultures meet to establish a dialogue based on commonalities to enjoy music and dance. Moreover, it is also a space for different generations of Latin Americans women to establish a sense of identification through the process of transforming and using these places to express a Latin American cultural identity and renew the sense of belonging. That is to say, Latin cultures contribute towards the (re) construction of a collective identity, based on an 'imagined community' but also open possibilities for those reticent Latinas to cross cultural spaces and experience the 'new home' as their home where there is not only difference and exclusion but solidarity in commonalities.

By and large, reflecting on the question of the media role in Latinas' lives it is possible to suggest that the ongoing transnationalism of meanings and symbols through transnational media may assist Latinas to sustain cultural border-crossing and negotiate their hybrid identity and existence (McEwan, 2004).

Conclusion

Although the arguments raised here cannot be generalized, given that each diasporic experience, in each locale, has its own distinctiveness, they throw some light on diasporic groups' identity formation in the complex space of daily life.

This chapter has presented the complexities of Latinas diasporic identities and experiences that have been constructed, not grounded, in an essentialised past, but refers to the different positions in which they locate themselves

within discourses of history and culture in the present. Their cultural identity is formed out of similarities and continuity, difference and rupture. The politics of cultural diaspora in the case of Latin American women seems to follow the logic put forward by Ang, i.e. it does not “privilege neither host country nor (real or imaginary) homeland, but precisely keep a creative tension between ‘where you ‘are from’ and ‘where you’re at’” (Ang, 2001:35).

The Latinas’ everyday lives are bombarded by different media and its ideological messages of belonging and, for that matter, no-belonging, on how one should behave, what is appropriate, normal, abnormal, offering frameworks to understand the world and offering possibilities of imagining and writing new biographies. But the media discourse is only one among numerous competing discourses of identity articulation to connect individuals to the subject position – identity – they construct. Additionally, the media do not hold power over people they interpellate. That is, Latinas choose, in particular conditions of everyday life and on the background of their identity negations, those discourses and representations of realities that they identify with and invest in those subject positions that are convenient to them, perhaps influenced by their own experience of multiple belonging and awareness of the ambivalence of their diasporic existence.

And although their everyday lives are constrained by multiple power structures and their dominant discursive practices – defining individuals by their ethnic affiliation –Latinas’ choices are made in some far more ordinary ways than those in power would think. As I hope to have demonstrated, the everyday life of many Latin women is an extremely political space in which they are negotiating and reinterpreting or subverting some cultural traditions and expectations which are grounded in historical and cultural settings. In this instance, particularly for younger women, the role of the media might stimulate their imagination beyond the constraints of gender (class and ethnicity) and allow them to grasp the possibilities of gender equality. Latinas’ ability to do so however will depend on their ‘material conditions and support networks as on their emotional and psychological strength to confront oppressive practices’ (Guru, 2003:10). Yet, their representation in the British media – exotic, the ‘other’ – can lead to a range of different feelings from exclusion and disempowerment – conformity – to reinforcement of Latin identity – ethnicization – to engagement with the politics of recognition involving communities and the host cultures – resistance. In some ways then the media as a space of contestation have a double role; of informing and enabling as well as constraining their daily experiences in Britain. Moreover, although transnational media provides a more complex cultural sphere, it does not necessarily promote a ‘transnational identity’ as these media continue to present images and meanings that are specific of historic, economic, and cultural conditions tied to their place of production and audience reactions reflect their own responses to these specificities. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the consumption of transnational/diasporic media by Latin Americans is part of their lives in Europe, which suggest that tensions and conflicts in their active process of identity negotiation is resolved in the

ambiguities and ambivalences of everyday life and according to the material reality of their specific circumstances and internal cultural practices. I could suggest that the strategy of multiple gazes used by Latin American women to the media is perhaps useful to provide a way for appropriation of diverse cultural ideas and practices of British culture, as well as cultural connectivity to the Latin cultures while allowing for comparison of different cultural worlds offered by these diverse media. The dialectical relationship of the Latinas with the media in their identity negotiation perhaps resonates with Mishra (2002) views on the contradictions and ambivalences that compose diasporic groups, they 'are not ideal, perfect community or communities but are in fact marked by strong ambiguity and self-contradiction, by a double-subjectivity, a double consciousness' (Mishra, 2002:238, quoted in Harindranath, 2007:96).

Overall, it seems that Latinas have used a plethora of tactics in their daily lives to negotiate a diasporic identity; sometimes engaging with the dominant discourse of British society and the media, at others contesting it through engaging with alternative discourses and practices – and occasionally creating new cultural meanings to their lives, which in turn has provided opportunities for transformative experiences where one fights one's way through the many trappings of 'race' and 'ethnicity'.

Notes

1. The use of 'diasporic' identity here is only an explanatory device which acknowledges the connections and intersections between gender, 'race', ethnicity, class and religion, as well as individual, cultural and social identities as in practice these identities inform and shape each other in an often inextricable matrix that may blur their borders (Isin and Wood, 1999).
2. The concept of diaspora as applied in this discussion follows the definition developed by Werbner for whom diaspora differs from the traditional sense of people sharing a place of origin, religion and history. Late modern diasporas come from immense cultural and geographical regions with different religions, nationalities and languages. They are segmented because "members of such diasporas may unite together in some contexts and oppose each other in other contexts". Their members' identities are not fixed but circumstantially determined (Werbner, 2004:900).
3. The research was concerned with the making of Latin American cultural identities in Liverpool and the significance of transnational media for Latin America 'diasporic' identity. The methodology was centred on conversational individual interviews and visits to the home of Latin families. I interviewed thirty-five individuals and visited six families for a period of six months during 2004. The interviewees included recently arrived immigrants, older immigrants (now British citizens) British-born of immigrant parents. Their legal status varied between asylum seekers, refugees, permanent visa, and British citizenship. In addition, I mapped the cultural practices of Latinos/as in Liverpool, visiting restaurants, bars, salsa and samba classes, and interviewing people involved in these activities as I understood these places not only as the setting for Latin American events but related to the formation of cultural identities.
4. Home is used here in two senses; as a physical space and as a symbolic conceptualisation of where one belongs (Salih, 2001).

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The Matter of Media in Transnational Everyday Life

Magnus Andersson

The times are ambiguous in the Western world: while more and more people, from all social classes, have migratory experiences, ethnical segregation remains one of the larger social problems. At the same time, due to the developments in media- and communication technology – the world is marked of connectivity, which makes spatial distances a minor problem. This background signifies a need for a profound and nuanced understanding of different aspects of migration – and the mediated connections on offer. Media and migration, two different but central and complex phenomena in contemporary society, require a theoretical base broader than a single discipline holds. Thus, the aim of this article is to argue for trans-disciplinary approaches; how can the synthesis of theories from different disciplinary origins illuminate what it means to be a migrant? In a similar vein, but disciplinary specific: how may such trans-disciplinary ‘packages of theory’ enrich media studies? The following paragraphs should be read as an example of a passable path through a post-disciplinary landscape (cf. Morley, 2000:6), in which the experiences of everyday life constitute the point of departure. To anchor and to problematize my line of thinking, I use the experiences of four migrants in Sweden as a frame of reference. The matter of media in everyday life is the particular focus of the theorizing. It implies a phenomenological perspective, and since media provide bonds to present and past environments, spatial and temporal aspects are of special interest. An important question in this context is how the media can become tools of spatial and temporal regulation for migrants.

The initial overview draws on 4 semi-structured interviews conducted during 2003.¹ All of the informants lived in the same district in one of the larger cities in Sweden. At the time, they had lived in Sweden between 10 and 15 years. Place of origin varied in the group: it was a married couple from Bosnia in their 40's (interviewed separately), an Englishman in his 50's, and a man from Colombia in his 40's. Above all, I draw on their experiences of settling down in a new milieu and of their contemporary bonds to their places of origin. The subsequent theorizing concentrates on the meaning of transnational media consumption and, thereafter, the relationship between identity and space.

Eventually, the migratory experiences are put into a framework of power and social structure.

Everyday life as point of departure

A phenomenological perspective on everyday life means a focus on experience. Everyday life is not determined by time and space. Rather, everyday life is constituted by taken-for-grantedness. Appropriation, the incorporation and transformation of the new to something familiar (for example people, places, practices and media), becomes central 'work' for the individual lifeworld (Schutz, 1962; Schutz and Luckmann, 1973; Felski, 2002; Highmore, 2002). Such a dynamic 'familiarizing' process lies behind the maintaining of an ontological security (Giddens, 1991). Accordingly, there is a connection between familiarity and feeling of comfort (cf. Wiles, 2008). However, even if taken-for-grantedness and routines are central aspects, they should not conceal the transformative character of social life. Everyday life is a delicate balance between recursiveness and extension (Giddens, 1984), and as Moores points out, media are central to both processes (Moores, 2005).

The media are central in the "multiple realities of everyday life" (Schutz, 1962:229-34), present as they are in all aspects of life. John Durham Peters claims:

Part of what it means to live in a modern society is to depend on representations of that society. Modern men and women see proximate fragments with their own eyes and global totalities through the diverse media of social description. Our vision of the social world is *bifocal* (1997:79, *my italics*).

This means that lived and mediated experience are intertwined: "Media [...] and the social processes that shape our perception and use of space are allied phenomena" (Couldry and McCarthy, 2004:1). Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between what one has experienced 'in real life' and what one has read about or has seen on TV or the Internet. A phenomenological perspective may be used to play down this difference. But in any case it means that the media give everyday life a phantasmagorical dimension while, at the same time, providing temporal and spatial structure – supporting the recursiveness of social life (Morley, 1986; Lull, 1990; Silverstone, 1994; Moores, 1996; Bakardjieva, 2005; Andersson, 2006b). The media are also an important source for the experience of globalization. Hence, the media also challenge the recursiveness, the taken-for-grantedness: "The penetration of localities which connectivity brings is [...] double-edged: as it dissolves the securities of locality, it offers new understandings of experience in wider – ultimately global – terms" (Tomlinson, 1999:30). Since the media hold possibilities for supporting taken-for-grantedness as well as expanding and globalizing people's lifeworlds, they are central

tools for regulating individuals' horizons (cf. Silverstone, 2007).

What are the implications of these perspectives on migration? Migration represents a major disturbance to the lifeworld, where almost all aspects of life have to be 're-created' (or translated) – including a sphere of taken-for-grantedness. This is the background of a bifocal character – in another sense than in the citation of Durham Peters above – of the migrant's life; a dual frame of reference stemming from where they come from and their present environment (Vertovec, 2004). Quite naturally, given the arguments above, the media have changed the basic condition for leading a bifocal life. As Vertovec puts it:

Now as never before, migrants can maintain and act upon particularly strong senses of connection to people, places and senses of belonging associated with their places of origin. [...] [S]uch change should be seen as both part of and contributing to wider, convergent modes of social and cultural transformation associated with the globalizing of cultural forms, the pluralizing of the public sphere, the multiplying of identities, and the cosmopolitanizing of attitudes (Vertovec, 2004:977)

The cultural globalization of our time affects everyone everywhere. It transforms local settings in different ways, putting stress on the specific local character as well as global frameworks. The intrusion of the global in the local is experienced as threatening for some. For others it means feelings of comfort and familiarity. Let us turn to four migrants and their experiences of encountering Sweden.

To re-create a sphere of taken-for-grantedness

Despite the dynamic character of everyday life, it is in some ways culturally specific. This is due to the routines and how they often are spatially, temporally and socially bounded. Thus, moving to a new country, by reasons of asylum or work, means that one's sphere of familiarity is 'devaluated'. The practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984), i.e. pre-reflective knowledge, is no longer reliable. Instead, all practices have to be reflected upon. This often frustrating insight is described by Edin, a Bosnian man who came to Sweden by the time of the ongoing conflict on the Balkans:

Suddenly, you have nothing and then you come to a foreign country even without knowing the language. But you have to carry out the ordinary things just as in your home country. The daily business has to go on even though you can't speak for yourself. All the time, in all situations, you are dependent on others who know better and you are constantly suspicious: 'will she translate correctly?' Whatever they say I will not understand...

Interviewer: Your future is not in your own hands...

Exactly. And you ask yourself, what do I want from life? Here in Sweden? Do

I want to learn the language, get a job, lead a decent life? It's tough, but it's a *must* if you want to do well in a foreign country. First the language and then the rest. And then little by little you get social contacts; friends and so on.

Edin's account is about his first encounter with the Swedish system. Pedro, a man from Columbia, tells about his experiences acquired during many years in Sweden:

Things are very structured here [in Sweden]. There are certain rules that are *very* important, and you have to learn these, also cultural things. You can't do this and you can't go that way... Everything is structured and there are no short cuts. There are no possibilities for your own initiatives, or you don't know them. And by the time you know them, it is maybe too late. All the time you have to know how things are working

The negotiation process of building up a new sphere of familiarity, a set of socially routinised practices (Giddens, 1991), does not only concern the 'big' matters in life, as in Pedro's and Edin's case, but also the seemingly trivial. For example, Bob, an Englishman living in Sweden since many years, describes how he nowadays drinks *before* visiting the pub – "as a regular Swede" – something he never did back in England.²

Social relations bring the cultural specificity of the taken-for-grantedness to the fore. Certain types of knowledge are required to be social part of a new society (without guarantee, though!). Some of these are of practical nature, as described above. Other types of knowledge represent cultural 'common facts'; the social glue of imagined (national) communities (Anderson, 1991). A kind of "everyday communicative space" (Aksoy and Robins, 2003a:377). As such, however, the knowledge is often tacit, and a large part is derived from the media (cf. Billig, 1995; Scanell, 1996). Pedro, for instance, affirms the value of the media when it comes to socializing with colleagues and neighbours. The value is also evident when Ana from Bosnia talks about her consumption of TV-news:

I learn from news. They show a lot from Sweden, from Stockholm for example where I never had been earlier. You get opportunities to watch posh suburbs and you might view districts of estates, which I have my own experience of, and you realize that there are problems in posh neighbourhoods as well. In that way I find TV interesting; you can watch, compare and search out things.

In addition to media use, Ana creates 'local' taken-for-grantedness and familiarity through engagement; she takes active part in her children's school, and in the care of the block of flats she lives in. She is also involved in other civic activities in her neighborhood, but she is skeptical towards traditional political engagement. Her engagement has anyhow given her a large social network and in many ways she is an ideal representative of civic culture (cf. Dahlgren and Olsson, 2007). When problems get too serious, when everything is too

much, she has found a new way to regain mental strength:

I listen a lot to Carola [a Swedish popular singer]. Her tunes, her lyrics mean a lot to me. I love listening to the song *Främling* [Stranger]! That tune brings back life and hope when things are problematic – everything is not as bad as it seems.

One quality of popular culture is its unpredictable use value (Storey, 2006). That is why a Swedish (christian) popular singer may empower the life of a Bosnian (muslim) refugee. It also shows how popular culture is an important resource in re-creating a sphere of taken-for-grantedness and its associated feelings of comfort.

Edin and Ana from Bosnia, Bob from England and Pedro from Colombia have all acquired knowledge about their new milieu through media, through contacts with Swedes and through civic life. They have also been successful in re-creating spheres of taken-for-grantedness with temporal routines and familiar spaces. The media are of course a significant resource in this bonding: partly as texts, partly as source of routinization. As texts they provide social and cultural knowledge of current affairs, public actualities and national gossip, i.e. the topics of public small talks and social conversations, which could be seen as the 'interior' of the imagined community.

The act of routinizing media consumption is also important in the process of re-creation of taken-for-grantedness among migrants. When asked, all four informants are able to expand on – without hesitation – how they use different media during the course of a normal day, indicating the impact of routinization. Their media consumption has often a ritualistic character (cf. Steeg Larsen and Tufte, 2003), which is illustrated by Ana's comment on the habit of watching the broadcast news at 9 o'clock: "During my time in Sweden I have become used to watch the news at that time. Nothing can change that, I think". The particular value of media routines for migrants can be traced to the fact that routines are, to a certain extent, movable. As have been pointed out by earlier research, the time structuring quality – rather than the content – is often of primary importance in media routines and media rituals (Bausinger, 1984; Lull, 1990; Silverstone, 1994). As discussed previously, they support the recursive character of social life (Moore, 2005: ch. 1; cf. Giddens, 1991). This means that the consumption is (relatively) geographically independent, and that migrants may bring their personal media routines – at least the practices and sometimes also the content – due to the transnationalization of the mediascape.

The transnational dimension of taken-for-grantedness

In the following paragraphs I will take a closer look at the bifocality, in the double sense, discussed in the introduction. I am particularly interested in the

migrants' present connection to their former milieux. Which elements of former places are appropriated in the new sphere of taken-for-grantedness?

The relationship with the place of origin differs among the four individuals. Pedro keeps the bond with Colombia through occasionally looking at newspapers on the Internet. He states that it is not of central concern, but that now and then it is amusing to see what is happening there. However, his geographically widespread past has above all made him interested in the world: "I can't lead my life limited to my apartment, my workplace and the neighbourhood. I have to know what's happening in other places, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. I want to take part in some way... that's part of my everyday life".

Very deliberately, Ana and Edin have limited contact with Bosnia. Their leaving of the country was traumatic; the, at the time, recently built house was gone from one day to another and Ana was left alone with their two small babies. She remarks: "Therefore, I can't imagine going back for vacation, it wouldn't feel right... at the moment. You want to forget and to go on with your life". Edin, her husband, has the same ambivalent feelings towards his home country, although he has returned once to attend a funeral. Escaping was a "fateful moment" (Giddens, 1991) in their biographies; they had to start from scratch in all respects in their new environment. So in spite of relatively good access to Bosnian media (Internet, newspapers and satellite channels) they do not use them regularly:

The Bosnian media are just like the media here [in Sweden], they have bold and glaring headlines which make you upset. They are always focusing on bad things. We try to stay away from them, because when you have experienced what we have done, even headlines may start the film in your head, and all the memories come back... (Ana)

Ana's avoidance of the contemporary mediaspace of Bosnia does not mean she has cut all the bonds to the former milieu. She mentions that she sometimes catches a glimpse of a Bosnian satellite channel: "It is amusing to see what the weather's like in Bosnia; is it warmer in my hometown than here, for example". In addition, during the interview it comes up that she usually listens to Bosnian folk music when cleaning (partly because it provides such suitable tempo).

In contrast, Bob from England is very interested in the current affairs of his homeland. He keeps the bonds through correspondence by mail and telephone and through the Internet:

I'm one of the most frequent visitors to the website of *BBC*. I'm an old radioman you see and I love listening to the radio; it's been there all my life. So when I'm working I usually connect to the *BBC Four*, a significant news channel, on the net.

In addition, he feels a need to at least twice a year visit his place of origin

where his family still lives: “going home for a break” as he puts it. His use of the word ‘break’ clearly illustrates the bifocality of the transnational life, its (at least) two cultural languages, requiring continuous negotiation and translation between them (Hall, 1992:310).

Of particular interest is the difference between taking part of the news of the home country on the one hand (Bob), and the weather report or folk music on the other hand (Ana). Both practices represent transnational media use, but in very different ways – and not only due to genre. It is also a question of cultural identity and its context; it is a distinction between the public sphere and tradition, between citizenship (i.e. political identity) and a biographical identity. In extension it becomes a question of temporal and spatial aspects of the relationship between media and identity. In order to make these theoretical elaborations we have to consider similar theorizations within other fields. First I turn to what Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins call the diasporic cultural studies, in order to theorize the transnational media consumption. Thereafter I turn to more general cultural theory in order to elaborate on the relationship between identity, biography and nation, especially through the concepts of roots and routes.

Theorizing transnational media consumption

Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2003a, 2003b; Robins and Aksoy, 2006) bring an interesting approach to the field of media and diaspora, which in many ways fits with my arguments of the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life. For Aksoy and Robins, the question is not whether migrants sustain their original national identity, integrate in the host country or develop a hybrid identity (2003a:376); it is how transnational media affect migrants’ experiences and thinking in everyday life (2003b:92), since they are bringing “new dynamics into the management of separation and distance” (2003b:93). In their study of Turkish speaking populations in London they found little support for media as means to uphold a Turkish identity. Instead, they argue, the transnational media consumption becomes means to experience taken-for-grantedness: “[the Turkish migrants] want to continue being in touch with the everyday Turkish communicative space that has, over the years, become familiar to them” (2003a:377). Media’s deep embeddedness in the daily routines, their structuring character give them almost material qualities; the media as texture of social spaces, (Tacchi, 1998; Jansson, 2006). In this sense, the relationship between media and the feeling of home is explicit; familiar sounds, symbols and images contribute to an ontological security, making it easier to negotiate a diasporic identity (Tsagarousianou, 2001).

It is important to question the essentialistic tendencies in many diaspora studies, as Aksoy and Robins do. National cultural identity of a home country is many times a ‘natural’, not questioned, point of departure. Therefore the transnational connection must be analyzed thoroughly. I also agree with Aksoy

and Robins about the risk with an ideological national filter over social research (cf. Beck, 2002). However, I am more skeptical when Aksoy and Robins go on by criticizing the stress on identity within diasporic cultural studies. As they put it: “Our fundamental problem with diasporic cultural studies is that, in the end, it remains caught up in the mentality of imagined communities, cultures and identities – which is grounded essentially in the national mentality” (Aksoy and Robins, 2003b:92). Instead they advocate an approach influenced by a traditional uses and gratification perspective on transnational audience studies (2003b:99). As they claim: “We should be concerned then, with migrants’ minds and sensibilities, and not their cultures or identities – with how they think, rather than how they belong” (2003b:94). Consequently:

Watching Turkish television is not about reinforcing identities [...] Indeed, we would argue that it is actually about the *weakening* of identity. Before the coming of Turkish and Kurdish satellite television, many felt much more out of touch with and disconnected from Turkish realities and affairs, tending to led to the formation of fixed and frozen images and ideas of the Turkey that had been left behind. We might say that under these earlier conditions of migrancy, identities flourished more easily, reflecting and standing for a lack of connection to Turkish actuality. Once satellite television arrived, however, it brought with it everyday Turkish realities (2003a:377).

Aksoy and Robins criticize the whole notion of identity, while what should be criticized is essentialistic perspectives on (national) identity. To dismiss the hegemony of the national framework of social theory does not mean one has to get rid of the concept of identity, or the cultural dimension – or even the meaning of the nation to identity. One of the harshest critiques of hegemonic nationalistic methodology comes from Ulrich Beck who advocates cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, he is nuanced when discussing the status of the nation:

Just as the Peace of Westphalia ended the religious wars by separating state from religion, we might consider it the ultimate goal of the European project to separate state and nation. Cosmopolitanism does not mean an abolition of nationality, any more than Westphalia meant an abolition of religion. Rather, it means the constitutional enshrinement of the principle of *national and cultural* and ethnic and religious *tolerance* (2006:166, *my Italics*).

Hence, transnational media consumption could very well be related to taken-for-grantedness – *and national identity* (cf. Tsagarousianou, 2004:57). Taking part of mundane actualities is, as Billig argues in *Banal Nationalism* (1995), what national identity is about, most of the time. This is another way of saying “culture is ordinary”, as Raymond Williams (1958/1989) once expressed it.

Let us recall Bob from England and the way he kept himself updated of British current affairs through the website of *BBC*. What he does is using media’s potential of doubling of place (Scannell, 1996:90-2), not letting distance

becoming an obstacle for keeping himself engaged in the public life of his place of origin. Accordingly, he can continue to be part of the imagined British community, letting this relationship stabilize his everyday life – in a new cultural context. To me, this example (which is very similar to what the informants say in Aksoy's and Robins' project) is an explicit expression of national dimensions of identity. This is national connections as manifestation of some kind of belonging, not necessarily essentialistic, neither singular. Rather, it is imagined and taken for granted in a constructionist manner, in the same sense as Anderson's imagined national community and with the same means as in Billig's banal nationalism.

Regarding Ana from Bosnia, the transnational media (the weather report and the folk music) are neither used for getting in touch with a Bosnian public sphere, nor to be part of an imagined national community. The transnational media are means to get in touch with earlier chapters of her biography – to revitalize lived experience of a past milieu. A similar example is found in another study of mine (Andersson, 2006a:242-3). It is a woman from Finland who has lived in Sweden for many years. Now when she is unemployed she spends her days watching a Finnish channel with the same films and TV-series she watched when she was young and lived in Finland. It is mundane trivial things, not current affairs or actualities that this woman from Finland desires. These are things, one might guess, which did not cause any reflections in the former milieu. In a new milieu, however, they get new meaning, representing the familiarity of her biography. Glimpses of the past, in these examples in form of mediated material, may be used to make the contemporary milieu more comfortable. As for Ana, this is not necessarily an expression of escaping the present or of reactionary nostalgia. It is not about *sustaining* elements from the past, since the meaning of the elements is not there anymore. Rather, it is a strategy to create a sphere of taken-for-grantedness, in which the chosen elements constitute representation of familiarity, signs of the past biography. Ana, for example, does not identify herself with contemporary Bosnia, but with the milieu of her past, the context of her experiences of moments of the good life.

To further unfold this line of thinking one may distinguish between nation as *nation state* and as *socio-cultural milieu*, where the former is associated with the public sphere and the latter is connected to lived experience in a phenomenological sense. In Bob's case it is the nation state that is important and which he connects to, while Ana is looking for the socio-cultural milieu. Looking back upon a former socio-cultural milieu through media is not nationalism or a searching for roots in a narrow-minded sense. It should be linked to biographical notions; it illuminates how experienced milieux of the past are constructive parts of one's contemporary sphere of taken-for-grantedness. It could be related to Wise's words in relation to home: "Nostalgia may be a tool used to create [a] home, but it is not the heart of the home" (2000:305). It is the creating process that is important, not the used components.

What could be brought into consideration is Nowicka's argument that homeland is a temporal as well as a spatial phenomenon; it is temporal in the

respect that it is part of everyone's individual biography (Nowicka, 2005:172). With that in mind one could argue that Ana's transnational media use is related to the temporal dimension of the homeland. Bob's transnational media use, on the other hand, has more of a spatial character, through the way he 'visits' the British public sphere.³ However, the difference between Ana's and Bob's transnational media use should not be exaggerated, neither theoretically or empirically. Time and space, as Massey (2005) argues, should be considered as interlinked in analytical work. Furthermore, regardless of the theoretical distinction made above, there are many similarities between Ana's and Bob's (and Edin's and Pedro's) media practices. They are all in some sense returning to familiar and taken for granted milieux.. To live in Sweden and to watch the weather report from Bosnia or listen to British radio is, to some extent, about confirming what one already knows; the format, the language, the represented regions, etc. Hence, the 'already known' material provides a kind of cultural confirmation, although at distance. This seems to be a common practice among migrants, refugees and expatriates (Nowicka, 2005:172; Sjöberg, 2006; Wiles, 2008:127) – independent of the strength of the identification with the homeland. I think familiarity is the key in this context. An explicit illustration comes from Wiles' study of New Zealander living in London. One of the interviewed explains what New Zealand means to her:

It makes me feel really comfortable... it's just little familiarities like the TV presenters and the presenters at the rugby matches and just the whole – people are so nice and friendly when you walk into a bank or fruit and veggie shop. It's just very comforting and nice (Wiles, 2008:129).

It seems as if the feeling of comfort and familiarity – the ontological security – a milieu offers, works at distance. This underscores how remote spaces – and ages – are central elements of individuals' contemporary everyday life.

There is one further aspect of transnational media consumption as cultural confirmation that should be commented. The previous discussion is not meant to deny the potential of spatial (and temporal) expansion of the lifeworld through media use. Of course, media broaden people's horizons and contribute to a global awareness in many ways (Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1999:ch. 5). What is problematic, however, is when lifeworld expansion due to media use becomes points of departure, when broadening of horizons is taken for granted and not questioned. The media do not determine in that way. Using media means interacting with symbolic material. Media consumption represents cultural confirmation as well as lifeworld expansion.

With the conclusion that the mediated bonds to former milieux have spatial and temporal aspects, and that mediated elements of the past are vivid aspects of individuals' contemporary everyday life, it is important to look closer at the theoretical context of media consumption. That is the relationship between identity and space. A very relevant line of thinking is provided by the concepts of roots and routes, mainly elaborated within anthropology.

Roots and Routes of identity

A crucial aspect in the analysis of the meaning of nation in relation to identity is the consideration of both space and personal history. Such a perspective is to be found in the discussion around the distinction of roots and routes. It could be traced to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) post-structuralistic epistemology. It is based on a discontent with the hierarchical system of classifications in structuralism, which in most cases, more or less explicit, draw on the metaphor of a root system. Deleuze and Guattari argue that the cultural complexity of contemporary society requires new epistemological thinking; an epistemology in which categories are connected in all directions, not only 'upwards' or 'downwards' as in structuralism. Therefore Deleuze and Guattari advocate the rhizome as a metaphor: "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:7). This discussion has led to thinking about identities as routes (Gilroy, 1997); a perspective in which cultural re-production occurs through hybridisation rather than (vertical) cultural heritage (cf. Hall, 1995).

This debate was an explicit influence in anthropology of the 90's (see Gupta Ferguson, 1997; Rapport and Dawson, 1997), especially expressed as a critique against the tendencies within the discipline to consider culture as territorially bounded. Clifford argues for a perspective that takes dwelling as well as travelling into account:

I'm not saying there are no locales or homes, that everyone is – or should be – travelling, or cosmopolitan, or deterritorialized. This is not a nomadology. Rather, I'm trying to sketch a comparative cultural studies approach to specific histories, tactics, everyday practices of dwelling *and* travelling; travelling-in-dwelling, dwelling-in-travelling (1992:108).

To stress the significance of routes is to question tradition, blood and territories as the fundament of cultures and identities. It is a perspective that considers identity as something dynamic and processual; cultural identities are never fixed, they are always on their way, appropriating and incorporating things along the route. Identity as routes is not necessarily linked to people living in diaspora, it is rather a perspective stressing cultural encounters. Roots and routes is not the difference between time and place or history and geography; a route has history, but the biographical history is not something that is to be found – it must be re-constructed. It is in this way the constructive use of former milieux through transnational media consumption, discussed in the previous section, should be understood.

It is important not to dismiss roots, though. Traditions are deeply integrated in people's lives, expressed institutionally in media's maintaining of imagined *territorial* communities and public holidays. Thus, routes and roots are not mutually exclusive; searching for roots, as Nash (2002) argues, may be a sig-

nificant strategy to reject the myth of the 'pure' and authentic origin. Applying the perspective of routes clarifies Ana's contemporary situation where she feels a lack of belonging:

I belong to the family; my husband and my children. Of course I have a nationality, a religion, a tradition that I'm part of, but I consider myself as blended, I have taken the best parts of my tradition and my religion and some things from Sweden, Arabia, Turkey, Chili. This goes for thoughts, food, the home, the family and so on.

Considering experiences through the lens of roots and routes calls attention to self reflexivity in identity construction. In case of migrants it is reflexivity with a dynamic and versatile biography as framework. Something happens along the route, i.e. during the stay in a new milieu. It is illustrated in Tsagarousianou's (2001:166) study of Greek Cypriots' and South Asians' diasporas in London, where the informants felt that the diaspora media addressed them as "mere extensions of the 'homeland'", and that the producers did not see to their needs and interests in the new milieu. Also Ana has experienced this transition:

I know a lot about Bosnians, or rather, I thought I knew a lot about Bosnians, my own people, but I'm not so sure anymore. The Bosnian society changes really quick, and the things I know is in fact just memories from more than ten years ago. The Bosnians today are not the same people as they were ten years ago; all people change. You cannot judge and say 'Swedes are so and so...'; it's not possible, because it changes every day!

Her experiences of the routes to a Swedish city have provided her with a transnational reflexivity, a cultural map, which is difficult to acquire in other ways. The reflexivity, based on mobile experience, is in turn at hand when consuming transnational media. That is the background of many migrants' problem with identifying themselves in diaspora media after many years abroad (Tsagarousiano, 2001:167; Aksoy and Robins, 2003b:98). It is not only the context of the consumption that is altered – the consuming subject has new cultural experiences, a new sphere of taken-for-grantedness. It is an identity in transition and quite naturally it affects preferences and the interpretation of media texts. Nevertheless, the fact that media (of various kinds) from the home country are attractive illustrates that both roots and routes are important aspects of everyday life – and of media consumption.

It is important, however, not to fall into a naïve, simplistic or romantic celebration of hybridization as the final answer to all questions of minority and migration (cf. Morley, 2000:232-36). As perspective, roots and routes is a heuristic device explaining the transitional mechanisms involved in migration, but it does not explain the continuous social division. In the final section I want to discuss the social inequality of migration.

Cultural experience and social inequality

Power is frequently discussed in connection to globalization. Global awareness, extensive spatial experience and transcultural competence are in many contexts regarded as powerful resources. In the wake of globalization and time-space compression (Harvey, 1990) space has become more and more connected to power:

Globalization theory, by focusing on the lifting of social relations from local contexts, must equally attend to the resources available to the parties of those relations. Time-space social stratification is to disembedding [Giddens, 1991] as class was to differentiation (Albrow, 1997:54).

Which position does Ana, Edin, Pedro and Bob have in such time-space social stratification? All of them have a large interest in the world. They are all in different ways engaged in the civic society. They are bilingual and they have lived experience of cultural globalization. They know cultural translation by heart (Hall, 1995). In another discourse, they would be described as aesthetic cosmopolitans, which traditionally have been described as the acquired ability to appropriate and appreciate other cultures (Hannerz, 1990; Lash and Urry, 1994; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002; Szerszynski and Urry, 2006). However, while the cosmopolitan discourse is desired and associated with prestige (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999), the migrant experience is often not, which for example Ana and Edin from ex-Yugoslavia have experienced. The cosmopolitan attitude, above all aesthetic, connotes to a specific professional sphere – to a sphere of a white-coloured service class, a new cultural middle class (May, 1996). In contrast Bob is unemployed, Edin works as a porter, Ana works with children care and Pedro is an IT-technician. Thus, none of the interviewees has succeeded in transforming their cultural competence into a corresponding professional position. Expressed in a different way, no employer has taken advantage of the interviewees' large experience of globalization and their cultural flexibility.

Accordingly, considered in a social-economic and professional perspective the interviewees have a peripheral position within the power-geometry of globalization (Massey, 1991). They lack the liberal, sophisticated middleclass background of their counterparts in the cosmopolitan professional field (cf. Robbins, 1998:260). However, turning the sight towards a socio-cultural perspective, things look different – even though it is the society which gets the merits, rather than the interviewees. As Stuart Hall puts it in relation to the new diasporas: “though they are struggling in one sense at the margins of modernity, they are at the leading edge of what is destined to become the truly representative ‘late-modern’ experience” (Hall quoted in Sinclair and Cunningham, 2000:23). Transnational and diversified experiences are necessary in the local as well as the global society. This is in line with a civic turn within theories about cosmopolitanism, where many scholars stress the social, political and ethical sides of cosmopolitanism. It could then be described as openness towards otherness,

or as Tomlinson argues: “[someone] having a cultural disposition [...] which recognizes global belonging, involvement and responsibility and can integrate these broader concerns into everyday life practices” (Tomlinson, 1999:185; cf. Chea and Robbins, 1998; Werbner, 1999; Beck, 2002; Silverstone, 2007).

In spite of the idealistic character, some of the migrants in this study live up to such cosmopolitanism. The challenge is to make it as prestigious and desired as the ‘old’ one.

Notes

1. The interviews were part of the empirical material in my dissertation (Andersson, 2006a).
2. Shaun Moores (2006), a British media scholar, describes a similar, but media specific, experience of his own. During the first phase of a longer stay in Australia he felt lost in the ‘local’ mediascape, and it took time to become familiar with broadcasted formats and personalities.
3. I write ‘spatial character’ since a significant element of the theories of the public spheres is that they are not territorial anchored. Still, however, there are links between the spheres and a geographical scale.

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Media, Identity and Methodology

Reflections on Practice and Discourse

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The concept of 'identity', or identity related concepts such as 'ethnicity', 'gender' and 'youth', are often used to describe, explain and understand patterns in media use and reflect on various consequences of this use. This chapter addresses how conclusions about respondents' identities often are based on data (both quantitative and qualitative) that are of a linguistic kind and presents a critical discussion of such inferences¹.

Our basic analytical claim is that there are very few statements that researchers can make general to a group of people. The various practices of members' in a particular social categorical group and the meanings they attach to their practices are empirically diverse. As researchers we should therefore be cautious in making use of sweeping statements about groups of people and likewise be cautious in making one statement made by an informant general to the perspectives and practices of that person.

We claim that the alternative to sweeping statements is not relativism but contextualizing, and that the latter (in contrast to the former) aids us in taking seriously some of the more important epistemological or ontological issues at stake. Firstly, we need to be aware that relationships between practices, statements and personal dispositions and qualities are complicated, not only on the empirical level of study but also when it comes to epistemological and ontological issues. Methodology is thus not just a question of making our methods better, but requires sensitivity to the question of what reality-status our data have. Secondly, as a consequence of this, we need to move our research practices from making use of analytical tools and concepts that invite explanations to be founded in an individual's belonging to specific social categories to tools and concepts that invite explanations to be founded in situated practices of persons. Our argument is that late-Wittgensteinian thinking on meaning as contextualised practice can provide the analytical conceptual tools needed and help us rethink methodological issues.

Although the claims we make are general and pertain to all academic reasoning, we see them as especially relevant for studies that set out to understand how various cultural groups and migrants use and sense-making of ICT. We

will start out this chapter by addressing how the concept of identity has been employed in academic practices and to outline some methodological, epistemological and ontological issues concerning the widespread tendency – in general as well as in approaches to the topic of media and ethnicity – to use data (both quantitative and qualitative) that are of a linguistic kind to draw conclusions about the respondents' media practices and identities. A few examples of how the concept of 'identity' or identity related concepts such as 'youth' and 'ethnicity' are used in literature on media consumption will be presented to illustrate our claim. Then, using two cases from a qualitatively based study of media practices among various families in suburbs to Oslo, Norway, we offer a critical discussion of such inferences, as seen from a Wittgensteinian perspective. Suggestions are given to approach the empirical study of identity-related aspects of linguistic data and how to use the analytical concept of 'identity' in ways that can be both fruitful and analytically sound from this theoretical point of view.

The analytical-methodological suggestions we mould out are briefly the following: Firstly, and most importantly, that identity must be understood discursively. This implies that expressions of identity cannot be seen independently of how and in what settings they are performed or articulated. Thus, we must be weary about using discursive data to conclude about a person's identity, understood as a non-discursive, inner state. Secondly, understanding talk as practice means to situate expressions in real life and see them as parts of wider, more encompassing practices, which are necessarily contextualised. Thus, we need to situate identity-related statements within the communicative contexts they are part of. For this we find Wittgenstein's term 'language game' to be a helpful methodological tool. Thirdly, that the conversational interview offers a way to gain 'thick' descriptions of speech acts and thus a source for data that is rich on information as to how statements are situated and derive meanings from specific communicative contexts. Interviews can moreover be performed in ways that bring shifts in language-games to the fore thus enabling the study of how respondents mould their statements in accordance with such shifts. Fourthly, that we as a consequence of this argument should operate with practice-based rather than group-based categorisations. Thus, we suggest that in many analyses using 'diaspora' might be more fruitful than using the term 'ethnicity'. While the latter almost by necessity point towards a group or category of people with (assumed) common traits and hence encourage conclusions about media use in general among those belonging to this category (and in contrast to other categories of ICT-users), 'diaspora' focuses on the practical situations certain people are in. The term points to how people are conceptually and practically rooted in two different countries/places but without implying anything about their belonging to a specific ethnic group. Hence, it directs our attention to how an aspect of a practical situation (being diasporic) induces them to use ICTs in certain manners. In line with this reasoning we argue that it is more useful to speak of ICTs than media because the former points our attention more clearly to the

situatedness of media consumption since it includes the technology itself, not only the mediated content.

The concept of identity in academic practices

'Identity' is often used as a factor in explaining media use – but in many different ways. Miller and Slater's book *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach* can serve as one 'case' from contemporary debate in this respect. Although 'identity' is not a core analytical term in their project they do refer to it in their conclusion, stating that:

What the Internet produces cannot be understood in terms of the liberation, of new and fluid identities. Not only were older identities, such as religion, nation, and family, embraced online, but the Internet could be seen by many as primarily a means of repairing those allegiances. This requires special attention to the ways in which freedom and normativity are linked rather than sundered in these new media of social interaction (...). The interconnect-edness and flow of information afforded by the Internet gave new powers and autonomy to individuals, which had then to be understood within and disciplined by their institutions (Miller and Slater 2000:18).

This statement surely is analytically well grounded, and precisely therefore it is worthwhile to consider some of the ontological, epistemological and methodological premises that this paragraph rests on. First of all, what is meant by identity here? How is the term used by these authors? Miller and Slater's use of terms such as 'newer' identities brings our attention to the substantial ontological claim about the empirical reality of modern and post-modern living conditions in the Western world (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Ziehe and Stubenrauch, 1987). The claim being that the 'new' living conditions in such places form 'new' identities; the identities are 'new' in the sense that they are understood to be more multiple and fluid in comparison to those produced under the conditions of 'older' times. As we read Miller and Slater, however, they avoid what we would call the pitfall of making a clear and essential distinction between the 'old' and the 'new', as if the turn to the (post)modern condition is a qualitative, marked transition. Rather, they seem to use 'new' and 'old' in the sense of the ways they handle or manage identity-related spheres of interest – they designate religion, nation and family as 'old' identities and claiming that these are embraced online and repaired (as if they prior to the Internet were malfunctioning). They hence construct old and new identities in a specific way and argue for the presence of the latter.

Their line of argument also indicates that they are talking from a certain time- and perspective-specific conceptualization of identity, that is a particular and situated theoretical perspective on identity that defines its epistemology; what we can reach academic knowledge of when it comes to people's iden-

tity. Throughout the modern period a variation of theoretical perspectives on identity has developed. In Hall's (1992) outline, three major constructs of the subject are sketched up as central developments from pre-modern to post-modern times: the indivisible and unique *enlightenment subject* (associated with the philosophy of Descart and Locke), the more inter and intra interactive *sociological subject* (associated with Mead and Cooley),² and the structurally more open, fragmented and complex *post-modern subject* (associated with the claims of Giddens, Laclau and Hall himself). These developments are closely related to the wider ontological and epistemological developments within the modern sciences. The post-modern concept of identity is, for example, closely related to what is often referred to as the 'turn to language' that has prevailed in academic discourse the last few decades (Smith, 1998); that is, the epistemological claim that what we can gain knowledge about and communicate in academically sound ways must be discursively founded and thus variably constructed through social and cultural narratives³. People's reflexive self-narrative projects and attempts to maintain coherence can at the same time be understood as how self-identity exists and is made real, important and 'observable' in our times (Giddens, 1991). As an example of this, in his outline of the post-modern subject, Hall states that 'If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or 'narrative of the self' about ourselves' (1992:277). Various anthropological studies from non-Western cultures back up the argument, associating the 'illusion of wholeness' to a Western- modernity-specific cultural construction of identity (Ewing, 1990; Miller, 1994; Strathern, 1979). Although the conceptual development of the sociological subject, and the ontological and epistemological assumptions this development is associated with, dominate much academic discourse of identity today, the various perspectives are often mingled in the meaning-making analysis of Western academics (Storm-Mathisen, 2007; Williams, 2000). Some academics argue that due to this diversity 'identity' has lost its analytical power (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Others claim that the concept remains valuable as a tool with potential to grasp socio-cultural processes in people's discursive practices (Frønes, 2004; Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995; Williams, 2000; Zimmerman, 1998).

Regardless of which position one takes in the academic debate on identity, the debate itself accentuates a need to state clearly what we mean by identity in any given analytical practice. What perspective on identity is employed and how can we best study it? If we return to Miller and Slater's book as an example, their theoretical perspective on identity and way to approach this analysis is briefly suggested in the passages below:

People recognized themselves in the Internet in various ways and found that it provided the space for enacting core values, practices and identities. That is to say, there were aspects of these new media environments that allowed them to objectify themselves as Trinidadian, amongst other things (Youth, mas' players, computer nerds, whatever) and given the diversity of Trinidadians

(Indian, Black, female, elder etc). At the same time they were able to mould these spaces to culturally specific shapes and purposes. We are concerned with the ways in which a particular people can recognize or 'realize' themselves through a particular domain of material culture. By 'realizing themselves' we obviously do not mean that people have a natural or essential identity that is then represented or expressed in and through a material culture (though people themselves frequently believe this, and it may be a central feature in their understanding and use of things). But people engage with material culture through versions of themselves that are both articulated and transformed through that encounter (Miller and Slater, 2000:10-12).

Miller and Slater seem to place their analysis in opposition to the post-modern substantial ontological statements of 'new' fluid identities on the one hand, and against the sociological more 'essential' definition of identity on the other. At the same time their formulations seem to be sensitive, and in line with the post-modern more epistemological perspective on identities as discursive, practical constructs, i.e. a question of practices and what one performs, articulate and objectify oneself through. Why? Despite the vast diversity in definition, concepts of identity in social science today are often used as sweeping statements. They are used to discursively point at, conceptually grasp and to analytically order aspects of continuity and unity in the complex interweaving of personal, social and cultural aspects of persons we can observe. Also Miller and Slater seem to be applying the concept of identity to grasp something of the like. But they also orient their readers to problematic aspects of this; e.g. that the term 'identity' not only has academic but also commonsense denotations in directions of an essential and non-situated 'picture' of persons, that they define themselves in opposition to.

Although many current academics, like Miller and Slater, are sensitive to these processes and issues in their line of argument, it is not uncommon to focus on one or several social characteristics of persons or a group of persons and to situate the analysis and explanations of these person's practices in one or several such social characteristics; i.e. ethnic origin, gender, age, class, religious belief. We argue that such a research strategy has limited value as it ignores the variations in persons' (expression of) identities, and should thus at least be supplemented by a practice-based, contextualized approach to the study of identity-issues.

Discursive data of media use

To discuss and suggest a way to approach the empirical study of identity-related aspects of linguistic data the next sections draw on two cases from a SIFO study that explored aspects of media consumption in Norwegian households through interviews and observations (see <http://www.sifo.no/digiadvent>). The cases chosen are from two immigrant families originally from non-Western

countries. We use these to illustrate aspects of what we regard to be important in analytical reasoning on identity, ethnicity and consumption of ICT, with respect to a source of data commonly used in such studies; namely data that are discursively produced either through interviewing, observation or questionnaires. We argue that a fruitful and analytically sound way to use the analytical concept of 'identity' is to apply a Wittgensteinian perspective.

Case 1: Inconsistent identifications within an interview

Our first case is based on statements by members of a relatively poor family living in a suburb in Oslo. The interview took place in their flat in the fall 2004. The two spouses in this family came from two different countries and had one six years old son. Both worked as assistants in kindergartens. Although the interview was about their uses of ICT, our main concern here is not what they said about their uses of ICT, but rather how and what they came to express about themselves in the interview. Our focus of interest is how the two spouses, throughout the interview, expressed an extraordinarily preoccupation with their son and his future. As a consequence of this the interview revolved much around him. Some instances in this interview allow us to discuss aspects of identity and discursive practice further. In their answers to our question about how they related to their home countries and how they used media as a means for contact with friends and family in other parts of the world. They bluntly stated that they had severed all links abroad for the sake of their son. The father said that in order for their son to have a future it was best for him that he became 100% Norwegian, and expressed that to have strong ties to two (or in this case three) countries will only bring him in trouble and lessen his chances of having a promising future. Furthermore, he said that this was a loss for him and his wife since they would never become 'fully' Norwegians and they missed their families and friends 'back home'. Nevertheless, they stated that the future of their son was most important to them. Later in the interview, however, they told us that they had a great deal of contact with friends and families in the home countries. They had been visiting the mother's home country, they watched television from their home countries and they actively used mail and web-phone to communicate with those of their network that have access to such media.

Case 2: The diversity in a family's practices of ICT

The second case is based on an interview with a middle class family living in another suburb of Oslo. The dad in this family of five is an engineer who came to the country as a teenager, the mother is a teacher and their teenage daughter is planning to become a doctor. They also have two younger sons. Several things that pertain to a discussion of identity make this family interesting. For one thing their media practices, and especially the reasons they give to them, differ from what is commonplace among ethnic Norwegians (Helle-Valle, 2003; Slet-

temeås, 2007b). On the one hand they had a strict regime to what programmes their children could watch on television and when. Baked into the ritual of the children doing one hour of 'homework' was also regular viewing of Urdu spoken TV programmes and they spoke of their own media use as education. They also accounted for extensive communicative activity with relatives living in London, using media for keeping relations with the wider family. On the other hand, the youngest son, 6 years of age, was watching cartoons on *Cartoon Network* during the interview, clearly using it as entertainment. The parents did not seem to mind. This moulds an impression in which attitudes to ICT-use in the family context differ from the prototypical Norwegian family; on the one hand they use digital media very systematically for a practical (educational) and identity-related (ethnic) purposes. On the other hand there is little moral objection to children's leisure use of such media (Helle-Valle, 2003).

Analysing identity: critical discussion and analytical suggestions

The cases give examples of discursive data on ICT practices that can be analysed in terms of the identities of a category of persons as the respondents are characterised in terms of being foreign, non-Western immigrants in a Norwegian setting. On the one hand there are statistical data revealing differences in media-use according to ethnic background (TNS Gallup, 2005).⁴ On the other hand we have interviews revealing that answers vary considerably on similar subjects, not only between members of a social category, subgroups of Norwegians or immigrants, but also, as case 1 illustrates in particular, when looking at answers from the same person, within the same interview. This raises a number of questions: What can we read about identity from such surveys? How should we understand the patterns that emerge from such investigations? And, perhaps even more importantly, how do we explain the variations within categories and the fact that differences between categories often appear as rather weak? Since the conventional focus in research is on patterns (and hence order) we tend to disregard the other side of the coin; the lack of patterns (and hence a form of disorder).

Although we cannot provide clear, conclusive answers to these questions we want to discuss aspects of methodology, epistemology and ontology that might help us to reveal our biases and see the problem in a better light. The theoretical grounding for the critical discussion and suggestion we undertake is a late-Wittgensteinian perspective on meaning. A perspective in which meaning is seen as intimately connected to language-games, that is to aspects of the situation they were parts of. Although it can be seen as a philosophical base for many post-modern claims of identity, the view taken here is arguably more radical and concrete in several respects. The "term 'language-game' brings into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life" (Wittgenstein, 1968:§23, emphases in the original). As language-

games are embedded in forms of life (practice) and people perform their practices in different settings they also necessarily move in and out of different language-games. In this way of thinking, different practical situations affect meanings in ways that make meanings resemble each other without having an essential core (Helle-Valle and Slettemeås, 2008). But as some situations are more alike than others, we find that meanings overlap more in some cases than in others. Thus, certain practical situations generate certain patterns of meaning-content so that similar situations tend to generate similarities in meaning. The perspective thus implies that the study of meaning requires studying language-use within forms of life. Types of practices encompass types of meanings. We must therefore link meaning to the specific communicative setting they are part of and thus be more concerned with identifying language games reflecting 'forms of life' than social groups. As people move in and out of different language-games it follows that people might not only act and argue differently, but also think differently, in different language-games (Helle-Valle, 2008). In line with this perspective, meanings of all statements should be analysed as specific responses to particular situational and thematic context in which they were produced (Storm-Mathisen, 2007). And as all language-games are situations involving communicating subjects it is important to see statements as elements in dialogues (Bakhtin, 1981) – a point we will elaborate on below. How are we then to understand and analyse the above mentioned cases of media use in relation to 'identity'?

Identity is discourse

The cases illustrate in our view clearly why we need to be very sensitive to what we mean by 'identity' when we go about making analytical claims about it and why we need to approach identity discursively and with context sensitivity. We need to state clearly what we are doing when analysing identity. Two aspects at least are worthy special consideration:

Firstly, what kind of data do we ground our statements of identity in? Practically speaking we are most of the time dealing with discursive data, data on people's statements performed in interviews, surveys and during field observations. We should therefore also treat these data as discursive. 'Discourse' can be defined in many ways. The important thing for the discussion in this chapter is that discourse points to what is said – it is in the realm of the meaningful expressions or statements. Moreover, discourse is not an abstraction in the sense that it is a system separate from lived life – it is practice; statements are language in use, and are what can be said to be typical statements about a topic or subject. In other words, it is a generalisation of statements linked to a theme, but not an essentialised structure or system (cf. e.g. Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983; Helle-Valle, 2007a).

Secondly, we need to point out how we analyse 'identity' in any specific case. In analytical practices we tend to mix several usages of the term; 1) as a word used by those we interview or analyse statements from; 2) as a theme

that the interviewees are engaged in when they answer (without necessarily using the word); and 3) as a concept used by us – the researchers, i.e. in which we identify several aspects of what we see and hear and attach it as relevant to the person belonging to a cultural category. It is important to be aware of the very different epistemological statuses of these usages. Thus, the first requirement is that we keep apart the two former usages from the latter; the former are part of what we study, the latter is not; it is rather something that we use as a tool in order to come to terms with the theme we are interested in (Helle-Valle, 2008).

Related for example to the referred sections of case 1 we had to decide; should we focus on 1) What the two spouses said (i.e. the words used; how things 'should' be vs. how things 'are')? 2) The theme that their 'sayings' are oriented to (i.e. their concerns as parents for their son's future in Norway vs. their own bonds to their home-countries) or 3) that what they 'really' talk about is their identity as immigrants (i.e. as a concept used by us as researchers)? Then we need to keep apart our definition of them (as i.e. 'immigrants') from the 'doings' of our informants in the interviews; what they say and to what they themselves orient their actions.

If we decide, as we argue we should, to focus on the first two of the above mentioned ways of analysing identity, and regard the words people use and the way they say it as the relevant source of the analysis of identity, we must then consider the situatedness of these statements in order to ground our analytical perspective on identity matters.

Sensitivity to context: discursive meaning in language-games

Again case 1 might be illustrative. If we take as our starting point that identity can be analysed in terms of how people identify themselves, the things they claim they are, values, cherishes or preferences, it seems reasonable to argue that the spouses in this family express two identity-related statements in the mentioned sections of the interview. They link their future to a life in Norway in the first instance. In the second instance they claim strong identity-related bonds to their home countries. However, these two identity-related statements seem to be contradictory. How are we to understand and interpret their seemingly inconsistent statements on this matter? Are we to choose to ground our analysis on one description claiming that it is more reliable than the other? 'Dismissing' the first part of the interview as a kind of lie, or as an expression of an ideal or wish, or at least an exaggeration of how things really are? Would we or could we argue that, if we had investigated the issue further through a refinement of methodology, could have reached a more reliable insight into what was really the case? Is the inconsistency of versions a question that can be solved through the improvement of the reliability of our method? Our argument is that we miss some important analytical points if we see the seemingly contradictory statements only in light of the reliability of method or in (post-modern) terms as a strategy or expression of 'ambivalence'. It is not enough to

state what is relevant to regard as expressions of identity we must also show what this expression is oriented to in any given situation. We must do this as language does not mirror reality and discursive meaning is founded in specific language-games.

That language does not mirroring reality is well acknowledged (Austin, 1962; Wittgenstein, 1968). Yet, invalid inferences from discursive data (often questionnaires or interviews, statements overheard in field studies); to claim some reality outside the context of these discursive acts, prevail in academic reasoning (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Widdicombe, 1998; Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995). It is for example not uncommon, in studies of identity, to observe that researchers infer from the discursive to another 'reality'; i.e. that they take what people say in a specific situation as mere reflections of some stable characteristic (or inner essence) of that person or to the non-linguistic practices their statements are addressing/depicting, and that they neglect analyzing statements as the linguistic, discursive acts they actually are (Storm-Mathisen, 2007). It is for researchers working from this perspective that the inconsistency in our empirical case 1 presents a problem – a problem of having to decide what statement is most reliable, how to produce data that can minimize such variations or help them 'get' to the real state of affairs behind these 'surface' variations (i.e. through triangulation of methods, as is exemplified a little further on). This could be what Dickerson (1996) is pointing at when he argues that reception analytic research has tended to portray identity as some form of distortion which obscures the real opinions and behaviors of participants due to such an observation. To avoid such reasoning Wittgensteins term 'language-game' is a helpful tool. It reminds us to be sensitive in our uses/interpretations of data and to interpret what is spoken as linguistic data with meanings in particular and situated language-games, (thus not necessarily something that can characterize a persons speech acts ('saying') and other non-linguistics acts ('doings') in all settings/in general). Moreover, it points out inconsistencies such as those in case 1, as an expected empirical variation and a useful starting point for analysis.

The claim that language does not mirror reality implies that 'saying' and 'doing' should be distinguished. There is for example a difference between whether an informant tells the interviewer that on the day before he did not watch a soap-series on television, or if the researcher is there the previous evening and can actually see by him- or herself that the informant did not watch the programme. One obvious difference is that it is easier to tell a lie, than to enact one. Thus, data on 'saying' and 'doing' are different in relation to reliability.

The issue is however more profound than simply a question of how reliable the data are, and does not imply that 'saying' and 'doing' should be treated as a simple dichotomy because utterances (talk) are acts, thus saying *is* also doing. That saying is doing, discursive meaning is founded in specific language-games and statements on the same matter therefore can vary, does not necessarily mean that all statements are made equally sensitive to context. Statements on some matters are likely to vary more from one language-game to another, than

are others. When one conducts interviews not simply about neutral matters of fact this becomes pertinent. Whether a household has installed broadband is in most cases a simple factual question to which a person's answers probably will be consistent. The methodological problem is much more profound when one is either asking about issues that are not directly observable or that the respondent's answer for some reason involves 'inner' states like attitudes, perspectives, normative themes, etc. in his/her answer. Then it is no longer a question of true or false; one couldn't have solved the methodological part better by doing for instance participant observation. These are issues that are first and foremost conveyed by way of talk. And in such cases the pretension is not to an outer object or state, and hence language can no longer be likened to a 'mirror' – a device whereby reality is reflected. The problem from an analytical point of view is that in principle the interviewer or surveyor cannot know how their question is interpreted (although there are ways for interviewers to increase such an insight – a discussion we return to towards the end of the chapter). Thus, in the case of asking about whether the interviewee watches a soap opera it is not unlikely that the answer to the question might be influenced by ideas about one's own cultural capital; 'watching' a series is not an unequivocal question (i.e. how many episodes counts as watching the series?) and the interviewee's interpretation of the question might therefore be more a statement about one's own self-identity than about media habits (Helle-Valle, 2007b).

If we again return to case 1 and take more of the context into consideration it is apparent that the part where they emphasise the severance of links to their homelands the overwhelming context for the 'text' is the concern for their son. As such they express something to do with their identity – that they are oriented towards their new homeland. When they later in the interview tell us about visits to the wife's homeland (they can't enter his homeland) and their uses of media to keep their links to their networks at home they change the context for the statements in that they express their own longings for their homeland and families. Thus, this is obviously also an identity-related statement – but one where their son's future is not the focus of attention. This might be interpreted as the latter being more 'real' than the former, but this misses several interesting points about identity as an analytical theme.

There is always an element in language that makes the word 'tool' appropriate to use; we use language in various ways for various purposes, and much of it has little or nothing to do with reflecting any outer reality. An important part of using language is that it will (in various degrees of course) reflect back on ourselves; whether we cannot formulate a proper sentence, or pronounce or use words right, or whether the talk refers to one's own identity or personality it means that any utterance is potentially also an utterance about oneself. And if we turn back to the example above – about having broadband or not, and watching soap operas – we see that while the former is relatively unproblematic as a statement about a state of affairs, the latter is definitely much more than a statement about the consumption of TV-programmes. Knowing about how

one's taste in entertainment links to one's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) it is clear that in answering such a question ('Are you a person who likes American soap operas?') many respondents' own identities are at stake here because the issue links directly to one's own socio-cultural position and self-evaluation. And since the interviewer can never be sure about how the respondent 'reads' the questions asked and themes raised it follows that in principle s/he cannot know what the respondent is answering to; is it an attempt to neutrally respond to a question about how many shows one has seen, is it an attempt to present one as a certain type of person, or – probably most often – as both (Helle-Valle, 2007b).

This point is linked to the propensity we have in Western modernity of essentialising and internalising identity-related issues; we tend to think about such matters as generally relevant, internalised predispositions, values and perspectives, linked to the individual (Helle-Valle, 2007a). However, taking seriously the point about meaning being linked to language-games, and that persons move in and out of different language-games it follows that we cannot assume identity to be of general relevance. Thus, a feeling (or perspective, values, etc) cannot be separated from its expression as both are anchored in situations. Elaborating on this point Burkitt (1999) refers to Wittgenstein's account of feeling joyful and states that:

... joy is not the expression of an inner or outer cause; instead the expression is the joyful feeling. ... Furthermore, these conditions are not found inside a person but are aspects of the conditions of life within which a person exists. ... Emotional conflict, then, does not arise from internal states of ambivalence; instead, it emerges within social contexts which are themselves inherently ambivalent or filled with conflict (Burkitt, 1999:117-8).

For our purpose we draw two points from this: First that the issue of saying and doing is not a question about bringing out a 'real', unfettered meaning that has relevance irrespective of situations but a question of how various aspects of (in this case) identity (or various identities) are relevant in various situations (language-games). Secondly, utterances are not mere reflections of inner states but practices in themselves whose relationships to what is popularly seen as inner states are complicated and need to be confronted as empirical issues. And last, that feelings', 'inner states' and similar words are easily misleading because they suggest that there is something that is situated as essential qualities within us while we hold that it is academically more rewarding to see them as inextricably linked to the practices that 'express them'. Identity as a theme must be seen in this light; they are linked to terms like emotions, feelings, etc but must therefore be understood as those complicated and many-faceted phenomena they are: we have access to them through studies of utterances and various practices. These expressions are not mere reflections of inner states but on the contrary always linked to the communicative contexts they are expressed within.

Practicalities and concepts: diaspora and ICT

In case 2 we depicted an immigrant family in which media were used in very structured ways for education and more relaxed when linked to leisure activities. The way these parents portray using ICT; actively fostering the education of their children are contradictory to how many Norwegian parents use and speak of ICT as a threat. We take this as an example of how diverse and situated the handlings of identities are in relation to uses of media. However, the issue we raise here is how to approach such a diversity of ICT use. From the perspective argued in this chapter we suggest that it is analytically most rewarding to make use of concepts that can point our attention in the direction of practices rather than social categories of people. And more specifically we suggest that in many instances such a practice perspective might benefit from understanding differences in ICT-use among people of different socio-cultural backgrounds with the aid of the term 'diaspora', rather than 'ethnicity'.

The meaning of the term ethnicity is associated to how different groups with a (self defined) different cultural and historical background position themselves in relation to other groups (see e.g. Barth, 1969). This leads naturally – for better or worse – our thinking in terms of units that are separated due to cultural differences. The advantage of the term is that it suits many actually existing phenomena well – for example if the research objective is to investigate how Pakistanis in Norway use ICTs. The ethnic connotations will, however, easily lead our attention to 'inherent' divides between national groups. The problem with such a focus is that it only can grasp one aspect related to categories of people with immigrant background; it is to focus on a predefined group which easily leads us to essentialising interpretations of them, i.e. that Pakistani-ness' is an important common identity. The challenge, however, is that in reality ICT-uses might be much more varied between different Pakistani households than between e.g. a well-integrated second generation family and a Norwegian family of similar socio-economic standing. Moreover, ethnic-based analyses tend to de-contextualise identity-matters since being a Pakistani in an ethnic perspective is something that one is all the time. Referring back to Hall's terms one could say that an ethnic perspective is in line with the 'sociological subject' because one treats social categories (such as ethnic labels) as something stable in the identification of individuals even when they moved across boundaries or shared other aspects of identity with various social categories of people. A post-modern constructivist/talk-in-interaction perspective, on the other hand, would imply that one does not take as given that the ethnic category someone might be placed in is of crucial concern for those studied. To avoid the 'essentialism' that easily is implied in the first approach many chose, in terms of methodology, not to emphasise ethnicity in analysis and/or recruitment (i.e. to not on beforehand define ethnic background and/or recruit from a variety of ethnic/national background, as in the research approaches of Nikunen and Rydin and Sjöberg (this volume cf. also Slettemeås, 2007a).

This is not to say that studies employing 'ethnicity' is worthless. The concepts and perspectives one uses reveal different aspects of a situation, and provide answers to different questions. What we are critical to, however, is the tendency inherent in the ethnic label to essentialise socio-cultural differences. Thus, we suggest that in many instances a more practice-bound perspective might provide more open research in terms of how people use ICTs. For this reason we claim that 'diaspora' can be a more fruitful analytical term than 'ethnicity' when we study uses of ICTs. As we have already pointed out 'diaspora' stresses people's conceptual and practical anchorage in two (or more) places. Whether this implies an unequivocal 'root' in one place while living in another, or that a person has allegiance to two (or more) places and also lives in more than one place is an open question (see e.g. Mishra, 2007). The issue for us is that the diasporic condition points directly to the practical needs that such people have for using ICTs. Since they are more than leisurely linked to 'another place' it means that most of them have strong motivations for using ICTs for communicating with that 'other place' (Slettemeås, 2006). But since 'diaspora' links to ICTs in a practical manner (the need to communicate in an effective and cheap manner with people elsewhere) it bears no biases about this being an essential difference to non-diasporic people. Thus, diaspora as an analytical term relates to the logics of analytically thinking in terms of language-games. Claiming that ethnic groups are diasporic can for instance easily be stereotyped. In relation to the boy in case 2, who watches Urdu speaking programmes because his mother tells him too, both 'ethnic' and 'diaspora' might be applicable concepts. However, while the ethnic explanation would easily point in the direction of a group's 'cultural disposition' the diasporic explanation would focus on how the parents' urge to improve their boy's competence in Urdu is a part in the perspective on what it implies living in one country while having strong ties to another. Thus, it is not a cultural disposition but a practical consideration that serve as an explanation; 'diaspora' carry no presumptions about common background – only that people live in a practical situation in which media tend to be used in a certain way. And the latter is no less identity-related than the former – it is just different ways of looking at it. This identity is however tied into the concrete language-games where the diasporic is played out, implying that these identities are more or less context-specific.

A consequence of thinking in terms of a language-game perspective is that personality is seen as contextually defined. The concept of the individual can in this respect be unfortunate as it leads our attention to the indivisible and essentially whole. The family in case 2 can illustrate how this can be unfortunate as they do other things with their ICT in situations in those where the diasporic is less relevant. The consequence of this argument is therefore that we should operate with practice-based rather than group-based categorisations when studying these things. This will more naturally lead our attention to the situations in which ICTs are used, rather than taking as our starting point how people belonging to similar social categories express themselves about ICT (i.e. youth, ethnic minorities etc). Moreover, this line of thinking makes the term

ICT – rather than media – important because the former points our attention more clearly to an actual thing/device/object (acted upon), and not only to the communicated content and means (see Silverstone, 1994).

Producing 'thick' descriptions of speech acts

Our argument this far has already signalled that the lack of clear distinctions between groups found, in e.g. surveys, are not necessarily due to empirical realities but to the fact that the categories employed are too grave. The two cases also illustrate the advantage of the interview to the survey. Whereas the survey methodology is too context insensitive to grasp the variations in situatedness of the responses, the interview offers the thicker descriptions of speech acts that are necessary in order to perform an analysis of context specific meaning.

Discussions of speech acts – discursivity – tend to generate a division between 'saying' and 'doing'/what is said and unsaid. It is not uncommon for researchers to argue that one cannot base academic judgements only on what people say (or say on only one occasion) one must also perform observations as people can 'lie' or be 'unreflected' about the 'real' state of their affairs. Triangulation of methods is sometimes legitimated on such an account, for example the idea that variability in different descriptions and from several sources should be collected to enable the researcher a judgement of the correct version of happenings (Denzin, 1989; Potter and Wetherell, 1987:63). However, if one accepts the perspective that all descriptions and statements of something are versions of what they describe (moulded in the language-game of the situation something is articulated from) the reason to triangulate changes. Triangulation would then be used in order to produce many different versions and to ask why they differ. However, this objective does not necessarily mean that one need a lot of cases and informants or that one must produce data of different types (i.e. quantitative, interviews, observation). We claim that interviews can, if conducted and analyzed in a sensitive way, obtain this objective (Helle-Valle, 2007b). Unstructured dialogical interviews can have more in common with what one sometimes calls observation data, than questionnaires, as they bring the situational and contextual 'doings' (that which is not 'saying') that 'saying' is a part of, to the fore. The interview, in consequence, can offer richer data on discursive and non-discursive practices, compared to questionnaires. This again illustrates why employment of a strict division between 'saying' and 'doing' (linguistic and non-linguistic) is problematic, precisely because it disguises the fact that saying is practice (cf. our first two claims; that identity is discursive and should be treated discursively, in terms of how it derives its meaning in a specific language-game). Hence, the concrete and practical methodological point is that the 'thicker' and more dialogical the interview, the more information does the interview provide for the researcher in terms of enabling him/her to grasp meaning and locate it analytically in specific language-games (cf. Geertz, 1993).

In order to get a grip on and investigate meanings, we need to orient our study to the language-games specific statements are part of. Several aspects

are important. We will accentuate two. The first is the situational context that could be relevant such as time, place, persons in the situation and structural interactional aspects – e.g. interrelations between the family members in the ‘home’ at the time the interview took place. The other is the thematic context, the verbally and nonverbally constituted interpretative frames to a particular statement, i.e. the identity-related questions the conversation brings out; ‘immigrant’, ‘diaspora’, ‘parental’, ‘middle-class’ (Storm-Mathisen, 2007).

To investigate this we need data that are rich on information about the relevant context, the situation and theme the statement was part of. Questionnaires are poor on context in this respect, ethnographic data rich. Interviews however can be conducted in ways to produce data that are rich on context in a way that enable context sensitive investigations of statements both in terms of situation and theme and the relevance of overlapping between these two. One way of producing this is to purposely make shifts in the communicative framework during the interview so that the context-specificity of the narratives becomes evident (case 1 above is one example of this – see also Helle-Valle and Slettemeås, 2008). Dialogic interviews can thus provide valuable information about what kind of discourses that subjects engage in, their positions in them, and in what ways such discourses are deemed relevant to their identity-work. Interviews are however, still weak on how such identity-management is related to non-discursive practices. For such data ethnographic fieldwork is crucial.

Conclusions

Based on a Wittgensteinian perspective, and using two cases from a SIFO study that explored aspects of media consumption in Norwegian households through interviews and observations, we have discussed methodological issues related to identity. Our position is that on the one hand ‘identity’ should be understood as discourse – and for two reasons: our major source of data is linguistic and we believe that to use linguistic sources to conclude about how people ‘really’ are is invalid. On the other hand, we believe that too much research has been inadequately reflexive about the nature of language use. We have evoked Wittgenstein to emphasise the philosophical point about how meaning is always a practice that is part of a wider social setting. As such we will call our position a radical form of practice-perspective (Helle-Valle, 2008).

This implies that a proper methodological discussion must include epistemological issues; how we relate to methodology depends on research ontology. One important point is that in doing discursive analyses we need to move away beyond the issue of data reliability: although statements’ truth-value in some instances might be relevant and important to ascertain the fundamental point is that discourse-analysis normally brackets the truth-value of statements and look at how statements are positioned, meaningful practices that need to be seen in the wider communicative contexts they are part of. We differ, however, from much discourse analysis by insisting that the meaning of a statement cannot be

taken to have relevance outside the immediate context of its enactment. The extent, or width, of a statement's relevance is an open question, one that has to be established by empirical investigation.

In short, the purely methodological consequence of this is that surveys should be treated with caution in relation to questions about identity because such data are especially poor on context. Interviews can be much richer on context by engaging in actual dialogues with the interviewees. Moreover, interviews do in fact often contain much non-linguistic information that an attentive researcher can make use of. Thus, as long as we do not conduct ethnographic fieldwork – involving participant observation – we must on the one hand be weary about how we use our (linguistic) data, i.e. what analytical conclusions we draw from our data, but on the other hand interviews can potentially deliver a great deal of non-linguistic data to the researcher who looks for it.

From this position we make two related analytical points about identity and ICT-use. First that identity-work will vary with the various ways ICTs are positioned and used (the language-games they are parts of). Thus, the same person might well display radically different identities with the same ICT but in different settings. Secondly, due to the intra-individual variability in identity-work, and because we emphasise practice, it follows that statements about groups of people have limited value. For us this means that although we acknowledge the value that lies in studying ethnic groups we argue that in many instances it is of more value to focus on the diasporic situation people find themselves in rather than at ethnic origin. The latter easily entails an essentialised, context-insensitive approach while the focus on diaspora will on the contrary focus on contextual, practical aspects of people's lives.

Notes

1. We wish to thank the editors and our colleague Dag Slettebakk for fruitful comments.
2. This conception is an alternative to the former and is associated with Nietzsche and Hegel's view on identity as "a resource for and outcome of human interaction" (Williams, 2000:30).
3. Hall relates the decentering of the subject and the relation between the individual and society to five sources of influence: Marxism, Freud and Lacan's thoughts on the unconscious, Saussure's idea of the social state of language, Foucaultian thinking on disciplinary power and the political subjectivity of feminism.
4. For instance, in 2004 a survey (TNS Gallup 2005) mapped variations in media use between ethnic Norwegians, non-Western and Western immigrants. Non-Western immigrants report to watch more commercial TV, listen more to commercial radio, and to read less newspapers than Western immigrants and Norwegians. Western immigrants report to be more technology-adaptive in the sense that they to a higher degree than non-Westerners have access to Internet and have their TVs connected to cable and/or satellite. The media use of Western immigrants is in general more similar to ethnic Norwegians compared to non-Western immigrant. But from the point of view of this chapter a striking trait was the relatively small differences that were found among the categories in the survey.

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Migration – Transnational Media and Diasporic Life in Switzerland

Heinz Moser & Thomas Hermann

Switzerland is a country with a long-lasting migrant tradition. At the end of the 19th century a lot of Italian workers were engaged in the building of railway tunnels like the famous Gotthard tunnel. During the sixties and seventies of the 20th century the Swiss economy needed a great amount of ‘guestworkers’ (from Italy, Spain, the former Yugoslavia). They were called ‘Saisonniers’ and were employed during nine months in Switzerland; for the rest of the year they had to return to their country of origin. With the closer relationships of our country to the European Union (EU) the free exchange of people became a political priority – and the ‘Saisonnier Statut’ for European Union citizens was abolished in 2003.

Step by step political strategies have changed over the last decades: At the beginning there was a strict distinction between the ‘saisonniers’, i.e. temporal workers, which were seen as deeply rooted in their homelands, and immigrants who were considered a privileged minority of the permanent ‘guestworkers’. This minority was expected to assimilate fully to the Swiss lifestyle and become ‘real’ Swiss citizens. But it was not only a change in the migration strategies – the main groups of the immigrants have changed as well. The amount of Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese decreased in favour of people from Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey – countries, which are geographically further away from Switzerland. Important is not only the geographical distance; almost more important is an increased cultural gap (religion, ‘traditional’ behavior etc.).

With respect to this, the political discourse in the German speaking countries accentuated the development of a kind of ‘parallel societies’ (Halm and Sauer, 2006:18-24) – autonomous districts of some cities like Berlin where closed Turkish communities are living – without any contact to the majority of the German population. This diasporic situation of a kind of modern exile in central Europe is outlined by Ayhan Kaya, who conducted research with Turkish Hip-Hop youths in Berlin-Kreuzberg. She illustrates the diasporic conditions of Kreuzberg 36¹ – a Turkish ethnic enclave of Westberlin: “Kreuzberg 36 resembles a kind of ‘Kleines Istanbul’ (Little Istanbul), which is surrounded by

the images, signs, rhythms, music, foods shops, banks, traditional cafés, and major political issues of Turkey: a Turkish diaspora” (Kaya, 2001:36).

But is the perception of a close diasporic community a true image of the migrant situation in Switzerland? The life conditions in cities such as Berlin are very special. In the Swiss cities, there are some districts with a high percentage of migrants – but in no way with a ghettoized population living in a kind of a ‘parallel society’. The character of the so-called ‘ghettoes’ like Kreuzberg has been challenged in the public discussion in Germany as well. The diasporic situation as exemplified by the Jewish ghettoes of the 19th century has rapidly changed in the last decades. Contrary to the unilateral opinion of the ‘media ghetto’ the media connect the migrants directly with both cultures – the Turkish culture of their homeland and the culture of the countries they are living in. Clifford states that there are not unilateral diasporas but ‘multilocal diasporic cultures’ (Clifford, 1994:304) – embedded in transnational connections to the homeland, the internationally scattered community of migrants, the population of the countries of residence. The means of the contemporary technologies – growing mobility and faster communication – facilitate living in transnational contexts: Internet, satellite TV, mobile phones, radio, videotapes, a mobile and flexible job market are the signs of a society, where migrants are the modern nomads of the 21st century. Fixed binary orientations and identities, which refer to categories like ‘here’ and ‘there’ are far too one-dimensional. This is true for Kreuzberg, too, where the ethnic surface masks a much more complex structure of different norms, behaviors and cultural orientations. This is the result of the studies of Hip-Hop youth in Kreuzberg, as Kaya mentions: “German-Turkish youngsters, like the other diasporic youths, tend to form a bricolage of culture and identities, while at the same time keeping to their ethnic and cultural ‘roots’. Thus diasporic identity should be mapped out within the coordinates of (global) and local (national-regional)” (Kaya, 2001:82). Globalization seems to be a non-linear, dialectic process in which global changes and local belonging are narrowly intertwined; they are not cultural polarities but combined and mutually implicating principles (Beck, 2002:17).

The outlined framework of transnational and multilocal migrant cultures will guide the more concrete and research-oriented part of this paper: From the view of a research project promoted by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2004-2006) we will focus in this paper on the following questions:

1. How important are the Turkish roots in the lives of the migrant youths – compared with global and local influences on their life conditions?
2. What is the function of media use in the migrant community; does it bond the migrants to their countries of origin or is it more related to the actual life in Switzerland?
3. What are the most important features in the lives of migrant youths – as they expressed in photographic self-documentaries?

Media use in migrant settings – a Swiss project

The project 'Media use and cultural background: Media in the everyday lives of children and their parents' was a joint venture of the Zurich University of Teacher Education (PHZH) and the 'Institut für Publizistikwissenschaft und Medienforschung' (IPMZ) of the University of Zurich. It was the intention of both institutions to study the impact of modern media and new communication technologies (ICT) on the socialisation of children and youths – an issue which was new and as yet unquestioned in Switzerland. The project was investigating the relationship between ethnic characteristics (besides other socio-demographic influences) and the function and role that media and ICT play in identity-formation processes for youths living in a multicultural setting. It approaches the issue of 'media, migration and youth' from an interdisciplinary perspective and is divided into two closely linked studies consisting of:

(a) *The quantitative study of the IPMZ* investigates media use of both 'old' and 'new' media, cultural identity and attitude toward other cultures among immigrant youths by comparing them with a similar sample of Swiss youths (whose father and mother were both born and raised in Switzerland). 88 classes with a high rate (>25%) of children with immigrant background were visited during summer 2004. The sample of 1486 pupils composed of 49% female and 51% male pupils and is also well balanced regarding age. About a third of the students are indigenous Swiss, two thirds are students with immigrant background (Bucher/Bonfadelli, 2007).

(b) *The qualitative study of the PHZH* follows different strategies of ethnographic fieldwork. One part of the study consisted of qualitative interviews with members of a Turkish community about the functions the media fulfil for them. The methodological approach was mainly adapted from research in the field of cultural studies and in ethnography. Specially, qualitative interviews will offer better insights into the relation between media and cultural identity, thereby differentiating the results obtained with the quantitative investigation.

While parents were questioned in interviews about their media habits within the family, their children provided information both in interviews as well as by means of researcher- and participant-generated visual data. Eight families of Turkish or Kurdish-Turkish background with a total of 15 youths (10 girls, 5 boys), between the age of 12 and 18 participated in this study.

In this article we will concentrate mainly on the contribution of the qualitative study, in which the authors of this paper were engaged. The qualitative study was embedded in an approach using concepts and methods offered by Cultural Studies. In this tradition, culture is understood as a process of communication in which historically given mutual meanings interact with meanings established by individuals and/or groups, therefore creating new mutual meaning-frames (cf. Winter, 2001:348). Within this theoretical framework we investigated the media

use of eight Turkish families conducting a long-term ethnographic study of one and half year. During this period we regularly visited the families, interviewed parents, children and their peers. Besides interviewing, visual data were produced both by the researchers (children's bedrooms, favourite objects in their bedrooms) and by the youths themselves. The latter were given a disposable camera and a task similar to the one Dannie Kjeldgaard has given to youths in Denmark and Greenland (Kjeldgaard, 2003). They were asked to document one week of their lives in Switzerland. Both sets of pictures were used to trigger narratives in conversations between researchers and youths (photo elicitation). Furthermore, the pictures produced by the youths were compared with those from their peers and analyzed hermeneutically.

While the following chapter focuses on the interviews conducted with the parents, the two final chapters report findings of the parts of our project in which visual data were collected and interpreted.

Media use of the interviewed migrant families

In the interviews with Turkish or Turkish-Kurdish parents we investigated main dimensions of the media use of our population. Comparing the data of the quantitative and the qualitative parts of our studies, there was very high congruence between them. In particular, we found in all parts of the project that migrants from Turkey are adapted to a media-society, which strongly influences their everyday behavior in Switzerland. Both the parents and their children are very proficient media users. The following points emphasize this: The eight families who participated in the qualitative study use a great number of different media and media contents. All families are well equipped with modern media technology which has found its way into households such as DVD-players, computers, cellular phones or digital cameras (photo and/or video). On the other hand, the families also own more traditional media such as TV, radio and tape recoders.

In the quantitative part of our project media access of Swiss and migrant pupils was surveyed with the help of a questionnaire completed by 1486 children in Swiss schools (Bucher and Bonfadelli, 2007:119ff):

Table 1 shows that media access is generally high in the whole population. Some characteristic differences are:

- Swiss families have better access to print products such as newspapers or magazines.
- On the other hand TV and video equipment are almost equally distributed – whereby satellite TV is much more popular in the migrant population.
- An important gap exists in the distribution of the Internet-access, where the difference between Swiss and Turkish children is higher than 40%.

On the other hand we compared the media equipment in children's bedrooms, where children with migration background are significantly better equipped with

Table 1. Media access at home (percent)

	Switzerland	With migration background	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Radio	77	68	74	66	63
Subsc. Newspaper	89	61	64	63	55
Subsc. Magazine	65	46	48	56	45
TV	99	85	99	99	97
Satellite TV	24	61	56	71	74
Video equipment	85	80	84	74	78
Hi-fi units	70	63	65	53	59
Computer	81	52	60	40	38
Internet	80	49	57	34	38
DVD	75	64	70	59	53
Playstation	52	40	43	34	34

(n = 1486)

electronic media. This result was supported by the quantitative study, where we noticed among families with migration background a shift of electronic media from the living rooms into the children's bedrooms. From the parents' point of view, the purchase of a computer is essential in order to keep up the educational and life goals of their children. Thus, Mrs. B. states: "I bought the computer for my daughter. She needed it for school and her job-seeking activities. Usually we decide together". Thus, it is not surprising that the place of the computer, which is so important for the future of the offspring, is located in the bedroom of the children. In this context it may be reasoned that the computer is highly valued in connection with educational goals because its purchase is something that can be influenced by the parents, while in other aspects of their children's school career, parental influence is limited due to restricted language competence or unfamiliarity with the local school system.

One of the most popular media technologies is the above-mentioned importance of satellite and cable TV for the migrant population. In the qualitative study the parents repeatedly mentioned that satellite- and cable-TV along with the private Turkish TV-stations, which emerged in the 1990-ies, have changed their media behaviour fundamentally. One of the fathers mentioned: "With the advent of the satellites, our media behavior has strongly changed – in favour of TV. This is the reason, why I don't read Turkish newspapers anymore".

Seven out of eight families in our sample have access to satellite dishes, which enables them to receive well over thirty Turkish or Kurdish programs. Most families consider this change similarly to Mr. E. who states: "A few years ago there were no satellite antenna, which forced us to view other foreign programs. With the recent technology, new Turkish programs emerged, so that naturally we mostly watch these programs. This change has occurred about four years ago." With 'foreign', Mr. E. obviously means non-Turkish programs. The parents' strong preferences for Turkish programs became evident when they answered a detailed questionnaire on their media use. 13 parents mentioned

that they watch Turkish programs daily whereas only 9 say that they watch German-spoken programs daily.

Media such as satellite TV, mobile phones, the Internet or Turkish newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, which are produced in Western Europe, offer informations about all important aspects of life in the homeland. It is possible to get news and informations concerning the Turkish political situation just as if you were living in Istanbul or Ankara. And our Turkish families maintain close relationships with relatives in Turkey, Switzerland, Europe or the United States. For that matter synchronous media as the telephone or the Internet play an important role. While the traditional letter is not frequently used as a means of communicating with 'home', the phone is mainly used to keep in touch with the relatives in Turkey, as Mrs. H. states: "With my relatives we keep in touch via telephone and we do that very often. Many of them are in Turkey. My mother cannot read or write. As the phone is a very fast means of communication we mainly use it."

Networking via media however is not restricted to the country of origin and the new home, but is extended to relatives who migrated to other countries. Thus, transnational communities are established, in which contact is maintained mainly via media. Mr. E. gives an example for such a transnational network: "We have an uncle in Germany, with whose children we keep regularly in touch. Another uncle lives in Turkey. We make more phone calls with the uncle in Germany. Usually I call them, whereas my brother and both daughters chat with them over the Internet. We visit our German uncle every year, while we travel to Turkey every other year if there is enough money". As this example shows, it is not unusual that family ties are embedded in an international network of more or less intense relationships. In his British study, Kevin Roberts refers to similar experiences of transnational relationships. As a consequence of the new medial access to Turkishness people feel better in the British society as well (Robins, 2004:128).

Orientation in space is – as we have seen – only one important factor of media use (homeland vs. country of residence); equally important is the factor of time or age (cf. Moser, 2007:190 ff.). If we compare parents with their children, we find that the parents watch Turkish TV much more frequently. The latter are more globally oriented or prefer German-language programs. If the children watch TV with their parents, they often choose Turkish programs – a pattern that changes if the children watch TV with their peers. This can be explained by the fact that in culturally mixed groups not all friends understand Turkish. As far as media content is concerned, TV-series, music programs and football are preferred. In one of the peer group interviews the youths gave the following answers when asked about their favourite programs:

H.: "Usually we watch programs on PRO7 such as 'O.C.' or 'Charmed' and so on"

C.: "Yes, or 'Desperate Housewives'"

H.: "Yes, precisely"

Interviewer: “What about MTV?”

H.: “Ah, of course”

R.: “And Viva”

D.: “Watching and listening, yes, Viva and MTV”

H.: “Exactly, yes.”

Summarizing the results of our study, at first glance the following binary scheme seems to represent the results exactly: The first generation of immigrants strongly refers to the cultural roots of their country of origin – a lost world, which provokes an intensive emotional engagement. On the other hand their children are more familiar with the German language and culture. As a second generation of immigrants they seek more to find a place in the country of residence.

For the parents it is true: the cultural heritage is much more lively than for their children. But it does not mean that they are living in a separated ghetto of Turkishness. The media give access to the country of residence as well – for example through cost-free newspapers and local radios. In an interview one father told: “In German I read *20 Minuten*, *Tagblatt* and *Blick*. These newspapers I read mostly at work during the breaks. The first two are cost-free. In my job I have to travel a lot as a co-driver. During this time I have the opportunity to read much and to listen to the radio”.

Alltogether, the rootedness in the country of origin alone is too restricted as a valuable category: As we have seen the basic identification refers more to a – globalized – kinsmanlike affiliation than to a fixed space. And parents are tossed back and forth – in a similar way as their offspring – as it is expressed by Mrs. G.:

I would like to live here. In Turkey I will come back as a tourist. Because I have become so used to living here for 24 years – and our children live here as well. We even asked ourselves, who we are: Swiss or Turks? The children also live in an empty space. Thus, we have become Swiss citizens. To be sure, Turkey is my homeland, and I would like to live there. But it is so difficult to go there forever. Our roots will be here.” And she proceeded: “Our son probably will try to live in Turkey. Because without such an experience his uncertainties will last.

This quote shows the dilemma of most of the interviewed families. Boundaries and affiliations are very complex matters and there are no simple answers in the sense of a binary decision between ‘here’ and ‘there’. Probably the parents are closer to their homeland and the heritage of the Turkish traditions; but all in all it means that they are subject to tensions even more than their children. This shows the deficiencies of an ideology of a ‘parallel society’: They are living in a permanent discrepancy between the different spaces of their belonging. In particular, the members of the second generation are living in a world consisting of culturally inconsistent elements. Constructing their identities they try to integrate these elements in a kind of a ‘hybrid’ identity, in a ‘bricolage’ of

contradictory cultural influences – which is not only a kind of insufficiency or deprivation. This bricolage is characterized as well by strong cultural resources and the richness of combining different worlds in a new creative way. As Homi Bhaba (1990:307) wrote, identity is never fixed once and for all and never coheres into an absolute form. The refusal of an originary essence leads to a process of negotiation between different locations, affiliations and belongings. In this sense the everyday life of migrant children should be mapped out in the next part of this article within the coordinates of global and local conditions of migrant living.

Patchwork identity in a glocalized society: photographic evidence

At one stage of the long-term study the children's bedrooms were photographed and discussed with the inhabitants. By focusing on the bedrooms as 'embodied spaces', bedrooms yield certain informations on concepts of femininity or masculinity; they contain objects that refer to the inhabitants past – or their future. Some rooms can be 'read' as transparent texts (i.e. giving away a lot of information about the youths who live in them), while others are more enigmatic. Finally, certain objects in the rooms have a Turkish or Kurdish-Turkish background, while others are products of a global (youth) culture (cf. Moser, Hanetseder and Hermann, 2007). By asking the youths to mention three favourite objects in their bedrooms, insights into the importance and the role that media play in the everyday lives of adolescents were gained. More than one third of the favourite objects pointed out to us were media (Table 2). It shows that the girls mentioned a wider variety of media important to them (ranging from books and cell phones to personal computers) than boys who seem to focus their attention on the various functions of multimedia personal computers.

Table 2. Media that were pointed out as favourite objects in bedrooms

Media	Girls (n=11)	Boys (n=5)
Computer with Internet access	4	4
Cellular phones	2	
CD-Player	2	
Playstation		1
Books	2	
Music-CDs	2	
Fan poster	1	
Media, percentage	40%	33%

In this part of our study, the photographs were used (a) in photo-elicitation interviews to trigger off a lively discussion with the youths and (b) in order to

visualize and categorize objects that are important to them.

Photographic self-documentaries: “a week in the life of . . .”

In a further part of the study, the youths were asked to photograph their everyday lives. The photographs were again used in photo-elicitation interviews, but in addition, they were analysed using the serial-iconographic method, which combines quantitative and qualitative analyses of pictures (Pilarczyk and Mietzner, 2005)². Our main interest was on visual representations of various factors of juvenile socialisation (family, peers, sports- or other clubs, school, and the media). Further on, we wanted to find out if the motifs chosen by the youths varied in terms of cultural orientation, i.e. whether they refer to aspects of the global or local (youth) culture or to the culture of origin.

The youths were asked to document their everyday lives by taking pictures, which they could send to their relatives in Turkey in order to show them how they live in Switzerland. This task is in agreement with most families' practice of exchanging photographs or movies among relatives. Ten girls and five boys were each given a disposable camera with 27 exposures. They produced an overall of 278 photographs. In an interview, the youths provided context information in order to understand better what is shown the pictures. Also, they were asked to select seven photographs that are most important to them.

In order to find out about the important age- or group-specific topics, the photographs were categorized according to their main motifs by the researchers (Table 3).

Table 3. Categorization of photos according to obvious motifs

Motifs	Total (n=15)	Girls (n=10)	Boys (n=5)
People	112	68 (39%)	44 (42%)
Objects	59	36 (21%)	23 (22%)
Public areas (mainly school yards)	47	24 (14%)	23 (22%)
Media objects	44	32 (18%)	12 (12%)
Buildings	4	2 (1%)	2 (2%)
Animals	5	5 (3%)	
Classrooms	7	7 (4%)	
Total Pictures	278	174	104

This rather quantitative evaluation of the photos that were produced by the children shows how the socializing factors such as peers, family, school, media and other social networks (such als football clubs) are represented in the documentaries:

- People constitute by far the largest group of motifs. Peers were photographed most frequently, followed by relatives, siblings and parents. This confirms the finding of the quantitative study in which 97% of the pupils state that ‘good friends’ are most important for a satisfactory life.

- The group entitled 'public area' mainly contains photos of schoolyards or outdoor scenes related to school activities (school outings). The importance of this dimension of life shows, that migrant youths value education and schooling as important realms of their everyday life.
- The category 'objects' contains anything from sports objects to fashion accessories such as ladies' handbags, cosmetics or food, flowers, cars etc.
- After giving context information on all photos, the youths were asked to choose the seven most important pictures of their series. It is not surprising that when counting the main motifs of these especially important pictures, the sequence of frequency remains the same as in Table 3, although the percentage of photos showing people increases as does the percentage of photos depicting media objects.

Special motifs

The data produced by the youths in our sample show little incidence of ethnic awareness except for the case of two children from Turkish-Kurdish refugees whose range of activities seems to be much more restricted than that of their peers. Also, their apartment shows evidence of their ethnic origin, as can be seen in photos showing posters of Turkish-Kurdish politicians or symbolic places. Varieties between the documentaries are mainly due to different age and gender: the 'world' of a 12-year-old boy looks different from that of a 15-year-old girl. Based on the above-mentioned basic categories to which photographs were attributed, a number of motifs emerged that seem particularly relevant to identity-formation processes were determined. Such motifs that give evidence of self-reflection or of career plans are discussed below. By comparing similar motifs from different documentaries, such repetitions become meaningful in the process of interpretation. They convey information about youths' momentary situation that was not captured by them intentionally. Such motifs are self-portraits, views from windows, certain pictures showing media, school and, for boys, objects related to football.

Photographs with self-portraits of youths

As a motif in art, self-portraits have always yielded highly meaningful information on the depicted person's view of him- or herself. The same applies for amateur photography: daily newspapers such as the cost-free *20 Minuten* for example are full of photographs showing teenage friends at parties. Of the 112 photographs showing people, 19 can be counted as self-portraits. Some cases show evidence of the youths' awareness of their body and their wish to form it according to their ideals, e.g. one boy is building his muscles because he thinks he is too slim to play football and one girl shows her hand that she has carefully manicured so that she is proud to show it (Figure 1)³:



Figure 1. Cagla (female): “My hand is very important. I had my nails done recently. Before, I always hid my hands under my pullover because I thought I had ugly hands. My body is built like my father’s and my hands are like his. After I had done my nails I stopped biting and hiding them. Now I can show my hands”.



Figure 2. Cagla (female): “Friends are most important in life. One of them also wants to do a language course, the other one as well, but she hasn’t planned it very much yet. Outside school we do not meet very often. We’ve known each other only for a year, and little by little we start to meet in our free time”.

Other photographs show scenes of friendship and important relationships (Figure 2):

Photographs showing views from windows

Another interesting motif that is quite frequently found in the self-documentaries is the view from the window. As a motif in literature and art, windows can represent the transition between the inner world (the persons’ self, represented by the room), from where she or he looks into an outer world. It expresses the wish to get in touch with other people and signals the person’s readiness to participate actively in the world. Furthermore views from windows can visualize the conflict between confinement and freedom (cf. Daemmrich, 1995:154f.). Analyzing photographs taken by young people, Pilarczyk and Mietzner (2005:221) associate the window motif to that of the mirror. Both are media for self-reflection, thus permitting views into ones inner lives.

The first example shows one of several views that Sevser took from different windows from her family’s apartment (Figure 3). Sevser, the eldest of three children, shares her bedroom with her brother and sister. She worked hard to get into a Gymnasium but failed. School is still important to her, but she has to change her career-plans. Apart from going to school, Sevser spends most of the time at home. However, she longs for independence. In this context, Sevser’s



Figure 3. Sevser (female): “This is the view from our apartment. I like to sit there and watch and think a little”.



Figure 4. Yücel (male): “There is this one-family house. I like it very much. It is right next to our house. I took the picture from Yesim’s room. I was wondering what it would look like when it was built. They built it within seven months. There is the father’s house and the son built his right next to his father’s. I would like to live in such a house one day. (What do you like about it?) It looks nice, maybe the colours. The pool is cool. They have two children”.

views from the windows can be interpreted as visualizing the young womans threshold situation: still sitting in the sheltered (yet constricted) family environment, her thoughts leave the familiar setting. Her comment on the picture (“This is the view from our apartment. I like to sit there and watch and think a little”) further illustrates her situation: sooner or later decisions will have to be taken that change the current stage of pondering and (self-)reflection.

Yücel who is about the same age (i.e. 15 years old) as Sevser and lives in a small town is catching a glance of the future he himself is dreaming of when is looking out of his sister’s room (Figure 4).

Photographs showing media

While some photos showing technical media convey a sense of pride (as in the case of a girl who took a picture of a ‘home cinema’ which she thinks is something her relatives in Turkey could not afford), other photographs capture media content and thus allow insights into the youths’ preferences and motivations of media use.

Surprisingly, the youths who took several meaningful pictures from their windows are identical with those who photographed a high number of media (Technical Devices, Books, DVDs and Screenshots). However, considering all other information collected on those youths (favourite objects, bedrooms, interviews, family situation) we can conclude, that to a certain extent, media



Figure 5. Yesim (female): “Here I wanted to take a picture of the TV. I like to watch TV in my free time, after the homework is done. (What programs do you watch?) Turkish and German ones, mainly German programs. I prefer romances or quiz shows like “Wer wird Millionär?” (“Who wants to be a millionaire?”) On this picture you can see Turkish series, but this is merely accidental, I never watch it”.



Figure 6. Sevinc (female): “I’ve always wanted to go and sing in such a big city. I would like to be a singer one day and then go to New York and make a clip there”. Nusret (Sevinc’s brother who photographs the same poster): “And this is a poster that hangs near the entrance. It’s Hong Kong. It is a nice picture. I would like to play football there one day.”

fulfill the same function as the window pictures, namely a view into an outer (or inner) world.

Watching TV for example is not only an act of recreation but also a way to test different fictional roles vicariously. Thus, Yesim, who like Sevser is on a threshold between childhood and adult life, likes to watch romances (Figure 5). Besides, media content is frequently discussed with peers. As one girl in our sample explained, it is important for her to follow certain programs in order to be able to discuss it with her friends.

Another example that illustrates how media can open views into other worlds is the poster of Hong Kong that hangs in the apartment of a family of Kurdish-Turkish refugees. Both children participating in our study took a picture of it, revealing that they associate great dreams with this skyline to which they have no personal relation (in fact, Sevinc associates the skyline with New York) (Figure 6).

Photographs related to school

The youths in our sample share a positive attitude towards school for several reasons. First it is a place where they meet good friends, which is documented by a number of pictures showing their mates either in the classroom or the schoolyard. Second, school offers a number of stimulating opportunities and activities. Special events such as school outings (environmental assignment,



Figure 7. Canfeda (male): “That was on a school outing in the forest. We are good friends. And with these sticks we grilled fish”.

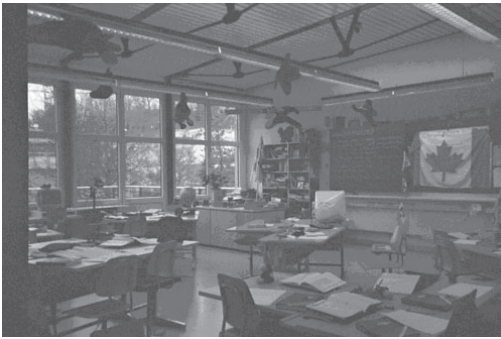


Figure 8. Seda (female): “This is the classroom. I spend a lot of time here and I like it. During the project week, our topic was Canada”.

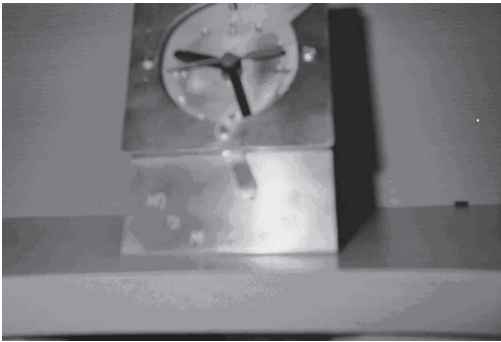


Figure 9. Yücel (male): “This is the most beautiful object I ever made myself. I like it a lot. It works. The cyphers are stamped and here you can turn on a light”.

excursions) are greatly appreciated (Figure 7):

Besides this outdoor scene, Canfeda took many pictures documenting his school life. Earlier on in the study, he mentioned his school bag as one of the three most important objects in his bedroom, because it “contains important things for school”, thus stressing his interest in school. His aspirations are quite high – he wishes to pass the exam for the Gymnasium.

Some children document their homework and one girl took a picture of a private tutor who helps her with her homework, while others point out the stimulating atmosphere of the classroom as a learning environment (Figure 8):

Last but not least, two pupils in our sample are particularly proud of the handicrafts they produced, which rounds off the wide range of activities that are offered at school and appreciated by the youths (Figure 9):

Photographs depicting football scenes and football paraphernalia

All male youths show an extremely high interest in football and all aspects related to it. This had already become evident when the bedrooms were photographed and the favourite objects were displayed. This shows how much boys identify with the world of football, with certain teams or stars. Besides, football in most cases seems to be an area with a high potential of identification with the country of origin (Figure 10). At the same time, football offers



Figure 10. Selcuk (male): “Hakan Sükür is my favourite player. He is a striker and so am I. And he is very strong with his head. He is not quite so young any more. But he is a very good role model. He is a calm person. His family and his religion are important to him.”

an opportunity for integration, as all youths play in local teams along with colleagues from Switzerland or other countries. In addition, from the point of view of the male youths in our sample, football is a highly prestigious career opportunity.

Discussion

As we have seen, one of the most challenging problems of modernity is the question whether we as nomads of the information societies have lost our own roots. The case of migration is one of the best examples in which such social changes may be studied. The notion of a territory where people of the same origin are common members of a national community is a product of the ‘enlightenment’ in the 18th century. As Jürgen Habermas shows, the political sphere has grown from the private sphere of individual discussions into the sphere of the ‘public welfare’: “The ‘town’ was the life center of civil society not only economically; in cultural-political contrast to the court, it designates especially an early public sphere in the world of letters whose institutions were the coffee houses, the salons, and the Tischgesellschaften (table societies)” (Habermas, 1989:30).

From these beginnings a political space – related to the identity of a national political community – developed: “A public sphere that functions in the political realm arose first in Great Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century. Forces endeavoring to influence the decisions of state authority appealed to the critical public in order to legitimate demands before this new forum. In connection with this practice, the assembly of estates became transformed in a modern parliament – a process that was, of course, drawn out over the entire century” (Habermas, 1989:57).

At the end of the 20th century the political territory has lost its coherence. In the time of globalization, the structuring dimensions of the ‘world order’ are rather the global ‘spheres’ of influences (Appadurai, 1996) than fixed territorial spaces. For Appadurai it is an urgent need to focus on the cultural dynamics of deterritorialization. He mentions that this term applies not only to obvious examples such as transnational companies and money markets but also to ethnic groups and political formations, which increasingly operate in ways that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities (Appadurai, 1996:48).

On the other side the position of mankind in the 21th century is not a pure alienation from all fixed spaces (Human relations, traditions and norms) one belonged to in the past. As the example of the nomadic migrants show, the global is generally embedded in the local life conditions. As Savage et al. (2005:12) point out, residential places continue to matter since people feel some sense of ‘being at home’ in an increasingly turbulent world.

Our study emphasizes such a complicated structure of different belongings: Where the first generation of migrants feels deeper rooted in their country of origin, the second generation is closer connected to the country of residence. As can be noticed in the photographs of the children the peers and the public area of schools are the most important motifs they are referring to.

On the other side the relationship to Turkish relatives are important too. However, the Turkish or Kurdish/Turkish family is not a homogenous kind of an imagined community; it is a scattered community which is subject to different and contradictory influences. Thus, the parents – and sometimes their offspring as well – are tossed back and forth. If the families travel back to their homeland for holidays, they feel as disrooted and ‘different’ as in Switzerland. And Turkish television evokes similar ambiguities: On one hand the direct view on their homeland seems appealing and attractive. At the same time it offers insights into the negative developments of their country of origin. In this perspective media messages are fundamentally ambivalent – they do not foster the ideology of a parallel society.

Another important finding is concerning the relationship to globalization. Identity means, ‘that one is, where one lives’ – to quote one of the youths in our sample. In this respect, migrants are not an example of a purely globalized life-style. It is more the model of ‘glocalization’ – connecting hybrid schemes of global influences with the specific life condition of a specific community. Global dreams are visualized in the photodocumentaries, e.g. in Nusret's and Sevins poster showing part of the skyline of Hongkong. While Nusret associ-

ates this poster with his dream to play football in a big city, his younger sister tells us with regard to the same poster that she wants to become a popstar in New York. And if Selcuk identifies himself with Hakan Sükür it is a tribute to a Turkish football player who was successful on an international level. Such dreams and aspirations demonstrate an attitude of a certain independence from the binary scheme of 'here' and 'there'. In this respect transnational communities are rather a means of stabilizing relationships which are rooted in a common heritage, but which are at the same time scattered all over world. Our migrant families who own Swiss passports sometimes feel closer to their relatives in London or Australia than to their Swiss neighbours. These worldwide communities of relatives are in some aspects virtual but at the same time very real, because they are rooted in a common cultural heritage – and enriched by the local living conditions. It is the perspective of a modern life as it is described by Ayhan Kaya: "Modern diaspora identities are those that are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. They are not defined by essence or purity, but the recognition of heterogeneity, diversity, multiplicity and syncreticism" (Kaya, 2001:213).

Notes

1. '36' refers to the former postal code of this Kreuzberg district.
2. The serial-iconographic method put forward by Pilarczyk and Mietzner consists of a set of approaches towards both larger sets of photographs (serial analysis) as well as to individual pictures (iconographic-iconological analysis, adopted from the art historian Erwin Panofsky). Basically the method starts out with recording descriptive information and then moves on to interpret the photographs by including all sorts of contextual information gathered from the informants as well as comparative information gained by comparing similar photographs produced by different youths.
3. Photographs are reproduced with permission of the youths. All names have been changed.

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Research Methods Used in Studying Media Consumption and Children in a Diaspora

A Case of Japanese Families in London

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The present chapter will discuss research methods used in studying ethnic minorities and the media in relation to identities. It is based on my PhD study¹ on media consumption in Japanese families in London (Kondo, 2005)². The Japanese families under study were sent abroad by their companies and lived temporarily in a host country. These families are called '*chuzai-in*' [expatriates]. Affluent middle-class Japanese businessmen's families were studied in relation to their children's (aged 5-8) media consumption and everyday life in London. The study aimed to examine how children develop identities through media consumption, and how and why their mothers chose particular media for their children, considering the goals of childrearing. It used an ethnographic approach: 11 families were visited every two months over a year, interviews took place with mothers and children, and participant observation was also carried out. Based on this ethnographic study, the following issues will be discussed along with my actual experiences and in consideration of similar previous studies: 1) the researcher's status in the field and gaining access to this field in diaspora, 2) studying an ethnic minority, 3) life-course analysis in mothers' talk with an example from the findings, and 4) studying children and the media.

Background

My study of the Japanese overseas community in London provides an example of children in a diaspora and their media consumption. The term 'diaspora' has been developed along its cultural flows (cf. Appadurai, 1990) and has led to the issue of 'identity' (cf. Brah, 1996; Hall, 1990). Avtar Brah, for example, in his definition of the term argues in relation to the original meanings of diaspora, a word of Greek origin, 'Diasporas are clearly not the same as casual travel. Nor do they normatively refer to temporary sojourns. Paradoxically, diasporic journeys are essentially about settling down, about putting roots 'elsewhere' (Brah, 1996:182). Harumi Befu has developed the definition to apply to the term 'globalization', which signifies a simultaneous extension and expansion

in all directions by expanding Japan's interests all over the world in a network (Katzenstein and Shiraishi, 1997 in Befu 2001:3). The Japanese families in the present study are part of this expansion of Japanese companies. The term 'identity' appears ambiguous on examination. In relation to children, for example, Allison James suggested analysing identity as a phenomenon that allows minors to mark out their 'sense of similarity to and difference from other people' (1993:29). She also pointed out how children's identities are developed in order that they may become members of society (Musgrave, 1987:1 in James, 1993:75), and argued, 'This firmly locates the problem of children's identities as a temporal and structural phenomenon, through catering on the process by which 'the social' and the 'individual' come to mesh together' (James, 1993:75). Thus, the present study has examined how Japanese children develop their identities in complex environments such as in a diaspora, where they can experience collective cultures from London (schools) and Japan (home and the community).

On the macro level, global cultural flows in a diaspora can be examined by applying Arjun Appadurai's five dimensions (1990). He analyses the complexity of the current global economy, which relates to certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics by conceptualizing the five dimensions of global cultural flow as a) ethnoscaples, b) mediascapes, c) technoscapes, d) financiescapes, and e) ideoscapes (1990:296). In the present study, 'ethnoscapes' in Appadurai's context can relate to the movement of Japanese expatriate families, including mothers and children, due to global expansion of Japanese companies (Befu, 2001:3). Mediascapes can be seen the flows of Japanese and non-Japanese media, including global and local media which are available to them in London. Technoscapes can be observed in Japanese families' domestic homes as well as the contemporary media environment (e.g. satellite TV, the Internet, and the Japanese media giants such as Nintendo or Sony). Financiescapes can be key to studying this particular group in the community who are middle-class expatriates and dominate the community due to their financial power (e.g. paying extra³ to receive Japanese services in London such as private clinics, Japanese satellite TV, Japanese newspapers, shops, property agencies, or travel agencies). And finally, ideoscapes can be provided by the parents, especially mothers, the community and peers and through the media contents that they consume.

Examining individual everyday lives and individual's media consumption on the micro level enables an exposition and elaboration of individual identities. In order to examine a particular ethnic group's everyday lives in relation to their media consumption, 'lifestyle' has become a key concept and heuristic tool. Anthony Giddens, for example, points out that:

Overall, lifestyle patterns, of course, are less diverse than the plurality of choices available in day-to-day and even in longer-term strategic decisions. A lifestyle involves a cluster of habits and orientations, and hence has a certain unity-important to a continuing sense of ontological security- that connects options in a more or less ordered pattern (1991:82).

Applying this concept to this case of Japanese families in London, the lifestyles of the families were examined, especially in relation to the mothers' media consumption for their children. The mothers chose particular media contents and related toys in consideration of their children's future. For example, the mothers in the present study encouraged their sons to play with a particular toy that has popular characters from a Japanese cartoon, which led their sons to play with Japanese peers in the community. The mothers felt that their sons needed to become socialised with their Japanese peers, considering their future in Japan. Consequently, in line with James' argument above, children develop identities by experiencing collective cultures (1993). My PhD study (Kondo, 2005) demonstrates their process of developing identities in a complex environment by understand how and why expatriate Japanese children in London choose particular media and related toys.

1. The researcher: the ethnographic research field and gaining access to the field

In order to study media consumption as a part of lifestyles in a diaspora, a micro level of analysis is required. Nina Huntemann and Michael Morgan, for example, assumed that ethnographic methods, '...such as one-to-one interviews and participant observation, can provide thick descriptions of daily life, allowing for the messy and complex connections between identity and culture' (2001:316). In my study, ethnographic methods with interviews and participant observation were used to find out *why* and *how* people consume and use particular media. Eleven Japanese families with children aged five to eight were visited every two months over a year (in total six visits). The children aged five to eight were in focus, but their siblings, who had a great impact on them in choosing favourite toys and media contents, were also interviewed and observed. Ethnography has been used in studies on children (cf. Pang, 2000; Minami, 2000). As discussed above, people's choices, lifestyles, and values are fragmented and variable in today's society (Giddens, 1991). Hence, especially when looking at individual Japanese children and the media, ethnography seemed the most appropriate method for understanding these children in the overseas community and media consumption in their everyday lives: TV, games, toys, friends, family, school, lessons, and so on. Their identities cannot be built up at once and by only one element. An in-depth and longitudinal investigation was required⁴.

Observation of everyday life is often linked to the background of researchers. David and Barbara Shwalb, for example, conducted their ethnographic research on Japanese childrearing. They observed the children and their activities in pre-schools (Shwalb and Shwalb, 1996). They argued that it is difficult for foreign researchers to study small numbers of families and easier for them to examine institutions:

...in a preschool, the systems of chores, fixed small groups, rotating student leadership, and the like are carefully nurtured over many months, and could

hardly be marshaled just for the visit of a foreign researcher... In contrast, the cultures created by families are likely to be inaccessible to outsiders (except through long, intimate acquaintance) and can be quite idiosyncratic (Shwalb and Shwalb, 1996:132).

Flexibility in ethnography (Bryman, 2000:20) is seen above. Here, there is a crucial assumption that Japanese families might not accept foreign researchers in their private spheres. Although the Shwalbs emphasised the importance of a community in which children can learn socialization directly from an institution (schools), it appeared to be difficult for foreign researchers to gain access to Japanese families. Using flexibility in ethnography, the Shwalbs could collect data from their observation in preschools everyday and find different aspects of Japanese education compared to the West.

In contrast, if a researcher is too close to informants, she/he can encounter another problem. Takahashi Toshie, for example, has attempted to conduct ethnographic research at a prestigious Catholic kindergarten (2003). She was caught in the dilemma of her status as a mother and researcher, 'Of course, I want these relationships to remain amicable throughout this time so was wary of doing anything that might threaten either relationships between myself and the other mothers or between my children and their peers' (ibid:129). Comparing her to the study by Joy Hendry (1986), Takahashi pointed out that Hendry as a foreign researcher at a Japanese kindergarten seemed to have achieved a more workable and comfortable position than her case *as* a Japanese mother (2003). In my study, I also attempted to gain access to the Japanese school and two kindergartens in London. These institutions, however, told me that they would not appreciate a researcher working in their school or kindergartens, with the exception of people from the Ministry of Education in Japan. They seemed to have a tremendous fear that they might be investigated and criticized by Japanese academic researchers from outside. Conversely, they might have accepted non-Japanese researchers. Thus, depending on the researcher's statuses in the field, obtaining data can be different or limited.

I gave up on my attempts to gain access to the Japanese school and kindergartens in London and focused on domestic spheres. Although I could not get inside, it was possible for me to go to their schools or kindergartens if I accompanied the mothers when they picked their children up. Two English private schools, an English state school, and a Japanese kindergarten were visited. I was at least able to how these Japanese mothers communicated with other mothers (both Japanese and local mothers). One kindergarten gave me permission to participate only in their summer festival in July 2001 and 2002, where they also distributed their brochures containing basic information about the educational policy, history, curriculum and tuition fee lists. In the festival, I was able to see the Japanese video rental shop that sold their old tapes (various kinds of TV programmes from Japan, and probably run illegally without paying the copyrights, as the programmes were recorded on a home VCR). At the same time, I observed how the mothers helped each other for this festival, and

how the kindergarten tried to teach children about the Japanese culture (e.g. traditional festival dancing, or typical food or games in festivals in Japan).

The Internet is one of the most powerful media for gathering data as well as secondary sources. The Japanese school has its own homepage, where they introduce general information as well as students' lives in the school and their essays (The Japanese School London, 2003). Moreover, there are some websites for returnees and people who are about to go abroad as expatriates (cf. ISEC, 2001). These secondary materials were also analysed by combining them with my informants' interviews. Through such experiences, I discovered how important it is to find alternative methods in order to acquire all possible data, and that a researcher should be flexible and try to maximise opportunities in limited conditions.

In the fieldwork of visiting the Japanese families in London, I have managed to recruit 11 families through gatekeepers who know people in the community. The first gatekeeper was the head of the Japanese satellite TV (run by NHK) in the City of London, who I had visited several times for my MA dissertation on Japanese mothers' uses of media for children aged 3-6 in London (Kondo, 2001). He had a broad and strong network amongst Japanese companies in the City of London through his business and golf activities (Ben-Ari, 1998); he contacted husbands first and explained my study. The husbands told their wives about my study. Thus, when I phoned the wives, they had already given me their consent. The wives might have been careful not to disturb their husbands' amicable network in the City of London, as I mentioned the name of the gatekeeper. Another gatekeeper was introduced through my private network, this time a man organises a Japanese rugby team in London. Two mothers who participated in the MA dissertation research also introduced me to more families through their children's schools. In the process of gaining access to the field, especially in a diaspora and domestic sphere, I found that gatekeepers who have large networks and were trusted by the members of the community became crucial in framing my fieldwork. In addition, word-of-mouth communication amongst mothers was also influential in helping me get to know more people (e.g. people were more convinced by explanations from their friends than by fliers distributed by a researcher in front of the schools). These kinds of contacts gave other Japanese mothers a sense of 'security' because they heard about who I am in a casual manner.

Unlike Shwalbs' study (1996) above, where foreign researchers were not welcomed in Japanese families' homes in Japan, I was easily accepted by the Japanese families in London. This was probably not only owing to the gatekeepers' help, but also because I am Japanese and of the same generation as the mothers, living in London, and did not have a overly close relationship with the mothers, which could have caused political problems in the school, like those Takahashi (2001) experienced. If a researcher were non-Japanese and male (especially older or younger than the mothers), it would have been very difficult to be accepted by the Japanese mothers in London and also to be able to establish trust between the researcher and the participants in terms of

obtaining their honest opinions. My regular visits to their homes led to development of a relatively close relationship between myself and the children. The more I visited them, the more the mothers became comfortable and opened up. During the first visit, except for the mothers who had already participated in my MA dissertation, the atmosphere was formal, but soon, they understood my study and revealed their everyday lives. Eventually I was able to gain their trust by visiting them in a relaxed mood at their homes every two months over a year. Consequently, the mothers expressed their honest feelings and ideas. As for the children, although they were informed by their mothers that I was studying their favourite toys and TV programmes, they were upset when I told them 'this is the last visit', because my status as a researcher became blurred with my status as a friend, owing to my many visits.

This blurring of my status could have become an ethical issue. The problem was discovered in the last visit. From an ethical perspective, while I have carried out this study over a year following the British Social Research Association's codes, I felt I might have hurt my young participants by saying 'this is the last visit'. Every two months over a year, I have asked them about their favourite programmes, TV characters, toys, and friends. The closer my relationship with these children grew, the more ambiguous my status became, even though they knew that I was studying their toys and TV programmes. In this particular situation, as a researcher, I did not realise their traumatic feelings about parting from friends or acquaintances until I greeted them and saw their eyes in tears, asking me 'aren't you coming to our house any more?' One eight-year-old girl who had also taken nearly a year to get used to her local school friends did not say good-bye to me after I said 'this is the last visit'. She went up to her room and closed the door. In this way, I had experienced another dilemma associated with a researcher's roles in fieldwork with children, which is similar to what Robin Lynn Leavitt experienced in her fieldwork in a day-care centre, 'I put Clarke down, and he began to cry vehemently again, despite my efforts to comfort him...I left feeling wholly unsatisfied and guilty' (1998:65). Clearly, I felt guilty even though I was able to complete my data collection. The children, as well as their parents, had constantly shown their anxieties for their future and sad faces when their Japanese friends left London for Japan or other countries. As is the nature of expatriates, they stay in a host country for several years (generally 3-5 years). They often had farewell parties for their Japanese friends in their everyday life. Parting from friends becomes their trauma. My ethnographic method might have harmed their sensitive feelings; they had been open and honest with me during the study. Unintentionally, I might have given them an 'incalculable risk' (Giddens, 1991) in relation to their ontological security. In other words, my regular visiting had become 'safe' or 'calculable' for the children, and my disappearance may have been constructed as an 'incalculable risk' for them.

Unlike the case of Takahashi (2003), I did not design my fieldwork at only one institution (for example a school), but instead chose an overseas community; the Japanese families often referred to themselves as a community.

Compared to Takahashi's status amongst other mothers, I achieved a workable and comfortable position in London. Homes in the community can be related to the macro-level debate in the community. That is, the micro-level of debates within families integrates with contemporary macro-level debates about the nation, community and cultural identities (Morley, 2000:4). In this sense, my study on Japanese children's media experiences was carried out mainly in their homes, which are assumed to be a micro social unit and a micro Japanese community as a family and to lead to the macro level of debate. For example, although the families I visited were affluent middle-class expatriates, they often showed their anxieties for their children's future; they did not know exactly when they would return to Japan or exactly which cities in the world they would be displaced to after London. In fact, half of them had already lived in other cities such as Sydney, Frankfurt, Paris, New York, or Amsterdam. That is, the families had their own history and values, which were important when examining the consumption of media in the homes of an ethnic minority of a certain social class.

In short, it is inevitable for researchers to gain access to the field in studying a diaspora. Simultaneously, it is essential that the researcher him-/herself be in the field. In the field, especially in the ethnographical research, the relationship with between a researcher and participants requires trust so that the participants will allow the researcher to gather in-depth data. The issue of blurring the researcher's status and of young children who have traumatic experiences when ethnographic research is completed needs to be considered in further research.

2. Studying ethnic minorities and identities

As discussed above, the home is a micro social unit that can be expanded to debates on the macro level, and lifestyle is key to examining an individual's identities. From this view, studies such as those on Turkish (cf. Aksoy and Robins, 2001) and Indian communities (cf. Gillespie, 1995) have failed to use the important analytical tool of 'financescapes' (Appadurai, 1996). 'Ethnoscapes' may be similar, but 'financescapes' are different depending on the individual ethnic minority. That is, within ethnic communities, there are socio-economic differences or class differences. They are almost always not homogeneous with respect to social class. Avtar Brah pointed out these differences:

Yet, as we have already noted, there are some significant differences in the upper-, middle- and working-class cultures of Britain, with each further differentiated according to region and gender. Similarly, 'Asian cultures' are differentiated according to class, caste, region, religion and gender. (1996:41)

In the process of looking at people's lifestyles, consumption is a key to revealing individual values and identities, which include social and cultural aspects that are based on class and are intricately linked with socio-economic condi-

tions. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose work on cultural consumption has had a great impact on socio-cultural sciences and concepts of identity, has analysed cultural consumption, using his different definitions of social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital (1979). These three forms of capital are related to the individual's taste, which is seen by Bourdieu as an articulation of the individual's social class. Bourdieu pointed out that exhibiting material or symbolic goods, which are not urgent or necessary, becomes 'life style' (1979:55). Applying the theory of Bourdieu, John Clammer argued in relation to Japan that, 'Shopping is the buying of identity...Consumption can be a vehicle for the achievement of higher level identities than merely individual lifestyles' (1997:68, 96). In Japanese society, class-consciousness appears to be very low, but the society itself is highly competitive and hierarchical (ibid:4). Thus, the relation between one's socio-economic status and consumption is significant in everyday life.

This can be also applied if we examine ethnic groups in a host country. An ethnic group is not homogeneous. An individual has a social background. For example, in my talks with Japanese expatriate wives, they often differentiated themselves from Japanese families who are not expatriate. The expatriate wives showed their consciousness of being 'middle-class', differentiating themselves from people from lower classes, including Japanese woman who had working-class husbands. There were not so many occasions for them to share the same space with people from different social backgrounds such as at schools or lessons. One mother, for example, described Japanese women who married British working-class men as follows: *'they are hiding from us'*. Conversely, another mother who was married to an English man from the working class described the expatriate wives at a Japanese kindergarten⁵. *'Most of the Japanese wives carry 'brand' [designers'] bags [i.e. Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Prada, Burberry, etc.]... Once one carries a new one, then all have the same one... They truly have the same things'*. Even though Japanese expatriates and non-expatriate Japanese may be able to share the same kindergarten, she clearly showed differences in consumption patterns, as Clammer pointed out above (1997). Certain brands symbolise the groups to which individuals belong. There is thus evidence of different sub-groups within the same ethnic community.

Mothers' consumption patterns are significant when examining young children's identities, because they can be linked to the latter's developing values. This is because children aged five to eight, especially in the U.K., are still heavily dependent on parents' choices, and are not independent from them financially. Children, for example, play with peers under their guardians' care (parents/baby-sitters).⁶ Social rituals in a host country have an impact on their lifestyles. Consequently, children from expatriate families tend to play with the children of their mothers' sub-group members, who are also expatriates. Most of the mothers who participated in the present study said that the Japanese community in London is 'safe' for their children, which leads to their 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991). They know each other (which company), and have very similar lifestyles as expatriates. Affluent families can afford to buy

security such as housing (middle-class 'decent' areas in London), and Japanese expatriates tend to live close to each other.

Thus, when an ethnic minority group is studied in relation to identities, socio-economic status in a host country is important, as discussed and shown above. Even within an ethnic community, which can appear to be homogeneous to outsiders, there are different sub-groups who have different reasons for staying in a host country or different socio-economic statuses. An ethnic community can have different layers. Consumption patterns (with symbolic products) (cf. Veblen, 1994) are, thus, very significant. Especially when it comes to young children in a diaspora, a child's socialisation process is also influenced by the surrounding social groups⁷ to which parents belong. Moreover, some social rituals or rules in host countries can also have an influence on their lifestyles, a factor that cannot be ignored when studying a diaspora.

3. Life-course analysis

In studying a diaspora and individuals' lifestyles, Avtar Brah has pointed out that an individual's background is important – class, caste, region, religion and gender (1996:42). That is, socio-economic backgrounds cannot be ignored when studying children and ethnic minorities. Related studies in London (cf. Gillespie, 1995, Sreberny, 2000, Aksoy and Robins, 2001) do not refer to individuals or treat ethnic collectives as one group. In the process of childrearing especially, Japanese expatriates mothers who are full-time housewives and manage all childrearing and house keeping are the central figure in the household. In this study, the lack of a father figure may be pointed out. The fathers were very busy with work during weekdays and golf competitions amongst Japanese businessmen at weekends, as seen in the study by Ben-Ari (1998), and seldom stayed at home. They were not considered as the core figure in influencing children's media consumption compared to mothers who were full-time housewives. In this sense, concerning the Japanese expatriate families, mothers are the centre of childrearing and all consumption acts. Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2001), for example, in their study of Turkish audiences in London, did not consider their social classes or the reasons why they live in London, though they did divide focus groups into generations. A Turkish child from a middle-class family (cf. the child of an ambassador) and a Turkish child from the working-class or a family on benefits in the host country must have different everyday lives. There are various Japanese people living in London, for example students, expatriates, and immigrants (who live permanently). This study reflected the point above, and focused only on the expatriate group, who were affluent and had distinctive consumption patterns.

The expatriate Japanese families studied here tended to consume services from Japanese companies. For example, from the view of 'financescape', they subscribed to Japanese newspapers that cost £50 a month, and to a Japanese satellite channel that costs £30 a month and £500 for the initial costs of instalment and the special TV box. Some housewives also subscribed to Japanese

magazines in London, which were 3 times as expensive as in Japan. One family, for example, who subscribed to a Japanese video delivery service that costs the same as the satellite channel, watched *Doraemon* [a Japanese popular cartoon in Japan] through this service, which the daughters were watching in Japan. The children in this family always watched this programme on weekends, which can be interpreted as 'dailiness' (Scannell, 1996). This 'dailiness' in watching videos, however, could not overcome time and space. The eight-year-old girl in this study wanted to enter a drawing competition on this programme. She drew a picture of the character and asked her mother to send it to the TV station in Tokyo. When the mother checked the address of the TV station at the end of the programme on the videotape, she found that the deadline had already passed, as the programme had been taped a month ago. The daughters were confused by watching a certain familiar programme every week. It probably became 'taken-for-granted' (as Scannell expressed 1996) and made them forget that it had 'taped' a month ago. While in this case the children failed to notice that they were watching a taped programme, the families were still trying to keep watching their favourite programmes from Japan. Their media consumption pattern was an attempt to recreate the pattern they had in Japan, even though this meant paying extra. It is thus clear that studying children from ethnic minorities and the media is highly complex.

Studying people's identities is often an ambivalent process. In order to study the interrelationship between personal and social factors in the long term, life-course analysis in ethnography is an appropriate method. Livingstone, in her study on technologies at home, showed how different understandings of individuals' relation to society can be seen in different personal biographies, 'When telling their life stories, people inevitably reveal their perspectives on many social, personal and moral matters' (Livingstone, 1992:108). This can lead to revealing attitudes towards individual's consumption in relation to their life-plan. Giddens, for instance, argued that feelings of self-identity are both robust and fragile:

Fragile, because the biography the individual reflexively holds in mind is only one 'story' among many other potential stories that could be told about her development as a self; robust, because a sense of self-identity is often securely enough held to weather major tensions or transitions in the social environments within which the person moves (1991:54-5).

Although the Japanese families tended to consume similar media contents in London as in Japan (mediascapes), they have had to modify their lifestyles compared to those lived in Japan. As mentioned above, social rituals in England, where mothers have to pick their children up from school, has changed the expatriates' lifestyle. The mothers in this study had to frame their day according to school hours, whereas children in primary schools in Japan go to school by themselves. As a result of this environment, for example, one four-year-old child asked me, while we were watching his favourite Japanese

cartoon *Doramen* and while his mother went to pick up her elder son (a six-year-old) from school, 'why can Doraemon [a cat robot] and Nobita [the main character who is in a primary school] can go out without mother?' He, even as a four-year-old, realised the difference between this and his own experience in London, and tried to interpret the story, '*ah, probably Doraemon is a cat so that they can go out*' (Family F's four-year-old son). Such different environments can influence children's decoding of media content from Japan.

The mothers in the study, on the other hand, were taking many English cultural classes such as aroma therapies, gardening, tennis, and so on in order to belong to the Japanese expatriate mothers' group. The mothers described such relationships with the other expatriate mothers as very close and some of them had started to feel that it was too close. In London, where they did not have families, they tended to help each other within the Japanese community. For example, one mother was helping another Japanese mother who had just had a baby by cooking for the family. Through the classes the Japanese mothers were taking, they also exchanged information on consumption (which tea is good, where they can find the latest design of Wedgwood tableware, when the sales at Harrods start and so on). The wives in this study had changed socially *as* expatriates, like their husbands who often played golf (Ben-Ari, 1998). Despite these changes, however, the mothers still kept their 'ideoscapes' in central areas, such as their goals of childrearing. This was based on their life courses and influenced how and why they provided particular media products for their children.

Shirely Dex suggested that life history is itself a cultural form, bounded in place and time, and with variants that conform to the specialized knowledge and techniques of control associated with different professions and bureaucracies (1991:39). Junko Sakai, for example, who has studied workers in the City of London using life-story interview method argued: '...the voice of workers in Japanese banks affords us an insight into changing ethnicity in the City of London. It also allows us to listen to how people recount narratives of dominant people, and how different groups construct their own stories of the world, its history, and their life-identities' (2000:14). Dex maintained that history is shaped by a host of totally unremarkable day-to-day occurrences (1991:87). The most illustrative example of this topic is the study by Ben-Ari, who studied Japanese businessmen's golf activities, intended to upgrade their status in Singapore, along with their life-plan (1998).

Moreover, parents' values in relation to their goals of childrearing became clear through the present study. According to Muriel Nissel, 'Whatever these innate characteristics, the environment into which they are born, particularly the parents they have and the love and affection as well as the material advantages they receive, will powerfully influence the kind of human beings they become' (1987:210). Parents may also try to give different experiences to their children, things they could not have experienced themselves or technology they did not have in their own childhood, pointing to the differences between generations. The mothers in the present study, for instance, were surprised at how their

children were confident in using computers. Peter Lunt and Sonia Livingstone have studied mass consumption and personal identities using life-course analysis (1992). They also showed the importance of social change in consumption in the 20th century and generations for each family member:

One concerns the relation between people's understanding of historical change, which informs their life stories and accounts of their actions and beliefs, and historical accounts of social change over the present century. The second concerns the relation between explanations for differences between age groups which refer to membership of different generations and those which refer to being at different stages of the life-cycle (1992:101-102).

In my study, life-course analysis was applied in examining mothers' goals of childrearing, pursuit of a certain kind of lifestyle and life plans in Japan and the U.K. When the mothers talked about their children, they often reflected on their own childhood, and referred to their own parents (mothers). This tendency was found especially when the mothers were asked why and how they provided particular media and media products for their children. For example, the parents felt 'safe' when they were familiar with the TV programmes or magazines that they also used to consume, whereas they were concerned about their children's uses of the computer, which they did not have in their childhood.

Disney princesses are a good example of this. In the present study, all mothers with daughters admired Disney princesses, and bought related dress costumes and accessories which the daughters loved to wear. Appearance is very important for girls rather than action itself, from the perspective of the ideal Japanese female worker who plays an important role as a provider of harmony (Goodman, 1990). The mothers had worked in major companies and found husbands. They appreciated and took for granted that girls must like pink dresses. The children, however, tried to catch up with their non-Japanese peers. Two mothers described a birthday party, for example, is highly illuminating;

In Japan, my daughter is still at the age [eight years old] when they prefer being into Hello Kitty in pink. But here, they don't like pink any more and prefer colours such as light purple ...The last time we went to a birthday party, it was a disco party...All [girls] wore non-sleeve T shirts which showed their shoulders and leather short-skirts. All put on make-up. They usually tied their hair up at school, but wore their hair long. They also opened their legs too. I was so upset. Our family got a culture shock. (Mother J)

There is a disco party by their school. For the first time, I dressed my daughter in a frilly-dress and was embarrassed. In general, her friends wear tight trousers or short leather skirts and non-sleeve tops; their sense of fashion is different from ours. ...Needless to say, my daughter adores them [sexy dresses]... Children dance madly on a dinning table instead of a stage for

an hour...I am impressed at these things and admire such things very much.
(Mother H)

In all cases with daughters, the mothers were at first upset. However, naturally, they came to admire such socialising themselves. If we consider this from Gunter's position, that there is no clear evidence that television programmes or advertisements shape conventional gender roles to a significant extent (1995:81), then those Japanese mothers who are socially seen as good wives and mothers have directly embodied their daughters' gender-role socialisation in their real life. Mothers use such symbolic forms as tools for socialising their daughters. Mothers help find their daughters' 'sexy' dresses at shops in London in order to integrate with their local peers. In other words, Japanese mothers can lead and reproduce this major tendency against the Western feminist critical view of toys as promoting traditional gender roles (cf. Seiter, 1993). The girls studied here were encouraged by their mothers to experience such English culture in their everyday life and were developing 'hybrid identities' (Hall, 1990:362) (they consumed both Japanese and British popular cultures).

At the same time as the families in this study were living in London, the mothers had gradually begun to show their 'fragile' identities. They started thinking about other roles apart from being a mother and a wife. Giddens acknowledged 'self-therapy' as a process of self-realisation: 'The question "What do I want for myself right now?" is not the same as taking one day at a time. The 'art of being in the now' generates the self-understanding necessary to plan ahead and to construct a life trajectory which accords with the individual's inner wishes' (Giddens, 1991:71). Such inner wishes do not spring up in one day. The mothers in focus here have devoted themselves to childrearing and housework for their families, which is the traditional ideal figure in the Japanese ideology of the family (Hendry, 1986; Ikegami, 1995). But the mothers wished to play other roles. Three of the mothers found that they were able to play other roles (e.g. piano teacher or therapists) beside motherhood and felt able to start brushing up their careers while they had time and money in London. Some took up professional therapy courses, and some struggled to find out what they could do in London and Japan in the future. That is to say, they wanted to obtain 'cultural capital' that could also be their future 'social capital/identity' by using such precious opportunities. In this, life-course analysis played an important role in analysing the Japanese expatriate mothers.

Examining children's identities was the main aim of the present study, however, the mothers' changing identities were also noted and could not be ignored, as the full-time housewives have a great impact on children's everyday life at the micro unit of society (home) as well as schools. Using life-course analysis, I have found a contradiction in the mothers' talk, between what they actually wished for themselves and what they expected their children to become. The mothers' goal of childrearing was still to reproduce the traditional middle-class Japanese ideal (the husband should do his best at work, and the wife should look after the children and household work, as Goodman, 1990, described).

4. *Studying children and the media in diaspora*

In designing methods to use with children, age is an important factor to be considered. John McCreedy, for example, conducted a study on the consumption patterns of children aged nine to ten in Tokyo by using questionnaires (2000). In the present study, however, children aged five to eight were involved in the fieldwork. It is very important to consider minors' abilities, especially when designing methods for children. I chose the age group from five to eight because these children are at an early stage in schooling and still depend upon mothers in their consumption of media, but simultaneously, they find it easier to adapt themselves to a complex environment because they are still developing their identities (cf. Pang, 2000; Minami, 2000). This age group may not be able to answer questions logically or may not understand the questions themselves⁸. This leads to the question of 'media literacy' (cf. Buckingham; 2003, Livingstone, 2004), which concerns children's interpretation of media products (TV, film, comics, TV games, their play) and their ability to use media products (TV games: Playstation 2, Game Cube, Gameboy etc.), to select their favourite TV channels (i.e. operating skills, especially on such as Sky digital box), their drawing skills when they want to describe their favourite characters, their abilities (reading and understanding rules) and operational skills in playing with toys related to particular TV characters (i.e. *Beyblade*, *Yugioh* cards, *Hamtaro's* knitting machine, etc), and their computer skills (checking the websites of their favourite TV programmes or toys, emailing with their friends or families in Japanese or English, drawing with the computer).

As discussed above, the life course was also used when the Japanese mothers described their own childhood compared to their children's everyday life. Although the mothers in the study, for example, felt that computer media literacy must be good for their future, they tended to see it in a rather negative light in which such computer skills can be easily linked to their interests in screen-related games. Such parents' anxieties about their children's use of computers are also often shown in related studies in the U.K and North America (cf. Greenfield, 1984ab, 1990; Gunter, 1998; Buckingham and Scanlon, 2003). Contrary to such parental attitudes, the children in the present study showed their positive attitudes to computers, which was similar to the findings of a survey conducted in Tokyo (Hakuhodo, 2002). The children studied here showed me how they were able to operate the PC confidently. The mothers appreciated their children's skills, such as cutting pictures and pasting them where they liked. For those mothers who did not have computers in their childhood, they were often impressed by their children's use of digital devices:

We bought Nintendo [GameBoy] here [in London]. The youngest [seven-year-old] also plays them with his big brothers [nine-and eleven-year-olds] because he is really competitive. I am surprised at my children's ability to operate these machines. They can start without reading instructions. They can remember how they can operate instinctively. For example, a mobile phone, I don't

have any idea how I can operate it without reading an instruction. But they know how many times they have to press the arrows. (Mother D)

While I was interviewing Mother C, her youngest son, who was still three years old, asked his mother to play the *Lion King* CD-ROM [English version] on her laptop:

I: Wow, you know exactly what you are doing. Even though you are so small.

Mother C: Yes he does. We did not have such things in our childhood. Look, it started.

Three-year-old son: This key?

Mother C: I don't know which one [key I should press]

Three-year-old son: This one, Mama, do it (touching the screen). (Family C)

The mothers were not confident enough to operate digital devices, whereas their children were fearless in using them. Such different attitudes between parents and children were also described in a survey on children's media literacy in the U.K. (Ofcom, 2006).

Moreover, in relation to children's ability to interpret media content, children also need to understand the world in which they live, including the way that it is represented in different symbolic forms (Davies, 1997:3). This is very significant for children in an overseas community. Some scenes that relate to Japanese culture could disturb the children's interpretation of the contexts, as seen above (e.g. why a primary school boy is allowed outside without his mother). Thus, even when children share the same programme, they may interpret it differently depending on the place where they are brought up.

In observing the children, not only a 'bedroom study' (cf. Livingstone, 2002), but also digital photos taken by the children and myself were used. David Gauntlett, for example, asked children in a primary school in the U.K. to use a video camera in groups to record their communities (1996). Through their works of video recording, he discovered some issues such as racial presentations that were related to exposure to TV and children's media literacy, which was demonstrated through their wit and creativity (Gauntlett, 1996:127, 144). In my study, a digital camera was used, which is much easier to operate for children aged five to eight. The children were asked to take photos of anything important to them using my digital camera. Consequently, they took photos of not only their toys, but also of their pets, siblings' or mothers' faces. The benefits of using this methods were: 1) it does not take up so much time from the children who are busy with many lessons after school,⁹ 2) the abilities of children were varied, some were good at drawing, some liked talking, some had difficulties expressing their opinions either in Japanese or English, some were shy, 3) children were able to explain to me in their own words by showing photos on the screen of the camera, and 4) there were sometimes different things other than what their mothers believed they might like. The last point

was interesting to discover, because the children (especially boys) changed their interests so fast.

I was interested in how the children took photos rather than in the actual contents. One six-year-old boy, for example, wanted to take pictures of all his treasured *Pokemon* cards one by one. A six-year-old girl also had clear categories for each item: Kitty's accessories should be taken with Kitty's other products, but not with non-Kitty products, or *Pokemon* books must be taken altogether, not with other English books. It became very clear that they had their own categories and were aware of being particular about their toys. They never mixed toys from Japan and non-Japanese products in one photo. *BeyBlade*'s [a popular Japanese boy's cartoon both in Japan and the U.K.] toys were often purchased by their families in Japan rather than being obtained in London. Therefore, *BeyBlades* or other toys related to popular Japanese cartoons' characters had special meanings to those children: the symbolic form of being 'Japanese' for the children in this study. Therefore, these photographs can reflect a process of developing identities. After the World Cup in 2002, for example, the boys became interested in football and national flags and supported England. They started taking football lessons, which were also shown in the pictures (e.g. pillow cases showing the English team's flag).

The children in the present study were too young to discuss 'identity' issues, as they were still developing identities or did not even understand what the term meant. Thus, observing their lifestyles through toys, lessons, or the objects they had in their bedrooms, and hearing what they thought about those objects, revealed how these children in the Japanese diaspora had been developing their identities and the role that media consumption played in embellishing and augmenting this.

Conclusion

For further studies on the media and children in diaspora, in relation to their identities, the methodological issues that should be considered are:

1. The researcher's status may be crucial (depending on nationality and gender).
2. Gatekeepers can play the most important role in gaining access to participants' homes in ethnographic research.
3. Examining the lifestyle of an ethnic minority is key to studying their identities.
4. An ethnic group should not be treated as homogeneous. Individuals' socio-economic backgrounds should be considered.
5. Not only children from an ethnic group, but also their homes (parents and siblings) as micro unit of society should be examined.

6. Life-course analysis can show what parents expect their children to become (goal of childrearing, or ideal figure). This is important in examining why and how parents provide particular media and related products to their children, which can have an impact on developing identities.
7. Researchers must design appropriate methods for children in the field, considering their abilities, such as reading, writing, and media literacy skills.
8. In ethnographical research, not only interviewing and observing young children, but also some action research methods can help to produce in-depth data.

This chapter has focused on methodological points from my study and was not able to show detailed findings. The study, however, has shown that children's interests (favourite toys or programmes) change very fast. *Bayblades* was the most popular programme and toy amongst boys when I started the research, but became unpopular after a year. The girls used to love Disney princesses, but then shifted their interests to more matured objects such as pop idols and the latest fashion amongst non-Japanese peers. Although the qualitative methods used here were time consuming, the in-depth and rich descriptions provided were invaluable: mothers revealed inner wishes, and the children's physical and emotional development was observed. In all of this, the establishment of a trustful relationship between the researcher and participants was fundamental.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on my PhD thesis: Kondo, Kaoruko (2005) 'The Media and Japanese Children in Diaspora: Understanding the Japanese families' media consumption and everyday life', London: University of Westminster.
2. The fieldwork was carried out from April 2002 to September 2003 over a year and half in London (mainly the West Acton area, Finchley area, and Orpington area where Japanese expatriates tend to live close each other).
3. The services for Japanese in London are aimed at the expatriates, and are normally more expensive than the local (British) ones. The expatriates do not mind the prices, as their employees cover their expenses, such as housing, private schools, clinics, and travelling.
4. Although the time I was able to visit the families was limited to one year, I was able to see how the children were physically growing and to note changes in their favourite TV programmes and characters.
5. One day when I visited Family F, they had to fix their house, asking this Japanese woman's husband to help.
6. Unlike in Japan, in the U.K. primary school children need guardians to be present when they play with their peers.
7. Social groups do not only exist within the ethnic community, but also the local community (e.g. middle-class neighbourhoods, or types of schools: private or state).
8. In fact, these children had problems linguistically when explaining objects due to the complex environment, which caused vocabulary problems.
9. The children in this study also took many lessons after school such as tennis, swimming, football, ballet, piano, violin, etc.

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Media Experiences of Young Immigrants in Greece

The Case of Preschool Filipinos in Athens

Evangelia Kourti

Every year thousands of people immigrate for different reasons (to earn income, to improve the quality of their life, to seek political asylum, to unite with other members of their family, to study etc.). Many of them end up creating families in the host countries, leading to a constantly growing number of foreign origin children born in the host country.

In most host countries, the media landscape has undergone tremendous changes in recent decades, and a whole range of new technologies have found their way into children's homes, schools, and public spaces alongside older technologies. Immigrant children usually find themselves in rich media environments, which include media in the host language, media in their mother tongue as well as transnational media (Elias and Lemish, 2006), all of which serve as a foundation for a large number of daily activities (entertainment, socialising, education, communication). Media have become a part of the fabric of their everyday lives in heretofore unimagined ways and have contributed to changes in their families and their own experience of migration.

New media technologies and the globalisation of media have had significant consequences in terms of cultural identities (Morley and Robins, 1995), offering greater possibilities for families to keep in touch with different worlds and cultures and to maintain constant diasporic connections. Slettemeås (2006) underlines the fact that in diasporic households new media technologies can play a crucial role in bringing aspects of home culture closer as they provide a gateway to cultural roots, hence they are pivotal in the complex task of producing locality and a sense of home¹. In this sense media technologies help bring the idea of a remote home physically and symbolically nearer, while at the same time they help alleviate the anxiety and unfamiliarity experienced by immigrants in their new locales. Much more than in other groups of population, immigrants' homes become this 'phantasmagoric' place, to the extent that electronic media of various kinds allow the intrusion of distant and local events into the space of domesticity (Morley, 2001). In that sense media can also promote integration into the host country, as well as openness to and involvement in the society and culture of the host nation.

In the age of cyberspace a diaspora can, as Cohen (1997:26) puts it: “stay together or be mentally recreated through cultural artefacts and a shared imagination”; consequently, it is of great interest to study the role of media in the fabric of the everyday life of younger immigrant children born in the parent’s host country who either have no memories of or have never visited their parents’ homeland. In 1933, Arnheim already foresaw that the advent of television was comparable to that of the motor car – as a ‘means of transport for the mind’ (in Morley, 2001). Media in the case of these young children can not only become a ‘means of transport’ to their unknown homeland but can also act as a connection between a ‘here’ (the host country) and a ‘there’ (the home country), thus helping create mental images and sounds of the children’s affinity with members of their country of origin and/or their host country.

What needs to be looked into in the case of younger children is: who ‘travels’, who makes decision about such ‘travelling’, how children ‘travel’ and, more importantly, to what destinations. These questions about the media environment, practices and experiences of little children at home and at school can inform us how national, diasporic and international media contribute (amongst and in relation to other factors such as family, school, peer relations) to the construction of the national identity of immigrant children and the development of their sense of belonging to a specific culture (which of course implies differentiating themselves from other cultures) or to a ‘hybrid culture’, given that such children are obliged “to inhabit at least two cultural languages, to negotiate and ‘translate’ between them” (Hall, 1993:362).

Very few studies have looked in detail into the media experiences of immigrant children and the various roles media have in their lives (Zohoori, 1988; Gillespie, 1995; Hargreaves and Mahjoub, 1997; de Block, Buckingham and Banaji, 2005²; Rydin and Sjöberg (in press); Rydin and Sjöberg in this volume; Sjöberg (in press). As they underline, although media play a central role in the immigrant children’s lives, there is still very little evidence of how these children make sense of the range of media representations available to them; for many, their media experiences are likely to be a complex mixture of the global and the local. It also seems that there are likely to be different patterns of media use among different generations of migrants. Research on media and preschool immigrant children is almost non-existent. Surprisingly, there aren’t that many studies on media environment and media practices by young children for the general population either (Huston, Wright, Marquis and Green, 1999; Kourti, 2004; Octobre and Rouet, 2004; Kaiser Family Foundation reports, 2003, 2006³), despite the fact that younger children are increasingly affected by changes in the media landscape, given that media (mostly television) “escort children across the globe even before they have permission to cross the street” (Meyrowitz in Silverstone, 1994:29). Furthermore, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation reports there is a trend to both cater to and attract very young children to audio-visual media. When children enter kindergarten, media is what they all have in common, and this common ground goes beyond any differences in socio-cultural origin (Chailley, 1997). For young children as for adults, media

constitute the backdrop against which their lives are set, and most of the times, both children and adults use them without reflection.

Immigrant Filipino preschool children and media

The study presented here is part of a continuing research project on 'Immigrant Preschool Children and Media' being conducted in public and private Greek schools and in the Filipino Community kindergartens in Athens. Filipino schools were chosen because the Filipino community is the only immigrant community in Athens where school attendance is limited solely to foreign children from different origins (not only Filipinos) and at the same time the language in use is English, a fact which allows us to communicate with children if they do not speak Greek.

As media can signify different things for children that grow up in different contexts, and cultural and social factors can influence the media's use and importance in everyday life (Lemish, 1997; Suss, Suoninen, Garitaonandia, Juaristi, Koikkalainen and Oleaga, 2001), the main objective of this project is to investigate and compare the media environments, experiences and practices of preschool immigrant children (4-6 years old) with particular focus on the role of media in the construction of their national identity in different contexts (at home, in Greek and foreign schools). Media usage and habits are here considered as a form of personal expression reflecting at the same time the way a person subscribes to his or her cultural context (Garfinkel, 1967; Goffman, 1974). One of the main aims of this study has also been to contribute to this particular research field and encourage other researchers to explore the topic.

In this presentation, I will focus only on preschoolers of Filipino origin who attend the Filipino community kindergartens.

The Filipino immigrant community in Greece

According to Gropas and Triandafyllidou (2005), Greece's immigrant population numbers just over one million people⁴. This represents about 9 percent of the total resident population and is a strikingly high percentage for a country that until some decades ago was a migration sender rather than a host⁵.

Most immigrants have entered Greece illegally and have survived in the country 'without papers' for periods ranging from a few months to several years. The prolonged undocumented status of many migrants and the policy vacuum that lasted for over a decade has not facilitated the immigrant workers' active participation in Greek social and public life mostly because of their insecure legal status, their mistrust towards the Greek state (which has been very ambivalent in the implementation of integration and other immigrant policies), but also because of the immigrants' lack of time and resources to devote to activities other than paid work. The insecure legal status of many immigrant workers makes their stay in Greece very temporary (there is great uncertainty

about the renewal of the Green Card), and this affects the education of their children to a considerable degree.

The Filipinos are a small ethnic community amongst other immigrant communities in Greece. They began to arrive in Greece – mostly with work permit – at the end of the 70s during the dictatorship of Marcos. Their exact number is unknown, as different numbers are given by different sources. They are estimated between 30.000 and 65.000; a lot of them are employed as sailors on Greek-flag ships, while the rest live and work in Athens or other large cities. Men and women were recruited separately. Two thirds of Filipinos living in Greece are women; most of them are employed as domestic workers in the homes of upper-class Athenians, and the rest work in hospitals, industries, and offices mostly as cleaning staff (Canete, 2001).

Filipinos were the first group of economic migrants living in Greece to gather together and organise themselves. Various associations were set up within this community⁶. Filipinos give the impression of a ‘closed’ immigrant group, and have often been described as ‘invisible workers’. They keep their distance from other immigrant groups and Greeks outside the work place. They tend to socialise with people from their own country (down to the same town, or region), mostly relatives or people with the same religious, political, and cultural aspirations. This explains their poor knowledge of Greek, although most of them have been living in Greece for many years, residing and working inside Greek homes (Topali, 2006). Filipinos are very well organised in terms of their children’s education, religion services and leisure time. A lot of activities are regularly arranged, such as excursions on their days off, meetings in central parks of the city, beauty or singing contests to fundraise for the needs of their community, etc. One of their favourite activities seems to be ‘music nights’ in the homes of friends or relatives, where they listen to music and do karaoke singing. Filipinos rarely go to the cinema, theatre, or other cultural activities available in Athens.

Filipino schools in Athens

It is only in the last couple of years that most Filipino children have begun to enrol in Greek public schools, while a very small percentage attend Greek private schools. At the same time, the Athens Filipino community has its own schools which are chosen by parents who prefer their children to receive education according to the Filipino curriculum either to maintain ties with the home country, or because they intend to eventually return to the Philippines.

Filipinos were the first and only community of immigrant workers to establish schools following their own country’s curriculum (from kindergarten to high school). Three Filipino schools exist in Athens, located in districts that are popular with Filipino immigrant families due to low rent costs. Teachers apply the same curriculum as in the Philippines; the language of instruction is English but Greek language lessons are also included in the curriculum of primary and high school. The Munting Nayon (Little Village) Cultural School

(MNCS) was the first school to be established. It was created by KASAPI-Hellas in Athens and opened its doors in 1993 for pupils aged 2-9 years old. Today, MNCS is a multicultural school only for preschoolers. The vast majority of the youngsters (2-6 year-olds) are Filipinos, but there are also a number of children from other ethnic groups (of Polish, Albanian, Nigerian, and Sri Lankan origins just to name a few). Although the language of instruction is English, children between themselves also use Greek and languages from their countries of origin. The two other schools accept only Filipino pupils. The Philippine Cultural and Educational Academy (PCEA) enrolls pupils from kindergarten to primary school level, and the Embassy of Philippines School from primary school to high school. The two kindergartens are run in old Athenian houses without outside space that could serve as a playground. These schools play a very important role in teaching young Filipinos about their roots and cultural heritage. Noticeable is the greater amount of discipline in the kindergartens compared with Greek kindergartens generally.

Research profile

All the Filipino children (twenty in number), aged 4-6, from the two Filipino kindergartens participated in this research that took place between February and May 2007⁷. The parents of these children have middle to high levels of education but all work in lower status jobs. All children were born in Greece, speak English and Filipino fluently and most of them understand and speak Greek at varying levels. Greek is not used at home very often (only some words) as parents do not speak Greek for the reasons mentioned earlier. Most of the children have never visited their home country; they participate in activities organised by the various associations of their community in Greece, receive religion instruction (Catholic), and rarely participate in Greek activities.

It goes without saying that any research on preschool children's life has fundamental differences from research on adults; without exception it requires a different methodology and use of a flexible repertory of methods appropriate for this age group. For this study, we collected data on the children, their parents, and teachers. In order to gain a close and intimate familiarity with this group of children we also conducted participant observation in the classroom, and attended school and community activities where children were involved. Teacher introduced us and explained our research to the children. Parents were also informed about our presence in the school and our research activities. We were very well accepted by teachers, parents and children, who were very pleased that Greek researchers were visiting their schools.

Young children not only are at a different developmental level than adults, but also occupy a different position in society (Punch, 2002). Increasingly we see the adoption of a children-centred approach, focused on children's point of view, which sees them as active 'co-researchers' possessing knowledge on their own life (Buckingham, 1993, 1996; Hake, 2000). Given that preschool children find it very difficult to express their knowledge and feelings in individual inter-

views and very often simply answer with a series of 'I don't know', or remain silent to direct questions concerning their experiences, some researchers (Eder and Fingerson, 2002; Punch, 2002; Greig and Taylor, 1999) propose that interviews with children are maybe best conducted in groups⁸. According to these authors, this seems to help create a safer environment for children, because they are likelier to feel comfortable with other children around, especially when they outnumber the adults present. Also appropriate for this age group seems to hold focus interviews in familiar spaces, such as the classroom, and use material that children like and/or recognise easily (i.e. puppets, and other very familiar objects), or games in forms of organised activities. Drawing can also be integrated in such interviews. As it is the case also with older children (Yuen, 2004), using visual imagery as a method of data collection helps to facilitate a relaxed atmosphere, to gain insight into the children's perspective, to provide structure and focus the discussion.

In light of the above and looking at media as social texts and also acknowledging that children take pleasure in talking about their content and use, we organised a 'media activity' designed and conducted by two researchers (preschool teachers)⁹, on the theme of songs and music they like or know best. This activity included play, individual and group interview, and drawing. Talking about and focusing on music and songs seemed to us an appropriate way to approach their media experiences, given that music is a childhood constant and also prevails in all kinds of media. Music, as Christopher Small (1977) puts it, "is too important to be left only to the musicians".

Most communication studies on preschool children and media have focused solely on television and neglected other popular media products such as music. Music is a natural part of children's lives and activities, and is seen as contributing to the overall development of the child, including intellectual, emotional, physical, social and aesthetic development (Temmerman, 2000). Children's engagement in music is all too often paid minimal attention by teachers and parents, even though it can be a rich repository of children's intimate thoughts and sentiments (Campbell, 1998). Music, a necessary basis for children's play culture, is chiefly encountered through different media (radio, television etc), but it is also associated with special occasions. Amongst all media, television is the major source of music inspiration for young children around the world. Music that children already have embraced through the media or other sources is very important, for this music summarises the beliefs and values of the individual, and his or her commitment and culture (Dunaway, 1980). Thus, the music children are familiar with, as well as their thoughts about it, can be a starting point for understanding their values, knowledge, and needs (Campbell, 1998).

Music educators know that the preschool years are important time windows within which to provide manifold musical experiences, including a wide range of musical styles, and thus use music as a means for fostering young children's knowledge of dual cultures (Ling Yu, 2002). At this age children have an amazing capacity to respond to music, and their engagement in music activities lays the foundations for learning (Bridges, 1994). Furthermore, research find-

ings illustrate music's social functions which are manifested in three principal ways for children, namely in the management of self-identity, interpersonal relationships, and mood (Hargreaves and North, 1999). Previous research on older immigrant children suggests that in terms both of maintaining culture and of exploring new cultures music played a similar role to television. All children participating in the CHICAM project (de Block et al., 2005), attested that music was very important to them, including music from their countries of origin (both traditional and modern), music from the host country as well as global popular music.

In light of this, the objective of the 'media activity', which was videotaped, was to use a playful way to encourage all the children in the classroom to talk not only about their experiences with music but also with other media related to music (television, video clips, Internet, mobile phones etc.), in different contexts (school, home, public spaces etc.). The activity was organised in three steps: a. the TV interview (sing a song), b. the drawing session (draw a song), c. the newspaper (publish your song)¹⁰. (See page 120 for description).

Questionnaires in English were distributed by teachers to the children's parents in order to obtain detailed information about the family's media environment, media use, and preferences of the children with special focus on music, as well about the parents and children's participation in different activities organised by their community in Greece or by other immigrants' communities or Greek associations. In addition, children's ties with the country of origin were investigated. Nine parents responded to the questionnaires. As the questionnaires were anonymous and voluntary no information or identifiable characteristics are available on non-response.

School teachers were also interviewed in order to get information on the school media environment, children's relation to the media, and the presence of media activities at school. We also conducted participant observation in classroom activities (Greek and Filipino courses), and attended various school events where music, and especially song contests, were held and children participated. During this observation, especially attention was made to media references (TV specific programs, types of games played, clothing or accessories involving media, hit songs and whether the songs were in Greek or other languages).

Although we used different techniques in order to achieve a maximum of information, we are conscious of the fact that most of our data was collected at school or through school mediation. It is probable that the children's discourses – and even the adults' discourses – analysed in the following chapters may differ from the ones that we could have obtained in informal contexts (playground, home, public spaces etc.). Unfortunately, the fact that most parents spend little time at home made it difficult to conduct interviews in the home. Also, the absence of playground meant that in breaks the children stayed in the classroom and played inside. Children's, parents' and teachers' discourses on media reflect not only their personal points of view but also the worldviews, concerns and prejudices of the communities in which they live. In that sense

a. The “TV Interview’: Sing a Song

Two women – Greek teachers that children knew from previous visits to the school – entered the classroom and proposed a play activity to the children. One of them was supposed to be a TV journalist and the other a camerawoman. They asked children to participate in a show for TV. The “journalist’ took a position behind a large TV screen constructed out of paper and placed on a table, and the children sat in front of the screen. The “camerawoman’ stood behind the children in order to videotape the activity. The “journalist’ explained to the children the reason for their presence in their classroom: a lot of the songs that people sing had been lost and so the children were asked to help recover them by singing all the songs they knew on this TV show in order to record them again. Children were supposed to go and sit next to the “journalist’ and sing the songs “on TV”¹¹. Children could sing any kind of songs they liked (school, popular, traditional songs) in the language they liked. After singing, the children were interviewed briefly in order to glean information on their favourite songs or singers, the ways they have learnt these songs (parents, CDs, TV, school, etc.) and also how many languages they know songs in. Shy children or children who did not want to participate were not forced to do so. Nevertheless, it was important to encourage all children to participate as spectators and either suggest songs to the child on TV, or sing along to the songs they heard or felt like singing at the moment.

b. The Drawing Session: Draw a Song

At the end of the “TV interview’, the “journalist’ and the “camerawoman’ invited all children to draw something inspired by the “TV interview’ on the theme of songs (their favourite song or singer, or even places where they or other people sing). They gave the children paper and colour pencils to draw with. During the drawing session, they had the opportunity to talk with children (in group or separately) about the content of their drawing (media, character represented etc.) and on their media experiences.

c. The “Newspaper’: Publish your Song

When children finished their drawing, they pasted their drawings on big boards called “the newspaper’, and explained again to the “journalist’ or the “camera woman’ about the content of their drawings. This “newspaper’ was supposed to publish information and drawings about the songs that this group of children know, in order to remind them to the readers. At the end of this activity, when all children have pasted their drawings, the “journalist’ showed to the children the “newspaper’s special song issue’ illustrated with all their drawings and information, and thanked all children for their contribution.

their discourse will be analysed also as expressions of the perspectives and tensions of their larger host society or the society of origin (Tobin, 2000).

Media experiences of the children

Media environment at home

As with children in many places in the world, these preschoolers live in a rich media environment, often owning their own media which they can use on the go (portable video game players, DVD players etc), or privately in their rooms. Most children have a TV set in their bedrooms. All families have satellite TV that for them symbolises a desirable form of 'viewing freedom', despite the economic burden. These families did not identify much with Greek public service television but nevertheless stated their extensive use of the national channels, chiefly in terms of entertainment content. Their children's main viewing was oriented both towards national channels and international and diasporic media. Music channels, music reality shows, serial TV dramas – and children cartoons – are the most preferred programmes (both on Greek and other channels).

Home videos were stated by parents as being an important part of children's lives that kept them in touch with the home country. Filipinos parents stated they are fond of video cameras, and many family events are shared through sending and receiving home videos between family members. Parents also tend to send music CDs with traditional, popular music from Philippines and children's songs.

Children are familiar enough with the media in their homes. They are able to turn them on and off and use them by themselves. This provides them with a degree of autonomy in how they use media such as TV, DVD and CD players. They can also use portable video cameras and digital cameras to take photos, while some of them – according to their parents – are also able to use computers without help from their parents. All of them are also familiar with the 'Magic Sing' microphones which constitute an 'all-in-one' portable new karaoke system which has hundreds of built-in English pop songs and can also incorporate thousands more songs (from different countries and languages) available through extra song chips which fit neatly into the back of the microphone. These microphones can be simply plugged into a TV allowing anybody to sing. As mentioned before, Filipino immigrants make a habit of meeting at friends and relatives' houses to hold 'karaoke nights'. Children too play/sing with this technology and participate actively in this global and popular, some say 'essential', mode of entertainment in Asia and Asian diasporic communities (Mitsui and Hosokawa, 1988). They have a wide repertory of different styles of songs, and it was stated by teachers that this technology not only helps children learn different kinds of new songs but it also helps in developing the preschoolers' reading skills. Furthermore, it constitutes a way for children to share in the musical tastes of other family members and friends.

Media environment at school: popular music and singing contests

While the significance of popular music within contemporary society is undeniable, hardly any formal pedagogy integrates popular music in the curriculum or in school activities, especially in Greece, where popular music is practically banned from school. In the case of both kindergartens that were studied, we noticed that teachers use popular music to build connections with the contemporary musical environment in which children live. In this sense, the pupils' music preferences, music practices of the home country, or music events of the host country were taken into account and were present in the classroom and in school organised activities. A lot of songs and dances taught at school are inspired by global popular music including popular Greek songs (mostly the ones that have represented Greece at the Eurovision Song Contest). At the singing contests that are organised by the schools on different occasions, it is chiefly global popular music in English that prevails, with only a few popular and hardly any traditional songs from the Philippines. It should also be noted that these contests evoke images of 'showbiz settings': hairdos, dance sequences, costumes, and voices are all flawlessly prepared.

In the classroom, children do music education courses where most of the time they learn children's rhymes from different countries; sometimes, however, teachers organise activities using the 'Magic Sing' karaoke microphones. As these microphones have a scoring system (among other capacities) a singing contest can easily be set up. Children have a lot of fun with this playful interactive media activity which combines music, text and video not only because it allows them to sing their favourite songs but also because it corresponds to an essential and familiar mode of entertainment amongst their community in Greece.

Schools also organise song contests in more official contexts, as for example the music contest for the festival of Santacruzán Flores de Mayo Festival of Athens¹² in which children participate as part of the audience and the 'Pinoy Eurovision'¹³, in which children participate as singers or dancers.

'Pinoy' is an ethnonym used by Filipinos for their compatriots in the Philippines and around the world. It is a term of endearment and is rarely used in formal settings. The term is akin to that of a nickname which is used by close family members and friends, so that one who uses it has somehow already developed some close ties with Filipinos¹⁴. In this sense, Pinoy Eurovision can be understood as the Song Contest of the Filipino community in order to underline the close ties between Filipinos in Athens and one of the most important media events in Europe where they now live. The contest takes place at the end of the school year in a big hotel in Athens and is an important highlight of school life and of the Filipino community in general; it also serves as an opportunity to fundraise for school needs. School children from the kindergarten and the primary school dance in small groups, or participate in the song contest. Children sing to a soundtrack mostly well known pop songs in English (from TV or film soundtracks) in front of a live audience, and only a few of them sing popular songs in their own language. A jury (composed of

music teachers, personalities, and friends of the Filipino community in Greece) assess the young singers according to their presentation and singing abilities, giving prizes to the best performers. The contest is preceded by a prayer, the national anthem of the Philippines, and a welcome speech for the benefit of parents and friends, emphasising the importance of maintaining the country's traditions, and everyone's wish to return to their homeland. The presence of Greeks or members of other immigrant communities is very limited.

Emsheimer (1956) considers all singing contests as important events for stimulating performance activities in many cultures since early times. From close-knit village festivities to large international spectacles broadcast on satellite television, they not only motivate singers and musicians but also bring excitement to the public because, as all games, they provide tension and uncertainty (Hosokawa, 2000). In these school song contests, two different cultural practices both related to media are observed: karaoke and Eurovision. Both of them are part of larger sociological phenomena.

Between karaoke and Eurovision: Young 'Pinoy' with a Euro-vision

Cusic, (in Lamb, Burns, Scaffidi and Murdock, 1994) has linked karaoke to the folk or oral tradition which kept songs alive for generations. The folk tradition persisted because, as songs were learnt, they were passed on from one person to another as culture, history, and entertainment. Behind this ritual, Cusic maintained, was the need to pass on an oral history and/or simply the desire to sing. In its current form, according to Otake and Hosokawa (1998), karaoke can be considered both as a machine (a technology) and as an everyday musical practice in the binary contexts of globalisation and localisation. In this sense it can be perceived as a cultural technology that creates playful theatricality in music consumption as well as bringing about the instant transformation of private/public spatiality. At the same time, as Lum (1996) suggests, karaoke allows people a conspicuous degree of control in defining their own social worlds. Lum explored how karaoke is imaginatively employed and adopted in the diaspora and use it in order to perform and express their hybrid and polyvocal identity. Karaoke, from this point of view, provides the social and symbolic structure for people to create, maintain, and transform social realities and meanings that are true and significant to them. In this sense, the practice of karaoke for the young Filipinos can construct a dialogical space where traditions of their country and the way of living of their family and community in Athens can converge and produce new understandings of their identity.

The Eurovision Song Contest, on the other hand, is a major 'media event'. According to Bolin (2006), it is also a cultural technology (like world fairs), which concerns nations-states and not individuals as karaoke does. The Eurovision Song Contest is similar to major sports events in that the contest is between nations. Moreover, as with sports events in which political dimensions have always

been inherent, the Eurovision Song Contest became increasingly politicised as it expanded to the East. Thus, although it is predominantly perceived as a media spectacle, its political connotations far outweigh the entertainment impact for the billions of its viewers. Along the way, participation in the Eurovision Song Contest has become a discursive tool for the definitions of Europeaness and political strategies of Europeanisation; moreover, new nation-states today use the Eurovision Song Contest as a vehicle for reconstructing themselves. Participating in and winning at the Eurovision Song Contest has become a national 'cause' in Greece over the last few years, and a 'euro-mania' has taken the country by storm especially after winning the first prize in 2005. The public television (but also a lot of private channels) broadcasts a lot of hours of programming (and spend a great deal of money) in order to promote Greek participation.

'Pinoy' children also seem to participate in this national 'cause' at school and at home (through television). All the children in both kindergartens knew the Greek songs by heart and also knew how to dance to the choreography of the songs as it was presented at the Eurovision Contest. In addition, the song performers were amongst the children's favourites. As with most songs during the last few years at Eurovision Song Contests, Greek songs are performed in English, often with a national marker in the lyrics, such as in the titles and the refrains/chorus, like 'ya sou Maria' or 's'agapo' (which translate as 'Hallo Maria', 'I love you'). Children learnt the songs easily and were very excited about the Greek participation and their favourite singer. Their school also included this year's Greek song in another special event in order to honour personalities from the Philippines who visited the School. It seems that including Eurovision songs in special school events or creating a 'Eurovision' contest to celebrate the end of the school year is also a way to participate in and, in a sense, share the concerns and aspirations of the host country culture, but only to the extent that this is created and promoted by the Greek media. As mentioned before, the Filipino community keeps its distance from Greeks outside the work place.

School celebrations, as these song contests, according to Dragonas (2005) constitute ritual character acts, which are repeated every year and have as main objective to maintain a common sense of ethnicity, nationality and/or religion. These ritual acts attribute social status to participants and promote the construction of a collective identity while fortifying the ties that unite group members. Song contests, in this sense, operate within a structured hierarchical network (i.e. school); they serve to link the subjects together into a broadly based ethnic enclosure. In these competitive settings, small children negotiate 'being Pinoy in Athens' through their use of repertoire, entertainment, and authenticity. In this sense, 'being Pinoy in Athens' can be theatrically and musically over-communicated, promoting strong affective experiences of belonging amongst participants. As Stokes (1994:5) puts it, "Music is socially meaningful... because it provides means by which people reorganise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them". Through the use of a repertoire, these competitions often promote the preservation of the community's language, the expression of its sentiments, and the cultivation of its virtues (Hosokawa, 2000). But if we look

closer, the repertoire of these competitions for young Filipinos, even the name of one of these (Pinoy Eurovision), has a transnational dimension that is most revealing in the sense that it sustains relations that not only link together their societies of origin (Philippines) and settlement (Greece and, broadly speaking, Europe) but also the global international music scene.

Songs in their heads, flags in their hearts

As mentioned earlier, the songs that children know can be the starting point for understanding their values, knowledge, and needs. The data from the music activity, the observation findings, the parents' questionnaire, and the teachers interviews confirm the importance of music for all children and the diversity of their musical tastes; the data also inform us how they have come to know the songs and in which languages they tend to sing. The songs that children know are a combination of their musical enculturation (music learned directly by the parents and mass mediated music), and schooling. Their music preferences were found to be rather mixed, including music from the country of origin (traditional or contemporary) music from Greece, and global popular music, as well as children's songs.

As the activity took place at school in the presence of their teachers, most children in the beginning of the activity sang children's rhymes taught at school in different languages, some gospels, and only very few of them sang songs learnt outside the classroom. When asked, they all knew media transmitted songs, especially Greek pop songs, and they took great pleasure in singing them in chorus. Spontaneous dancing and singing during the activity revealed to an even greater degree the children's relation to media. Rap dancing and songs from the Greek participation in the Eurovision Song Contest were extremely popular, and children derived great pleasure from singing and dancing to them.

In the children's drawings (in both kindergartens) the songs learnt through media were the ones most prevalent. Many children would sing the song while drawing it and some of them also narrated stories inspired by the theme of their drawing, thus providing a lot of information on how they learn songs. Children learnt songs from TV and DVD cartoons (*Sponge Bob*, *Power Rangers*, *Scooby Doo* etc.), the Internet (flash cartoon mango¹⁵), children's TV programmes (*Skippy the Bush Kangaroo*), different music TV programmes and channels, as well as cartoon channels and karaoke sets. As with most children all over the world, television is the major source in enriching children's musical experiences. Karaoke, on the other hand, corresponds to a cultural practice of their community. Learning music through karaoke is a practice also observed in Asian countries, as mentioned by Bell Yung in South China (in Campbell, 1996). Previous research has found that visual information (i.e. characters, story line) in video format helped children link it with aural (music) information, and preschool children preferred music to be presented with video (Jellison and Wolfe, 1999). This ex-

plains why television, but also karaoke, this “polystratic three-art essence” media according to Fornäs (1998), combining music, text and video are so important in children’s media experiences. It is worth noting here that the drawings inspired by songs learnt through or associated with media were more realistic in terms of details than drawings inspired by other themes.

Children only rarely were able to differentiate between national, diasporic or international channels when they spoke about them, but it was obvious that they were very well informed about the various entertainment and children programmes available on TV. For instance, they were aware of the names of the channels and the programmes broadcast, not only the major Greek private channels but also peripheral and minor channels. Children named channels and programmes but not countries. The television landscape seems – for the moment – to be without frontiers. But, they themselves have a sense of belonging to a nationality. One of the songs the children sang spontaneously at the PCEA was the national anthem of the Philippines (proudly and loudly), and in most children’s drawings (in both kindergartens) flags of their country were present. This may signify that for these particular children no matter what happens in the wider world, the territory that they inhabit or imagine they inhabit has to be under the flag and the rules of their home country, rather like a diplomatic mission or a consulate. In addition, in some drawings – which at first glance might be considered as irrelevant – we were able to discern the mental link between media and nationality that children create in their heads. For instance, a little girl drew two houses connected by a street; one house had a Filipino flag on the roof and the other one a TV antenna, as if the TV antenna was the link with the country of origin (see figure 1).



Figure 1.

Being Filipino: So far so close

The young children in our study are part of a very discrete immigrant community in Greece. Although born in Greece, they have very limited contact with the locals as they attend Filipino kindergartens, and their parents have few relationships with Greeks and rarely participate in Greek public or social life. As a result, their school, their homes, and the public spaces where Filipinos tend to socialise in, seems to be the physical space where they inhabit in Athens. The fact that their parents have chosen to enrol them in Filipino schools is also telling of their desire to have their children maintain close ties with their country of origin, or of the fact that for various reasons they consider their stay in Greece temporary. Consequently, these children form peer relations at school mostly with other Filipino children and some other foreign children (in the case of MNC School).

Children have already developed a sense of national identity, and use symbols of their country like the flag (observed in their drawings) or the national anthem (e.g. when they spontaneously presented themselves to the researchers by singing their national anthem at the PCEA). According to Barret (2000) cognitive aspects of the national identity involve – amongst other things – knowledge of national emblems and knowledge of the existence of the national group and in its affective aspects he includes the sense of attachment to the national identity and feelings which we have towards other specific individuals, who belong to our national group. In light of this, children are isolated from Greek society while living in it, and feel rather that they belong to the country of their parents even when they have never been there. For such children, media seem to play a crucial role in introducing them to the life and culture of the host country, while at the same time keeping them in contact with their parents' homeland. Television is one of the few opportunities that these children have to come into contact with the host country, and for the majority of them it seems also to be the only way to pick up the Greek language. Children have more media at their disposition (TV, videos, CDs, Karaoke, Internet¹⁶), to get in touch and familiarise themselves with the home country.

The media environment in their homes provides them with all kinds of possibilities not only to access local, diasporic and global media but also to be owners of their own personal media and 'travel' by themselves in the international media landscape. Children also participate in the media practices of their families such as karaoke. At school, the children's media experiences, mostly their popular music preferences, are not only encouraged and integrated in organised activities but also actively promoted. Schools arrange formal events (singing contests in different contexts), that either include such popular songs or are inspired by global popular media events (like music TV reality shows or the Eurovision Song Contest). In this way, schools confer on these events an official status in the eyes of the children. Incorporating global popular music in the school context seems to be – according to the teachers – a characteristic of everyday life both in the Philippines and in the Filipino community in Athens and not a calculated media educational approach.

Children's media experiences, as presented by themselves in their songs, brief interviews and drawings, show that they are informed users of all kinds of media and know where and how they can find media contents which interest and entertain them (irrespective of whether the content is targeted at adults or children). In this sense, young Filipinos are not different from the young Greek children studied in Crete (Kourti, 2004) as far as their preferences are concerned. The need to be entertained appears to be a universal characteristic, and creative entertainment solutions (using various media technologies) seem to be found in all cultures (Slettemeås, 2006). The only difference between the two groups is the wider choice of TV programmes and the larger number of media that this Filipino group of children has at their disposition. Indeed, the media environment of these children seems richer than that of most children of the host country.

Taking into account the programmes and channels that these children watch on TV, it seems that peer relationships are more instrumental in determining their choices than their parents' preferences. Children have their own programmes coming from different channels from all over the world and create a 'media space' of their own, while their parents are likelier to watch mostly Filipino channels. In describing this space, children were able to name channels (even if sometimes merely the number channels are assigned on the remote control) but not countries. Some of the children seemed to realise the role that some media (such as TV, or videos) have in keeping them in touch with the country of their parents. The autonomy that they enjoy in how they use television and the influence their peers exert on which channels and programmes they prefer could be seen as a 'deliberate' choice by the children to get in touch with the television of the host country.

Another difference between Greek children and this group of young Filipinos in terms of their everyday media life in Greece is the practice of karaoke (almost unknown amongst Greek children). On the other hand, both groups seem to share the same interest in the Eurovision Song Contest and Greek participation. Karaoke and the Eurovision Song Contest represent two different social phenomena. While karaoke constitutes an individual cultural technology which can promote social interaction and allows people to create, maintain and also transform social realities, the Eurovision Song Contest rather represents a nation-state cultural technology that allows people to construct themselves as belonging to a country. In the case of young Filipinos, karaoke is a way of participating in a media practice of their family and their community in Athens, while the Eurovision Song Contest is a way of participating in important media events of the host country, and at the same time explore local culture.

Being interested or even involved (in the school song contest) in the Eurovision Song Contest is a way of being part of the host country but nevertheless always remaining 'Pinoy'. In both situations their experience of the host country and the country of origin is mediated but not only from media. It seems that the politics of 'dislocation' (Allon, 2000) of their parents (which have to do with what it means for them to be in Greece, what different modalities of belonging are possible to them, and the various ways they are attached and attach

themselves affectively into the host country) and the politics of the school with regard to intercultural education, are very important as to how these local and global media become meaningful and contribute to the construction of the children's national identity. In the case of these children the family proposes media experiences which allow them to be closer to their country of origin, while the school is more open to their national, transnational and global media experiences. Nevertheless, the children and their peers explore by themselves which 'media spaces' they want to visit so as to satisfy their need for entertainment. Barret (2000) suggests that the correct unit of analysis in the development of national identity is the 'child-plus-sociocultural-setting'. At this stage, it would seem apt to compare the data obtained from this group of young Filipinos with data on groups of young Filipinos enrolled in public or private Greek schools in order to discern in a clearer manner the role of media in relation to parents' and school politics, as well as the role of peers, both Greek and other immigrants, in the construction of immigrant children's national identity.

Notes

1. See also Andersson in this volume.
2. Final Report of the European Project 'Children in Communication about Migration' (CHICAM) For more reports of this project see also www.chicam.org
3. Many studies analyse data from the most recent Kaiser Family Foundation Report (see, Wartella, Vanderwater and Rideout, 2005; Rideout and Hamel, 2006; Vandewater, Rideout et al. 2007; Wartella and Robb, 2007).
4. Including aliens and co-ethnic returnees such as Pontic Greeks and ethnic Greek Albanians.
5. According to the 2001 Census, the largest group of immigrants originate from the Balkan countries of Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania (almost two-thirds of the total 'foreign population'). Migrants from the former Soviet Union (Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, etc.) comprise 10 percent of the total, and EU countries approximately another six percent. A heterogeneous group of people (mostly first or second-generation Greek emigrants from United States, Canada and Australia returning home), also account for around six percent. Finally, a residual group from a wide range of countries makes up 13 percent. None of the individual countries included in this last group exceed two percent of the total 'foreign population' (for more details, see Kassimis and Kassimis, 2004).
6. The most important is KASAPI-Hellas, the Unity of Filipino Migrant Workers in Greece, founded in 1986 (Canete, 2001).
7. Ten children of other nationalities also attending the MNCS participated in the activity.
8. For the advantages and disadvantages of focus group interviews as a research method in children's relationship with media see Tobin (2000).
9. Ioanna Haralambidou and Virginia Koka.
10. Although the presence of class teachers during the activities with children for research purposes can be a problem, in this case they participated in the activity in order to provide a safe, known environment, to support and encourage this very young group of children throughout and also to help the researchers to 'decode' some information given by the children concerning the non Greek songs, the TV shows, or channels mentioned, etc.
11. As small children do not like to stay put for any long period of time, sometimes the journalist stood next to the screen, or amongst the children and asked them to sing the songs they knew as if 'reporting from location'. By doing so, the camerawoman could also intervene when it was necessary to animate the class.

12. The Santacruzán Flores de Mayo Festival of Athens is the most important religious event of the community. It celebrates Flores de Mayo (Flowers of May) honouring the Blessed Virgin Mary. It takes place in the last week of May and is organised by the Muting Nayon Cultural School, KASAPI-Hellas, and DIWATA (the association of Filipino women in Greece). Filipinos of all ages from all over Greece participate in the festivities. On the first day, a music competition is held, which includes a song competition (junior category, ages 9 to 14, and senior category, ages 15 and up), and the Pinoy Battle of the Bands.
13. The 'Pinoy Eurovision' is a musical event organised every year by the PCEA, which after a fashion copies the format of the Eurovision Song Contest and the music reality TV shows that are increasingly becoming a cultural constant worldwide.
14. The term especially gained popular currency in the Philippines in the late 1970s when a surge in patriotism made a hit song of Filipino folksinger Heber Bartolome's 'Tayo'y mga Pinoy' (We Are Filipinos), and later with famous Filipino band Bamboo's 'Noy-pi' (Pinoy in reversed syllables), (source: Wikipedia).
15. A Flash animation or Flash cartoon is an animated film which is distributed in the .swf file format of Adobe Flash animation software. The term Flash animation not only refers to the file format but to a certain kind of movement and visual style which, in many circles, is seen as simplistic or unpolished. Flash animations are typically distributed via the World Wide Web, in which case they are often referred to as Internet cartoons, online cartoons, or webtoons (source: Wikipedia).
16. According to some parents children send drawings to relatives in the Philippines by email.

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The Multiple Methodological Challenges of Ethnic-cultural Constructs

Focus on Media Research on Moroccan and Turkish Minorities in the Low Countries

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This chapter addresses methodological issues through concrete examples taken from our studies on Moroccan and Turkish youngsters and adults carried out in Flanders and the Netherlands during the past five years. After briefly sketching the integration policy environment in both Flanders and the Netherlands as a context for research on a sensitive issue such as integration, some of the conceptual and methodological problems we have been struggling with are addressed. Specific attention is paid to defining cultural and religious characteristics grounded in theory, and turning these into appropriate variables and answering categories. Focus will be on a selection of the questions and hypotheses raised in the research which will serve as a case-in-point allowing us to reflect upon the concepts chosen and operationalisations carried out. Some of the ways in which we tried to 'solve' measurement problems of conceptual tools such as ethnic-cultural position, integration, and religious outlook, used in our reception and content analyses, will be presented.

Integration and immigration policies as a context for research on a 'sensitive' issue: A brief outline

Like most European countries, Flanders and the Netherlands have begun to reassess their policies seeking to integrate immigrants and trying to avoid some of the problems experienced in immigrant and minority communities in the past. Revisiting their integration policies does not seldom entail a shift from a 'multicultural' to a more 'assimilationist' approach, emphasizing on the acquisition of linguistic skills and of civic values and culture of the country of residence (Givens, 2007).

What impact may this changing political and social climate in relation to non-western migrant populations have upon conducting primary research among these minorities? We argue that certainly in the Netherlands, the stiffening climate, within which the contours of Dutchness and shared norms and values are drawn, has made research with Muslim migrant communities increasingly

difficult. Before going any further into the methodological problems experienced in our research on ethnic minority groups with regard to defining the levels of integration and religiousness, we will first draw a picture of the ways in which immigrant integration is dealt with in general in Flanders (the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) and the Netherlands.

*Flanders: Different decision-levels and ways to
'manage' feelings of cultural and economic threat*

Although Flanders, situated at the crossroads of Europe, has of course never been a homogeneous society, historically immigration toward Flanders has been a relatively limited phenomenon. Moreover, the immigration balance continued to be negative for Flanders up until the mid-20th century, when relatively large numbers of Flemish inhabitants left the region to find a better future abroad. Consequently, the illusion of a homogeneous nation-state could be kept alive relatively long. Although officially the country closed its borders for labour migration in the early 1970s, in practice the number of new arrivals has substantially increased since then: this is a trend similar to most other countries of Western Europe (see Zimmermann, 2005). The gradual implementation of the right of free circulation within the 25 Member States will presumably even more increase the intensity of labour migration in the years ahead. Moreover, immigration presents a solution for the ageing European populations.

Belgium, a federal State, where the authority is divided between a federal level, three communities and three regions, does not adopt an active selective immigration policy, aimed at attracting specific groups with particular skills. The division of authority or power between these decision levels has been elaborated in the August 8, 1980 Extraordinary Law on Institutional Reform¹. The Flemish Community has shaped the Flemish policy on integration and diversity through a number of decrees – in particular the Decree of April 28, 1998 regarding the Flemish Policy on Ethnic-Cultural Minorities (in short *the Decree on Minorities*); the February 28, 2003 Decree regarding the Flemish Policy on Integration (*the Integration Decree*, in short) and also the May 7, 2004 Decree concerning the 'Houses or centers of the Dutch language' (*huizen van het Nederlands*). These decrees constitute the legal framework for dealing with questions pertaining to how diversity ought to be 'managed'. In concrete terms, local or municipal communities, and the larger cities in particular, play an important part in the search for solutions to the multicultural challenge (see Van den Broeck, 2006).

In light of the above it is revealing to look at studies by Billiet (2006) and Vanbeselaere (2006) suggesting that ethnocentrism remains a powerful and wide-spread attitude among the Flemish population. This feeling of ethnocentrism finds its roots in a specific form of group identity, stressing ethnic and cultural homogeneity among the in-group, which is fuelled by the anti-immigrant extreme right wing party *Vlaams Belang*. Civic or 'republican' traditions of citizenship are less clearly developed in the Flemish context. Billiet's and

Vanbeselaere's research also illustrates that ethnocentrism is often based on a feeling of threat: A cultural threat, as it is feared that immigrants will threaten the cultural homogeneity of society, but also a feeling of economic threat as new immigrants are seen as competitors on the labour market. This creates the rather contradictory situation that economists and economic decision makers insist on the need to attract workers from abroad, to reduce shortages on the labour market, while at the same time a substantial part of the population seems to fear the effects of labour migration for their own economic well-being. Flanders is evidently not the only geographical context where ethnocentrism is thriving among certain groups of the majority population: a number of important shifts in emphasis in the Dutch integration policy should not be overlooked.

The Netherlands: Gradual stiffening of integration management leading up to a more lenient climate?

In the 1980s the aim was to realize a multicultural ideal in which immigrant groups were expected to promote the cultural diversity of the country by preserving their own identity within the current political values of the country. This changed drastically mid-1990s when the emphasis was more on integration and assimilation. Immigrants were confronted with the *Newcomers Integration Act* (WIN) as of 1998, stating that each newcomer is obliged to participate in an integration program with Dutch language lessons, courses on social and employment-related familiarisation and support, and a test on the degree of integration after one year. Until the end of 2003 the *Employment of Minorities Promotion Act* (SAMEN Act, 1998), which made it compulsory for firms that employed at least 35 people to maintain separate registration of multicultural staff, was one of the most important legal integration instruments. Both acts aimed at improving the position of the newcomers with education and employment measures. As of March 15, 2006 the *Civic Integration Abroad Act* has become law as a consequence of the Dutch Cabinet's Outline Agreement dated May 16, 2003, aiming at the following: "*Any person who wishes to settle permanently in the Netherlands must actively take part in society, learn Dutch, be aware of Dutch values and abide by the rules*". The Civic Integration Abroad Act is to be seen as a set of additional conditions to the Newcomers Integration Act that one should meet in order to obtain an authorisation for temporary stay in the Netherlands, the major change being that newcomers must now have a basic knowledge of Dutch language and society even before coming to the Netherlands.

This gradual stiffening of the law demonstrates that the central point in the integration policy, the preservation of one's identity in the 1980s, has in the mid-1990s been replaced with assimilation, which is considered as an important prerequisite for active citizenship. There is a growing emphasis on the independence and self-sufficiency of the individual. Government measures are aimed at equipping immigrants with the knowledge and skills that will promote their independence and self-sufficiency.

Early elections took place in November 2006, leading to a coalition cabinet of Christian democrats, social democrats and the *Christian Union* (a Christian reformed party). According to the Government Agreement, new winds bringing along a more positive environment for migrants are announced, also illustrated in the title of the new government agreement 'Living Together, Working Together'. The new immigration policy announces to be less restrictive, more humane and aiming at providing a real prospect for those newcomers willing to integrate. One illustration of this shift is the general pardon for asylum seekers who entered the Netherlands before the new Asylum Law came into affect in 2001 and who filed a request for asylum. Emphasis on improving the living conditions in multi-ethnic problem areas and fostering the knowledge of Dutch as the language to be used in the political and cultural arena remains central. Right-wing political parties harshly criticize this more tolerant, considered as a too weak approach.

Challenges and solutions for media research on ethnic minority groups

Given this sketch of the ways in which Flanders and the Netherlands recently have been trying to 'manage' a multi-ethnic society, we ask ourselves what suggestions can be found in the literature as well as our own research experiences when it comes to research on ethnic minority groups. We depart from our own experiences in two types of research: first, content analysis which looks at ethnic minorities as media content (Koeman, Peeters and d'Haenens, 2007) and second, several reception studies which focus on ethnic minorities as media users (d'Haenens, Van Summeren and Saeys, 2003; Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005; Gezduci and d'Haenens, 2007). These reception studies will be described in more detail when elaborating on the cultural constructs that we have used, but first we will focus on the challenges of defining ethnic minorities in content analysis and interpreting the results (based on visibility) in a meaningful way.

Defining and categorising ethnic minority groups

The first hurdle that researchers have to take is finding or creating a clear and manageable definition of the subject under study, i.e. ethnic minorities. Inspired by the Netherlands Statistics Office (CBS), our working definition of a member of an ethnic minority has been: Every person residing in the Netherlands or Flanders of whom one or both parents were born abroad. This definition has proven useful in our research, however some limitations occurred conducting a content analysis on the (re)presentation of ethnic minorities on Dutch prime-time television. Among the 11 characteristics of all talking individuals (such as gender, age, ethnicity, language, accent, marital status, etc) measured, the ethnic origin of individuals and characters proved to be the most difficult variable to estimate visually. Television images offer few unambiguous leads, as it

is obviously impossible to find out where all people appearing on screen are born, and as often even less information is given about the birth place of their parents. When trying to quantify ethnicity, we soon ended up being entangled in a web of identity definitions such as those used in official policy and those identities we give ourselves (i.e. self-identification) as well as those that can be imposed or attributed by others, as we will also see in our discussion on the ethnic-cultural position construct.

Therefore, the Diversity Monitor (2007) had to resort to a definition on the basis of visibility in a broad sense: Biological physical characteristics such as skin colour, hair type and shape of the eyes were of paramount importance. In second instance actors were assessed on screen on the basis of their cultural characteristics: clothing, name, and accent. Ethnic descent could also become clear through self-definition in the course of the program, but individuals stating their ethnic identity, e.g., a seemingly native Dutch person talking about his or her non-Dutch background, hardly occurred.

In an effort to categorise speaking actors by ethnicity, either on a general or a more detailed level, five 'colour groups' and 26 categories were included in the coding instrument (see table 1). This categorisation has been developed and modified over the years by academics who conducted comparable monitoring studies in both Flanders ('Kleur Bekennen' in 2004) and the Netherlands ('Monitor Diversiteit' in 2002). Within each colour group (white, North-/South-American, black, Mediterranean or Asian) the encoders could specify the ethnic descent of each talking individual on screen. Within the 'white' category a more specific distinction of West-European, East-European, Extra-European could be made. In a similar way other countries were grouped together as specifications within the other colour groups too. Since self-definition hardly occurred, defining one's ethnicity remained difficult, as witnessed by the fact that 8.7% of all cases were classified as 'different/unknown'.

Although all of the above considerations helped to make the concept 'ethnicity' operational, we still had no unambiguous criterion that could be used as a demographic basis for determining whether somebody's presence in the media is representative of his or her presence in Dutch society. The Monitor relies on criteria of visibility, which are inconsistent with the definitions used in population statistics. The Statistics Office in the Netherlands provides a relatively good picture of the ethnic composition of the Dutch population. In Flanders these figures are harder to estimate, since all statistics are based on nationality, which means that naturalisation processes blur the figures on ethnic-cultural backgrounds. However, due to the differences in definitions of ethnic minorities, the comparability of results from the content analysis, based on visibility, and the general statistics, based on nationality, remains insufficient for both countries.

The fact that our ethnic ratios cannot be compared with the composition of the Dutch population is also the strongest limitation of our data in testing the mirror function of television. The results indicated that although public channels tended to be more 'coloured' than their commercial counterparts, we found this feature particularly in programs with many other (white) persons or in programs

Table 1. Operationalisation of "colour" in diversity monitor 2005 (Koeman, Peeters & d'Haenens, 2007)

White		Mediterranean	
1. West-European		12. South-European (Spain, Italy, Greece, etc.)	
2. East-European		13. Maghrebien (Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian, etc.)	
3. Extra-European (US, Australia, etc.)		14. Mid-East: Turkish	
4. Not specified 'white'		15. Mid-East: Palestinian, Arab, Iranian, Israeli	
		16. Not specified 'Mediterranean'	
North-/ South-American		Asian	
5. Latino, Hispanic, Porto Rican (inhabitant of the USA)		17. Indian (India, Pakistan)	
6. Native North-American (Indian / Inuit)		18. North + Central Asia (Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, Siberian, Kazakh, Turkmen's, Uzbeks...)	
7. Not specified 'North-/South-American'		19. South-East Asia (Filipino, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc.)	
		20. Asian American	
		21. Hindu Surinamese	
		22. Not specified 'Asian'	
Black		Other	
8. Central-American (Surinamese, Antillean, Jamaican, Haitian)		23. Fantasy figures, i.e.	
9. African		24. Mix of ethnicities	
10. African American		25. Other, i.e.	
11. Not specified 'black'		26. Unknown	

with a relatively low number of viewers. This means that the audience does not necessarily meets a great diversity of people by watching television. Therefore, the Monitor also looked into program ratings and assessed for instance the attraction that the cast or the presence of given individuals in particular programs has on men/women or younger/older viewers. The results on reflective diversity underlined, in accordance with e.g., the Uses-and-Gratifications approach and other theories on media use as social action (Renckstorf, 1994), the importance of the audience itself. It became very clear that audience segments mainly select programs with and about their own group: young people select (foreign) programs in which adolescents and young adults are the key figures, and they do not go for programs featuring over-50s. Similarly, men tend to zap away from programs in which women are well represented. Thus, partly due to the viewer's choice, we could conclude that due to both these lenses – of the media professional and of the viewer – television does not provide a mirror of society.

Furthermore, more systematic and continuous audience ratings are needed of the radio, television and Internet output of the public broadcaster among ethnic minorities. To date, numerous publications in the Netherlands and Flanders have failed to take the ethnic minority audiences into account. Only few exceptions, such as the MEP Project (Baardwijk et al., 2004) are to be found

to date. Therefore expansion of the number of families as part of the audience measurement panel as well as a larger set of programs on which to base the viewing and zapping attitudes of the audiences are planned. These plans, talked about since long, may become reality in the Netherlands in the near future as one of the outcomes of our recommendations of the Monitor Diversity 2005.

Approaching and reaching ethnic minority groups

The Netherlands Statistics Office (CBS) comprehensively bundled often heard hurdles one encounters when doing survey research among ethnic minority groups in their 2005 publication entitled 'Survey Research among Ethnic Minority Groups' (in Dutch). As a second recurrent problem, besides the definition and categorisation of ethnic minority groups, CBS stresses the difficulty to reach ethnic minority groups, especially the first generation (due to language problems). Moreover, the city dwellers (also the second and third generations) seem to be not easily accessible, as the degree of urbanisation is found to be an obstacle for participation in research.

One way to improve this relatively low response rate is to be as flexible as possible in terms of scheduling more contact attempts: CBS suggests ten contact attempts per individual before giving up. Another solution offered may be to extend the fieldwork period, and/or give a reward (e.g., €10 per individual). The latter incentive seems to help especially among Moroccan women, according to the same CBS publication. Language is often related to problems of reach, it is therefore recommended by CBS (2005) to work with experienced interviewers who know the language. Although the literature is not quite clear on what the best option really is: an interviewer of the same ethnic group, with the required language skills, or not (both methods have advantages and disadvantages).

Among specific strategies of approaching this ethnic minority group, we recollect being flexible in terms of days/time slots for doing the interviews, looking for best practices (e.g., sometimes late in the evening may suit best, not only at home but outside the house). Friday may not be a popular day as it is a day of rest; Saturday may be more appropriate. In all circumstances, pre-testing the questionnaires should be carefully undertaken, as some sensitive issues (relationships, religious matters) may be responded to in a different fashion, depending on the ethnic origin of the researcher and the wording of the questions. We tried to take into account all of these recommendations in our own research. Nevertheless, on top of all those possible difficulties one may have to deal with, the stiffened integration climate has only increased the likelihood of misunderstanding and growing distrust in an interview context. Such difficulties in managing in-depth interviews were documented by Chris Ogan (2007) while reflecting upon her field work among Turkish migrants in Amsterdam in 2006.

Given the abovementioned political and social environment which has had a polarising effect on the majority in its relationship towards the minority

group under research, we believe that collecting both emic and etic knowledge among and about ethnic minority groups may prove problematic. Emic knowledge refers to the insider's or 'native' perspective, whereas an etic point of view refers to the external researcher's interpretation (see, among others, Harris, 1964). Especially in an inter- or cross-cultural research context it is of paramount importance to acquire both 'emic' and 'etic' knowledge as an emic approach to things can be a valuable resource for etic hypotheses. Against the described climate of opinion, it should come as no surprise that research on issues relating to religious beliefs or potential conflicts with western values experienced as sensitive by the groups under study may induce fear and panic that the results at some point could be used against them (Ogan, 2007).

Having identified these contact problems and keeping in mind the above-mentioned ways for remedial action, the present chapter looks at some methodological problems that arose in our own quantitative media reception research undertaken among Turks and Moroccans over the last five years. First we will bring to the attention different operationalisations of two crucial and related cultural constructs indicating the level of integration status in the country of residence: ethnic-cultural position and integration. Furthermore, the multiple dimensions of religious outlook as another cultural construct and its impact on media use will be looked into.

Cultural construct 1: Ethnic-cultural position

The first reception study we refer to is a school survey that took place in Flanders and the Netherlands among Turkish and Moroccan youngsters (12 to 19-year-olds), which aimed at exploring the issues of bridging and bonding social capital (cf. Putnam, 2000). These bridging and bonding functions of the media refer on the one hand to their capacities to resolve cultural differences (bridging) and on the other their potential use to preserve and to support the culture and the identity of a specific ethnic-cultural group and to have the contribution of this group to society recognized (bonding). Key concept in our research was 'ethnic-cultural position' (i.e. the orientation towards one's home country or the host country, see also Van Heelsum, 1997) and its potential impact on 'old' and 'new' media use. Related features, such as religious outlook and linguistic fluency, were also focused upon as different potential predictors for media use, but were not part of the construct 'ethnic-cultural position'. In other words, media use was seen as a consequence of socio-demographic characteristics as well as cultural variables such as linguistic skills, religious beliefs, and a particular integration status or acculturation strategy, as summarized in the multidimensional concept of 'ethnic-cultural position'.

The overall research question was:

To what extent do culture-specific characteristics such as ethnic-cultural position, linguistic skills and religious outlook in competition with the usual socio-demographics (such as sex, age, education, SES) have an impact on 'old' and 'new' media ownership and use?

The relative importance of media in terms of time spent on them and their 'bridging' and 'bonding' capacities were looked upon: for each of the media under study we checked the extent to which ethnic minorities favour media from their native country and use applications which focus on their country of origin or their own group. The construct 'ethnic-cultural position' as a criterion of orientation towards the 'home country' or the Netherlands/Flanders, was applied for the first time to media access and media use and to other ethnic groups than second generation Surinamese (d'Haenens et al., 2004; d'Haenens, Van Summeren and Saeys, 2003). Following Van Heelsum (1997:24) 'ethnic-cultural position' was defined as "the extent to which members of a given group look upon themselves primarily as members of a specific group and/or act as such (acquisition of position) and the extent to which they perceive that (the bulk of) society considers them primarily as representatives of a specific group and/or treat them as such (allocation of position)".

Acquisition of position was split up into three components. The first was connected with the question if ethnic groups are distinguished, otherwise called group differentiation. Group differentiation was defined as "contrasting the image of the specific ethnic group concerned with that of other relevant ethnic groups, especially the dominant ethnic group(s) in society" (Van Heelsum, 1997:61). This first component of ethnic-cultural position was in turn subdivided into three so-called observational terms as follows: (1) one's attitude towards Turks/Moroccans; (2) one's attitude towards the native majority; (3) the extent to which differences are perceived between Turks/Moroccans and the native majority.

The second component of the acquisition-of-position dimension could be paraphrased as ethnic self-definition and it was exemplified by the following statements: (1) I feel strong bonds with the Turkish/Moroccan community; (2) I am totally different from my parents because I was born in the Netherlands/Flanders. The third component included, among others, questions about one's inclination to have contacts with people in Turkey/Morocco. Van Heelsum (1997:66) defined this as "the extent to which, in one's social intercourse, one prefers, or one likes to turn explicitly to Turks/Moroccans". This is illustrated with the two following statements: (1) I feel better at ease if there are Turks/Moroccans around; (2) I often feel left out by Dutch/Flemish people.

Following Van Heelsum (1997:66), *perceived allocation of position* was defined as "the extent to which one's environment regards one as a member of a specific group (perception aspect) and the extent to which one is treated in a specific way (behavioral aspect)". The following are two illustrative statements: (1) As a Turk/Moroccan I feel fully accepted by my Dutch/Flemish schoolmates; (2) I feel discriminated by other pupils at school. All 25 statements have been (re)coded so that a high score matches a high degree of involvement with the country of origin, while a low or average score reveals low or average involvement with the country of origin.

In short, this measure tried to distinguish between the perception one has of oneself in society and the perception others are believed to have of oneself.

The combination of these components was linked to the distance perceived between the 'I' and the others and to the social contacts with native Dutch and Flemish people, producing a coherent measure of 'ethnic-cultural position' based on 25 propositions (Cronbach's α of .82). It is a measure which is largely made up of the perception that individuals have of their position in society, but an individual's integration in society is obviously also related to concepts which he or she does not automatically link to his or her own ethnic-cultural background: the question then rises to what extent the norms and values one adheres coincide with those of the 'majority'.

As to the impact of 'ethnic-cultural position' in this reception study among youngsters, and with a view to the construct described hereafter, the results of the school survey showed, amongst others, that 'ethnic-cultural position' had a much less substantial impact on young ethnic minorities' ownership and use of media than had initially been expected. Notwithstanding, culture did matter in the form of language, which happened to be the strongest cultural predictor of media use, but was not part of the construct of 'ethnic-cultural position' as such.

We will now take a look at another cultural construct of integration which did include linguistic skills as one of its dimensions and had therefore greater impact on media use. This illustrates that comparison of research results can be a hazardous endeavour as the culture-specific variables used may be constructed very differently (i.e. including dimensions of language or not).

Cultural construct 2: Integration

The study 'Media and Ethnic Groups' (Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005) is the only representative survey so far on Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans in the Netherlands as it looked at both young (12-24 years of age) and older audience groups (aged 25 and older) and sought to depict ethnic minorities' dual-track media use (referring to the combining and mixing of home and host media content). The overall research question was:

To what extent are, on the one hand, a predisposition for *bonding* (i.e. an immigrant's slant towards maintaining contacts with the 'homeland') or, on the other, an attitude towards *bridging* (i.e. the desire to familiarize oneself with Dutch society and to participate in it socially and culturally) predictors of media use among ethnic minorities?

Both young and older minority audience groups were looked upon and their Dutch-language media use as well as their use of the media in their 'own' language of the 'homeland' were systematically assessed. Just like in the above study among ethnic minority youngsters, the respondents were asked in addition to social-demographic data, questions about their integration into Dutch society or about their orientation towards their country of origin.

Hereafter the concept of 'integration' will be described by way of comparison with ethnic-cultural position in the ethnic minority youth study. In all, 35 questions about integration were asked, relating to six dimensions: command and use of the Dutch language, understanding of Dutch society, endorsement of the norms of Dutch society, social contacts with native Dutch people, Dutch identity, and willingness to integrate. Here also the dimensions 'Understanding of Dutch society', 'Endorsement of norms prevalent in Dutch society' and 'Willingness to integrate' were made part of the construct as a as an echo of and a reference to the Dutch integration policy in which independence and self-sufficiency are keywords. The following lists the six dimensions and related questions:

1. *Command and use of the Dutch language.* The respondents were asked to indicate the level of their command of Dutch with regard to (a) understanding, (b) speaking, (c) reading, and (d) writing. They were also asked if they had any language problems in slightly more official interviews, in reading subtitles, brochures or newspaper articles. Finally they were asked how many days a week they speak Dutch.
2. *Understanding of Dutch society.* The respondents indicated if and to what extent they were aware of (1) how Dutch people feel about a number of things in connection with daily life; (2) how the average Dutch lives and works and what his house looks like; (3) how things go in Dutch schools, hospitals, municipal services and offices and other institutions that citizens may come in contact with; (4) what Dutch laws and rules permit and do not permit; and (5) what goes on in national politics. These questions do not seek to make an accurate check of the effective knowledge that immigrants have of Dutch society; rather are they designed to find out how the immigrants themselves experience their own problems.
3. *Endorsement of norms prevalent in Dutch society.* The extent to which the respondents of the four ethnic groups endorse the norms of Dutch society was determined by means of eight statements, five of which are the following: *A woman should quit her job when she has a baby; It is better for elderly parents to live with their children than in an old people's home; In the Netherlands contacts between men and women are too loose; In the Netherlands journalists have too much freedom to say and write as they wish; It is a pity that religion controls daily life in the Netherlands less and less.* Clearly, utterances such as these are opposed to current dominant opinion in the Netherlands and fit in badly with a liberal, secularized and individualized society. For this reason we assume that the more our respondents reject these statements, the better they are integrated into Dutch society.
4. *Social contacts with native Dutch people.* The intensity of the respondents' contact with Dutch people was checked by means of three questions, one of which was if the interviewee occasionally visited Dutch people at their homes, and if so, how often.

5. *Dutch identity.* This dimension measures the extent to which the respondent feels a bound with the Netherlands. As a person can have several identities, the respondents were asked to determine the extent to which they felt Dutch as well as Turkish, etc. A further question was the extent to which the respondents thought they were regarded by others as Turkish, etc. Finally, they were asked to what extent they expected to remain in the Netherlands the rest of their lives.
6. *Willingness to integrate.* This dimension was dealt with in three questions: To what extent is the Netherlands a country where one can really feel at home? How important do respondents feel it is to know much about the Netherlands? How important do they feel it is to have contacts with Dutch people?

A general scale of integration was determined on a combination of these six scales carrying the same weight (thanks to standardisation) and proving fairly reliable (Cronbach's α of .73). The results on the basis of this representative sample of both ethnic minority youngsters and adults did reveal overall a positive correlation between integration in the Netherlands and general, mainstream media use. Table 2 illustrates for the Turkish and Moroccans the share of 'own' media content in the total media menu and its relation to the perceived degree of integration in the Netherlands. In other words, when distinguishing home and host media output (i.e. 'own' media vs. mainstream output on Dutch cable), rather than looking at general media use, a clear impact of the degree of integration could be identified on media use. One should also keep in mind that the integration construct this time included command of language, which also proved highly predictive in the school survey (described above) among minority youths when describing 'old' media use patterns.

Table 2. Share 'own' media supply (in %) in time spent by Turkish and Moroccan youngsters (13-24-year-olds) and adults (25+) (N= 774).

		Share 'own' media						Relation to integration (n) ³		
		All share (n)		Youth share (n)		Older share (n)		All	Youth	Older
Radio	Turks	28	158	27	52	29	103	-.41 ***	-.44 **	-.41 ***
	Moroccans	21	136	16	61	25	74	-.30 **	-.11	-.37 **
TV	Turks	41	398	35	121	43	265	-.40 ***	-.46 ***	-.38 ***
	Moroccans	31	338	15	121	41	215	-.58 ***	-.43 ***	-.54 ***
Print ¹	Turks	52	256	38	74	58	180	-.48 ***	-.51 ***	-.44 ***
	Moroccans	12	145	5	75	19	70	-.34 ***	-.07	-.44 ***
Internet ²	Turks	54	153	52	94	55	72	-.47 ***	-.54 ***	-.41 **
	Moroccans	41	113	43	92	34	41	-.26 *	-.33 *	-.03

1. For the print media the total number bears on Dutch + 'own' papers and magazines. No questions were asked about foreign papers and magazines.

2. Index (0-100), measuring the importance of the country of origin and the immigrants' own community in the Netherlands as far as communication by way of the Internet and online information retrieval are concerned.

3. Correlation coefficient of the share of 'own' media – general integration scale: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$ (bilaterally tested).

We shall now look at the construct of religiousness and its potential impact on media use.

Cultural construct 3: Religiousness

By way of comparison and in light of what was still lacking in Flemish and Dutch research on media and ethnic minorities, a study that not only looked into the media use of ethnic minority youths but also into that of older generations and their levels of religiousness was carried out. Religion was expected to exert, besides the aforementioned cultural constructs, a prominent influence on Turkish adults' use of host and home media (i.e. old and new) in general and news contents in particular. The impact of religion on media use in general and news consumption in particular has been dealt with, as an individual's religiosity has traditionally been considered one of the most important ingredients of a culture influencing the definition of the individual in society, and explains in part the position of women, individuals and the family structure (e.g. LeRay, 1994). It is not argued here that Muslims might prefer more television because they believe in a specific way, but instead we expect that religion will moderate the preference for certain media content. Anyhow, perspectives on religion and its relationship to news preference depend to a large extent on how religion is defined.

Religion in our study has been a measure of Flemish Turks' feeling towards active religious participation expressed in the Muslim context and operationalised by questions inspired by some of Kemper's (1996) dimensions of religious identity such as: (1) the *ritual dimension*: participating in prescribed Islamic rituals (e.g., Sjahada, Salaa, Zakaa, Ramadan, Haddj and mosque visits)²; (2) the *intellectual dimension*: knowledge of the five pillars of religion (i.e., Sjahada, Salaa, Zakaa, Ramadan and Haddj); (3) the *consequential dimension*: maintaining and practicing Islamic norms and values in daily life (e.g. helal/haram³, food and nourishment laws, the ban on interest, marriage preference and social control); (4) the *ideological dimension*: agreeing with the Islamic religious doctrine (e.g. Islamism/fundamentalism, Shari'a, Islamic schools, Muslim/migrant organisations and publicly known Muslim/ethnic minorities)⁴; (5) the *social dimension*: bonds within the community of believers (e.g. (in)formal contacts at the mosque). We used this operationalisation in order to address the relation between religion and home and host news media use, hypothesizing that home news media use would be positively related to the strength of religiousness, whereas host news media would be negatively connected to it.

Data collection took place between February and May 2006 initially by randomly selecting and visiting places⁵ in Flanders where a diversity of Turkish immigrants between the ages of 18 and 60 years were expected to be prominently present and consequently by the snowball method in order to enlarge the initial number of respondents. A lot of effort was invested in contacting secular and religious associations, getting mosques, associations of women and entrepreneurs involved in order to reach as wide an audience as possible.

Data for this study have been collected through snowball sampling by means of a questionnaire, designed with the main goal of providing an initial map of host and home language media use in general and news consumption in particular among Turkish diaspora in Flanders. The questionnaire was developed in Turkish and Dutch in order to give the respondents the option to choose the version they felt most familiar with. Moreover, extensive pre-tests were conducted, by the researchers as well as by bilingual Turks, to make sure that the questionnaire contained clearly formulated questions and answers. In an effort to maximize response rates, the questionnaires were carried out in person: 400 respondents (i.e. approximately 100 in each of the four regions identified) completed the questionnaire (275 in Turkish and 125 in Dutch).

The first part of the survey aimed at obtaining preferences of home and host media use for three media types (i.e. television, newspapers and the Internet) in general and four news types in particular (i.e. financial and economical, social and legal topics, war and terrorism topics and topics on religion). All media use variables were measured on a five-point scale, in which a high score corresponded with a high level of use of news contents. The construct religiousness which contained 13 items on religious identity, measured on a five-point scale and coded so that a high score corresponded with a high level of religiousness, showed a high reliability ($\alpha=0.891$). The second part of the survey was mainly concerned with obtaining information on the socio-demographic (i.e., gender, age, education, socio-economic status, length of residence in Belgium) and culture-specific features (i.e., ethnic-cultural position, religion, command of the home and host language) of the Turkish adults.

Looking at the religious dimensions in Table 3, we can see that the majority of the Turkish adults are highly involved with practicing Islamic norms and values in daily life (for example *helal/haram*, food and nourishment laws, the ban on interest, marriage preference and social control) (i.e. consequential dimension), whereas no interest was shown in agreeing with the Islamic religious doctrine (e.g., Islamism/fundamentalism, *Shari'a*, Islamic schools, Muslim/migrant organisations and publicly known Muslim/ethnic minorities) (i.e. the ideological dimension). The latter was undoubtedly the result of an unresponsive position as to questions concerning the practice of the *Shari'a*. This aloof attitude may be the result of the secular ideology imposed on the Turks, endeavoured by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Turkey's founder and first president), to eliminate the major Islamic institutions and to reorient the minds of his people. As part of his master plan to create a modern, progressive Turkish State, the *Shari'a* was abolished and replaced by legal codes which were regarded as the essence of Western civilisation. At this time, agreement with such practices is still not tolerated by the Turkish government and leads to political imprisonment. Furthermore, Table 3 also shows that Turkish adults are keen on participating in Islamic rituals (i.e., the ritual dimension), to meet with certain groups of believers (i.e., the social dimension), and their knowledge about the five pillars of Islam (i.e., the intellectual dimension).

Table 3. Religiousness and religious dimensions of Turkish adults in Flanders

	Overall religiousness		Ritual dimension		Intellectual dimension		Social dimension		Ideological dimension		Consequential dimension	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	1	0.3	3	0.8	72	18.0	61	15.3	329	82.3	28	7.0
Low	43	10.8	49	12.3	41	10.3	42	10.5	42	10.5	16	4.0
Medium	191	47.8	135	33.8	63	15.8	73	18.3	20	5.0	34	8.5
High	165	41.3	213	53.3	224	56.0	224	56.0	9	2.3	322	80.5

In order to investigate the influence of religiousness on the preference of media in the home and host language, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. The consumption of the four news topics on each of the three media types in the home and host language served as dependent variables. Regression results on the influence of Turkish adults' overall level of religiousness showed that highly religious Turks tend to prefer watching Turkish television news, irrespective of the topics watched, whereas for online news in Turkish a high preference was only significantly visible for financial and economical news, and news on war and terrorism. With respect to reading Turkish newspapers, highly religious Turks were indeed found to prefer war and terrorism news in Turkish newspapers.

Concerning the relation between the overall level of Turkish adults' religiousness and host news consumption in Dutch or French, a significant and positive relation was found for reading news on war and terrorism on Dutch or French websites and newspapers. Thus, in contradiction to our hypothesis, highly religious people are keen on consuming online and offline news on war and terrorism in Dutch or French. Regarding the *ritual* dimension, Turkish adults with a high feeling towards participating in Islamic rituals prefer to watch Turkish television news on all four news topics, and to read Turkish newspapers on financial and economical topics, social and legal issues, and topics on war and terrorism. No significant relation was found for retrieving online news from Turkish websites, nor for news consumption in Dutch or French. The level of religiousness with respect to the *intellectual* dimension has been found significantly related with retrieving war and terrorism news on Turkish and host language websites, and with watching financial and economical news on Dutch or French television. In other words, Turkish adults with a high level of knowledge on the five pillars of religion are keen on retrieving news on war and terrorism online, either in Turkish, Dutch or French, and on financial and economical television news in Dutch or French. For the *social* dimension, results on Turkish adults' news media consumption showed a significantly negative relation with reading financial and economical, and religious news topics in Turkish newspapers, and a negative relation with watching financial and economical news on Dutch or French television. Thus, Turks with a low level of bonding with the community of believers are keen on consuming news on financial and economical and religious topics in Turkish newspapers, and

financial and economical topics on Dutch television, notwithstanding with a low predicting variance explaining this preference. Concerning Turkish adults' level of feeling towards agreeing with fundamentalism or the Shari'a (i.e. the *ideological* dimension), a significant and negative relation was found with consuming financial and economical television news in the host language. In other words, Turkish adults who were keen on consuming financial and economical news on Dutch or French television were those individuals that did not or had a low level of agreement with the Islamic religious doctrine.

Finally, Turkish adults with a high score on maintaining and practicing Islamic norms and values in daily life (i.e. the *consequential* dimension) have been found to be significantly related with watching and reading financial and economical news as well as news on war and terrorism in Turkish. In addition, this dimension was also significantly related with consuming religious news topics on both home and host language television. Social and legal news topics on Dutch or French newspapers were also highly preferred by Turkish adults who are keen on maintaining and practicing Islamic norms and values in daily life.

In conclusion, overall this fragmenting of religiousness in different dimensions allowed us to find support for the hypothesis (i.e. the more religious one is, the more one tends to consult home news media), exception made for the consumption of social and legal, and religious news topics on the Internet and in newspapers. However, when this hypothesis is looked at in more depth, i.e. with regard to the five dimensions, the ritual and the consequential dimensions turn out to be the most prominent in influencing the consumption of Turkish news. On the contrary, the hypothesis (i.e. the less religious, the more host news media will be used) was not supported, as regression results showed an opposite effect of the overall level of religiousness on online news consumption and on newspapers use in Dutch or French. Notwithstanding, some support was found for the influence of the social and ideological dimension on the consumption of financial and economical television news in Dutch or French. Thus, when investigating the relation and impact of ethnic minorities' level of religiousness on their consumption of both home and host news, we suggest that next to the overall level of one's religiousness, also several dimensions within one's religiosity should be considered. In other words, this breakdown of religiousness into dimensions allows providing a more accurate view on the impact of religion on news media preferences.

Discussion

This chapter looked into the literature of inter- and cross-cultural research on the multiple hurdles – accessibility and willingness to participate or lack thereof – social scientists have to overcome when approaching immigrant and ethnic minority groups for primary research on what can be considered 'sensitive' issues. By 'sensitive' we referred to the majority in its relationship towards the research group, a relationship which has become more sensitive than ever,

given the stiffening political and social environment in the Low Countries as well as internationally. It is imaginable that this more intense climate of opinion provokes fear among the groups under study that research results on 'sensitive' issues on religious beliefs or potential conflicts with western values sooner or later could be used against them. Also in contacting the respondents for our surveys, we experienced varying degrees of distrust that had to be overcome.

The growing reticence of people of ethnic minority background to participate in social science research and research about sensitive issues may especially be felt in qualitative research settings evolving around participant observation and the like aimed at gathering emic knowledge (see Ogan, 2007). This reticence may have to do with a broader issue: the so-called politics of identity, as these changing stances of informants do not take place in the Netherlands or Flanders only, but are seen on a much broader scale. One could think of anthropological research on marginalised people. Anthropologists may have dedicated their whole careers to 'their' native group and are now told they do no longer get permission to continue their research. This is part of the 'empowerment' of the native people who no longer want to be mere research subjects as they want to decide on their own research agenda of issues that they find important. They also claim the research evidence: they feel they own the results and should at all times be given access to the data. In our results, we provided the respondents with a summary of the results.

Gaining the trust of the informants, however, may soon no longer be sufficient, as the latter may be deciding on the kinds of research conditions, the kind of money wanted for it in return, etc. This is a kind of emancipation minority groups are going through, and this is why flexibility on the side of the social scientist needs to be 'stretched'. Under such new conditions some personal involvement and investment as a social worker, i.e. actually doing something in return for the research evidence obtained in the longer run, may be deemed necessary.

Flexibility may not be so crucial for those social scientists collecting quantitative data and those who are more interested in gathering etic knowledge. Nevertheless, social scientists should be very much aware of their own stance and role in the research, and ask themselves: From which perspective are the issues being looked upon; from the detached observer's point of view, or that of the participant? While interpreting the data researchers should not be blind for prejudices, but of course this does not only apply to research with ethnic minorities. Also in terms of content analysis, it is important to realize that measuring portrayals of people that are hardly visible anyhow (i.e. the 'silent others') in mainstream media content is hard; how can one measure what is not there?

What the chapter aimed at clarifying through dealing with definitions of culture-specific constructs such as ethnic-cultural position, integration and religiousness, is that the setting of categories and the definition of concepts and constructs should ideally be 'born into' a particular context, a given policy regime, and a social climate in order to be relevant and meaningful (see e.g.

the integration construct). Furthermore, it is recommendable to combine different quantitative and qualitative approaches in research on media and ethnic minorities aiming at the collection of both emic and etic knowledge. Hence, setting up combined quantitative and qualitative research designs will remain a crucial part in our follow-up strategy.

Notes

1. Article 5 (Section 1, II, 3) of the law provides the Communities with authority on 'policies regarding the reception and integration of immigrants'.
2. Sjahaada / "... the testimony that there is only one God and that Mohammed is his prophet"; Salaa / "The obligation to pray five times a day at appointed moments in time"; Zakaa / "The giving of alms"; Haddj / "The pilgrimage to Mecca by those able to do so" (Kemper, 1996:82-3).
3. Halal/haram / "Islam subdivides ethical behaviour into five categories: obligatory (fard), recommendable (moestahabb), permitted (halal), condemnable (makroeb) and forbidden (haram) practices. The consumption of alcohol, for example, is haram and eating ritually slaughtered beef is halal" (Kemper, 1996:85).
4. Islamism/fundamentalism / "The movement which, within the Islamic world, pursues ideological purity ... A return to pure Islam is thought to be able to rescue the Arab world from its deplorable situation and to give it back its former power and glory. The intended re-islamisation of society must be effected at all levels, i.e. from the form of government and from the legal system to education and down to the dress people wear. The wearing of the traditional scarf for women and of the beard for men and a pious way of life thus acquire a political and ideological meaning" (Kemper, 1996:84). The individual thus shows his or her consent with a) the Quran; b) traditional teachings and c) the life and acts of the prophet; Shari'a / As Kemper (1996) puts it, Islamism is opposed to social and political abuses and preaches the ideal of an islamic state with the Shari'a or Islamic law as its constitution.
5. These places included mosques, Turkish conservative associations, Turkish coffee houses, Turkish secular associations, Turkish women's associations, Turkish university associations, Flemish integration offices, continuous education centers and Turkish families in three Flemish provinces (i.e. Antwerp, West-Flanders, and Limburg) and in the capital of Brussels.

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Emerging Transnational Sensibility among Migrant Teenagers

Lessons Learned doing Media Research in Multiethnic Classrooms

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Growing interest in media use among ethnic minorities and migrants reflects the recent changes that have taken place in Western societies. These changes concern emerging multiculturalism due to an increase in the migrant population. In Finland the significant increase in the amount of migrants took place in the early 1990s, fairly late compared to the other Nordic countries. Coinciding with social and demographic changes, media technology has undergone substantial changes which challenge the national logic of media and suggest the emergence of a transnational and cosmopolitan media landscape. In light of these developments media research has focused more and more on issues of transnational media among migrant population (Gillespie, 1995; Georgiou, 2001; Karim, 2003; Sreberny, 2000; Bailey and Harindranath, 2006) and discussed relations between the national and the transnational (Robins and Aksoy, 2005). This type of research, in the form of media ethnography, has mainly been conducted by visiting people's homes and by exploring the private use of media within families. As argued by Peterson, different sites of media reception illuminate different meanings and viewpoints on media use (Peterson, 2003:127-137). While domestic use of media interlinks with family relations, research on media use, for example, in schools and at workplaces, highlights other social relations, such as relations between classmates or colleagues (Algan, 2003:26-27). Thus research outside the domestic sphere shifts the focus from private to more public and social contexts of media. It seems that especially in the case of young teenagers, moving away from the sphere of home may give more space for frank and confidential discussions especially on themes that are potentially sensitive in relation to parents and family (Banaji, 2005).

With these experiences from previous research in mind I chose to conduct a study in a school environment in order to explore media use by migrant teenagers, and moreover the social aspects of media use: how does media articulate and shape identities, friendships and family relations? The research environment emphasized distance from the domestic sphere, yet this aspect was not disregarded. In this research design school is both a starting point for providing information on the students' social networks and also the site

of media workshops and action research. The knowledge interest (Habermas, 1987) of the research is both practical and emancipatory: it aims to understand the patterns of exclusion and inclusion provided by media in the everyday lives of these teenagers, and to reflect upon the way this understanding is gained. The aim of this chapter is twofold. First of all it introduces my on-going multi-method research on media use among upper secondary school students with migrant background. Their relations to media are discussed especially in terms of establishing and maintaining relations with each other and diasporic communities. This process is related to ideas of re- and deterritorialising identities (Shohat, 1999). The second part of the article focuses on the methodological issues emerging during this research. Issues of voluntary participation, Othering and possibilities of emancipation are discussed in context of school research. One method is hardly enough to discern various complexities of media use, which suggests a move towards multi-sited and multi-methodological audience research. Multi-method research seems to provide useful tools for understanding the transnational experience of migrant youth and hence open up views to the use of transnational media.

Researching schools

Since my research is situated in school, it is related to the school system and its values and routines. As argued by Passani and Rydin (2004:10), schools are rooted in the structure of national societies and through their curricula transmit the core values of the nation. Thus researching school provides knowledge not only for the interests of education studies but also for wider perspectives on cultural values and ideologies. In terms of ethnic minorities and migrant students, school research opens views to the mechanisms of power, exclusion and inclusion in everyday life. In media research school provides a site for exploring the social aspects of media use, as well as a site for action research. In this respect research seeks the ways to reveal or overcome patterns of exclusion and to provide new spaces for learning, and explores how media use is intertwined in social relations at school (Dover, 2007). These were also the objectives of my research conducted in a local Finnish school. The research in question had two parts. The first part was conducted in November 2006 and consisted of three focus group interviews with the aim of gathering more knowledge and information of the possible methodological tools to be used. The focus group interviews were conducted with 22¹ students 15-20 years of age. Students were shown one 10-minute clip from the Swedish film 'Det Nya Landet' (The New Country, Sweden 2000)². After the screening students were asked to write down their thoughts about the clip and describe briefly what they saw. This was followed by an open discussion that first focused on the film and then moved on to more general issues of media use and the representation of immigrants in the media. Some students had obvious difficulties with the Finnish language however these students tried to take part in the discussions even with limited

vocabularies. I met most of these students again a year later in the second part of the research. This on-going research was built on the experiences from the preliminary study and again conducted in co-operation with the school. The research design of the second part included one month of media lectures during the winter 2007-2008, including media surveys and media diaries as well as nine individual interviews. These will be followed by a separate video workshop in May 2008. The aim of the video workshops is to improve the students' media skills which again may enhance their understanding of media structures and narratives, and most of all the options to express one-self visually as well as verbally through media. Thus the second part of the research moves towards action research, in which the researcher interacts actively to create research sites. This type of research aims to challenge the power structures both at the social level and in the research act itself. In line with action research³, this project strives to move from the individual level towards the social and cultural level (cf. Reason and Bradbury, 2001). Thus the research aims to contribute to the construction of social and cultural structures such as education programmes and media production. The teenagers who took part in the research were upper secondary school students from two S2 classes. S2 classes are designed for students with Finnish as their second language. These students came from Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Ethiopia, Russia, Moldova, Bolivia, Bosnia, Vietnam and Estonia. Half of them had arrived in Finland at the age of one or two; the other half had lived in Finland for around five to six years.

Hybrid tastes and styles

The interviews with migrant teenagers confirmed the results from previous research such as the popularity of the Internet in everyday life (cf. Elias and Zeltser-Shorer, 2006) as well as the multiple uses of media from both the former and the new homeland (cf. Gillespie, 1995). The multiple uses of media reflect migrant teenagers' identity position between (at least) two cultures. Media research has pointed out how this position relates with technological development providing access to media around the world. To follow Mandaville (2003) media is considered as a space of communication where identity is continuously constructed and re-imagined. Teenagers especially are seen to construct their identities more and more through media. Indeed theorists have suggested a decline in the importance of traditional sources of identity construction such as family, class and community (Strinati, 1995; Beck, 1995; Featherstone, 1996)⁴. Young people forge identities with reference to taste cultures and lifestyles. With the emergence of global consumer culture, media take part in what has been regarded as the construction of deterritorialised flexible lifestyles. This does not mean, however, that youth is free to construct its own lifestyles, as Pilkington and Johnson (2003) point out. They argue against the simple vision of scattered, temporary and fluid identity formations and demonstrate that according to various studies, identities are in many ways still rooted in materiality

and local cultures. In point of fact, media seems to operate with simultaneous processes of undoing and binding placements. On the one hand global media culture is increasingly present in everyday life and media offers opportunities to overcome national borders and engage with global and transnational media cultures. On the other hand local cultures, friends and family backgrounds remain important in terms of identity formation and media provides opportunities to maintain and strengthen relations with local, existing communities and find one's own specific communities. At the same time media then works to de-place and emplace identities (Naficy, 1999) These options are important since due to immigration, young people are often faced with loss of cultural and social networks and this happens at an age when identity formation is intense and critical (cf. Ajrouch, 2004).

Decisive in everyday uses of media is, of course, the accessibility of media and popular culture. Can the family afford the latest media technology such as games, mobile phones or the Internet, and what kind of media use is acceptable at home (Dover, 2007)? These resources again relate to ways to communicate and build social relationships.

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Thornton, 1996:10-11) then is used to form social relations. However these relations are also defined by family background, language and religion. For example, a Muslim girl who wore hijab and visited an Islamic debate forum regularly on the Internet was also a fan of science fiction and Kung Fu films and related with other fans of these genres. Similarly a devout Muslim and a Christian girl were best friends since they shared a religious world view, lived apart from their families and were less interested in youth cultures and trends than other class mates. They used media for religious purposes more than their class mates. These examples illustrate the ways in which multiple social relations are formed in relation to media.

Media seems to have added new sources and new kinds of spatial and temporal relationships to the identity work. As Sreberny (2000:181) suggests, these changes support the conceptual move from identity viewed as 'either/or' towards a sense of identification 'and/and'. It is these identities drawing on various cultural positions that Stuart Hall calls *hybrids* (1999:71). Hybrid identities are discussed especially in relation to diaspora and so-called second generation migrants. How then did media use relate to this assumed hybrid position among the young informants? Cultural background became visible in media use, in eagerness to watch news from the homeland, and in choices of music or clothing (cf. Dover, 2007). Teenagers used Kurdish web sites or Arabic TV channels while they were also aware of Finnish news, soaps and films. Hybrid position does not mean, however, that both cultures are there and available. Hooks (1994) aptly points out that theoretic formulations of hybridity or crossing borders are discussed in terms of difference. However, in practice these positions are complex and difficult to deal with. Certain cultural practices and traditions in the new country may remain unattainable in everyday life. Cultural habits and sensibility may also be felt to be strange although one may be aware of them. As an 18-year-old girl with a Chinese-Vietnamese background puts it: "I

do understand Finnish programmes but I don't really get them. I enjoy watching Chinese programmes more." She continues to explain difficulties especially to understand Finnish humour and jokes in entertainment programmes although she has lived in Finland most of her life, 17 years. This experience reflects how difficult it is to 'go native'. Indeed, in classroom discussions teenagers referred repeatedly to themselves as foreigners. In interviews they used 'us' or 'our country' when referring to their former homelands. Thus, in contrast to the idea of hybrid identity, they seemed to perceive their identities more according to their family background, even if they had lived in Finland almost all of their lives. Furthermore, migrants may experience various exclusionary practices that discourage their identification with the Finnish culture.

Another girl with a Vietnamese background explains how she 'as a Vietnamese' should listen to softer music than she does. *"I should listen to very soft pop music all the time"*. Her favourite music is quite heavy and her taste is considered 'strange' by her boyfriend. Thus for her, her taste in music means that she is not a 'typical' Vietnamese. However, at times she watches Vietnamese music DVD's together with her family.

"I don't really like watching them with my parents because they always skip the younger performers and want to watch the old ones". In this case the Vietnamese music genre is enjoyed and shared by the whole family. The dividing factor then is the age and attachment to different performers.

Media use reflects the hybrid positions in the sense that it draws on both former and new home countries and their cultures, but not settling clearly in either. Those who had arrived in Finland less than six years ago seemed to be more engaged with the homeland media than those who had lived in Finland most of their lives. The media of former homelands was usually available through satellites or videos. However, most of the teenagers interviewed were not as keen on watching satellite programmes as their parents were. They often referred to the satellites as something for the parents (cf. Rydin and Sjöberg, 2007).

I think the satellite programmes are super dull, only news. Once there was an interesting TV series on at the same time as my parents were watching the satellite programme so we had a terrible row, but the parents always win (laughter). (Girl, 18 years, Somali background)

Indeed, satellite programming and videos seem to form a kind of cultural tapestry: something that is in the background but not actively engaged with (cf. Georgiou, 2001).

Media use also reflects power relations between the parents and children. The interviewees spoke of parents' authority over television viewing.

My father doesn't like me watching anything that has violence [...] Even now when I am 20 years old he doesn't want me to see anything where men touch, you know. It depends on the culture where you have grown up, if it is natural, then it is ok, but if in your home country it is important to respect traditions

and fellow-men, then you don't watch that, it causes shame. Sometimes my father just goes and turns off the TV if there's something like that on. (Girl, 20 years, Ethiopian background)

However, these roles were reversed in the use of Internet. Teenagers were more competent with new technology than their parents and they used Finnish sites and chat rooms that were difficult for their parents to understand (cf. Sung, 1987; Hartley, 1994; Christopoulou and de Leeuw, 2004). *"Yeab, sometimes my father tries to look over my shoulder when I'm taking part in some debates and he asks, what does this mean, and sometimes I translate"* (Girl 18 years, Somali background). Despite the reversed power relations, parents did not seem to consider the Internet as threatening or harmful and its use was not severely restricted according to the teenagers. Clearly hybrid identity position means negotiation between different traditions and cultural values. This negotiation is connected with the use of media and the different levels of competences and skills related to that use.

Emerging transnational sensibility

As stated above, the Internet forms an important arena in young people's everyday life. Indeed, use of the Internet becomes so natural that some of the teenagers did not regard it as a medium at all. Most of them used the Internet every day for sending email, chatting, finding news and visiting specific sites in their own language. These non-Finnish sites were organised around religion (Islamic, Christian sites), ethnicity and language (Kurdish, Russian sites). Internet was mostly used to maintain and strengthen relations with the existing community and friends. For example, almost all of the girls and some of the boys interviewed chat with their friends every day after school. These friends were also their classmates, so after school they continue chatting, only online. The interviews showed that only few migrant teenagers actually had Finnish friends, even though they had lived in Finland most of their lives. The friendship groups were mostly multi-ethnic and formed with other migrants. Consequently experiences of isolation and difference from the Finnish culture and society may affect the uses of media and the need to find one's 'own' communities virtually. The teenagers also visited sites using their own language or background. A girl from Ethiopia regularly used the Internet to discuss with others who shared the experience of Ethiopian diaspora:

My tribe has its own Christian chat room where you can talk in our language or in other languages. We listen to a sermon and then discuss. I don't go there all the time, because you have to stay there for a while and during the exam week it's not good. There are people from France, Sweden and other countries. Some of them were born outside Ethiopia and don't even know the language well. (Girl 18 years old, Ethiopian background)

Another girl with a Somali background visited Islamic forums to discuss her religion and to argue about Islamic doctrine. Yet another girl used the Internet to communicate almost everyday with her friends and family who were left in Bolivia. These girls shared the Internet in everyday chats with their friendship group in Finland, but used Internet separately to connect with their own diasporic or religious communities. However when the diasporic community is large enough, as in the case of Russian-speaking teenagers, these uses can be combined. A group of Russian-speaking teenagers hung out together in and outside school. They used the Internet as a source of discussions and entertainment within their friendship group, which also forms part of their diasporic community. They regularly visited the Russian language 'Comedy club' web site and circulated jokes from the site whenever they met.

It's just among us Russians. It's like Kummeli (a Finnish sketch programme) in Finland. If someone just imitates a few words from that, everybody starts laughing. But Finns don't understand that or know anything about it. (Boy 18, Russian background)

As has been pointed out in various studies, Internet and satellite TV offer transnational perspectives alongside the representations offered by the national media (cf. Gillespie, 2000; Husband, 2000; Downing and Husband, 2005). It seems that for the younger generation the Internet forms the main channel of transnational media experience. In this context feeling at home relates in not being marginalised and finding communities to belong to. The way teenagers look for and find communities corresponding to their own experiences and backgrounds speaks for the Internet's capacity to both 'bridge and bond' (cf. Putnam, 2000). Teenagers' memberships and visits to Islamic forums or Kurdish websites enable them to belong to a community with a shared background. However, as the research has shown, these Internet forums are also shaped by diasporic experience (Shohat, 1999). Thus new practices and identity positions emerge beside more traditional perspectives. For example, girls were very much interested in discussing women's rights and equality. These issues were especially topical with the Kurdish women due to the public discussions on honour killings (cf. Reimers, 2007). Finnish ideas of gender equality and 'state feminism' were negotiated with their own cultural background and gender systems. Girls with Latin American and Ethiopian backgrounds also discussed women's rights, equality, sexuality and sexual exposure that they have faced since arriving in a new country with friends and family, but also in discussion forums.

Shared global and distant national TV

Despite multiple media sources, one prevailing trend seems to be the popularity of American TV series among migrant teenagers (cf. Tufte, 2003; de Block, 2006). American television series form an essential part of global media culture

reaching most corners of the world. Thus they create a common ground for forming social relations and discussions among young people regardless of their background. Series such as *The Simpsons*, *Prison Break* and *Lost* were discussed and referred to at school among the informants. American TV series seem to offer some sort of shared space for teenagers to connect with each other although the meanings attached to the programmes may vary. De Block (2006) has discussed this in terms of belonging and inclusion in the case of younger (10–14 year-old) migrant children. She argues that it is not necessarily the contents that define the spaces of belonging. TV talk itself may function as a way to connect with others – to have something in common to talk about (de Block, 2006). She maintains that in this respect global media becomes a resource of building and maintaining social relations across and within cultures (de Block, 2006). Indeed, media may intensify social relations within small groups as in the case of the teenagers with Russian background. Discussions and references to *Comedy Club* were circulated among the group and used to maintain social relations. Media may also create social relations across various communities and cultures. At schools references to popular media worked to create a sense of shared experiences among students of different backgrounds.

While global media was accessible to many, national Finnish media⁵ seemed to be more problematic for migrant teenagers. For some, it was because of the language, for others because of not sharing the same media memories as, for example, Finnish teenagers. Finnish programmes were much disputed and discussed with mixed feelings. In a classroom discussion one student referred to *Uuno Turhapuro*, a Finnish comedy character, as his favorite. Uuno Turhapuro is a carnivalistic (cf. Bakhtin, 1984) caricature of a lazy male chauvinist, who avoids work and responsibilities, yet manages to attract beautiful women and some success. Reference to Uuno spurred laughter and disbelief around him. A girl responded with laughter: “*You can’t be serious. I have never heard any foreigner who likes Uuno!*” Finnish TV series were considered ridiculous and embarrassing. Only a few admitted having watched Finnish soaps or movies. For some, the Finnish language is a barrier that makes watching these series difficult. The distance to the Finnish culture may also diminish eagerness to follow Finnish soaps, films and talk shows. It may be tempting to interpret this distance towards Finnish television series solely in terms of ethnicity however it might also have to do with the general attitudes towards domestic TV production among young people of their age. Within this age group American TV series (*House*, *Lost*, *Heroes*) are among the most popular television programmes (Finnpanel, 2007). A Finnish soap opera *Salatut Elämät* is an exception: it is popular among teenagers and was mentioned in individual interviews by two girls as something they might sometimes watch. As argued before, global media culture is focal in teenagers’ everyday lives and identity formation. Therefore attitudes towards and discussions of ‘bad’ Finnish television may follow the logics of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; cf. Thornton, 1996) rather than ethnicities and actually form some common ground for socializing among the teenagers.

However, various exclusionary practices may also cause distance to Finnish culture and reluctance to engage oneself with the Finnish television programmes. These exclusionary practices include marginalisation of ethnic minorities and their issues from the national media as I will argue below.

Disengagements: minority media

So-called minority media targeted at ethnic minorities in Finland seemed to attract little interest among teenagers. Minority media in Finland includes both state sponsored programmes within the Finnish public service broadcasting company *YLE* such as *Basaari*, the newspaper *SixDegrees*, Somali magazine *Golis* as well as private commercial media such as the Russian magazine *Spektr*, and Russian radio *Sputnik* in the Helsinki area, to mention a few. Local radio stations also broadcast news and programmes in various languages (for example in Arabic, Kurdish, Somali, Estonian and Russian) (for more detailed information on Finnish minority media see Suihkonen, 2003; Kauranen and Tuori, 2002). The teenagers were aware of the minority media of their own language or culture, but hardly anyone was engaged actively with these media. Sometimes minority programmes produced as a result of policy recommendations are not granted high production value and thus already marginalised in production (cf. Cottle, 1998). However, a large part of the media is run by ethnic minority associations and strives to offer information on both the new and former homelands. According to the teenagers, this information was also used by their parents. The teenagers were not engaged with minority media programmes themselves and did not find these programmes interesting enough, possibly because their media use is guided by friendship groups and oriented towards entertainment more than the current affairs and political issues distinctive to minority media.

Migrant issues were also apparent in some Finnish TV drama and comedy series broadcasted 2006-2007: the sketch series *Äbläm Säbläm*, broadcast in summer 2006 was a comedy made by a group of migrants and Finns and a drama series *Mogadishu Avenue* which depicted life in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in Helsinki. Although both series aroused interest among the teenagers beforehand, they were not widely known nor discussed among teenagers a year later when both programmes had ended. Some of the teenagers were not even aware of *Mogadishu Avenue*, even though according to the statistics (Finnpanel, 2006) it was one of the most popular TV series among Finnish viewers in the age group 10-24.

This speaks of the limits of the national frame and its inability to address migrant audiences, at least migrant teenagers. Also, *Mogadishu Avenue* especially, written by a Finnish author, was met with criticism due to its superficial approach to migrant experiences and its ultimately Finnish standpoint. The characters were humorous caricatures rather than profound portrayals of the migrant experience. The scriptwriter admitted (*HS* 1.12. 2006) that his purpose was not to depict the migrant experience but rather to write an enjoyable,

funny TV series. He also welcomed migrants to write their own series. Knowing the difficulties for migrants to gain a foothold in the Finnish media, this latter remark seemed rather arrogant.

All in all, Finnish media was seen to be very 'Finnish' in terms of not including many migrant reporters or performers. Moreover, news media was accused of stereotyping migrants and portraying them more or less negatively. These are examples of the exclusionary practices that migrants face in their everyday lives. Especially teenagers with Russian background claimed that Russians appear in the media only in the context of crime and problems. The teenagers made a connection between the prejudice they experienced and stereotypical representations in the media. These discussions elucidated the emotional dimension of news when addressing issues that are close and familiar. Thus news does not operate merely on the rational level. On the contrary, news is felt to be highly influential and thus affective in questions of identity and the power to define everyday life.

For ethnic minorities, the national media with sometimes racist and exclusionary representations may offer only a limited sense of belonging, whereas a transnational communications network may open up a new horizon for diasporic communities and transnational identifications (Brah, 1996). In this sense, Gillespie (2000) argues, the development of media technology may abate the importance of geopolitical borders and spatial and temporal boundaries and, hence, challenge the importance and vitality of national cultures.

Methodological issues: lessons learned

I will now move on to methodological issues concerning the research and my experiences as a teacher-researcher. First I discuss the research setting at school and then more specifically the issues of Othering, voluntariness and emancipation within school research. Doing research at school means entering a layered and routinized world filled with power relations among the students as well as between the students and teachers (cf. Gordon et al., 2005; Passani and Rydin, 2004; Christopoulou and Rydin, 2004).

Gordon et al. (2005:115) point out that while researchers entering school hold power over the researched; the situation is not that simple. Since researchers become part of the school's social relations they also become embroiled in the power relations within. Instead of holding power, a researcher may experience a sense of dependency on students, teachers and the whole school institution and a lack of control in field work. Schools limit and regulate field work in various ways, imposing rules and time frames to be followed. Researchers may also be dependent on teachers' suggestions and choices: which students to include in the research; setting time frames and defining physical sites for research. Ethnographic research thus requires sensitivity, self-awareness to be able to highlight the complexity in routines and to see her/his position and actions in the field (Gordon et al., 2005).

Being both a teacher and a researcher may be problematic and complicated since it may accentuate the power relations between the researched and the researcher and limit ways to resist or question the research agenda. Gillespie (1995) on the other hand considered her position as a teacher in a local Southall school as an asset to meet people and to get to know young people's networks: getting involved in young people was facilitated by teaching in a local high school. In this context she organized excursions and got involved with school projects that provided important background information of young people's social lives (*ibid*, 61). Thus Gillespie did not find her position as a teacher problematic. Indeed a familiar researcher, known from school, may have easier encounters with the researched than a stranger. In the end I also found my position as a teacher-researcher rewarding since the teenagers seemed to open up to me more as time went on. Moreover, my somewhat unofficial position between teachers and students offered space for more confidential discussions than perhaps with a 'proper' teacher.

I was quite dependent on the school and the teachers since they set clear frames for my research: they largely decided the timetables for my lessons and although I could negotiate with the school about various options, in the end I relied on their suggestions. They also knew the students and groups better than I did. Teachers were willing to help me and collected background information with essay assignments. In terms of timetables, however, the school rhythm is quite fast and teachers rarely have time to really focus on researcher's requests. The interview schedule for instance, became confused due to the shift to a new study period that did not include the same S2 class I used to work with. Thus some of the students were difficult to trace and many were also concerned about their chances to 'get interviewed'. The research period was also affected by external events. In the middle of my field work a tragic school shooting took place in another school in Finland (Jokela) and the event shook the whole country and especially schools throughout Finland. The incidence affected the general mood in the classroom and also our discussions. Some of the students were quite shaken and upset. The school administration, however, stressed the importance of avoiding dwelling on the incidence and continuing school work normally. I also tried to follow the routines of my research plan as much as possible, but since the discussions of the shooting were intense and brought up some issues that seemed relevant I decided to include them in the research. In these discussions students pointed out, for example, how some of their home countries lived in the middle of constant violence, yet the media seemed to repeatedly ignore that. The event brought back unpleasant memories and anxiety among some students with refugee backgrounds and they asked me to end the discussion, which I did. The role of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was also prominent throughout the tragedy, showing how religion is rooted in national and cultural values. A representative from the Church was present at the school to provide crisis relief. Although benevolent in purpose, this arrangement marginalised students with other religious convictions and their options for help.

Problems of Othering

One of the troubling points of the school research concerns the idea of voluntariness (Burgess, 1988; Raffe et al, 1988; Nelson and Merz, 2002). Though all research should be based upon the idea of voluntary participation, the situation at school is quite complex. The assumed voluntariness of the students' participation is not always clear and the boundaries of compulsory and voluntary are negotiated in various ways. During the first part of the research I noticed how some students remained silent throughout the discussions. It was difficult to decide whether this was because of their language skills or their reluctance to take part in the discussion. The group was quite large, which already limited the chances of detailed conversation with each student. In the second part of the research these aspects were addressed by more individual assignments and discussions with students. Face to face refusal may also be difficult as the following example shows. During the first part of the research in 2006 I was supposed to meet a group of students in the hallway. I found a group of students waiting in the hallway and asked if all of them were taking part of the research and they all agreed. We were supposed to go to a classroom with a VCR and the students led the way. During our walk from one end of the hall to the other, however, three girls went their own ways and disappeared. After waiting for a while for the girls, I realised they did not want to take part in the research after all, although they had earlier said they would. The incidence revealed how difficult it was to face me and to refuse to participate face to face – instead the girls just vanished. I think this reveals not only reluctance to take part in research, but also the embedded logic of obeying and assumed power relations of the school. As a white middle-aged Finnish woman I was granted authority although I was not involved in the students' official school work in any way. The issue of non-attendance has been discussed in other projects as well (Passani and Rydin, 2004). Reasons for not attending in the case of migrant students seem to be connected with a rigid and impersonal school system that does not meet the needs of these students. The aims of education or research may remain unclear to the students and difficult to achieve with limited language skills or in a situation where many have to work part time in order to get by.

Sometimes resistance seemed to be connected with the assumed 'refugee' or 'migrant' position. One of these moments occurred in our discussions about a film clip concerning a story of two refugees (*Det Nya Landet*). I asked the students whether they sympathized with any of the characters. One of the boys in the class said the car salesman was good. He stated this with laughter, supported by other boys beside him. The character he was pointing at was a fat car salesman who tried to rip off the main character Massood by selling him a lousy car. Thus the student refused to identify with either of the main characters, instead choosing the bad guy⁶. In doing so he also resisted the research agenda, and refused the position offered as a migrant student who is supposed to provide a migrant view of the film clip. His answer made me realize that the

research frame seemed to offer few alternatives for the students and as such was not that successful. I also became aware of my own intrusive gaze upon the students. Hooks (1994:85, 129-130) writes about the systems of domination in classrooms that 'silence the voices of individuals from marginal groups' and grants self evident, almost invisible authority to dominant, white groups. In a classroom situation then it may be difficult for teacher or researcher to see and recognize her own position. Such a system leaves little room for voicing marginal experience and sometimes, as in my case, these moments may be too forced and constrained.

The two cases describe different ways to resist the position offered from outside as a research object and the ways to tack in these situations without directly confronting any assumed authorities. These cases taught me the importance and difficulty of ensuring the voluntary nature of research participation at schools, which are normative spaces filled with various regulatory practices. Therefore the discussion of research ethics should not be underestimated, and researchers should make sure that students agree and understand that they are guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality, and that they are free to withdraw from the research at any point. In the second part of the research I designed options for students to take part in the class activities without having to take part in the research, thus giving them the chance to avoid the label of 'bad student' for refusing to participate in the research. These cases are also examples of the way research sometimes may take part in Othering migrants and not always acknowledging the desire to fit into the local environment. Similar experiences were encountered in the CHICAM project where children were not so keen on 'speaking as a migrant' and portrayed their experiences of migration in a rather subtle way (de Block, 2006). One of the challenges of the research then is to make use of the children's and teenagers' own experiences to encourage participation without promoting essentialist standpoints and assumed fixed ethnic identities (Hooks, 1994:85-89). The cases discussed above suggest that emphasizing migrant experience or refugee status within the research frame may cause contradictory responses and anxiety. However, classroom discussions concerning the representations of refugee and asylum in the media, although sometimes felt as private, sensitive or painful for the researched children and young people participating, may open up new ways to deal with these issues as I will describe below. These moments illuminate perhaps the productive side – not such constrained situations – of 'learning from experience' (cf. Hooks, 1994:89-92).

Emancipatory moments

Discussions about media may have an emancipatory function, as on the whole did the discussions concerning the film *Det Nya Landet*. The film clip did generate discussion on migration, and many students reflected on the film in relation to their own experiences and their first months in Finland. Students were first

asked to write about the clip they had seen and after that we discussed the film together. The responses, especially the written ones were quite emotional, containing expressions of sadness and sorrow.

"Now that we are living in Finland and everything is fine, I don't often remember that not everyone has these opportunities. And of course I wish that everyone who suffers in their own country would find a better life." 13H⁷

"I think about how tough it is for many refugees. Somehow it reminded me of my first year in Finland, when I wasn't very happy." 10H

As popular fiction, the film narrative addresses emotions in a very specific way through the dramatic structure and the use of close ups. It evokes emotional response and moments of identification. More importantly the discussion itself seemed to have an emancipatory function for the students. It seemed that the research discussion provided these students with one of the rare moments when they could discuss issues of ethnicity and media all together. Even students with limited language skills were eager to take part in the discussion. The discussion on racist stereotyping and naming seemed especially salient. Students shared their experiences of name-calling or being told to 'go back to your own country'. It seemed important to hear each other's stories concerning experiences of exclusion, thus creating a sense of togetherness, at least for a moment. This emancipatory dimension of research is important and worth consideration. Likewise the individual interviews seemed to offer a rare opportunity for the teenagers to privately express their feelings and to talk about their life situations with an adult. The students were eager to take part in the interviews and were rather worried about the possibility of missing 'their turn'.

Research can take part in community building on a concrete and immediate level by offering such spaces of emancipation. Another important point of media discussions relates to the emergence of transnational sensibility among migrant teenagers. Drawing on empirical audience research among Turkish migrants in Britain, Robins and Aksoy (2005) discuss transnational sensibility in terms of new kinds of imaginative spaces and the capacity to function and think across cultural domains. Robins and Aksoy criticize research for seeing the nation state as central to media cultures, thus finding a correlation of national cohesion and social order within the state's boundaries (Robins and Aksoy, 2005:19). For them the inability to think beyond the national frame means inability to identify migrant experience. However, I think it is also important to identify the way the national frame is embedded in everyday life. In order to gain a broader perspective on media use and to overcome the national frame, it is important that the research is not confined to a single medium. Instead, the various contexts of media use, and its intermediality are salient aspects in discerning and outlining transnational media spaces.

In my research transnational sensibility emerged in multi-ethnic classrooms in discussions on culture and society. Students' perspectives were rooted in their own backgrounds as well as in their experiences of living in Finland. Discussions on news, art and entertainment contained perspectives from the Middle-East to Asia, from Christian to Muslim world views and moralities.

Students accustomed to the specific position as non-Finns openly brought their own backgrounds and experiences into the discussions. Such discussions may provide an understanding of the resources of migrant experience, one's own and others', and encourage visibility of difference as a positive resource. In such a way research may approach Robin's and Aksoy's (2005) idea of knowledge-experience while also adapting the idea of research as a liberatory practice (Hooks, 1994).

Multi-ethnic classrooms may be quite complex in terms of cultural tastes and fashions because they are defined by intersecting and multiple forms of cultures and ethnicities. This complexity allows a wide spectrum of cultures and traditions, which in turn may help to expand and extend the boundaries of cultures. However, this transnational space is not without power struggles and tensions. An individual interview disclosed that there were religious and gender-related tensions between the girls. A Kurdish girl felt that girls with headscarves despised and disapproved of her because she did not wear a headscarf and liked to dress up and use makeup. She, for her part, regarded Islam and its supporters as judgmental and oppressive. New divisions are created in new contexts. Thus instead of celebrating the transnational sensibility in any simple fashion, research needs to scrutinise it critically acknowledging its complexities, power relations and differences within.

Towards multiple methods

Researching media use in a school environment opens up a view into various meanings of media and its social force in everyday life. The routines of everyday life are lived in various timetables, social relations and regulations at school. Understanding these complexities requires long-term observation and multi-sited perspective. In my research I used focus group interviews, surveys, media diaries, individual interviews and media classes to understand and gain knowledge of the everyday uses of media among migrant teenagers. Surveys and media diaries provided detailed information on the daily uses of media: what channels and programmes were watched; what kind of websites used and at what time of the day each medium was used. This information was useful in planning individual interviews. It helped to focus on the essential media use of each informant and to enhance the information already gathered. The focus group interviews (2006) and the media classes (2007) focused on collective discussions on media. These discussions were organised around media analysis assignments. In media classes different programmes were analysed together such as the news, drama and sketch series. Students were also given assignments to create a script for a TV series.

One of the main realizations of the research concerns these media classes and their contribution to research. In the beginning media classes were set up to offer ways to connect with the students. During the research it turned out that these classes provided interesting options for the research. As pointed

out earlier, media use among young migrants displays emerging transnational sensibility that crosses the borders of national framing. Indeed these aspects of transnational understanding of the world became apparent in the classroom discussions. Thus the discussions proved to be an important source for the research and a useful methodological tool for raising awareness of one's own experience as a resource. Media classes and discussions may then have an emancipatory element and function as a site of empowerment. On the other hand, individual interviews were important in producing detailed knowledge of everyday uses of media as well as reflection of this use with regard to family relations. The interviews addressed more private aspects of media use, whereas media classes provided more social and collective views on media. The relation between collectively and individually produced knowledge emerged when students talked about their favorite programmes. Only a few admitted having ever watched Finnish soaps or movies. However, in individual interviews the Finnish soap *Salatut Elämät* was mentioned by two girls as something they watch regularly. Private interview also disclosed the tension between the girls. This private interview contradicted my own interpretations of what was going on in the classroom and of the views produced in classroom discussions. Thus in many cases private interviews provided important additional information for the research.

All in all it seems that combining methods such as media classes, workshops, interviews and diaries offers multiple perspectives on the research agenda. More importantly, multiple methods enable the researched to adopt different positions throughout the research. Besides being interviewed and observed, the researched may take a more active part in the research in discussions and arguments, and moreover make use of the media workshops and improve their skills (cf. also De Block et al., 2005; de Leeuw and Rydin, 2007). Media classes may then offer more scope for self expression, with visual, audio and emotional dimensions. For example, an assignment to make scripts for a TV series set in their community enabled students' use of various narratives to express their views. However, different methods generate different kinds of knowledge requiring careful consideration. In multi-method research the understanding of the specific contexts also remains one of the focal challenges of the research. Thus it is not enough to use multiple methods to gain a broad perspective, it is also necessary to use time to understand the context of each method and the type of knowledge it produces.

Notes

1. There were altogether 22 students and three groups. One of the focus groups was formed of four students with Finnish backgrounds. These four students only took part in the focus group interview.
2. The film is about two asylum seekers, Kurdish Massoud and Somali Ali, who decide to leave the reception centre and Sweden after waiting in vain for positive decision. In two of the groups the discussion on the film was quite inactive and I had to do quite a lot of work to

keep the discussion going. However, in the last and largest group, the discussion was lively and enthusiastic, and moved on spontaneously. I did not need to intervene as much as in the other two groups.

3. Action research used particularly in education research takes an active role setting up projects on community building. In media research this approach often involves establishing media workshops or programmes as part of the research. (See Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Kirova and Emme, 2006; Meadows, 2003; Meyer, 2003; Klæbe and Foth, 2007; De Block et al., 2005).
4. In the diasporic experience the importance of family background is often heightened (Christopoulou and de Leeuw 2004), thus the argument of media replacing families can be questioned or at least challenged in the case of migrant youth.
5. By national Finnish media I refer to media (newspapers, magazines, evening papers, TV channels, radio) produced in Finnish or Swedish with nation-wide distribution.
6. Actually the car salesman in the film is also an immigrant. This is revealed by his accent and not by his appearance. Thus people without any knowledge of Swedish language may well perceive him as Swedish.
7. Written answers were numbered and organized according to the group. H marks the third focus group.
8. The European CHICAM project established media clubs in schools for one year where migrant children of 10-14 years of age could produce their own videos. In the project children who were not active in the regular classes at school were able to express themselves and gain respect from others. Thus the workshops, as an informal social space, could create new social space for children to meet.

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The Internet Life of FSU Immigrant Adolescents in Israel¹

Nelly Elias & Dafna Lemish

Immigrants' adaptation to a new society frequently combines a growing identification with one's new home while still longing for the old one; looking 'around' at the new environment, but also looking 'back' at life in the distanced homeland (Sreberny, 2000). This process is especially difficult for immigrant teenagers who are not only ripped from the familiar culture as they move to a new country and start a new kind of life, but also face severe cognitive-emotional-behavioral-social obstacles stemming from the transition from childhood to adulthood (James, 1997; Mirsky, 1992; Yeh and Inose, 2002).

Based on this understanding, our ongoing research investigates the place of the Internet in the social and cultural adaptation of immigrant adolescents from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) who arrived in Israel since the beginning of the 2000, as part of one million immigration wave. The research literature reveals that these young immigrants are well-adjusted and play by local rules in some realms of their lives, while in other aspects they stick to their original cultural background. Thus, young 'Russians' successfully navigate their way through various Israeli institutions and exhibit good adaptive skills necessary for their future upward mobility: Command of Hebrew, understanding of local social codes and instrumental contacts with Israeli peers. Yet, in the private sphere of their lives, most stay firmly rooted in their co-ethnic circle that serves as the key provider of social support and a safety net (Remennick, 2003).

Likewise, several studies suggest that the Russian-speaking immigrant youngsters are engaged in a segmented acculturation process (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) in which they negotiate their own distinct pathway between home and host cultures, augmented by new transnational opportunities. While adopting multiple elements of local conduct, lifestyle and fashion options, young immigrants retain the core mindset and outlook shaped during their formative years in the FSU. As a result, a new hybrid cultural realm is emerging, typified by hyphenated identities (Russian and Israeli), lifestyles (e.g. Russian discos and clubs that feature Russian, Israeli and MTV-style music), mixed lingoes and transnational links with friends in the FSU and other countries (Anteby-Yemini, forthcoming; Niznik, 2003).

In these circumstances, the diverse cultural and information resources and on-line communication options provided by the Internet might be an especially efficient platform assisting immigrant youth's participation in this hybrid acculturation process. We assume that the Internet facilitates immigrant adolescents' efforts to familiarize themselves with their new home and find their place in the circle of the local peers along with maintaining their original social network and previous cultural leanings, rooted in the Russian language and culture. Hence, the following are the research questions stemming from the research goals:

1. What cultural leanings are reflected in the websites preferred by the FSU immigrant adolescents (i.e. the host, the homeland and the global ones)?
2. How is web-based interpersonal communication used by the immigrant adolescents to maintain previous and to establish new social links?
3. What are the relationships between the immigrant adolescents' social and cultural adaptation, ethnic maintenance and their Internet uses?

Media roles in immigrant youth's social and cultural adaptation

According to the extensive body of research conducted on adult immigrants, interpersonal and mass communications play decisive roles in immigrants' adaptation and their identity construction. The 'Theory of Cross-cultural Adaptation' proposed by Kim claims that "adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs in and through communication" (Kim, 2001:36). Hence, media uses play a variety of roles in the immigrants' lives, in keeping with the diversity and dynamics of ongoing adaptation to a new society and maintenance of their original ethnic and cultural identity (see e.g. Adoni, Caspi and Cohen, 2006; Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranth, 2007; Chaffee, Naas and Yang, 1990; Elias, *in press*; Georgiou, 2006; Lee and Tse, 1994; Zhou and Cai, 2002).

Consequently, studies conducted on immigrant children and youth have found an intersection between their media uses, social incorporation and ethnic maintenance. For example, Gillespie's (1995) ethnographic research on second generation Indians living in London revealed the crucial role of different television contents in the construction of their hybrid cultural identity. Gillespie found that exposure to broadcasts of Indian television and videocassettes with Indian films insured a degree of preservation of traditional norms and values, while the exposure to British television programs and to international television broadcasts enabled young viewers to challenge the traditional values and norms and to develop a new cultural identity. Similarly, more recent studies by Durham (2004) and Mayer (2003) found that homeland television formats played an important role in immigrant girls' construction of ethnic and gender

identities and helped them cope with the various tensions experienced as young women of color in the US.

Alongside studies that focused solely on television, an innovative international research project investigated how refugee and migrant children in different European countries represent and express their experiences of migration and resettlement through media production and consumption (Christopoulou and de Leeuw, 2004; de Block and Rydin, 2006; de Block and Buckingham, 2007). Even though the project's main focus was on immigrant children's media activities that took place in a structured environment of media clubs designed for purposes of the study, the findings offer important insights into the roles fulfilled by the various media for immigrant youth as a means of retaining as well as of breaking their original cultural leanings.

Likewise, in our previous research on the FSU immigrant children and their parents in Israel and Germany we found that the mass media play a central role in the dialectics of integration into the host culture and preservation of their homeland identity (Elias and Lemish, 2006, 2008). Here, 'inward' integration into immigrants' home-culture and family consolidation included such media roles as instilling linguistic skills of mother tongue, transmitting cultural heritage and spending family leisure time together. 'Outward' integration into the host culture and local peer group, on the other hand, was demonstrated by instilling linguistic skills of host language, adoption of local youth culture and spending time with peers.

Immigrants and the Internet

The research literature on websites addressing the adult immigrant population suggests that immigrants' on-line publications tend to replace traditional newspapers in the process of adaptation and social integration. Thus, for example, Georgiou (forthcoming) found that the Internet provided a space in which small immigrant communities in the UK that lack economic and political resources could develop efficient communication channels for spreading information that is vital to their survival in the new society. Moreover, the Internet served as a forum for public discourse on issues related to immigrants' painful experiences, usually excluded from the mainstream British media. In addition, Zhang and Xiaoming's (1999) study of the electronic publications of Chinese Diaspora revealed that on-line immigrant newspapers were an efficient means for reinforcing contacts among the transnational audience and nurturing its ethnic and cultural identity.

Furthermore, immigrant websites fulfill an important role in the immigrants' searching for the new cultural identity versus preserving the original one. In examining a portal that provided historical and cultural information about India to immigrants of Indian origins living in the US, Mitra (1997) found out that it not only enabled immigrants to maintain online contact with their homeland, but it also redefined Indian identity in the diaspora. Similarly, Kozar (2002)

revealed that the Chinese on-line literary periodicals originating in Canada enriched traditional Chinese cultural symbols by placing them into the new social and cultural surroundings.

Alongside studies examining contents prevalent on the immigrant websites, Yelenevskaya's (2005) ethnographic study of a small sample of Russian-speaking immigrants in Israel and Germany provides interesting insights into the social and cultural identity of the Diasporic websites' visitors. Thus, Yelenevskaya's interviewees frequently visited chats and discussion groups in Russian in order to share their immigrant experience and express feelings of alienation towards the host society. Moreover, the interviewees emphasized their strong ties with other Russian-speaking immigrants and expressed criticism towards those immigrants who had created friendships with the local residents.

These findings were partially refuted by Elias and Shorer-Zeltser (2006), who conducted an electronic survey of visitors to Russian-language websites in Israel, Germany and the US. On the one hand, the research found that 'transnational' features constitute a central part of respondents' self-definition. In fact, most respondents expressed feeling greater affinity for other 'Russians', whether they were immigrants living in the host country, immigrants living in other countries, or residents of the FSU, than for the residents of the host country. On the other hand, the research findings did not indicate that immigrants' association with the transnational diaspora led to their social alienation as insinuated by Yelenevskaya (2005). Rather, alongside close links with the Russian-speaking immigrants and a strong attachment to the former homeland and its culture, over half of the respondents indicated that they had established friendships with local residents and most claimed that it was important to keep up-to-date on current events in the host country. Thus, these findings indicate that taking part in a virtual transnational community neither slowed down the immigrants' integration nor encouraged their alienation towards the host society (Elias and Shorer-Zeltser, 2006).

In contrast with the extensive body of literature on the Internet and adult immigrants, there is a modest research on immigrant adolescent Internet users. Two recent studies are directly relevant to our study: d'Haenens's (2003) research of second generation Moroccan and Turkish youth in the Netherlands found a strong link between the higher score of ethnic identification and users' needs, such as looking for news about the country of origin, seeking information on Islam and maintaining contacts with co-ethnic peers through the Internet. Likewise, Rydin and Sjöberg's study on Internet uses among immigrant families in Sweden, reported in this book, indicates that interviewees who identified more with their ethnic community used the Internet for cultural aims related to their parents' homeland and participated in intra-communal chat groups, such as young Asians in Sweden.

Accordingly, our current research represents the next step in an ongoing investigation of Internet roles in immigrant youth's identity construction in the case of recent immigrants from the FSU, who arrived in Israel at the beginning of the 2000. The study focuses on a variety of Internet-related activities that

may play a central role in these immigrants' adaptation to their new surroundings in parallel with preservation of their original cultural leanings. In doing so, the findings illuminate the link between different Internet uses and various aspects of immigrants' social and cultural adjustment.

Research methodology

Two research methods were applied simultaneously in the data-gathering process in-depth interviews and structured questionnaires – conducted in 2005 among 93 FSU immigrant adolescents, who participated in both the survey and the in-depth interview. The sample consisted of 37 boys and 56 girls aged 12-18 and was solicited through a combination of two non-random sampling methods snowball and quota (Deacon et al, 1999). While the sample is not representative, special effort was directed to recruit youth representing different socio-demographic profiles and cultural backgrounds of the heterogeneous immigrant population from the FSU in Israel. The sample was equally divided between the urban center of Israel and the periphery (in this case smaller towns in the southern part of the country), and between the more 'veteran' immigrants who have been living in Israel for 3-5 years and 'newcomers' resided in the country between half year to two years.

The interviewees were willing participants in the research and we encountered only a few refusals. Each interviewee received a small payment (equivalent to \$12) as a token of appreciation for her or his time and attention upon completion of the interview. Since the sample consisted of recent arrivals who were experiencing certain difficulties with expressing themselves in the host language, all the interviews were conducted in Russian by two trained research assistants of Russian origins. Interviewees were asked, first, to fill out a structured questionnaire after which they answered a series of the open-ended questions. The entire interview took place in the interviewee's bedroom, so as to familiarize ourselves with the interviewee's media availability and to maintain his/her privacy, and lasted on an average an hour and a half.

The questionnaires and the in-depth interviews focused on the main patterns of media usage, while distinguishing between different print and electronic media in the Russian, Hebrew and English languages; the gratifications sought and acquired from the media; and the roles of different media in the interviewees' social and family lives. Furthermore, a significant portion of the interview was directed to interviewees' access to the Internet and included questions about patterns of Internet surfing before immigration; amount of time spent surfing the Internet on a daily basis; favorite websites, their main characteristics and the reasons for surfing these sites; patterns of web-based interpersonal communication; attitudes and meanings associated with Internet related activities and the like.

In addition, the interviewees were asked about various aspects of their social and cultural identity and their integration in Israel, such as the use of Russian and

Hebrew languages in everyday life; friendships with native-born children versus the Russian-speaking counterparts; importance of being familiar with the host culture and the culture of origin; sense of belonging to the host society and to the original homeland; and perceived cultural similarity with the local peers.

The quantitative data gathered through the questionnaires were analyzed by using SPSS software. Statistical analyses included (1) descriptive statistics (e.g., frequencies, cross-tabs and chi-square tests) for describing the sample and the main variables; (2) Pearson correlations were used to examine the link between the various aspects of interviewees' social and cultural identity and their Internet uses. The in-depth interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed per verbatim and submitted to a grounded analysis as customary in qualitative studies (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). Each transcript was read and re-read, and coded for emerging categories. The in-depth analysis of the qualitative data is discussed elsewhere (Elias and Lemish, forthcoming; Elias, Lemish and Khvorostianov, 2008). Here we offer some of the qualitative findings as complementing exemplars illustrating the phenomena at hand. In translating the selected quotes into English, we attempted to retain interviewees' personal style, correcting only for gross English mistakes to make the text accessible.

On-line life of the FSU immigrant youth

The Internet was found to be a relatively new medium for most of interviewees, who started surfing after arriving in Israel: whereas only 28% of the interviewees surfed the Internet prior to immigration, 89% of them surf it regularly (at least once a week) in Israel. This difference was evident even among the older participants (i.e., those who were teenagers before immigration), as 58% had never used the Internet while living in the FSU. Furthermore, 54% of the interviewees had a home computer connected to the Internet and 24% had an Internet connection in their bedroom. 10% of the interviewees, who stated that they surf regularly but did not have a computer at home, usually accessed it at school and more rarely at friends' houses. Finally, examination of the amount of time spent on the Internet compared to television viewing found that interviewees surfed the Internet daily on an average 2.9 hours compared to 2.6 hours of television viewing, which points to the centrality of both media in the interviewees' lives.

In regard to demographic differences among the Internet users, we found that boys tended to spend more time on the Internet than girls (3.3. hours versus 2.5 hours respectively, $p=0.045$); and older interviewees (15-18 age group) spent more time on the Internet than did their younger counterparts (12-14 age group): 3.2 hours versus 2.3 hours ($p=0.039$). This finding is substantiated by other studies of Internet uses among the Israeli youth in general (Lemish, Ribak and Alony, under review). Surprisingly, no significant difference was found in relation to length of residence in Israel. This suggests that even very recent immigrants tend to surf the Internet intensively.

A comparison of frequency of surfing Russian, Hebrew and English language websites (see Table 1) revealed that Russian websites were the most popular amongst the sample. In addition, a significant correlation was found between interviewees' length of residence in Israel and frequency of surfing websites in their mother tongue versus the host language: More veteran immigrants tended to surf Hebrew websites more frequently ($r=0.355$, $p=0.001$) and Russian websites less frequently ($r= -0.312$, $p=0.004$). On the other hand, no significant correlation was found between length of residence in Israel and frequency of surfing English language websites. This finding is not surprising given the high diversification that characterizes the English-language Web. Such diversity may mean that different cultural needs can be met through the websites in English at different stages of the young immigrants' adaptation.

Table 1. Frequency of surfing websites in Hebrew, Russian and English (%)

	Russian websites	Hebrew websites	English websites
Every day	57.3	21.7	22.9
Several times a week	14.6	24.1	25.3
Once a week	9.8	8.4	8.3
More rarely	6.1	18.1	16.9
Never	12.2	27.7	26.6

n= 93

Furthermore, interviewees tended to surf websites in two languages out of three, with websites in English being a supplement to either Russian or Hebrew websites. One implication of this finding is that these youngsters maintain a constant link with international youth culture through their use of the English language websites. On the other hand, no correlation was found regarding simultaneous usage of websites in Russian and Hebrew languages. When these findings are related to the length of residence in Israel, we found that interviewees, who had resided in Israel for more than three years, tended to surf the websites in Hebrew and English, whereas their newly arrived counterparts surfed English and Russian language websites. As such, English-language websites not only provide their immigrant visitors with the 'bridge' to the global youth culture, but they may also serve as a common cultural denominator for the adolescents with different immigrant experiences.

On-line cultural preferences of the FSU immigrant youngsters

The first research question examined cultural preferences, as reflected in the immigrant adolescents' Internet use, in a comparative manner between the host, Russian and global cultures. For this purpose we distinguished between the various websites according to language (Russian, Hebrew and English), as well as to the website's orientation (information versus entertainment). As can be

seen from Table 2, Russian, entertainment websites were the most preferred in the sample, since 78 percent of the interviewees surfed these websites in search of games, music and films. Such a high rate differs significantly from the rate of surfing similar websites in Hebrew, as only 12 percent of the interviewees visited Hebrew language entertainment websites. In comparison, the most frequently visited websites in Hebrew were information-oriented (i.e. education, practical information and news), as almost 55 percent of the interviewees reported surfing these sites – a rate significantly higher than rates of surfing other websites in the host language. This finding can be explained by the interviewees' high motivation to learn about their new society, as well as by a pragmatic reason – search for materials that will assist them complete school assignments.

Table 2. Surfing the Internet according to language and website's character (%)

Do you surf to:	Russian websites	Hebrew websites	English websites
Games, music and movies	78.3	11.8	59.1
Websites of informative character	43.0	54.8	30.1
News about Israel	33.3	18.3	6.5
World news	34.4	11.8	11.8
News about the FSU	26.9	2.2	-

n=92

Furthermore, through qualitative data we can see that interviewees distinguished between three kinds of information provided by different types of websites: Information needed for the school, information related to their personal interests and information about life in Israel. Whereas the school-related information was sought mostly in the Hebrew language websites, information of a more personal nature was usually sought through the websites in Russian and English:

If I need something for school, then I look for it in Hebrew websites, just so I do not need to bother myself with translation, not to waste too much time. But if I need some information for myself, something that I'm interested in, such as aliens or cars or CIA, then I look for it in Russian websites, and sometimes in English. I have never even thought to look for this information in the Hebrew sites, it's just not what I need (Oleg, 14, 3 years in Israel).

Such a division was not found to exist when seeking information about various aspects of life in the new country (e.g. popular resorts, religious traditions, prestigious neighborhoods, fashion, climate etc.), as most interviewees surfed simultaneously Hebrew and Russian language websites originating in Israel, in order to fill their knowledge gaps. Such actions seem reasonable given new immigrants' need to learn almost everything from scratch:

There is a site that translates things from Russian to Hebrew. That's important. There are news sites about the political and economic situation in Israel. They

explain the world we live today. And besides this, I enter a chat, choose a topic, and correspond. I ask all kinds of questions and receive all kinds of answers; for example, about life in a different city, let's say, Herzelia [a fairly large, well-to-do town in the center of Israel]. Is it good or bad there? What's interesting there? How is the weather? We don't plan to live in Beer-Sheva [a city in the peripheral south] forever. Later we will decide where we wish to live (Jenia, 16, 1 year in Israel).

Moreover, based on the interview data, immigrant adolescents seem to have much more trust in information sought through the Internet than that offered by Israeli peers or teachers (for more about this claim, see Elias and Lemish, forthcoming). It appears, therefore, that the Internet is a much more efficient means than local residents in assisting young immigrants learn about their new society.

The high popularity of Russian language websites, especially for the purpose of relaxation and entertainment, might be explained by the fact that most interviewees were relatively recent immigrants who were experiencing difficulty with the host language and thus preferred to surf websites with which they felt most comfortable. And, indeed, application of Pearson correlation between level of Hebrew language knowledge and surfing Russian language websites revealed that the level of command of Hebrew correlated significantly with surfing Russian entertainment websites ($r = -0.360$, $p = 0.001$). That is, interviewees with a better command of Hebrew tended to surf less the websites in their mother tongue.

This having been said, interviewees' surfing preferences are not explained by host language proficiency alone, as cultural preferences and taste, too, are key factors. Thus, surfing Russian websites oriented to current events in the former homeland correlated significantly with the interviewees' interest in events in the FSU ($r = 0.239$, $p = 0.031$), whereas surfing Russian websites oriented towards entertainment correlated significantly with interviewees' motivation to be familiar with the Russian popular culture ($r = 0.208$, $p = 0.047$) and their desire to preserve their capabilities in the Russian language ($r = 0.232$, $p = 0.038$).

Similarly, interviewees who reported having more interest in events in Israel reported surfing the Hebrew language news websites more frequently ($r = 0.266$; $p = 0.026$). Yet, on the other hand, no significant correlation was found between these interviewees' interest in the Israeli popular culture and surfing Hebrew language entertainment websites. One possible explanation for this finding might stem from the fact that only a negligible minority of interviewees surf the entertainment-oriented Hebrew websites (see Table 2), and as such it does not allow for identification of a possible statistical correlation between surfing these sites and the cultural preferences of their visitors.

The qualitative data from the in-depth interviewees completely supported these findings. Interviewees who had a greater appreciation for the Russian culture and expressed feeling distant from the local culture and the host language preferred websites in Russian and English, as apparently their contents better suited the interviewees' cultural preferences and tastes:

Most of all, I like to play games on the Internet. I prefer games in Russian and in English. The games in Hebrew are too primitive. Everything in Hebrew has some defect. [...] Also I do not like the Hebrew songs. Sometimes I sing to myself when walking outside. If I sing in English – it is OK, Russian too is OK, but if I try to sing in Hebrew, yuch, it is disgusting (Gleb, 13, 4.5 years in Israel).

This preference for the Russian language and Russian cultural attributes (as were reflected in the interviewees' media consumption patterns) also includes seeking information on personal interests and hobbies:

I like reading books in Russian. The Russian books are so much better than the Hebrew ones. And the [Russian] language, of course, it is so rich... I don't know about other languages, but you can't even compare it with Hebrew. I like to read books on the Web, especially fantasy ones. Sometimes, I visit historical websites [in Russian]. I look for materials about the Second World War or some interesting historic events [in Russia]. For example, a very strange object was seen in Siberia many years ago. Nobody knows for sure what it was. I've read several explanations. Maybe it was a meteorite or a flying saucer? (Daria, 14, 2 years in Israel).

In contrast, only a negligible minority of the most veteran immigrants who had arrived in Israel at elementary school used the Hebrew language websites for relaxation and entertainment and stated that they enjoy them more than surfing the similar websites in Russian. This preference towards the host culture together with feeling estrangement towards the culture of origin was very rare in the sample, probably due to the fact that most interviewees were relatively recent immigrants, who were taking their first steps into the labyrinth of the local cultural codes.

This said, most of the interviewees claimed to have some interest in the websites oriented towards the host society. Most did so in order to learn about various aspects of Israeli culture, such as Jewish history and tradition, Israeli music and films, and the like:

When I arrived, I looked for some efficient means to improve my Hebrew. Somebody told me that I should watch Israeli movies. But I didn't know where to find them. Israeli channels show Hollywood movies for the most part and also my parents wanted to watch television in Russian... Then I found some Russian websites where you can download movies ... You can find almost any movie you want there [including those in Hebrew]. Up until now I've seen more than 10 [Israeli films]. Actually, it's not only about the language. You can learn about the culture. I learn much more from films than from my Israeli classmates, because I don't have any interaction with them at all (Vadim, 18, 2 years in Israel).

Similar to Vadim, most interviewees mentioned Russian language websites as a means of learning about the host culture. This finding is especially important due to the fact that the interviewees had very limited access to other agents of socialization to Israeli culture, such as local peers, Israeli television channels, or books in Hebrew. That is, most of the interviewees had superficial contacts with the native-born teens; they could not watch Israeli television at home, since their parents insisted on watching the Russian channels; and, they had difficulty reading books in Hebrew. Given these circumstances, the Internet in the Russian language became the most accessible 'cultural broker' that assisted the interviewees in the complex task of cultural adaptation (see more in Elias and Lemish, forthcoming).

Less frequently mentioned by interviewees was a different combination, i.e. surfing Hebrew language websites in an attempt to find information about issues related to the homeland and its culture. The few cases identified were most veteran immigrants who experienced difficulty reading in Russian and the interviewees whose access to the Internet was limited to use of the school computer lab.

In this regard, we wish to add a methodological comment. It was impossible to identify the socializing role of Russian-language websites by means of the quantitative tools we had at our disposal. While the structured questionnaire distinguished between the websites' language and their main orientation (entertainment, information etc.), it neglected less predictable links between Russian websites and interviewees' orientation toward the host culture or websites in Hebrew oriented toward the former homeland. This link was revealed in the in-depth interviews and it indicates the multi-faceted nature of Internet uses which serve the multi-dimensional needs of immigrants in various stages of their adjustment to the new society and the construction of their various collective and personal identities.

Web-based interpersonal communication

The second research question analyzed patterns of interviewees' use of the Web in order to conduct interpersonal communication and their reasons for doing so. Here we examined patterns of interviewees' use of e-mail and participation in chats in the Russian, Hebrew and English languages to determine whether such communication was aimed at maintaining the links with friends left behind or establishing the new ones with peers living in Israel and in other countries.

Conducting interpersonal communication in Russian through the Web was the most frequent in comparison with other languages (see Table 3), as more than a half of the interviewees reported regular (daily or weekly) use of the Internet in order to participate in chats and/or to send e-mails in their mother tongue. Yet, we have to emphasize that the frequency of use of web-based communication in the Hebrew and English languages was also relatively high: 35% of the interviewees reported participating in chats in Hebrew on a daily or

weekly basis and almost 30% participated regularly in chats in English. These findings suggest that considerable attempts were being made by immigrant adolescents to establish new social links, in spite of the relatively short period of time they had resided in Israel.

Table 3. Frequency of using e-mail and chats (%)

	Daily	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Chats and ICQ in Russian	28.7	22.9	6.9	41.5
Chats and ICQ in Hebrew	24.1	11.5	5.7	58.7
Chats and ICQ in English	14.9	15.0	11.5	58.6
E-mail in Russian	36.0	17.5	9.3	37.2
E-mail in Hebrew	3.5	18.9	9.4	68.2
E-mail in English	11.8	13.0	10.6	64.6

n=89

The qualitative findings support these patterns identified in the survey: A majority of the interviewees admitted that their social network was comprised mostly of young immigrants, whereas their interaction with local peers was rather superficial and largely negative. In addition, many interviewees expressed feelings of embarrassment and disorientation in face-to-face communication with local teens due to the language and cultural barriers. Given these circumstances, web-based communication was a useful surrogate for direct interpersonal contacts since it provided anonymity and physical distance, and thus was extremely helpful in practicing communicative skills in the new language and even for establishing contacts of romantic nature with native-born peers that were nearly impossible in off-line reality. The following statement by Dima, 16-year old boy who has resided in Israel for four years, exemplifies these points:

It is difficult in real life. If I meet a pretty [Israeli] girl, I feel too embarrassed to start talking to her. There [on the Internet] it doesn't matter if I am alone or not if she does not answer back. But, if this happened when I am with my friends, then I would feel ashamed. In the chat rooms it's much easier. There everyone is nice. There are many things that I can't tell a girl face to face... may be it will sound strange because of my accent. And, may be she will laugh. But when I meet a girl through the ICQ, it is different; it's a more intimate situation.

Furthermore, we found a significant correlation between the frequency of web-based communication in Russian and in English ($r=0.343$, $p=0.001$), as well as between the frequency of web-based communication in Hebrew and in English ($r=0.196$, $p=0.05$). It seems, therefore, that both categories of immigrant adolescents – those who are more involved in the web-based communication with their co-ethnics and those who are more integrated in the circle of the local peers – maintain transnational links with adolescents all over the world.

On the other hand, no significant correlation was found between the web-based communication in the Hebrew and Russian languages.

Similar to patterns found regarding surfing websites in the three languages, an examination of Pearson correlation between the interviewees' length of residence in Israel and their use of the web-based interpersonal communication revealed that more veteran immigrants tend to be involved more frequently in the web-based communication in Hebrew ($r=0.423$, $p=0.001$) and less frequently in the web-based communication in Russian ($r=0.443$, $p=0.001$). On the other hand, no significant correlation was found between the length of residence and the frequency of interpersonal web-based communication in English.

Especially interesting were the patterns of web-based interpersonal communication found to correlate significantly with patterns of 'off-line' friendships: Interviewees with more friends among local peers were also involved more in web-based personal communication in Hebrew ($r=0.334$, $p=0.002$), whereas interviewees who had more friends among Russian-speaking immigrants were more involved in web-based communication in Russian ($r=0.374$; $p=0.000$). On the other hand, involvement in the virtual network of Russian speakers does not seem to reduce interviewees' motivation to establish friendships with local peers, as no significant correlation was found between the interviewees' will to make friends with local teenagers and the frequency of their correspondence through chats and e-mail in Russian.

As to the question regarding interviewees' correspondents, the findings reveal that a half of the sample correspond with friends living in the FSU, 65 percent correspond with friends living in Israel and 54 percent correspond with 'virtual friends' met through the Web. The Russian language was found to be preferable for the web-based communication with friends, as 70 percent of interviewees reported corresponding in their mother tongue, 16 percent of the interviewees corresponded with friends in English and 14 percent – in Hebrew. It appears, therefore, that most of the interviewees' addressees share the same cultural background, whether they live in Israel or in other countries.

Furthermore, though the 'personal matters' was the most popular subject for web-based interpersonal communication amongst the sample, we can see from Table 4 that friends in the FSU were the preferable addressee for the correspondence of personal character, in comparison with friends living in Israel and the friends met through the Web.

Table 4. Main subject of correspondence (%)

	Friends in the FSU	Friends in Israel	'Virtual' friends
Personal matters	64.8	50.0	44.6
Hobby	28.9	35.0	51.0
Educational material	2.2	10.0	-
Other	4.1	5.0	4.4

n=89

Likewise, the qualitative findings show that a major part of the interviewees' web-based communication was directed to other teens of Russian origin, be they Russian-speaking immigrants of their own age in Israel or friends left behind in the FSU. It is important to note that contacts with Russian-speaking youngsters were stable and very intensive in contrast to online contacts with their native-born counterparts; the latter were perceived by interviewees as exercising new communicative skills and did not continue over an extended period of time. Most such correspondence involved personal issues, some of a romantic nature, while others were motivated by the interviewees' desire to maintain close and intimate contacts with friends in the FSU or to share mutual experiences with other young immigrants in Israel:

I am so lucky that my friend [in the FSU] has a computer and we can meet on-line. Both of us installed the same software, so now I can see when he is on-line and he can see me [...] He tells me about his life, I tell him about mine. We exchange pictures... I want to know every detail about what is going on there in the school, with all our friends. My other friends don't have computers, but they send me an SMS almost every day. Every evening I put a Russian SIM card into my cell phone and read messages from them. And then I go to the [Russian] website, where I can send messages for free to the cell phones in Russia and answer them (Roman, 16.5, 1 year in Israel).

Hence, the findings demonstrate that web-based communication with friends in the FSU plays an important role in the interviewees' lives, since it provides them with an opportunity to follow recent events in their previous social circle, thus maintaining some continuity between past and present in their ruptured life narrative. This is especially important given the fact that being relatively recent immigrants most of the interviewees had encountered difficulties making new friends, even among the Russian-speaking teens. In this situation, when old social links have been torn asunder and new ones have yet to be established, the Internet was used by the interviewees to re-connect, virtually, to their previous social network.

In a related finding, a minority of immigrant adolescents who did not correspond with friends of Russian origin (usually due to the technical obstacles) complained that they miss such communication very much, even after several years in Israel:

I do not correspond with my best friend through the Internet, because I've lost contact with her. We immigrated to Israel and after a few months her family immigrated to Germany. So I don't have her new phone number or her e-mail address. But I miss her very much! I'd do anything to find her. I've left my e-mail address in various [Russian] websites that help people to find their lost friends. But it didn't work out. Actually the primary reason to create my own e-mail address was in order to find her, because all these websites ask for your e-mail if you want to register. I don't use it [e-mail] with other people. I

have not found a real friend here. I don't feel that I will ever find somebody else who can really understand me (Masha, 13, 3 years in Israel).

This said, the interview with Masha, as well as with many of her counterparts, shows that along with their strong motivation to maintain close links with Russian-speaking friends, immigrant adolescents also strive for meaningful contacts with local peers. Masha, for example, is a very lonely girl who explained that face-to-face interaction with Israeli peers is difficult to her due to the language and cultural barriers and therefore she uses Internet resources to improve her social status at school:

My favorite site is one built by a girl from my class about our school: [You can find out there] what happened during the day, who fought with whom, who made friends with whom [...]. I don't like to hang around and ask about such things, but this way I can read other opinions, just to be in. I mean that if someone asks me about something, at least I can respond. When I come to school I know what's going on. It is quite understandable, since in school I am not at the center of things.

These findings refute the popular interpretation of immigrants' intensive participation in various web-based formats in their mother tongue, which claims that such communication encourages their social isolation into the networks of co-ethnic peers (see e.g. Yelenevskaya, 2005). On the contrary, both the quantitative as well as the qualitative data in our study demonstrate that belonging to the Russian 'virtual diaspora' does not interfere with immigrant youth's social integration nor does it encourage alienation from the host society.

Cultural adaptation versus ethnic maintenance

The last research question examined the possible link between immigrant adolescents' cultural adaptation, their identification with the former homeland and with the host society and their Internet uses. To do so, two indices were created measuring different social and cultural leanings. The *index of integration* into the host society included such variables as cultural similarity with the local peers; interest in Israeli culture; interest in Israel's current affairs; pride of being an Israeli citizen; feeling at home in Israel; usage of Hebrew language with friends; and intention to stay in Israel ($\alpha=0.754$). The *index of ethnic maintenance* included such variables as the will to preserve the Russian language; interest in the culture of origin; affinity with the former homeland; preference of Russian culture; usage of Russian language with friends; and intention to visit the FSU in the future ($\alpha=0.687$).

We can see from Table 5 that surfing Hebrew language websites correlates with better integration into the host society, whereas surfing Russian language websites correlates with a tendency for stronger ethnic maintenance. Similarly,

web-based interpersonal communication in Russian correlates with a stronger affiliation with the former homeland, whereas web-based communication in Hebrew correlates with a better integration into the host society and a weaker affiliation with Russia.

Table 5. Pearson correlations between the interviewees' Internet uses, integration into the host society and ethnic maintenance

	Internet in Hebrew	Internet in Russian	Internet in English	Web-based communication in Hebrew	Web-based communication in Russian	Web-based communication in English
Ethnic maintenance	-0.133 (0.234)	0.263 (0.017)	-0.025 (0.822)	-0.271 (0.014)	0.243 (0.028)	0.145 (0.193)
Integration into the host society	0.426 (0.001)	-0.163 (0.145)	0.239 (0.031)	0.438 (0.001)	-0.081 (0.467)	0.100 (0.372)

Interestingly, surfing English language websites also correlates significantly with integration into the host society, as interviewees who surf these websites more frequently have a stronger identification with Israel and its culture. This finding can be explained as a result of the increasing Americanization of Israeli culture (see e.g. Azaryahu, 2000). Accordingly, we would expect that immigrant teenagers who are better integrated into the circle of local peers are likely to follow more closely the latest trends of the 'global' youth culture.

This said, the qualitative findings suggest a much more complex picture, since Internet use has been involved in different adaptation strategies simultaneously and strengthened different cultural leanings – Israeli and Russian – without such a process being perceived as a contradiction. For example, 15 year old Niya, who had resided in Israel for less than two years, chose to retain the original (in her words 'European') standards of beauty and she used the Internet as the most preferable source of information to provide her with evidence of the 'proper' fashion:

Sometimes I go to the websites of Gucci, Armani... To see how they design dresses or suits. [...] I don't like local fashion, how Israeli women dress. I would like to wear elegant dresses, special ones [...] I don't want to be like Israelis. I am who I am. In my opinion, it is possible to be a European woman, even if she lives in the East.

At the same time, Niya searched the Internet for information about the Israeli cities, resorts and popular cars; information she believed will help her to adjust better to the new surroundings:

I search for everything on the Internet. A vacation in Eilat [a resort town on the Red Sea], for example. I look at pictures about Haifa [a port city in the north of Israel] or the Mediterranean Sea. [...] I am also interested in information about popular cars [in Israel] and trips – where is a good place to travel in Israel.

Similar to Niya's attempts to preserve her original standards of femininity, 12-years old Ira, a one year resident in Israel, explained that she used the Internet in order to retain her affinity with Christianity:

I like to read a [Russian] website dedicated to the New Testament. I read it for my soul. [...] In my class everybody knows that I am a Christian. I tell my friends about it. But they tell me that it is not true. Once I gave my friend the New Testament to read, but she told me that everything there is wrong and that in the Bible it's written differently. I told her that New Testament is like a new version of the Bible. It's exactly as with Harry Potter. Isn't she interested to read what happens there afterwards?

Here, it appears that the Internet serves as a tool that enables Ira to reinforce her original religious identity, and so to resist the local acculturation pressure without losing the self-confidence, despite her being the only Christian in her class. In parallel, Ira is coming closer to the Jewish part of her identity by exploring Russian language websites dedicated to the Holocaust:

At the beginning [upon arriving in Israel], I wasn't interested in Israel's history at all. It was so boring at school... But once we've started learning about the Holocaust, it was completely new to me. In Russia we didn't learn anything about it. So I started looking for materials in the Internet. I found plenty in the Russian websites about the history of Jewish people. Now I feel much closer to this subject, now it's a part of my history too.

As these few examples reveal, the qualitative data demonstrate that most of the interviewees were involved in an intensive negotiation with local cultural and social identities while struggling to preserve their original identities rooted in the homeland culture. Furthermore, the Russian language websites were found to be an especially efficient means to support these several identities (local and homeland) simultaneously, thus playing a major role both in the interviewees' adjustment to their new surroundings as well as in the process of ethnic maintenance and preservation of their original cultural identity.

Conclusions

The analysis of both the quantitative as well as qualitative data reveals that the Internet plays a central role in immigrant adolescents' social and cultural positioning in the new society. The quantitative data suggest a significant connection between Internet uses and various identity options: Interviewees with a stronger Israeli identity used Hebrew language websites more frequently and were more involved in online communication with local teens. In contrast, interviewees with a stronger Russian identity used a wide variety of Internet formats originating in the former homeland. These findings lend

further support to the rich research literature on immigrant adults' media uses: Accumulated evidence suggests that an intensive use of the host language media goes hand-in-hand with more rapid social and cultural integration, whereas use of the media in the immigrants' mother tongue contributes to the maintenance of their ethnic identity and original cultural leanings (see e.g. Adoni, Caspi and Cohen, 2006; Chaffee, Naas and Yang, 1990; Kim, 2001; Lee and Tse, 1994; Stilling, 1997).

The qualitative data, on the other hand, reveal a more complex picture: The Internet was a very efficient medium that enabled interviewees' involvement with several identities at once, thus facilitating the process of immigrant youngsters' hybrid identity construction. That is, various Internet uses were strongly related to the interviewees' intensive negotiation with local identity options, while, at the same time, providing them with available and efficient resources to preserve original identities rooted in the homeland and its culture.

Finally, the present study emphasizes the importance of combining different research methods in the investigation of media roles in immigrants' social and cultural adaptation, since the integration of the qualitative findings with the quantitative ones adds a crucial and a meaningful dimension to the research. Moreover, the quantitative tools are usually less sensitive to diversity and subjectivity, since they are only capable of providing limited insights into individual interpretations and meanings, and hence the structured questionnaire in our study was not able to reveal the less predictable roles of various websites, mentioned during the interviews. As such, only the in-depth interviews enabled us to identify an important socializing role of the Russian language websites orientated towards the host culture. The qualitative tools, thus, were more efficient in exposing the diversity of Internet uses in different languages fulfilling the multi-dimensional needs of immigrant adolescents' settling down and adjustment to their new homes.

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Internet as A Communicative Space for Identity Construction among Diaspora Families in Sweden

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Researchers in the field of diasporic cultural studies, coupled with postcolonialism, political and critical theory (see Sreberny, 2005; Georgiou, 2006; Bailey, 2007), have stressed the notion of transnationalism, referring to various kinds of global and cross-border connections, which help to frame a view of migrants as no longer trapped between assimilation or nostalgia. It has been argued that migrants are considered more able to construct their lives across borders, creating economic, social, political and cultural activities, which helps them maintain membership in both their immigration country and their country of origin. Furthermore, it has often been stated in the public debate that we live in a 'multicultural society', but underlying this term is the reality of '[...] major structural fragmentations in poly-ethnic complex societies' (Jakubowicz, 2006:249). The growing number of segregated suburbs in cities all over Europe is one example of this stratification of people, cultures, ethnicities and religions. Thus, while we increasingly hear about the transnational life of individuals, the blurring of physical and cultural borders, the opposite pattern is also seen in society, one characterized by spatial and social segregation. It is in this complex and contradictory context that the present chapter examines Internet usage among diaspora families living in Sweden. Bakardjeva (2005:129) used the expression 'dispersed extended family' to describe the living conditions of her Internet users, many of them migrants, in Canada. It goes without saying that the Internet plays an important role in this context. The Internet as a phenomenon has been discussed from a wide range of perspectives, such as its implications for identity creation and experiences in people's daily life, becoming a political public arena for discussions, contributing to and modifying the process of globalization, thus giving the term community additional meanings (e.g. Castells, 1998; Slevin, 2000).

Besides the concept of transnationalism, we see increased use of the concept of diaspora within the social sciences (Wahlbeck and Olsson, 2007). The term has connotations to persecuted groups, such as the Jews, and a history of more than two thousand years (Cohen, 1997). Today, the word has been re-conceptualized, now referring to groups that are not living in their homeland,

but closely linked to their original homeland or to their imagined homeland (Cohen 1997; Wahlbeck and Olsson, 2007). Cohen analysed the concept of diaspora in great detail and claimed that the term describes "(...) many kinds of migrants from diverse ethnic backgrounds (...). In the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination" (1997:26). We agree with Cohen's definition and will address here the notion of 'cyberspace', i.e. the Internet as an arena for maintaining and developing bonds and relations with people of the same ethnic, national or religious origin.

The present analysis is based on interview data collected in the project 'Media Practices in the New Country'¹, which involves migrant families from countries such as Greece, Bosnia, Kurdistan, Iran, Lebanon, Somalia, Syria, Turkey and Vietnam. The project in its entirety covers a number of issues related to media use, but here we will confine the analysis to the communicative uses of the Internet, i.e. to interactive and communicative offerings such as e-mail and chat rooms. Of particular interest is how the Internet is used as a communicative space for maintaining bonds with the former home country as well as with other people in the same situation worldwide and how use and practices may be related to more profound issues such as maintaining and negotiating identities.

Our point of departure is that immigrant families all have their unique stories to tell and ethnicity may not be the only factor explaining how media are used. We follow, for example, Gunaratnam (2003), who stressed that one should avoid attempts at categorization, thus attempts to see coherence and stability, but instead try to see the relational and situated nature of people's lives. Miller and Slater (2002:187) used the expression 'from a diaspora family to an Internet family' when studying Internet use among Trinidadian families who live abroad. They also stressed that all Internet use (and media use in general) must be contextualized for each specific family: 'It need not follow that ICQ will necessarily have the same consequence for another society or diaspora. The 'elective affinity by which a particular Internet technology can be developed to enhance a particular genre of relationships is highly contextualized' (Miller and Slater, 2002:208). These ideas are not new, as the interplay between real life and virtual life was even widely discussed among scholars ten years ago (e.g. Kitchin, 1998), showing how online life and offline life are connected. Thus, online and offline life should not be perceived as opposite poles, but rather as acting in mutual interplay. Bakardjieva (2003:304) more recently added that "(...) common for all the modalities of virtual togetherness described here is the fact that actions and interactions in online forums were closely intertwined with participants' projects and pursuits in their offline lives". Moreover, in her study on ICT use among Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese youth in the Netherlands, d'Haenens (2003:404) stressed the importance of contextualizing media use: 'In conducting research of this type it is important to consider societal context including both the country lived in and often born and raised in, as well as the country of origin'.

Key concepts for studying Internet use

In addition to the concept of diaspora, the present chapter is developed around concepts such as identity, hybridity, cultural change, space and home. We join in on the exploration of the concept of *identity* made by Westin (2003:174), who claimed that 'theoretically, the identity concept enables us to co-ordinate a large number of seemingly different phenomena studied by widely disparate fields of scholarship. Its popularity is due to the fact that it covers a wide field of human experience, ranging from the deepest emotions and memories of the self, over social interaction in everyday life situations, entailing self conceptions and attributions made by others that are communicated, negotiated and modified, to the categorizations of broad social, class-bound, religious, cultural and ethnic collectives.' Westin continued, stating that 'the popularity of the concept and its suggestive potential harks back to the fact that it relates to central existential dimensions of the human condition'. Furthermore, he claimed that the concept of identity is politically important for many reasons, for example, the quest for identity may be seen as the reason why minority groups assert their distinctiveness and try to gain recognition. The issue of identity has therefore become central in thinking about the process of cultural transformation within an increasingly 'global post-modern' society (Hall, 1996), where people are negotiating their identities between continuity and change, between similarity and difference, i.e. in a process of cultural change. That is, moving from, for example, a so-called traditional society, with its expectations and role distributions, to a late-modern society, where individuality is advocated, brings the question of identity formation to the fore. People's conceptions of their identities are challenged when they find themselves situated in new and different contexts with other types of expectations, role models, norms and values. Gillespie (1995), greatly inspired by Stuart Hall, studied cultural change as reflected in media practices, particularly television, and processes of identity formation among young people in a residential area (Southall) in London with a large population of immigrants from Punjabi in India. She wrote: "It is possible to observe both a proliferation and a polarisation of identities, both a strengthening of existing local identities and a formation of new identities" (p. 18). Further, she claimed that "(...) globalisation may mean neither universal assimilation into one homogeneous culture, nor a universal search for roots and revival of singular identities, but a complex, highly uneven process of many-sided translation" (p. 19). Many youngsters are not only involved in shifting identifications, but in enacting a hybrid identity that draws on multiplying global sources. According to Sinclair and Cunningham (2001), hybridity refers back to the work on diaspora cultures done by Homi Bhaba and García Canclini, published around 1994-95:

Bhaba views hybridity as the product of what he calls 'cultural translation' in which the hybrid subject negotiates cultural difference in a performative interplay between home and host. Importantly, Bhaba's concept of hybridity

as articulating between dominant and marginal discourses long associated with diasporas and other forms of postcolonial cultural contact opens up a 'third space' for cultural strategies to become active forms of resistance to domination and marginalisation (Bhaba, 1994:5-9 in Sinclair and Cunningham, 2001:9).

Sinclair and Cunningham (2001) were to some extent critical of Bhaba's view, as they found it too bipolar and static. They rather advocated that hybrid and cosmopolitan experiences should be regarded in a fluid way, i.e. they claimed that people who travel and move a great deal are characterized by 'floating lives', meaning that their lives are taking various 'routes'. They avoided the concept of 'roots', which is a somewhat static concept, to which migrants always return and compare and relate their experiences. They rather claimed that the concept of 'routes' (see also Magnus Andersson's chapter in this book) is more characteristic of our times, an argument that has a parallel in the discussion about transnationalism, i.e. that life today is characterized by people's movements, travelling and contacts between countries (Gustafson, 2007).

As for the concept of *space*, Giddens (1990:18) mentioned how place and space have become increasingly separated in late-modern society. This concept is relevant to our topic of study: the Internet. While *place* refers to a physical setting, the immediate location of a person, *space* is independent of a specific place or region. With, for example, the Internet, one has the opportunity to communicate and maintain and develop social relations with so-called 'absent others', thereby creating a social space. Giddens (1990:21) talked about the disembedding of social systems, which means that social relations are taken out from the '(...) local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space'. Related to the concepts of space and place is the concept of *home*, which has become a metaphor often used to describe diasporic life (e.g. Morley 2000; Salih 2001). The concept of home is used to capture the emotional aspects of space and the process of cultural change. Salih (2001:51) studied migrant women within the domestic sphere, and she found that home can be '(...) understood both as the physical space women and their families inhabit and as the symbolic conceptualization of where one belongs'. Morley (2000) explicitly extended the notion of home, including the physical place (e.g. the domestic household) as well as symbolic artefacts, media and virtual spaces. However, already in the eighties, Meyrowitz (1985) talked about how travelling, communication technologies, and mass production of identical clothes and other products have made the world more connected. But he also reminded us that physical place is still of importance and provides settings for many of our interactions and therefore must not be forgotten in the debate on Internet usage. Far from all people on the globe are 'wired up' with access to their own telephone or their own computer, a matter that will be discussed in more detail below.

Methodology

The present analysis is based on selected interview excerpts from interviews with 16 families and 3 focus groups: 42 adults originating from countries such as Bosnia, Vietnam, Lebanon, Greece, Iran, Kurdistan, Syria and Somalia. In addition, 33 young adolescents (12-16 years old) participated in the study (in all 75 persons). The parents were first-generation migrants, whereas the young people were often second-generation migrants, i.e. they were born in Sweden or came to Sweden as infants. These families were chosen because they represent variation in, for example, experiences of migration, cultural practices, educational level, religion, occupation and family structure. Note that we have taken a 'family perspective' in the sense that all data are based on interviews with parents who have children from twelve to sixteen years of age or on interviews with the youngsters, thus including the children's perspectives.

By taking a contextual approach, essentialism (cf. Gunaratnam, 2003) is avoided. 'Against essentialism, social constructionists stress the contingent, fractured, ambivalent and reflexive nature of culture and identity as these are played out in the context of power and domination' (Werbner, 1997:226). The interviews were contextualized in the sense that they were carried out in the informants' private homes, which allowed us to adapt interviewing to actual circumstances in the families' daily activities. For instance, we could sit together in front of the computer discussing a certain website or a forum the informants wished to demonstrate. The families were also approached in an inductive way, in the sense that they had the opportunity to talk about themselves and their perceptions of cultures and identities, rather than the researchers presenting predetermined definitions of these matters. Furthermore, we will not consistently emphasize ethnicity, i.e. search for differences between ethnic groups, but rather look at common as well as different experiences of migration or perceptions of cultural change (cf. Gunaratnam, 2003), unless we find that ethnicity is of importance. We instead claim that differences between the families (and media usage) may depend on factors other than ethnicity, for example degree of integration in terms of language skills and having a job, or level of education, etc. Naturally, religion and ethnicity may play a role in how the media are used, but not necessarily. As will be seen, there *are*, in our findings, some cases in which ethnicity has to be considered in order to understand and explain them.

The data were collected using ethnographical interviews, which means that an informal conversation-like situation was established (Lindlof, 1995). The families were interviewed once or twice in their homes. Both parents and children were interviewed, sometimes together and sometimes separately, and the duration of an interview was from 1 to 2 hours. We offered the possibility to have an interpreter during the interview, but most families declined this offer. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. We also made field notes based on observations. The young people (12-16 years of age) also had access to a disposable camera (not discussed in this chapter).

Internet practices – MSN, e-mail and chat forums

Access to Internet or not?

This initial section discusses how access to computer technology governs and frames the pattern of communication for the participants in the project. One well-established finding is that MSN and e-mail are supplementary to the traditional telephone. It is not a matter of new technology replacing old ones, but rather a combination of these (cf. Miller and Slater, 2002). Our data supported this finding, as in the following example of a woman who chooses between a telephone call, a written note or an e-card for celebrating her sister's birthday:

–Yes, I call if it's a special day for example it's my sister's birthday so I send her a card, e-card and I talk with her, call her, my mother and such, you know. (Woman)

However, far from all informants used e-mail to keep in touch. In some cases, the telephone was the only way to maintain contact with distant family members. The reason for not using the Net was either lack of computer skills or lack of access to the Internet. Relatives and friends living in rural areas did not always have Internet access. For example, Internet access was more common among family members who lived in a city (they could always go to an Internet café) as compared to the countryside. Also, some countries were generally less developed in terms of ICT. A woman from Bosnia stressed the lack of access to Internet as well as to computers in her former home country. Therefore, they preferred to communicate by telephone:

–Internet is great, but many people in Bosnia don't have Internet. Many people in Bosnia don't have computers. It's really expensive, for example, so I don't have so many contacts with family through the Internet. Then they have to go to the school...

Or an Internet café?

–Internet café or something and pay to get in, not so easy.

So what do you do?

–We call. (Woman)

Another example concerns an informant who had access to and used the Internet, but still got most of his information about relatives from a grandmother who liked to speak on the phone and kept the rest of the family in Sweden updated. This may be an economic way to distribute information, but may also be a matter of power. The older person, the grandmother in our study, seemed to have the power to control and distribute important information to the rest of the family. Still another case was an informant who had so many siblings that it was impossible to stay in contact with them all.

Naturally it gets very expensive if you have 11 siblings and you have to call all of them.

–Yes, that’s true but they live on the same floor, same building. It’s enough if I call Mama and she tells me everything about my siblings, what’s happened with them. Because everyone calls her directly then we get information. I say about the others, she says everything so if it’s something special I have to call them. If it’s something new. (Man)

This example demonstrates that economy plays a role, but it is also a story about a mother who plays a key role in reporting about the family in everyday matters. Only when something special has happened, and a relative possesses more detailed and perhaps new information, is direct contact made.

In another case, both lack of access to Internet and poor Internet competence in the older generation could be solved by chatting to a younger person who in turn informed the others about news and events (cf. Miller and Slater, 2002:190). A father says:

Can you tell me a little more about that?

–Well it means that we can only use Internet with them little younger generation. People who are a little older, they can’t do it.

What site do you go to? I use MSN Messenger, for example.

–Because if you huh people my age they can’t use Internet at home, they send their nephew or somebody so they come to school and they have an address, an email address to you can send through them.

[...]

So it’s more like his nephew’s report on his brother?

–Yes.

Then what do they talk about?

–Mostly say we hello to each other and tell how things are with the family, how it feels, more about what has happened. (Man)

In other cases, the Internet café is used as a complement to personal communication. A woman from Somalia/Yemen used MSN with her sister who lives in Yemen. She says:

But then it’s the telephone you use most for keeping in contact with your family?

–Yes, and we have another contact through Internet, *MSN*. But it’s not direct, just write and she writes to me and I don’t know when she writes, when she opens but she writes aaand I look, aaand then the date she’s written and then I answer. (Woman)

It is important to note that media use is not only a matter of physical access, but also of psychological, social and cultural motives. The former two refer to media skills, cognitive capacity, interests, attitudes toward a medium, habits,

group membership, etc. People are also affected by public discourses about the media, provided in the public debate, by the media industry and governmental authorities (Chaney, 1972; Sjöberg, 2002). Such cultural circumstances must also be taken into consideration when discussing media practices. For example, in people's everyday conceptions, women are regarded as less interested in 'computers' than men are, a view also supported by statistics. Men in Sweden use the Internet more often than women do, 68 percent versus 57 percent on average per day (Mediebarometern, 2006):

–I don't like computers.

You don't like computers?

–No, I don't like, I don't know why. In school when the teacher "Alexandra you have to write on the computer", "no, I don't want to". It's better with writing and such and I said "no, I don't want to" and "it's really great, you aren't so tired your hand, it's great", "no, no, I don't want to, I like it not".
(Woman)

This example refers to educational use of computers, and the woman is talking about computer lessons in school. However, she even disliked using the computer or Internet at home. She preferred to use the phone when she talked to her relatives in Greece. However, as a means of communication, we found that women generally had a positive attitude towards the Internet and saw its many advantages. For instance, they appreciated being able to inform themselves about their former homeland, both by chatting with likeminded people and by looking for information on websites. As will be seen later, their children used the Internet in a different way.

Being constantly online

It is obvious that the Internet has given the informants greater opportunities to communicate on a daily basis with friends and family members worldwide via, for example, *MSN Messenger* and *Yahoo Messenger* (text and/or audio, usually with a web camera). There were also those informants, mostly adults, who stressed the need to be constantly signed in and thereby able to hear when a friend or relative logged on. In the excerpt below, a woman expresses how she feels more close to her family when she is logged on, which could be seen as a need for belonging and that, in this way, she has symbolically created an 'extended home' by means of the computer. It also shows how Internet use is related to her daily life, in this case an increased sense of exclusion and alienation in Swedish society. One explanation is that after the 11th of September, some informants with a Muslim background had experienced more racism and discrimination than before:

Then the computer is on most of the time so you can hear?

–Yes, so I can hear if someone has logged in to our MSN then I run straight away if it's someone from Lebanon or not so I'm going to tell to you something, I like it not completely here.

I know, you said that...

–Yees, I miss my mother, my family everybody down there and the last time I said to you that I felt like I forgot I am an immigrant but now... (Woman)

Her husband agrees:

–Yeah, we have the computer on almost all the time if we're home. Someone's going to come in now, when someone's going to come in it rings 'boom' straight away. For example it's my friends and family who are on Yahoo messenger it rings straight way and I come.

This creation of an 'extended home' could also be seen in the wife's use of the mobile phone and SMS:

–Almost every day (laughs). SMS almost every day for example. If I for example have to do every day before I sleep then I have to write SMS to my brother before I go to bed then I send then he answers at the same time and we use the telephone like that often. (Woman)

Based on this project and other research (cf. Sjöberg, 2002), we know that some young people are constantly online and that this behaviour is part of their peer culture. But compared to their parents, they preferred to communicate with friends in the immediate area, i.e. friends from school. Such patterns of communication may of course be explained by the fact that many of our young informants were born in Sweden and are integrated into the Swedish cultural context. Through mediated communication, the children maintain daily events and experiences. Silverstone (1999) emphasized the importance of memory for organizing and preserving experiences of the past and how media appears to play a part in constructing this memory, or as he put it: "But above all, in the absence of other sources, the media have the power to define the past: to present and represent it" (p. 127). In our data, however, there were exceptions, especially among young people who visited their parents' homeland on a regular basis and who had an apartment or house there, as in a few cases of young people of Greek and Syrian origin. If, for instance, their relatives in Greece had access to the Internet, they tended to chat in Greek about daily things and sometimes they received files with Greek music. One of the informants meant that she had her primary network with family and friends in Greece, because she had lived in Sweden for only five years and regarded herself as a 'visitor'. This girl also expressed that she wanted to move back to Greece. Chatting was important to her; it kept her up-to-date with what is happening back home in the neighbourhood where she lives in the summer. She also stressed the distinction between being both here and

there. Like many of her peers, the computer was usually switched on when she came home from school:

How often do you chat with your cousins, is it more like you log on MSN and chat or is it more like you are doing schoolwork and then you see that someone is online, how does it work?

–I usually get home after school and then I turn on my computer, then I have it on the whole day so they log on then I chat with them but it is nothing that we have decided ‘log on then’ and such things. Those who are logged on are the ones I usually chat with.

What do you talk about?

–When it is my cousin that is the girl, then we usually talks a little about fashion and such, perhaps about boys then with my other cousin perhaps we talk about here, what I usually do, what he usually does.

And your friend who lives next door?

–She usually also talks about fashion, thus clothes and such, what has happened in school.

Is it important for you to chat with your cousins and your friend?

–Yes, it is fun to know how they are doing, how it looks like now then I know when I am going there in the summer then I know how it is like there. (Girl)

Keeping in touch via web cam

As a global medium that allows communication in writing, and via sound and visual images, the Internet has become irreplaceable for our adult informants who had relatives and friends all over the world. Many informants also seemed to be fascinated by the technique of web cameras, which allow one to create a more genuine feeling of presence. Both adults and children mentioned the web cam, as a complement to verbal chatting, as in this interview with three sisters, whose parents were from Syria and who used to visit the country at least once a year. They often chatted with their cousins in Arabic, for example, about daily matters and school, i.e. the immediate locale. One of them says:

Do you also use the web-camera and ...

–And the microphone yes absolutely.

It works quite smoothly?

–Yes, definitely.

Can you tell me what you chat about? Is it about there, here or about life in general?

–We talk about how we feel, if something new has happened, how school is going, ya know. General. Nothing specific. (Girl)

In the family of a Bosnian woman, they sometimes used the web camera to communicate with relatives in Japan, which clearly exemplifies how they have

become spectators in virtual space by means of a visual medium and the emotional moments connected to the celebration of a dear relative, in this case a birthday party. The Internet becomes a substitute for attending the party in real time:

–We have many relatives all over the world: Japan, Australia and the US. In Australia we can almost every day talk.

[...]

–There's a camera and you also have to have a camera at home. And then we can look same time and talk.

[...]

–Yes, my husband's niece she lives in Japan, she works there and when it was her daughter's birthday, she wrote to my husband and we looked together, what they do and we watched them. What they did. (Woman)

The web camera was not only used for special events, but also in daily talk. A woman from Taiwan chatted using the camera several times a week, and this was a way for her to show relatives and friends what is happening in her life in Sweden:

The web camera, how often do you use it?

Very often.

Because many people I've spoken with say 'every Sunday', you see, a special day...

– Well, I must talk maybe two, three times one week yes very often so they know what happens yeah yeah and we 'have new kitchen' yes good.

To summarize, the web camera causes the Internet to shift in function from a virtual space to a multi-modal place of visual information (gestures, objects, facial expressions, etc.) combined with audio information (words and sounds). This multi-modal locality is quite similar to a physical space in 'reality'. Such visibility allows more room for emotional contact, as communication can be based on gestures, facial expressions and utterances rather than on written messages. Media scholars need to examine these communicative potentials of the Net more carefully and their implications for social relations, identity, visual literacy, political communication, storytelling, etc.

Online discussions: the example of Paltalk

The Internet could sometimes be used as a kind of two-step communication. It could start by sending an e-mail, SMS or making a telephone call, suggesting that the parties proceed to an online discussion about, for example, a certain television programme, as in the case below. Here, a wife is reporting on her husband's Internet use:

–No, my husband he does it when they have programmes that are live programmes where you vote or discuss something so he did it. But it's in Arabic, not Swedish.

Okay, but can you just tell me a little about it. If your husband sees some programme on Arabic TV then he goes out on the Net and chats?

–Yes, if it's possible. You're either supposed to call or send MSN or you send email, right.

Can you give an example of some issue he's gone in and chatted about?

–Mostly not I'm there ya know but I see when he, "if the computer's on then I'm just going to send what I think", if they think, what they think, when they're going to vote to homeland then the question is what should it be, they want here in X (a city) some place, then Iraqis would go there but they didn't get to instead they went to... (Woman)

There were also adult informants who utilized various public chat forums to speak with strangers or 'distant others', whom they did not know beforehand. This could involve a range of topics, e.g. political, religious and social issues. For example, two families in the project used the electronic forum *paltalk.com* frequently. With *Paltalk*, you can talk online using video, audio and text in an already existing 'room' or choose to start your own 'room'. These two families appeared to use the forum for different purposes.

One Kurdish father made use of *Paltalk* because he was sceptical of the 'bad' opinions that usually flourish in the chat rooms, and he therefore created a private room on the net, where his friends and like-minded people could participate. Thus, he seemed to prefer a narrow circle, avoiding disparate and oppositional opinions, but instead building alliances with like-minded people (e.g. Bakardjieva, 2003:298). This father also talks about the difficulty of chatting with friends from Iran, where the Net is controlled by the government (see cultural accessibility above):

–Look sometimes we collect them for example I open a room and I send home to them and they come and we meet in a room. I lock it so nobody else can not come in but the ones I invite.

But it's Paltalk you use?

–Yes, it's Paltalk. Sometimes I chat with people from Kurdistan, Iran they it's really hard that they come into Internet from Iran.

[...]

How does it work, what parts do they come from, is it Germany, the US or...

Your friends, that you invite and what you do talk about?

–People who come for example to Paltalk they come from the whole world, Kurds from the whole world, from the US, Canada, Australia, Sweden, Denmark, even from Kurdistan. From the part that's in Iraq, they have better communication now. But those who live in Iran they can't come into Paltalk. There's a filter on it, they can't come out and when we get together we mostly talk about the Kurdish situation.

But then it's mostly your own particular friends?

–Yes. Look, when for example is special room, is a room called 'here are Kurdish voices' for example or 'Kurdistan for youth' they write in Kurdish but on Latin letters when you go into it then we feel what has happened, what will happen in the room, we come out slowly slow, we leave the room and collect a whole room. (Man)

Besides chatting with friends on *Paltalk*, the forum has also provided an opportunity to get to know new Kurdish people all over the world, whom he also calls and sends e-mail to. Bakardjeva (2003:304) wrote about chat rooms '...new immigrants struggling to make sense of the dramatic political events that had befallen their native countries, as well as to sustain a meaningful balance between disparate, and even conflicting, sides of their cultural identities. In this process, they were leaning on both the informational and the communal affordances of the Internet, thus forging a medium for political debate and civic involvement.' Besides bringing up the topic 'the Kurdish situation', as this father mentioned in the interview, the forum *Paltalk* seemed to function as an ideological spot for promoting Kurdish cultural identity through youth culture, e. g. music, as the forum also addressed young people through modern music, which is illustrated by this excerpt from an interview with the man above and his wife:

M: Yes, for example Kurdistan Boys (says this in Kurdish) and Kurdistan Girls, so Kurdistan for boys and girls.

Is that for younger people then?

M: Yes. Play Kurdish music. Always music. It's him who plays from home. I can play with my tape-recorder from here too.

A: They say that it's good. Thanks a lot for your song.

Oh, so you discuss music?

M: Uh huh. We're going to send them a kiss (chuckles).

What do they say for example?

M: It's the text from the song they're writing. They say it's really good.

Is it mostly young people playing music?

M: Young people mostly play music.

What kind of music is it, traditional music or is it more pop?

M: Pop.

A: Mostly pop.

M: For example that singer it is for example a singer who sings in Kurdish, it sings Iraq, it is really well-know Diyari Qeredaxi, it is really known and has very fine voice.

So they play more music so they don't discuss the situation and politics?

A: No.

M: Not young people no. (M= man A= woman)

From this interview we also learnt that there are over 500 different Kurdish chat rooms on *Paltalk* with varied content. It is evident that much more research

is needed on these various rooms to understand the role of *Paltalk* and the communities that are seen on the Net. It is not within the scope of the present chapter to go into detail here, but future studies must take into account aspects such as the purpose of a chat room, its history, types of users, accepted norms and behaviours (cf. Kendall, 1999).

While the father in the Kurdish family above used *Paltalk* primarily for political reasons, a couple from Lebanon appreciated this forum for its social potentials and stressed its role in belonging and searching for a social identity. They chatted with fellow countrymen all over the world and used it as a virtual space in which they discussed things, sang and told jokes. On *Paltalk* they were also informed about the latest news from their homeland, as they could get in touch with people who, for example, recently paid a visit to the homeland, in this case Lebanon:

B: There is. We have a site called *Paltalk*. That page we usually come and discuss things, we who are adults anyway not the children. We discuss and talk and sing and all sorts of things from the whole world. I mean especially for adults not for children.

So you sing is that when you've recorded a song?

B: No, no you see we sit and talk, everybody knows, raise your hand then comes, turns 'cause everybody wants to talk, the person who wants talk can raise his hand then there's a he who's, what's it called....

Who's responsible for the site?

B: Yeah, it's called room so we sit and talk you know, we discuss in general. [...]

It's just talking?

M: Just chatting, For example, there's so many now who are on holiday in Lebanon who went to Lebanon so some have come back weell "how you seen Lebanon, what's there" so they tell about everything about economy, people everything general questions so sometimes we joke with each other, sometimes. (M=woman, B=man)

The relationship between real life and virtual life has been (and is being) widely discussed among researchers, with an emphasis on how the two may be linked to each other in various ways. The family from Lebanon told us how they have got to know new people by chatting on *Paltalk*; especially people from their own city were appreciated. Through *Paltalk* the family has also discovered new relatives who live abroad. This exemplifies what Miller and Slater (2002:207-208) called 'expansive realization'. Thus, not only does the Internet encourage new encounters, but it also expands family ties. However, while logged on, the parents are careful and do not use their real names. The mother finds her chatting similar to being in Lebanon here and now:

B: We meet each other, there is even people who come and visit each other.

M: I met, not met, I didn't know he was in my family and he lives in Borås [a Swedish city], we talked through Internet.

Through this Paltalk thing?

M: Yes, that and he we know he's from, that he lives in Sweden so one day he asked my husband "which city in Lebanon do you come from" you know people don't say right off that I come from Lebanon...

B: We don't give our real names.

M: Our real names, it's fake names so he said a guy that he lives here, our neighbour, so he said "that guy is from Bikar Valley? And he's from this family and his wife is from that family", "really, that's my family". His wife from my Mama's family and he from my Papa's side, "really, who's he" so we sit I and H [her husband] so he said "I'm from this family and my wife from that family" so he said to him "my wife from this family, she her Papa from that family and her Mama from that family". So we started asking each other, well writing, in the end we found out that she his wife she is closely related to my Mama and his Papa and my Papa, my Papa he is uncle to him.

Okay, right.

M: I didn't know that. It's fun that you meet other and mostly when you come into Internet, mostly they from our part, Bikar Valley anyway, it's not from the capital Beirut, it's from Bikar Valley so and we come from that area and we know each other, we know everybody the culture, same culture, same well, it's really great. You feel "yees, I'm in Lebanon now". But it doesn't mean anything to the children anyway. (M=woman, B=man)

This interview excerpt indicates that the couple has found a virtual social space, where social relations are extended to members of the same ethnic group. Local affiliations are also stressed, such as the 'Bikar Valley' in Lebanon, which gives the interactions a more intense emotional presence. These findings are in line with a study of Greek immigrants in Great Britain and their use of the Internet conducted by Tsaliki (2003:175), who noticed a similar pattern in chat groups: 'A specific sense of national belonging was forged there and then among those people, [...], talking to their friends across the world and listening to music, news and celebrity gossip from the distant homeland'. However, we would like to stress the importance of being careful about generalizations, as the Greek parents in the present study did not mention chat rooms of this sort at all. It is also revealed in the excerpt above that this type of chat room has no meaning for their children. This was confirmed when talking to the same couple's daughter and son about their Internet usage:

Who do you chat with, you said you had so many, are they people you go to school with or have you met them somewhere else?

K: They're people I've met at school, my friends at school who are my friends outside who I well like that, friends I see outside...

[...]

What do you chat about?

K: You know, how things are going, what's happening, you talk about what you're going to do the next day, what you've done...

T: What you're going to do in school maybe...

K: Right, for example when you have schoolwork so there's a guy in my class, Adam, I usually work with him when we have schoolwork so we usually start up MSN and work through MSN and write and such.

How does that work?

K: Well like he, we go in, first we start it up, he usually like, we usually start up MSN and then maybe we have some schoolwork so we usually talk through MSN and write down on a page where you can write things down and like Wordpad. In school we have an assignment to write a paper so for example so at home we decide what we'll write in the paper and like, that's what we usually do. (T=girl, K= boy)

The example illustrates a typical pattern of communication for young people. They seem to prefer to continue their social life from school and proceed to the computer in their homes, chatting with peers from school or the immediate local neighbourhood. The actual physical meeting places outside the home are replaced by a virtual space when the children have left each other. The excerpt also shows how several functions of the Net are used simultaneously.

Looking again at the parents' use of *Paltalk*, both families exemplified above were frequent users of the Internet, and the Kurdish father stressed more than any other parents the importance of media (especially TV and Internet) for Kurdish people all over the world, because they lack their own country, their own government and because of the torture of Kurds in countries like Iraq and Turkey. The family from Lebanon, on the other hand, stressed their feelings of homesickness and talked about being discriminated against in Sweden. But through *Paltalk* they have got to know new people. Both these families were apparently in a vulnerable and insecure situation, and it was clear that the public forum *Paltalk* was used for solidarity and mutual support, very similar to what Bakardjieva (2003) called social proximity across physical distance or creating a specific mediated space independent of physical setting (cf. Giddens, 1990). Their use of *Paltalk* exemplifies the empowering aspects of the Net, where users can discuss social and political matters in their former homeland with other countrymen around the world.

Other parents mentioned *Paltalk*, but they rarely visited this chat room (read husbands) because they claimed they were too busy for such activities, although friends encouraged them to do so. Other informants regarded chat forums with suspicion, as they were sceptical about the quality of the content. They could simply contain too many personal opinions rather than facts. For example, one woman from Gambia expressed such a critical attitude. She mentioned that she once participated in a forum on the site *Gambiapost.com*, but she stopped because she thought it was being used to promote the political interests of Gambians living abroad rather than as a way of getting involved in developments in Gambia:

Do you usually try to follow what's happening in the country of Gambia?

–Yes, I... not really. 'Cause I'm part of a forum, on the Internet. So you read there what's happening.

Okay. And there's people who write to each other?

–Yes. Who write and make comments.

Do they comment on the news then?

–Yeah, news and the political situation in Gambia and... But mostly, people who are there are often critical of the government. So I've written to them, but I think they want to have a political party. Or they have it already. But the thing is they all live in the US! Or England or here and there. I mean, if you want to change something you have to be there. And then, they can't be in their comfortable flats or houses in America with access to almost everything and then they criticize, what's happening there. So... No, I'm mostly interested in the social parts like health, media and that works there and what's happening with the schools and such. That's what interests me. But the stuff they talk about, I know they're just saying things [...]. (Woman)

Young people and public chat rooms

None of the children in the study used *Paltalk*, they rather used the Swedish web site *Lunarstorm*, which has become very popular among youngsters living in Sweden. Young people also used MSN frequently, as has been shown above. However, there were also examples of young informants taking part in various public chat rooms, which were linked to their own or parents' homeland or their ethnic origin. d'Haenens (2003) found a strong link between young people's need to look for information about their country of origin as well as to maintain contact with other youngsters of the same ethnic background and the extent to which they identified with their homeland. The material from the present project also indicates that those young people identifying themselves as, for instance, Greek, Somali, Vietnamese, or Syrian rather than Swedish also used Internet for more culturally specific aims, such as looking at pictures, downloading music videos from their parents' (or their) homeland or participating in specific public chat groups (e.g. *Katang* and *Asien island*), such as young Asians in Sweden. However, one 15-year old girl, whose parents were from Vietnam, said that they normally chatted in Vietnamese, but that topics could concern daily events in Sweden or in the town they live in, that is, they have a local focus rather than a transnational one. She and her mates have their language in common, which constitutes an ethnic affiliation to other Vietnamese and to 'Asians'. Yet, they discussed local matters. This has also been observed in other projects looking at migrant adolescents (Christopoulou and Rydin, 2004). Language and ethnic origin tend to be a guarantee for security and a feeling of solidarity, and this bond constitutes a platform for young people's negotiations of their identity as Swedish citizens. Most youngsters had this double bonding of 'here' and 'there', where 'there' could mean their parents' homeland or origin, but could also refer to the special circumstances of, e.g.,

Vietnamese (or Asians) living in diaspora. In other words, these young people seem to have developed hybrid identities, or what Bhaba called a 'third space' of being both Swedish and Vietnamese or/and Asian:

What's it like for you then, do you ever, maybe you read some Vietnamese newspaper on the Net, or maybe you're curious about 'what's happening there'?

–Not about Vietnam but about Vietnamese people who live here.

Can you tell me a little about it, what kind of sites you go to or it is regular newspapers?

–No, it's these chat rooms from Sweden to Asians here.

Right, so there are special sites here for ...

–Yes.

But it's not just Vietnamese, it's Asians in general?

–But it's mostly Vietnamese.

[...]

But don't you talk about Vietnam for example? Don't you need to...

–No, you don't. I mean it's up to different, how well you know the person and what I mean which when you talk and such.

It's different, it varies?

–Like when they talk about travelling you can suddenly talk about what it's like in Vietnam you know. Then when you talk about your free time here then it like varies. (Girl)

Even though this girl spoke Swedish fluently, she seemed to appreciate being able to chat in the Vietnamese language. But she was not interested in chatting with Vietnamese young people in Vietnam or in other parts of the world, only those living in Sweden. The discourses were not only about common roots, but also dealt with life here and now in Sweden, perhaps about the future and about moving to other places in the world. Vietnamese people are spread around the world, and this same girl told us about her best friend who moved from Sweden to Australia and that she also hoped to study in Australia some day. This girl's discourse about her ethnic self suggests that she has a hybrid identity, thus that she is not just Vietnamese, but a person with one leg in Sweden and the other in the Vietnamese culture and even in a wider Asian culture and community.

Conclusion: The Internet as a communicative space for identity construction

A dynamic public sphere, in which the media play a crucial role, is a prerequisite for the functionality of a living democracy, for example, the role of media in terms of information flow, discussion and opinion-making. Researchers in this field have debated the development of new types of citizenship due to, e.g., the Internet. Research within cultural and media studies has also stressed

the need to examine everyday practices in the locale and private sphere of ordinary people to understand how citizenship is practised in modern society. In other words, we have to find out about people's mundane everyday activities and micro-politics (including media use). The project 'Media Practices in the New Country' has the locale and private sphere as its research focus, the aim being to understand how families with an immigrant background navigate among various media in their sometimes turbulent life of continuous cultural change. Their need for information is enormous, as they have to learn about a sometimes completely new and different world, while having an urgent need to be informed about what has been left behind and to keep in touch with family members and friends.

Looking specifically at the Internet, it is apparent from the present analysis that it is an appreciated means of communication for families living in diaspora in Sweden. Research has often emphasized young people's interest in new media and the Internet in particular. But we found that parents also had an interest in using the Internet as much as their children did, but they used it for different purposes. Many informants' comments on the Internet reflect a basically positive attitude towards the Net, and we obviously find support for Miller and Slater's expression 'from a diaspora family to an Internet family'. First and foremost, the Internet, at least among adults, seemed to work as a virtual home for maintaining social relations with family and friends. The key to this popularity is that migrants can communicate in their native language and that they can meet people in similar situations, or from the same geographical area, but who live outspread around the globe. Thus, the Internet provides a global forum for communication, especially for parents.

Throughout the chapter, a generational perspective has been applied in which parents' and young people's Internet usage is compared. The older generation tended to strengthen their ethnic and cultural identity in their choice of sites and chat rooms. Thus, for adults, it seemed as if the Internet was sometimes used to maintain and/or develop an imagined community (Anderson, 1983), or at least to maintain bonds with members of the same ethnic group living in diaspora, e.g. the Kurds in this study. One main difference between the adults and the young people is that, for the young, the Net is an important part of their local youth culture in Sweden and has little to do with their parents' homeland, in terms of searching for information or staying up-to-date on social and political events. For those young people who show an interest, it is rather about chatting (public chat rooms) with other peers in the same situation, i.e. communication within what Bhaba would call the 'third space', to maintain, develop and confirm a kind of hybrid identity, sometimes including elements of 'routes' when negotiations develop around future plans and comparisons of life situations among like-minded in the city where one lives or in other parts of Sweden.

For the informants, chatting in one's mother tongue was sometimes more important than the content itself. The centrality of language in the informants' (both parents and children) identity work is evident from the study. But it also

turned out that the children were not always interested in their parents' homeland, but instead used the Internet for daily communication with, for example, schoolmates. The parents sometimes almost urged their children to find out about their former home countries and to be in contact with their relatives. But the children had a different focus, because they were in a transitional period of life from child to adult, with initial thoughts about aspirations and careers for the future and so on. For them, Sweden is the starting point and their new home. Still they often expressed a feeling of affinity with other young people of the same ethnic origin, because of their common roots and common mother tongue, and because of being an 'in-between-generation' (Westin, 2003), implying hybrid identities.

By using the Internet, the informants informed themselves about political and social events often related to the local community, which actually can be seen as their roots, but also related to the world at large. Political refugees, such as the Kurds, expressed a very great interest in the political situation in their 'homeland', but all adult informants had an interest in having regular contacts with their former home countries to keep themselves up-to-date with the latest private, social and political news and developments. So in that sense, the Internet serves as an important public sphere for civic engagement, strengthening ethnic identities and bonding to the homeland. It was apparent that the Internet worked as means to create decentralized cultural formations that sustain real and imagined connections across populations spread globally. But it was also a place for keeping in touch with localities, such as the valley or the village where you once lived.

It is also obvious from the present analysis that media convergence is part of everyday life and that various media play a central role in structuring and re-structuring time and space for their users. The Internet, for example, was used in combination with other media, such as the telephone or the television, or several Internet services were in use at the same time. It is therefore reasonable to believe that various media practices have become an integral part of daily routines, offering users a feeling of security. This was clearly seen among the young informants, who usually switched on the computer when they came home from school to chat with peers, but it was also seen, to a lesser extent, among the adults. Some parents were logged on the entire day, because they for various reasons (e.g. unemployment) spent a great deal of time at home and felt excluded from Swedish society. The computer became a substitute for social relations in the 'real' world. It gave them a sense of being closer to family and friends around the world, creating a shared space of a home.

Finally, it has also been noted that in order to understand Internet usage (or use of any media for that matter), it has to be contextualized and we have to consider, for example, access to technical facilities in the first place, but also private motives for use, which can be related to social, psychological and cultural circumstances. The present chapter has pointed out some main features of Internet use in the families who participated in the project, and future analyses will look in more detail at how this use is related to the personal life

situation and other media usage. Like many other researchers have discovered, the interplay between online and offline life cannot be ignored. But this interplay seems to be a complex matter, which is relational in nature and may change depending on the situation, personal experiences and time. To grasp this complexity, a media-ethnographic approach can be fruitful. Using such an approach, the researcher gains insights into media use through various methods, e.g., interviews and observations conducted over a longer period of time.

Note

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MEDIATED CROSSROADS IDENTITY, YOUTH CULTURE AND ETHNICITY

THEORETICAL AND
METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

The book *Mediated Crossroads* focuses on family, young people, ethnicity and the media in the context of increasing migration in contemporary Western societies. The book includes studies covering both media use and reception. It reflects on the growing interest in ethnic minorities – both on the macro and micro level – within media and cultural studies. The contributing authors present empirical work on the media and cultural practices of migrants in a wide range of countries such as Belgium, Finland, Greece, Israel, Sweden, Switzerland, and the U.K, and the empirical data are framed by theoretical discussions on a more general level. The collection of studies is characterized by a discursive, everyday life perspective, in which concrete cases of migrant life – with a focus on children, women, families or young people – in relation to media and popular culture are analysed. The book deals with central issues in ethnicity and media research, such as how diasporic groups negotiate their identities, cultural experiences and traditions in everyday life in an environment that is increasingly permeated by various media, not least the Internet.

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