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Media Use by Ethnic Minority Youth in Switzerland

1.   Introduction

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

The modern *mass media* play a far-reaching and complex role in today's multicultural society. They may be of relevance to the *social integration of ethnic minorities* in that they are, for example, an important source of information about politics, culture, and everyday life in society. Mass media can provide day-to-day news and convey social norms and values, thus offering members of ethnic minorities the opportunity to participate in the (national) society of the host country by creating a common knowledge base and a basis for interpersonal communication. But they can also contribute to *segregation* in many ways, for instance, by stressing *negative images and stereotypes of immigrant groups* (Schudson 1994; Cottle 2000). Young people, whether of migrant background or not, use local and national, but also global media representations and symbols of popular culture (Lull 2001) on an individual level. They identify with or distinguish themselves from such representations and symbols; or they use them to construct multifaceted forms of *hybrid identities* actively and in creative ways (e.g. Barker 1997; Ogan 2001; Nilan/ Feixa 2006).

Communication research started taking more interest in the field of ethnic minorities and mass media during the 1970s. *Research issues* are usually tackled from different academic disciplines in an interdisciplinary setting. Depending on the approach chosen, the studies investigate different aspects. One line of research concentrates on *media content* (Poole 2000; Hafez 2000; Esser 2000; ter Wal 2004; Müller 2005a; Nacos/Torres-Reyna 2007; Hafez/Richter 2007;

Bonfadelli 2007), above all on the *representation of immigrants* and the *presence of negative stereotypes* in mass media, hypothesizing that there is a connection between how media deal with ethnic minorities and the degree of their integration into the host society. From the *media production perspective*, ethnic diversity in media organizations has been of interest (Riggins 1992; Husband 1994; Geissler 2003). Another topic of public debate and research focuses on *strategies and programs of public broadcasters* towards migrants and of ethnic minority media as programs produced by and addressed to ethnic minorities (Becker 1998; Busch 1999; Kosnick 2000; Christensen 2001; Camauër 2003; Weber-Menges 2006; Leurdijk 2006).

Since mass media can exert an influence on the integration of ethnic minority groups only if they are used, an in-depth investigation into the aspects of the ethnic minorities' media use is crucial. Although the relevance of media use for social integration had been recognized before, communication studies scholars began to carry out thorough research on this issue only in the last two decades. Because communication technologies such as the internet, cable and satellite television have changed the media system by creating new transnationalized communicational and cultural spaces, the number of studies dealing with issues of media use and migration has increased. Still, research findings in this subfield are, generally speaking, somewhat fragmentary (see Carøe Christiansen 2004; Müller 2005b; Piga 2007).

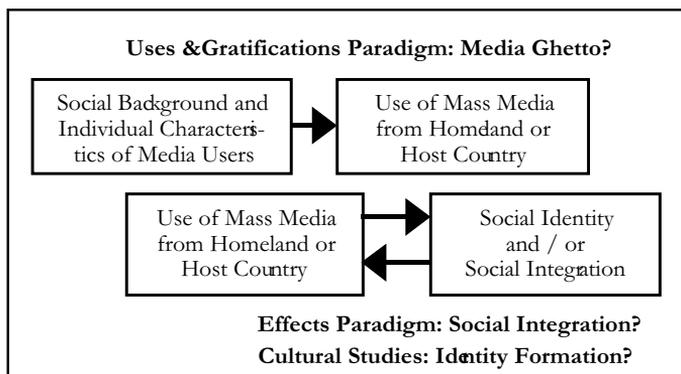## 2. Theoretical Perspectives

Figure 1: Media Use and Ethnic Minorities: Various Research Traditions

Three theoretical perspectives (Bonfadelli/Bucher/Piga 2007; Bucher/ Bonfadelli 2007) guiding most of the research concerning media use of ethnic

minorities can be identified (see Figure 1): a model based on uses and grati-fications, a focus on media effects, and a cultural studies approach.

2.1 Uses & Gratifications Paradigm

The uses and functions of media are the focus of this line of research and therefore represent the dependent variable in the so-called uses and gratifications paradigm. The main research issues are: To what extent do ethnic minorities use and prefer print and electronic media from their countries of origin (homeland) and abstain from using the indigenous media in their country of residence? Why is this the case, or how can this be explained? Various dimensions, such as education, socioeconomic status, language skills (linguistic fluency), religious affiliation or ethnic identity, are referred to in order to explain these phenomena. A leading hypothesis claims that ethnic minorities in most European countries prefer to use print and electronic media from their homeland and are, as a result, trapped in a so-called "media ghetto". Whereas earlier studies looked at the different media types consumed separately, more recent ones apply typologies of media use (see table 1) that link homeland and host country media (Adoni/Caspi/Cohen 2002). However, sometimes it is not sufficiently clear whether these labels only point to patterns of media consumption or also indicate different types of attitudes towards acculturation.

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

Table 1: Typology of Media Use by Migrants (based on Adoni/Caspi/Cohen, 2002)

In his qualitative study, Hafez (2002) developed a *typology* also based on the use of minority media from the country of origin and of majority media from the host country, but added considerations of acceptance and trust related to the political system and culture. As a consequence, he differentiated the so-called "separatists" (see Table 1) into three subtypes. For the "diaspora"-type (see Table 2), the dominant use of minority media from the homeland has to do with pragmatic reasons – mainly lack of language skills – but it is combined with a feeling of trust towards the political conditions of the host country. "Political exile" means that cultural bonding with the country of origin is still

strongly combined with mistrust towards the political system of the new country. According to this scheme, the "cultural exile"-type of user bonds with the culture of the country of origin and trusts the political institutions of the new country. In contrast to this classification of "separatist" users, "biculturalism" means that both media of the host country and those of the country of origin are used. The result is a reflective in-between position that manifests itself in a critical stance towards the culture and media of the homeland and of the new country. Finally, the "assimilation"-type is similar to the "adaptor" type in Table 1: These people show a high consumption of majority media and have developed positive attitudes towards the culture and political system of their host country, perceiving it now as their new home country.

USER TYPE	MEDIA ORIENTATION	ORIENTATION TOWARDS CULTURE AND POLITICS
1. Political Exile	Dominant use of minority media from country of origin	Cultural, political bonding to home country and mistrust in politics of new country
2. Cultural Exile		Cultural bonding to home country but trust in political system of new country
3. Diaspora		Pragmatic use of media from home country and political trust in new country
4. Biculturalism	Mixed use of minority media from home country and majority media from host country	Reflective and critical stance on country and media of origin but on new country as well
5. Assimilation	Dominant use of majority media from host country	Positive attitudes to culture and political system of new country

Table 2: Typology of Media Use by Migrants (based on Hafez 2002)

Besides these differentiations concerning media use as dependent variables, there has also been some theoretical development related to the *independent variables* influencing media behavior. Whereas earlier studies considered ethnicity to be the most influential causal factor and compared ethnic minority groups with the main population of a country, more recent studies (e.g. Weiß/Trebbe 2001) argue in a more differentiated way, analyze the mediating influence of social factors like everyday situation, language skills and extent of integration, socioeconomic status, education or gender, and attempt to incorporate these factors into more advanced theoretical models (see Figure 2).
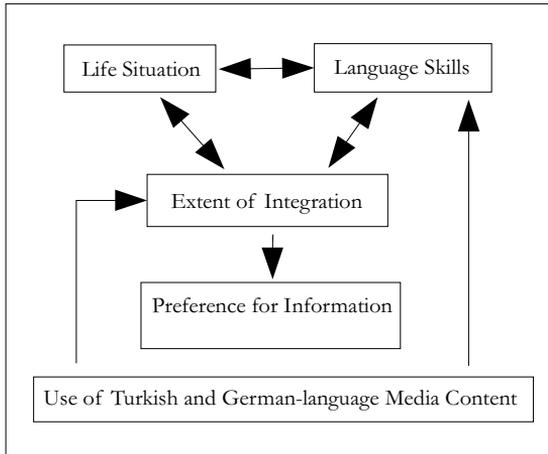
Figure 2: Theoretical Model of Media Use (based on Weiß/Trebbe 2001)

A further major research concern is to determine the *impact of ethnicity compared to other social divisions*. Recently, the concept of "social capital" has been discussed in the context of media use, political participation and the integration of migrants (e.g. Jacobs/Tillie 2004). It is assumed that being embedded in social networks – an indicator of social capital – is an important factor influencing the level of media use and, furthermore, the level of trust in the political system.

2.2 Media Effects Paradigm

In comparison with the uses and gratifications approach, the media effects paradigm (Bonfadelli 2004) focuses not on media use itself, but on social integration on a macro level. In a complementary way, then, the cultural studies paradigm deals with cultural identity on a micro level. According to most functionalist theories, media perform unplanned and long-term socialization and integration functions for a society by bridging different social and ethnic groups and assimilating different people into a common civil culture (Schudson, 1994; Peeters/d'Haenens 2005). In this view, then, the use of majority host country media by ethnic minorities will result in better social and cultural integration. On the other hand, it is hypothesized that the persistent use of media from the homeland and in the language of origin will help maintain individuals' old cultural identity and will thus have detrimental effects on integration. One normative consequence would be that ethnic minority groups should use the majority media available in the new host country in its language to fully integrate into the new socio-cultural context.

Immigrants still using their homeland media in their language of origin are regarded as not integrated and labeled as separatists in the typology of Adoni et al. (2002) and are still considered bonded to the culture of origin.

This general assumption of the mass media's positive integration function for migrants has at least been further differentiated or even put to question by various middle-range theories that attempt to explain the possible effects of mass communication in general or, in particular, in the migration context in detail, and that have been empirically tested (Bonfadelli 2004). Both *agenda-setting theory* and the *media-framing perspective* postulate that media coverage focusing on controversial or negative incidents or key events like 9/11 in New York in 2001 or the attacks by skinheads and neo-Nazis on asylum centers in Hoyerswerda (17.9.1991) can represent migrants as a problem or threat to society and influence the public agenda in this way (Brosius/Eps 1993; Scheufele/Brosius 1999). This applies especially when migrants are framed negatively and in a stereotyped way, as many content analyses demonstrate (Greenberg et al. 2002, on the German media see Müller 2005a). Another problem are the long-term media effects of the widespread and constant use of *metaphors and phrases with negative connotations* like "the boat is full" and "floods of refugees" or "Islamic terrorism" etc. that delegitimize the minority groups themselves (Poole 2000; Schiffer 2005). Critical discourse analysts like Teun van Dijk (1991) postulate increasing racism in society as a result of such media content.

Cultivation theory takes as its starting point the results of such content analyses and claims that television cultivates stereotyped images of minority groups in the long term, especially in the minds of so-called 'heavy viewers' (Gerbner et al. 2002). These 'mainstream' perceptions of social reality can even lead to an increased fear concerning minority groups. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that debates on national identity in Europe or America are not new or unique and that foreigners or minority groups in general have always been regarded suspiciously by the dominant majority groups, even without the influence of media coverage (e.g. Huntington 2004).

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

2.3   Cultural Studies Perspective

The cultural studies paradigm (Hall 1980; Hepp 1999) is contrary to the "media-centric" effects paradigm, since for the former the media user is the focus of interest and analysis. Media use, then, is seen as a purposeful selection of media, and the reception process is considered to be an active construction of meaning. This perspective does not simply assume an alternative between adapting to the new country's culture through consuming host media on the one hand and bonding to the old country of origin and remaining culturally isolated by using homeland media on the other (Peeters/d'Haenens 2005). Instead, a third possibility is also taken into consideration.

In this sense, members of ethnic minorities are seen to be able to use varying kinds of media, their homeland media and the media of the new host country. This dualistic position is not regarded as deficient or as a danger for the development of a cultural identity. Being able to participate in both cultures and using media from both countries and in both languages enables members of ethnic minority groups to bridge the norms and values of different cultures and to actively develop new forms of a so-called reflective hybrid identity. To promote mutual respect, social participation, and cultural integration, today's pluralistic societies even seem to require that everyone attain an understanding of the everyday life, norms and values of other cultural groups. To this end, the mass media play a significant role by providing not only homogeneous images of the so-called home country in a national perspective, but by disseminating information and knowledge about the different minority groups and their everyday culture (Barker 1997). On the basis of these theoretical premises, new forms of cultural identities can be postulated.

A first type of cultural identity is locally bounded and based on difference. Distinct traditions are kept separately in time and space. For instance, Swiss citizens perceive themselves as Swiss, or Turkish migrants living in Switzerland perceive themselves as Turks. They live in Turkish neighborhoods and interact and communicate mostly with Turks. A second type of cultural identity is similar concerning local "boundedness" and difference, but the separate traditions of Swiss and Turkish identity can be juxtaposed in the same person, insofar as different identities are expressed, depending on the situation. For example, the person behaves as a Turk with Turkish friends, but behaves like a Swiss in settings with Swiss people. A third type of identity is the result of the assimilation into a new culture and the absorption of new values and norms. This is the case for a youngster with Turkish parents who grows up in Switzerland, behaves like a Swiss, and has a corresponding self-image. Fourth, besides these locally bounded identities there are translocal and shifting

identities as a result of a new global media culture. For example, young people in different countries conceive of themselves and behave as "hip hoppers" in contrast to "heavy metal" fans through their identification with certain global media symbols (see Lull 2001). Shared concerns and belief systems on a worldwide level also help to form transnational global identities based on similarity, as, for instance, with globalization critics, environmentalist movements, or fundamentalist religious groups.

	DIFFERENCE	**SIMILARITY**
Locally Bounded	1. Distinct traditions, kept separately in time and space. Turkish or Swiss identity. 2. Separate traditions are juxtaposed in time and space. Hybrid identity as Turkish and Swiss and appropriate switch from one to the other in certain situations.	3. Assimilation into the new culture and absorption of new values and norms. Parents are Turkish, but child's self-image is Swiss.
Translocal Shifting	4. New global forms of identity based on distinct taste/style cultures like "hip hop" or "heavy metal".	5. New forms of identity based on shared concerns like "anti-global" movement

Table 3: New Forms of Cultural Identities (adapted from Barker 1997: 616)

3.   A Swiss Survey of Media Use by Adolescents: Research Issues and Research Design

So far, research on the media use of ethnic minorities in Switzerland has been rare. The only relatively comprehensive survey about media use of immigrants was conducted in 1995 by the research unit of the Public Broadcasting Corporation SRG (Anker/Ermutlu/Steinmann 1995). With several research projects, the Institute of Mass Communication and Media Research at the University of Zurich (IPMZ) is engaged in filling this knowledge gap. One project that began in 2003 and was recently completed is concerned with the function of media in constructing social identity in a multicultural setting. It focuses on a comparison of two groups, adolescents from the indigenous Swiss population and those of migrant background (Bonfadelli/ Bucher 2006; Bucher/Bonfadelli 2007). Some of the findings from this research will be presented below. Other projects were concerned with analyzing media representations of Islam in Swiss newspapers (Bonfadelli 2007).

3.1 Research Issues

The research project referred to above was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (NRP 52: Childhood, Youth and Intergenerational Relationships) and examined the relationship between culture-specific characteristics (in addition to other socio-demographic factors) and the function and role the media and ICT play in identity-formation processes for children and adolescents living in a multicultural setting. In particular, our study specifically addressed the following questions:

- What role do mass media and ICT (access, usage, functions, favourite programmes etc.) play in the lives of Swiss youth in comparison to young people from an immigrant background?

- To what extent is media use determined by characteristics of cultural background (country of origin, religion) in comparison to socio-demographic factors (gender, education or social background of family)?

- What role do media and ICT play in the formation of identity for the inter-generational setting of immigrant life?

3.2 Methods

The project approaches the issue "media, migration and youth" from an *interdisciplinary perspective* and is divided into two closely linked studies consisting of:

- *A quantitative study* (Heinz Bonfadelli & Priska Bucher, University of Zurich), which analyzes the use of both old and new media, cultural identity and attitudes toward other cultures among immigrant youths by comparing them with a similar sample of indigenous youths (both parents born and raised in Switzerland). Eighty-eight classes in the greater Zurich metropolitan area with a high rate (>25%) of children of immigrant background were visited during the summer of 2004. The sample of 1486 students is composed of 49% female and 51% male students and is also well balanced regarding age (12-16 years). About a third of the students are indigenous Swiss; two thirds are students of immigrant background.

- *A qualitative study* (Heinz Moser & Thomas Hermann & Christa Hanetseder, School of Education, Zurich) was based on different strategies of ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews with members of 8 Turkish/Kurdish families. The methodological approach

is based on cultural studies, ethnography and visual methods. The in-depth interviewing, in particular, offered insights into the relationship between media and cultural identity and thus further differentiated the findings from the quantitative investigation. This fieldwork highlights the function that media and ICT play in processes of identity formation in an inter-generational setting (see Hermann/Hanetseder 2007).

4. Results

4.1 Structural Inequalities: Parents and Children

A first issue deals with structural inequalities on the basis of background data concerning the socio-economic status of the parents and the educational level of the adolescents. Our comparative data demonstrate very pronounced structural inequalities (Table 4): On the one hand, the social status of the Swiss families is higher, and on the other hand, the educational level of Swiss adolescents is significantly higher in comparison to adolescents from a migrant background.

Socio-Economic Status of Family			
Percentages	Low	Medium	High
Swiss Youth	6	62	32
Migrants	34	40	26
Educational Level of Adolescents (Only Secondary School)			
Percentages	Low	Medium	High
Swiss Youth	5	44	51
Migrants	24	46	30

Table 4: Socio-Economic Status of Families and Educational Level of Adolescents

But inequalities exist independent of family background: Our data demonstrate that, in general, more adolescents from a migration background have a lower educational level, whereas more Swiss adolescents have higher levels of education. This can be observed independently of the socio-economic status or the educational background of their parents. Moreover, the influence of ethnic background is especially strong among adolescents coming from ex-Yugoslavia, whereas ethnic background seems to be much weaker among adolescents coming from Italy.

4.2   Values, political interest and occupational expectations

When asked about the most important values for living a comfortable life, about 97% of the students mentioned "good friends". The same importance was attributed to the item "not to be unemployed". About 92% of the young people considered a good education and an interesting job important for leading a rewarding life. Here, there were no differences between Swiss students and students from a migration background. As to the items "to have a lot of money" and "to believe in something", only 35% and 45%, respectively, of the young Swiss as opposed to about 60% and 70%, respectively, of the youths from a migrant background ranked these as important. Noteworthy with respect to all questions regarding attitudes is that the answers of adolescents of Italian origin are similar to those of the Swiss young people, whereas the responses of adolescents from other countries of origin differ to a greater extent.

%	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Yes, quite sure	35	29	32	30	26
Yes, maybe	55	58	56	56	61
No, probably not	9	11	10	13	11
No, certainly not	1	2	2	1	2
Note: Switzerland: N=499; Migrants: N=969; Italy: N=166; Turkey: N=136; Ex-Yugoslavia: N=350.					

Table 5: Do You Believe That You Can Achieve Your Own Occupational Goals?

About 20% of the young people claim to have no interest in political affairs; 24% of the Swiss adolescents and 33% of those from a migration background mention that Swiss politics are important. With respect to the politics of the country of origin or of other countries, the interest of students from a migration background is even stronger: 43% and 44%, respectively, regard these matters as significant, whereas only 17% of Swiss youths consider politics of other countries to be important. There is a significant connection between education and political interest in the Swiss segment, whereas this is not the case in the segment from a migration background. Political interest also depends on media use: Young people who frequently read (newspapers and/or books) are politically more interested.

Future occupational chances and opportunities as appraised by the young immigrants are quite similar to the assessments of Swiss adolescents. Most of the students think they will find a satisfying job. This is most certainly a

positive finding, especially in light of the generally high fear of becoming unemployed (see Table 4).

4.3   Cultural Orientations and Multiculturalism

A typology of cultural orientation was constructed on the basis of several indicator questions, such as preferred language of media use, main language used in the family and with friends, ethnic background of friends, perceptions of group membership, interest in events occurring in Switzerland or in the home country, etc. (see table 6). A majority of the adolescents from a migrant background were classified as "Swiss-oriented" (45%) in comparison with only 24% "homeland-oriented"; 24% have a "dualist" orientation; and a minority of 7% seems to be detached from both, their country of origin and from Switzerland. There are no significant differences between young people from Italy, Turkey or ex-Yugoslavia; but parents from each ethnic group are significantly more homeland-oriented, according to the perceptions of their children: ex-Yugoslavia (45%), Italy (48%) and Turkey (57%).

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

Table 6: Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism in Switzerland

Compared to their peers of migration background, Swiss youths have a more skeptical view of multicultural society (Table 6): They agree more that immigrants have to assimilate and they negate more that a mix of cultures can

be interesting and that Swiss people can learn something from immigrants. Only regarding the item: "If Swiss people and immigrants respected each other, there would be no problems", does a large majority of those questioned agree, irrespective of the country of origin.

4.4   Media Access

One basic prerequisite for media use is, of course, media access. For this reason, we asked young people which media are available in general at home and, especially, in their own bedrooms. In light of media access at home, migration background is more significant than social background with respect to print media, satellite TV, and new media. Swiss families seem to have better equipment in their living rooms than do families from a migration background. But a somewhat different result is observable if one looks at the media available in the youths' bedrooms (Table 7).

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

Table 7: Media Access at Home, Except Own Bedroom

Interestingly, adolescents' own access to new media is higher among the immigrants. This means that parents from an immigrant background offer their children access to ICT, but without using this technology themselves. But the ownership of print media (books, subscriptions to newspapers and magazines) is significantly lower among families and children from an immigrant background.

In addition to migration background, gender and level of education also prove to be important predictors for media access. Having one's own access to electronic media is strongly dependent on gender: boys have better access to

computers and the internet than girls do. Furthermore, the number of books youths actually own is closely related to the personal level of education and to the social background of the family; but there are negative correlations with the availability of a TV in one's own bedroom.

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

Table 8: Media Access in Own Bedroom

4.5   Digital Divide

Internet Access (%)		Own Room	In Family	No Access
Migration Background	**No**	30	62	8
	Yes	49	38	13
Sex	**Male**	47	44	9
	Female	37	49	14
Age	**12-13 Years**	34	55	11
	14 Years	41	48	11
	15 Years	45	46	11
	16-18 Years	48	40	12
SES	**high**	40	53	7
	medium	40	49	10
	low	48	34	18
Education (Only Secondary School)	**high**	41	54	4
	medium	46	42	12
	low	46	32	22

Table 9: Dimensions of Digital Divide

In the public debate on the digital divide, one can find hypotheses assuming a lack of access to the internet on the part of migrants. A closer look at access to the internet in Switzerland (Table 9) demonstrates that there is not only a gap concerning ethnical background, but also concerning gender, age, the socioeconomic status, and educational background of the family. Taken together, boys, older adolescents, and those coming from more affluent families have better access to the internet, at least within the family.

4.6   Media Use

Not surprisingly in light of similar studies in other countries (d'Haenens 2003; Weiß/Trebbe 2001), Swiss adolescents listen to the radio more frequently and for more hours per week than adolescents from an immigrant background. Young people of immigrant background spend more hours watching TV, whereas the frequency of watching TV does not differ from the TV habits of their Swiss peers. The segment of those who do not use the internet at all is higher among the immigrants, but, on the average, young people of immigrant background spend more time online than their Swiss counterparts. Whereas there are no differences between Swiss youth and others concerning the use of magazines and newspapers, students of immigrant background read books significantly less frequently and fewer hours per week than Swiss adolescents.

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

Table 10: Frequency of Media Use ("At Least Several Times per Week" vs. "Never")

With respect to the use of other media, there are no significant differences between Swiss pupils and others. Immigrant families do not have as many computers as their Swiss counterparts; but in the bedrooms of youths of immigrant background more computers are to be found than in the bedrooms of the Swiss.

Migration background is a more important predictor than other factors with regard to reading, how frequently books are read, watching TV and listening to the radio. With reference to reading books and using audio-visual media, there is a correlation between migration background and reading frequency, but education level and gender are more important predictors.

	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Newspaper	1h30	1h30	1h40	1h30	1h20
Books	3h10	2h40	2h30	3h00	2h10
Magazines	2h00	1h40	1h40	1h45	1h40
TV	10h15	13h00	13h20	12h15	13h35
Video	2h15	2h40	2h10	2h35	3h25
DVD	2h45	2h50	2h55	3h10	2h30
Computer offline	5h10	6h00	7h 25	5h25	6h15
Internet	8h25	10h30	9h35	10h20	11h00
Radio	6h30	3h50	4h35	2h15	3h20
Music (CD)	10h30	10h20	11h35	9h40	9h30
Playstation	3h35	3h35	4h00	3h25	3h00
Total	**54h45**	**56h35**	**59h25**	**54h00**	**56h25**

Table 11: Media Use in Hours per Week

For the use of computers and the internet, there is no significant difference between Swiss adolescents and others, but education is responsible for the largest part of the variance. Gender is a good predictor for the offline-use of computers – boys use computers more frequently than girls – but girls use the internet as often as their male peers, especially to communicate with school friends.

4.7   Preferences for Media Content

There are no differences between Swiss adolescents and migrants with respect to the appeal of entertaining TV programs, as much of the media content in

such programs is chosen in accordance with youth-specific interests. But as for TV information programs, it is obvious that young migrant people prefer to watch news on private stations, whereas Swiss youths more often mention programs from the public broadcaster. As to print media, there are similar interests regarding the best liked genres, yet it should be emphasized that the wide variety of different types of print media is better utilized by Swiss pupils. Youth-specific and topic-oriented interests are characteristic for the internet. In addition, young people of immigrant background also use the internet for e-mails and chats to keep in touch with relatives and friends in the country of origin. To sum up, the globalized sphere of international TV programs, e.g., MTV, media symbols and formats targeted at young people are highly visible, especially in the open-ended questions dealing with favorite media content.

4.8   Media as a Topic of Conversation

Modern mass media also play an important role as a topic of conversation in the everyday life of young people. Hence, we asked the adolescents which media they talk about with which persons (Table 12).

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

Table 12: Partners for Conversations about Different Media

In families from a migrant background, there is less conversation between children and parents about the print media than in Swiss families. But young immigrants talk with their siblings or peers just as much as Swiss youths do.

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

The limited amount of discussions on the media between young people and their parents in migrant families also seems to be a consequence of language differences in the media content used: Parents of migrant families use media more frequently in their mother tongue, whereas their children often use them in German, which complicates conversations about media.

5.   Main Findings

In response to our questions concerning access to and use of media, the major findings (to a great extent corroborated by similar findings in other research) were as follows:

-    Except for TV and satellite TV, the *ownership of media devices* is more widespread in Swiss families than in families from an immigrant background. At the same time, it can be stated that youths' own access to new media is higher among the immigrants; but immigrant families do not own as many computers as their Swiss counterparts. As we have seen above, this means that parents of immigrant background offer their children access to ICT, but without using it themselves. In addition, ownership of print media (books, subscriptions to newspapers & magazines) is lower among families of immigrant background.

-    Young people of immigrant background spend more hours watching TV, whereas how frequently they watch TV does not differ from the TV habits of the native Swiss. The segment of those who do not use the internet at all is higher among the immigrants, but, on the average, young people from an immigrant background spend more time online than Swiss youngsters. Although there are no differences between Swiss youths and others concerning the use of magazines and newspapers, students of immigrant background read books less frequently and fewer hours per week.

-    With regard to identity-formation processes, our qualitative data illustrate how young people actively use friends or relatives or role models from

the world of football or music in order to define their own style, by means of which they express themselves. Media play an important part for them, both for keeping in touch with peers and relatives or for discussing news from the world of sports or show business.

- Migrant youths often do not fully belong to both the Swiss culture and the culture of origin. They develop the deepest roots in the place where they live and in relationships to a broad – sometimes international – network of relatives, friends and peers. In such a situation, a political aim of straightforward assimilation is highly counterproductive.

- Contrary to the widely held belief that young people of migrant background live in a kind of "parallel society" and/or "media ghetto", our study indicates that *migrant youths are not a homogeneous group*, but are characterized by a diversity of individual personalities, social backgrounds and manifold patterns of media use. As a consequence, policy measures, school projects or media coverage should take this existing social and cultural diversity more into account.

- Yet, there is mutual influence as well. Young people of both Swiss and migrant backgrounds share many media and cultural preferences typical of people their age – above all, globalized youth-oriented television and music programs, youth magazines and internet sites.

- Young people of migration background (and their parents, too) have high aspirations regarding their chances of education and future occupation. These claims and efforts remain in conflict with the existing educational inequalities of children from other countries of origin and with other mother tongues. Despite these 'hurdles', the majority of young people of migrant background is surprisingly satisfied.

6.   Conclusions

Our multidisciplinary research project attempted to achieve several objectives concerning theory, methods and data, and is intended to be of practical relevance for various fields, such as the social sciences, school and family education as well as journalistic practice.

On a theoretical level, the project tried *to enrich the theoretical foundations* of a culturally oriented migration theory by linking concepts of media use with the perspective of a globalized community of young immigrant media users. Using concepts like "hybrid identities", we referred to socialization theory and

stressed aspects like "active media use", "self-socialization" or the dissolution of traditional identity concepts.

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

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

In particular, the results of the quantitative study stress differences between migrant and Swiss young people and should give school teachers a better understanding of the media behavior of their pupils in order to prepare the ground for developing specific courses of action in schools or for measures directed towards families to provide better equal opportunities to both groups. Together with the results of the qualitative investigation, the ways media use and consumption are related to the identity-formation processes of youths from an immigrant background have become manifest.

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

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

Our findings can also be of significance for media professionals, as they demonstrate the importance of media for the integration of young people from a migration background and indicate the opportunity to anchor media coverage on a more realistic and thus less stereotypical basis. The findings also point to the need for immigrants themselves to be represented in the media in a more diversified and more accurate manner.

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