Research report

Media, technology and the migrant family.
Media uses, appropriations and articulations in a culturally diverse Europe

COST Action IS0906, Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies
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Introduction

The research focus of Working Group 4 has been devoted to Audience transformation and social integration. Two topics were in the core of its interests: public issues related with media roles and regulations, citizenship and social diversity in a complex and multicultural European space; and issues related to the sphere of contemporary families such as the roles of the media in relationships among family members.

Family research and migration research each have an important but mostly separate history. Media have gradually become a central topic on both research agendas, but audience research on migrant families is still relatively scarce. This also became clear in a research overview made by WG4. Reviewing 65 research projects of 30 involved researchers representing 15 European countries, we identified a lot of work on families, adolescents and children on the one hand and a lot of work on migrants and minorities on the other hand, but relatively few projects covering both. Nevertheless, there were interesting connections to be made and therefore WG4 debated the possibility to explore the potential of a cross-European and comparative project on migrant family media uses, under the provisional title: *Media, technology and the migrant family: Media uses, appropriations and articulations in a culturally diverse Europe.*

The blurring of boundaries between the public and private spheres and the shifts in societal and familiar spaces of communication and identity require an interdisciplinary agenda and research practice. While media and communications research on cultural diversity, transnational families, and media consumption within migrant households needs to be aware of and engage with research within family studies and ethnic and migration studies, these disciplines can also benefit immensely from media and communications' research and analysis. Therefore, WG4 has drawn its attention to the possibility to contribute to an interdisciplinary approach that cross-fertilises research from across social sciences and the humanities and draws particular attention to research on uses of media among migrant families.

Aiming at elaborating a cross-nationals research project, WG4 has worked and prepared the terrain for the development of a future project, having in mind a set of research questions, which still need to find an answer.

- What are the major conceptual challenges the field of diaspora, migration and media research faces at present, especially when studying families and young migrants?
- What is the role of the media in advancing or hindering the participation and/or integration of migrant families in local, national and transnational communities? How do different media (e.g. mainstream media, diasporic media, ethnic media) participate in such processes?
- How do media consumption and appropriations of communication technologies contribute to integration and identity construction among transnational migrant communities?
- How do digital media impact on the way identity is constructed among transnational migrant communities?
- How do media roles change according to age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, or religion?
What role do media play in the intergenerational cultural transmission and in sustaining family ties within and across borders? How much does generation matter, and how much does generation matter in media practice and in transmitting/sharing culture(s) in the households?

How do family relation dynamics surrounding media uses vary in the case of different media? How does socio-economic status affect these dynamics? What do migrant families think about public service media? Do they use them? Why or why not? What are their expectations?

How can research on diaspora and the media contribute to policy that advances participation of minorities in European societies?

The activity carried out by the WG4 in order to elaborate a research project proposal has been mainly divided in three lines:

1) Mapping and discussing theoretical and conceptual foundations about media use among migrant families in Europe
2) Mapping the field: gathering and collecting existing research on media use among migrant families in Europe
3) Exploratory research on migrant families, life stories and media repertoires (PhD project or student’s master works)
1. Theoretical and conceptual foundations

In mapping and discussing theoretical and conceptual foundations about media use among migrant families in Europe, we critically reflected on several concepts at the base of such research. This work had as its main result an article (Dhoest, Nikunen and Cola, 2013), in which we first dissect the concept of the "migrant" audience, explaining: the reasons for singling out these particular audiences; the best way to conceptualise and describe them; in which way to study them and do justice to their complexity and diversity. Secondly, we explore the specificities of and variations within migrant families, focusing in particular on media uses and generational differences. Finally, we reflect on two useful theoretical frameworks to study migrant families: the notion of "hybridity" and its connection to media use and identifications; and the concept of "cosmopolitanism", discussing the importance of research on concrete cosmopolitan competences.

In discussing theoretical and conceptual foundations of media use among migrant families, and in elaborating the above mentioned review article, the previous work done by Myria Georgiou was essential. We refer here in particular to the Working Report in the context of the FAMILYPLATFORM research project [Georgiou, M. (2010). Diasporic families and media consumption. In M. Georgiou, L. Haddon, E. Helsper & Y. Wang (Eds.), FAMILYPLATFORM Existential Field 8: Appendix to the Report – Special Focus Pieces (pp. 2-8). Working Report, available at: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/29789/1/EF8_Appendix_Special_Focus_Pieces1.pdf]. The report outlines the main theoretical, methodological and empirical contribution of studies on diaspora, migration and the media to family and media research. The main topics concern:

- The role of the (diasporic) family as an institution playing a key role in the organisation of modern society, and also in media consumption (diasporic media consumption has familiar patterns).
- The paradoxical relation between migration and the family: migration can interrupt family life but family can be also a system of support.
- The consequence of this paradox for media consumption can be: a) advanced use of transnational media and communication to overcome the interruption of physical contact between family members; b) intensified relations within diasporic families generate an everyday shared familial media consumption; c) media consumption choices in diasporic families vary between generations.
- Intergenerational tensions in the use of media (in particular TV) but also TV viewing as a significant element of relationships within the family.
- Young diasporic subjects tend to have a diverse (linguistically and culturally) and cosmopolitan media consumption.
- Research on diasporic families and media consumption has a predominantly empirical orientation, and needs a transnational comparative perspective.

Based on the idea that “family is of great relevance to migration and relevant decisions are often made by families and not individuals (Castles and Miller, 2009)”, Georgiou (2010: 3-4) states that
“family tends to be considered to be a central category, or more often it is approached as the taken-for-granted background in the study of migration and diaspora. Relevant literature – mostly within sociology, geography and social policy – approaches family in one of these ways: (i) by focusing on economic life; (ii) by exploring cultural identity and community continuity or discontinuity; and (iii) by addressing specific challenges presented by diasporic families to multicultural societies”. The three main areas can be broken down in five themes of research:

- Family as an economic unit
- Family in the context of multicultural societies
- Family as a component of community and identity construction
- Family and gendered migration
- Family, migration and children

There are already a number of research projects that developed cross-national and comparative studies of diaspora and media consumption. But, as Georgiou (2010: 4) notices, “all of these projects have applied cross-national frameworks and have combined qualitative and quantitative methods (with an emphasis on qualitative methodologies) in exploring aspects of media production and consumption among diasporic individuals and families. One of their common characteristics, which to a large extent cut across this field of study, is the little conceptual engagement with the family. This is the case, even when family appears as an important empirical category (much of the research takes place with family members, or records family relations and dynamics in media consumption and identification)”.

“There is a paradox in the discussion of the family in media and diaspora literature: family is both on the background and on the core of research. The family is the assumed context in most of the migrant and diasporic media consumption research but it is rarely discussed as a significant analytical category per se. In its ever presence, the family is studied with the use of quantitative and qualitative methods, and through long and short-term empirical studies. What a large number of studies in this field observes is a high level of mediation in family relations” (Georgiou, 2010: 5). [a detailed list of the main themes that appear in the discussion and analysis of diasporic families and media consumption research can be found in Georgiou’s report].

After presenting an analysis of the field of diaspora and media consumption, Georgiou reflects on the future trends and developments as regards this field’s orientation:

- Qualitative empirical studies – with ethnographic approaches predominating – will continue defining the directions of research on diasporic family media consumption to a large extent.
- The intensification of transnational and cross-national orientation of empirical research, with more studies looking at networks and connections across geographical and national boundaries (influenced by theoretical work in the wider fields of transnationalism, globalisation, cosmopolitanism and the media).
• The possible expansion of the studies on interfamilial relations and emotional attachments to loved ones through transnational mediated networks.
• Possible increasingly interesting areas of empirical exploration: the generational change within diasporic families, the increasing levels of media literacy and the growing diversification of media consumption among young diasporic subjects.
• The relations between this area of studies and the political context, characterised by the retreat of multicultural politics across Europe and the growing public debates on minorities’ rights and responsibilities in European societies, will let to explore questions of citizenship and belonging in relation to media consumption.
2. Gathering and collecting existing research

Even though migration is currently one of the major sources of social change in Europe, and migrants are becoming increasingly visible and significant actors in our societies, migrant families and their needs have not been an explicit object of many European research studies so far (Wall et al., 2010). Media are an important element in the life of families; in the last 30 years, research on media use in the household context highlighted the importance of media in structuring family life and in building internal and external relationships, in articulating private and public life (e.g. the "domestication approach" elaborated by Roger Silverstone and colleagues since the 90’s). In considering migrants families, it is interesting to notice that media are not only used to seek ontological security in a foreign cultural environment, but media “are also used in a process of taming and producing locality, and thus being crucial in the process of forming a diasporic identity and of domesticating home” (Slettemeås, 2006: 1).

2.1 Why mapping?

There is a need of comparative research on the use of media in migrants families, but in order to fill the existing gap in the research field, it is important to collect, register and compare existing research. This activity allows formulating hypotheses for future comparative research projects. Inspired by the model elaborated by Hasebrink et al. (2010), the mapping activity, based on some preliminary research questions already emerged, aims at 1) identifying national studies that provide answers to those questions; 2) gathering information about relevant contextual factors and structural data about the involved countries, with respect to issues such as family, migration, media, language and other background factors.

Mapping “what”?

Therefore, we proceeded to gather information on existing research projects by creating a data repository. In this way we were able to collect a considerable amount of research dealing with the topic of media and migrants, even though not all of them where about families.

Mapping “how”?

In order to analyse the collected studies, first we established the criteria to include/exclude the studies in the analysis, and secondly we elaborated a grid of analysis. Each collected study was analysed following the grid and finally we created a picture of the field of research.

This exploratory work helped us in understanding at what stage of development the research on media and migrant families in Europe is. Mapping the research field and comparing countries allowed us to foster the development of future research in the field.

As said, we established first of all the criteria to include/exclude studies in the analysis:

- **International migration**: the researches considered must deal with international migration, and therefore we excluded internal/national migration
• **Media uses**: the researches considered must deal with media uses (either single medium or several media) by migrant community(ies)

• **Family or parenthood**: the researches considered must take into consideration the family or individuals with parental relationships

• **Europe**: considering our belonging to a European network, the researches considered must be related to migrant in European countries

We encountered several difficulties in applying the criterion “Family or parenthood” since the majority of published work about Media and Migrants is about individuals and not the whole family.

In this regard, we also considered the possibility to use the dimension “Household” instead of “Family or parenthood”; this would allow to include everyone living under the same roof, no matter if they have a kinship relationship or not.

But the existing research in this area mainly focuses on a specific target (in particular defined by age or generation) or on a specific community (based on origin). The family, or the household, is much less taken into consideration.

In some cases, when the focus is young or adolescents, quite often the parents are also considered. So, in a way they focus on the “family” even if it is not explicitly considered and not explicitly taken as a unit of analysis.

Based on the criteria of inclusion, we identified and gathered (national or cross-national) studies to be analysed\(^1\), and we proceeded with the creation of a grid of analysis to collect information about the following elements:

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I. Main issue(s), that means the main aims of the research

II. Research questions

III. Theoretical approach(es), concepts

IV. Contextual factors, such as key information provided on the context

V. Host country(ies)

VI. Country(ies) of origin / ethnicity

VII. Unit of analysis (family, generation(s), gender,...) and origin (one country/ethnicity or several)

VIII. Other considered aspects of the sample - can be either in the sample selection or in the data analysis - (education, SES, religion,...)

IX. Methodology(ies), in particular the approach (qualitative and/or quantitative) and the research instruments

X. Kind of focus on media: media as central, not central, or if the research focuses only on one medium or various media, attention to the devices (eg. Media repertoires or media diet) or/and to media contents.

XI. Synthesis of main results

2.2 Findings of the mapping

I. Main issue(s), that means the main aims of the research

A considerable part of these studies focus on a specific category of individuals, namely children/adolescents, their media uses and parental mediation/orientations.

Beside that, other main issues encountered in the research considered are:

- connecting transnational families
- constructing home in a foreign country
- gender and family, and in particular the experience of being a mother
- other factors besides ethnicity that explain media uses
- media for inclusion and exclusion

Concerning the main issues covered in existing research, we notice a scarcity of research on migration from the point of view of those living in the country of origin (with exception of one); the focus is mainly on the host country.

II. Research questions

The majority of the research considered show to have as starting point similar research questions. In particular, we identified research questions dealing with the following topics:

- role(s) of media and ICT in maintaining relationships in migration
- role(s) of media and ICT in integration, with attention on the life in new environments
- media use
- roles of parents in children’s media use
- roles of media in intergenerational cultural transmission and conflicts
- how do media contribute to maintain and negotiate identities

III. Theoretical approaches, concepts

The theoretical backgrounds informing the researches considered are quite varied, but there are some common traits and some approaches that occur frequently. In particular, many research projects are informed by the theory of practices; domestication approach; concepts as acculturation, transmission of culture, cultural overburden; family studies (considering family as an institution, and looking at gender roles in the families); theoretical discussion on identity, hybridity and ethnicity; diaspora studies; concepts as cultural and social capitals; mediations; uses and gratification approach; globalisation.

IV. Contextual factors

Although not all the studies (publications) give contextual factors, where expressed they discuss:

- information about migration waves in the host countries and migration motives
- policies for migration in the origin and host country
- data and information about media and ICT use and diffusion
- policies of integration used in the host country

V. Host country

The studies analysed were conducted in the following countries: Israel, Germany, Greece, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

VI. Countries of origin / ethnicity

As already said, the research on media and migration tends to focus on a single ethnic community or the single country of origin of a diasporic group. The studies analysed considered people originally from Bosnia, Greece, Iran, Japan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Somalia, Sri
Lanka, Sweden, Syria, Turkey (including Kurdish-Turkish), Vietnam and former Soviet Union (also others not mentioned in the papers but considered in the research).

VII. Unit of analysis – Subjects

In looking at the unit of analysis, we took into account the subjects studied, considering on the one hand if the research focused on family, or generation(s) or issues linked to gender position; and on the other hand we considered if the research focused on the origin country(s) and/or on ethnicity(ies). The majority of the studies has as unit of analysis children/adolescents and one or both parents, therefore they consider two generations (there is a case where grandparents are also subjects of research).

Other research focused on:
- the gender dimension, considering women and their role in the family
- the whole family (with or without children)
- various individuals

Considering the provenience of the subjects studied, the majority of the research considered focuses mainly on one ethnicity/origin, and only few take into account individuals with various origins.

It is important to underline that we encountered only one research that properly considers the whole family, focused on households. Moreover, there is a scarcity of research involving more than two generations (that also means considering elderly people) and male adults. While in studying children and adolescents the mothers are often studied, the figure of the father is almost absent as well as grand-parents.

VIII. Other considered aspects

In mapping the field and analysing research projects related to migration, family and media use, we also looked at other considered aspects in the research, such as variables used either in the sample selection or in the data analysis. What emerged is quite a broad spectrum of aspects considered, some common to many research projects, some others only considered in one or two.

The most common aspects considered are:
- length of migration, or the length of stay in a country
- gender
- age, considered as cohorts or generation
- migrations motives
- education

Other aspects considered by one or two research are:
- diversity of origin: rural/urban
• diversity of cultural background
• household/family composition
• language competencies
• religion
• cultural practices
• socio-economic status

IX. Methodology and data collection

The majority of researches considered are based on a qualitative approach, in the form of ethnographic study (both short and long term) using participant observation, or based on in-depth or semi-structured qualitative interviews (in some cases also conducted among children and parents together).

Besides these instruments, they also use focus group interviews, visual data produced by participants (pictures), visual data produced by researchers, field notes and informal interviews with informants.

The quantitative approach seems to be barely used: only very few researches use a questionnaire as an instrument to collect data.

X. Focus on the media

In mapping the field and analysing research projects related to migration, family and media use, we also considered the role of media within the research focus. In other words, we analysed if the media have a central role or not in the research aim; if the research focuses only on one medium or various media, combing old and new media, giving attention to the devices (eg. media repertoires or media diets) or/and to media contents.

What emerged is that the majority of projects focus:
• on various media and ICT
• mainly on TV

Other researches (one or two for each case) also focus on:
• media, games and other leisure activities (project related to children)
• media that allow personal communication

We encountered only one research that dedicates attention to media contents (Arabic TV), while all the others consider the media devices. Moreover, while for the majority of the projects the media are at the centre of the research, there is one project where media are not at the centre and another that also considers other activities beside media use.

XI. Synthesis of the main results
The research projects analysed offer several contributions to the understanding of the field. Of course, the different perspectives adopted lead to different results and quite often are partially presented. In fact, the considered publications deal only with few aspects part of bigger projects. In any case, we identified some elements as conclusions:

- The idea of “technology of relationships”, where the technology has a role in mediating the relationships
- The concept of “inward” and “outward integration” (see Elias and Lemish’s work)
- The emergence of categories that may inform notions of home construction in a foreign country: the locality dimension, the local network, the belonging dimension, the distant network dimension, the media technology dimension
- Similar media (contents) consumption patterns among people temporarily abroad
- Media (in particular internet) play a central role in structuring and re-structuring time and space for children’s and parents’ uses in diasporic families

2.3 Results and conclusions

This analysis aimed at understanding which are the areas not covered yet by research on media and migrants.

It was strongly evident that there is a lack of research considering the family as a whole, even different kind of families (such as Transnational families, Gay and lesbian families, Mixed heritage families). But, why is the family not considered as a unit of analysis?

There are some groups of individuals strongly studied, such as children and mothers, but fathers are left behind.

Moreover, considering the contextual situation of crisis experienced inside Europe, it will be interesting to focus the research on migrant families inside Europe in time of crisis.
3. Exploratory research

3.1 Exploring migrant families: working with students

To further investigate the possibilities and difficulties for research in this field, in the academic year 2012-2103, Alexander Dhoest together with 15 students of Communication Studies at the University of Antwerp did an explorative research. 30 adolescents of non-Belgian origin (mostly second-generation migrants) and for each, one of their parents were interviewed individually on their media uses in relation to identity and the family. The adolescents were 15 to 18 years old, 17 boys and 13 girls. Rather than focusing on one ethnic group, as is usual in research in Belgium and elsewhere, the respondents had very different backgrounds in 16 different countries. In the interviews, which were semi-structured and followed a similar structure for the adolescents and their parents, first some questions were asked about identity (migration history, cultural and religious identity, language use) and media use (focusing on television, talking about viewing behaviour and preferences; also discussing online media, again discussing online media uses and preferences). Later on, media use in the family context was discussed, focusing on five subtopics:

- family ties and interactions;
- media use in the family context (watching and discussing television together, using the internet together or discussing it);
- transfer of television preferences between generations (as related to the family situation, material limitations, education styles, parental regulation);
- links between television use and ethnic-cultural identity (focusing on the importance of language, religion, and culture);
- links between internet use and ethnic-cultural identity (focusing again on language and culture).

Although further analysis is needed to come to more solid conclusions, as a preliminary conclusion we can state that on the one hand, there are clear intergenerational differences (between adolescents and their parents; between migrants of the first and second generation) but that on the other hand, there are also inter-familial exchanges and similarities, related to a host of different variables (family size, age of the children, family values, ....). For television, parents tend to be more oriented on the country of origin, on information and on public broadcasting, while adolescents are more oriented on Belgian and global media, on entertainment and on commercial broadcasting. For the internet, parents are more interested in practical uses and information (including about the country of origin) and practical uses, while adolescents prefer social media. Parental regulation was relatively limited, so adolescents’ media uses were relatively free. Television in particular is still a domestic, (partly) collective medium, while the internet clearly is more individual. In general, cultural identification seemed to be more important in media use for parents than for their adolescent children.
This exploratory research confirms the usefulness to include different members of the same family in research, which allows to focus on generational differences and interfamilial exchanges. On the one hand, the variety of backgrounds and family situations was an asset to this study, but on the other hand it became clear that it would be useful, in future research, to control some variables to be able to see clearer patterns. The in-depth interview proved to be a well-suited method, as is also confirmed in other research.

3.2 Moving towards research on migrant families: the case of a Bulgarian research

Globalization, migration and mobility brought several changes and challenges to families. Modern media help to cope with these and ease to maintain family relations and therefore create mediatized or virtual ways of communication and living. The main task of the relatively new research subject in Europe is to analyse these trends and to define precisely the new phenomenon “virtual family”. This is the context in which the research “From the Letter to the Communication Break-through: The Image of the Bulgarian Family and Social Media”, conducted by a WG member, Mariyan Tomov, is taking place. This PhD research project is in a way filling the gap in existing research on media and migrants, taking into consideration the family (and its several forms) as a unit of analysis.

In order to be able to grasp the complexity of the issue, attention must be paid to the social transformations that occur in the European society (at macro level) and in the Bulgarian society (at meso level). The objective is to find out what is changing and how. What are the consequences and effects from these changes for both societies? These trends are the basis for the (in)direct effects on the Bulgarian family (at micro level).

Nowadays, the idea of the standard “nuclear family model”, i.e. a household with a married heterosexual couple and their biological children has been replaced by a variety of different alternative family forms and lifestyles (Kapella et al., 2009). One of these family forms and lifestyles which is the subject of the current study is a living apart together (LAT) relationship. It is defined here it as a family form consisting of a couple (narrowly), family with children and their grandparents (broadly), where one, several or all of the family members do not live in the same household. The research is focused on LAT wider socio-structural framework, their specific way of life, their way of interacting, but especially to their communicative interaction not only with one another but also with the media.

The majority of LAT families use mobile phone and social media for communication. From this perspective, they could be defined as a group of people affiliated by consanguinity and affinity sharing every-day challenges, ideas, and feelings maintained over distances through Computer-Mediated Communication. Hence, we could use the term “virtual family” which is closer in this sense.

The study encompasses the prospects of the Bulgarian family from 1960 to 2012. This period is fruitful in analysing the main demographic processes and the role of changing media technologies. In addition, for the purposes of the current research, a longitudinal survey is structured. It is based on qualitative research methods. The methodology includes face-to-face and Skype interviews,
from more than 50 interviewees, with both children and their parents which are separated from one another. 
Thereby we must be able to understand how this kind of families (virtual families) cope with everyday life challenges, how the different circumstances affect the children’s development, how family’s/child’s life can change with time (for better or worse) and how many factors come to play together in complex ways that affect the family’s life and the children’s development.
4. A systematic collection of studies

Beside the above mentioned mapping phase, another data collection was carried out by a WG member, Şirin Dilli. She created a data file for the period from 1980 till 2010, considering different sources, ranging from scientific articles to TV debates on the topic of media and migrants in a broad perspective, mainly focusing on French literature.

In the 1980s - early 1990s, research on content and issues relating to broadcast times and schedules emerged. Scholars wanted to better understand the images they saw on television (Jost, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2005, 2010; Lochard, 2009, 1998). Important to note that studies conducted in the 1980s - early 1990s were more quantitative than qualitative (Macé, 2006 a, 2006b; Macé & Guénif-Souilamas, 2004; Maigret, 2010b, 2009). It was commonly accepted that media played a role in the integration of immigrant workers via dedicated TV programmes that help them to know their rights, help them in everyday life and improve intercultural relations (Ducoli and Martnow-Remiche, 1979; Gaspard, 1982; Le Pallec, 1986; Battegay and Boubeker, 1993; Charon, Giroud and Villain, 1995). Today however, television channels don’t make that much separate programmes for whatever is called/labelled as (cultural) ‘diversity’ anymore.

Broadcasting networks are mainstreaming cultural diversity via debates, TV movies, magazine programmes and documentaries. Most of these programmes are made by independent production companies like Alif, Article Z, Capa, Cineteve, Dominant 7, Images et Cie, INA, KS Visions, Les Films d’Ici, Point du Jour, Son et Lumiere and 13 Production in France (Blion et al., 2008). Such programmes however are often not broadcasted at prime time but in during day time or late in the night.

Having a look on 201 scientific articles written in French, English and Dutch on the topic of Media and Migrants in Television Debates from 1980 to 2010, we realise that there are only few studies about the content of dedicated programmes (Humblot, 1989; Frachon and Vargaftig, 1993; Hargreaves, 1993; Hargreaves and Helcke, 1994). Research on majority and minority audience reception of minorities is rather rare (Helcke, 2001). There are some studies on the way satellite TV broadcasts are received in France (Boubeker et. al. 1998; Astra, 1998; Hargreaves, 2001; Guayybes, 2005; Lamloum, 2007; Ferjani, 2007) and in Western Europe (Georgiou, 2010; Slade, 2010).

Yet, academics disagree about the question whether dedicated programming and mainstreaming are compatible. Some studies focus on groups of immigrant origin as audience(s) (Lehembre and Abdallah, 1984, 1985; Barbulesco, 1985; Aissou, 1988; Paroomal, 1990; Melas et al., 2004; Guyot, 2006) while some focus on the production process (Chaabaoui, 1992) and people of immigrant origin who want to enter the profession (Djennad, 2001).

An interesting research for the COST Action IS0906, Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies - Working Group 4 Audience transformations and social integrations is the one conducted
by Perry and Allison (2009) who studied public participation in television debates during the 2007 presidential campaign in France. This work unveils how participation of the audience turns into a key feature for elections. The research offers insights in representations of ordinary people on private and public sector television channels. It shows into what extent the participants in TV debates mirror the diversity of French society in terms of geographic distribution, gender, ethnic diversity, professional activity, age, marital status and parenthood.

Perry and Allisons main conclusion is that pre-existing discrepancies in geographic distribution are exaggerated, while other socio-cultural variables or smaller groups are over (re)presented. Next to this, Scriven and Roberts (2003) focus especially on the rise in usage of digital technology and how it has changed the face of the audiovisual landscape, stating the way to consume popular television. Thanks to cable, satellite and digital technology, TV broadcasting can reach an international audience. Yet this is not the end point. We are still in the middle of a transition process. Television enters the digital era, the era of the franchise formats. There an ongoing shift from linear to non-linear television (e.g. DVR (Digital Video Recorder) and VOD (Video on Demand)).

Non-linear television dismantles the concept prime time and seems to make power of the mass market decrease. At the same time people who have DVR spend 12% more time watching TV. DVR and VOD offer more screens and more temptations to view a program. When you look at the top 10 most viewed programs on DVR: it is a combination of serials and reality shows like Survivor and Hell’s Kitchen. Besides that DVR has a positive effect on program ratings. According to the French CNRS S.E.R.I.E.S. research group, DVR gave primetime shows an average 5% audience gain (2010). 1 to 10% of the viewers, where not watching the program in one piece but in fragments.

In the light of such researches, a series of questions are at stake, on several scales:

**Family scale**

- What is the organising power of cultural and religious factors (language, collective memory, (non-)secular ritual, myth...) in the European mediascape? What demarcations can be made between factual and fictional, speculative, counterfactual and counterfeit versions of the past? Regarding self-(re)presentation, how to build and show the migrant family in the European mediascape? Are cultural narratives using commercial methods?

**Society scale**

- How do cultural narratives in the media play out around contemporary social issues (e.g. diversity, otherness, ethnic or religious identity, anti-discrimination, equality)? What role could the mediated forms of cultural perception, (re)presentation and practice have in promoting social cohesion, social justice, and/or social change?
Media scale

- How does the rise of new(er) media affect cultural diversity related themes? How to qualify the performativity of cultural narratives? Is this performativity located as an individualist creation, a family like small-scale conviviality, a large-scale sociability or a commercial performance and mediatisation, and how do these scale-sizes relate given the rise of the ICTs?
5. Conclusions

The preliminary work done in the domain of media and migrant families allows the Working Group 4 to picture what have been already developed in this field and which can be further directions that research needs to take.

As detected since the beginning, family research and migration research each have an important but mostly separated history. In gathering and collecting existing research, a lack of research focused on the family as a whole was strongly evident. Also the review of 30 years sources (from scientific articles to TV debates) related to the topic media and migrants showed a productive activity broadly done on the topic but still there is a lack of specific focus on families.

On the other hand, even if the exploratory research projects mentioned in the report are still in progress, the preliminary findings confirm us the importance of focusing on media and migrant families and the necessity of elaborate an update research framework, able to consider the transformation of migrant audience and of the family.

Called at reflection on this research topic, Myria Georgiou presented an interesting examination, during a Cost meeting presentation (September 2012, Milan). She pointed the important development reached by audience research and by migration studies (also in relation to audiences) and defined the “Family” as the “new kid of the block” in this field.

According to Georgiou, several elements will contribute in the development of the media and migrant families research field. We need to be aware and consider the complexity of each element and its characteristics. In studying media and migrant families, and considering families as audience, we have to take into consideration family dynamics. In particular, in each family and especially migrant families, intergenerational struggles, family hierarchies and family togetherness constitute pillars of family dynamics, on which family life is articulated and on which family performs and can be understood.

Another element to be considered is the complexity of audiencehood, characterised by multi media consumption, the phenomenon of the media nomad, media individualism and the importance of adopting a transnational media perspective in looking at audiencehood.

In adopting a transnational media perspective, we also need to consider transnational media literacy of audience. It is important to notice that migrants, experiencing the move from a place to another and therefore getting to know media from different countries and also global media, tent to have a good level of transnational media literacy, while national audience do not. Moreover, recent researches show that 93% of migrants use national media of the host country and therefore we need to ask ourselves if migrants are another audience and we still have to consider it separately by national audiences.

As this research report shows, media and migrant families is a topic unrepresented in academic research, both in family studies and audience studies.

Even if this report helps us in understanding the lack of research, it represents only a preliminary work. In fact, some issues have arisen during our exploration and they still need to be solved.
Aiming at elaborating a cross-nationals research project on media and migrant families, we still need to reflect first of all on family. As suggested by Georgiou (September 2012, Milan), family is a universal category, but it has diverse incarnations. There are transnational families, gay and lesbian families, mixed heritage families, …, and future research has to go beyond the traditional idea of family, considering how the family looks like nowadays. Moreover, migrant families can be seen also as media expert households, where people are often early adopters of media technologies and where there are intense intergenerational convergences and divergences. In order to contextualise a research focus on media and migrant families, going beyond essentialist stable categories, family can also be considered as economic and media category. Abandoning essential stable categories, Georgiou suggested shifting the boundaries of the migrants as research category and to include the shifting of the family.
6. References


Chambers, Madeline. 2007.


