

Comparative analysis of audiences and cultural consumption of foreigners in Catalonia¹

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to provide an overall view of foreigners' media consumption in Catalonia as part of all that is offered by the media and culture, to show their consumption patterns and to note the differences and similarities of consumption patterns between foreigners and natives and also within the different groups of foreign consumers. In order to do so, we analysed the data from the longitudinal surveys carried out by the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura throughout 2008. Summing up, the analysis shows some particularly distinctive media consumption practices by foreigners but without substantially changing Catalonia's dominant media system.

Key words

Audiences, foreigners, media consumption, cultural consumption, acculturation.

Paper received 28 March 2010 and accepted 17 May 2010

Resum

L'objectiu de l'article és oferir una visió general del lloc que ocupa el consum de mitjans dels estrangers residents a Catalunya en el conjunt de l'oferta mediàtica i cultural, fer-ne visibles els patrons de consum, les diferències i les similituds d'aquests consums en comparació dels dels ciutadans autòctons i entre els diversos col·lectius d'estrangers. Per fer-ho, s'han analitzat les matrius de dades de l'enquesta longitudinal realitzada en tres onades pel Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura durant el 2008. En síntesi, l'anàlisi ofereix un panorama de consums amb algunes pràctiques distintives dels estrangers que, de fet, no han alterat l'equilibri del sistema mediàtic imperant.

Paraules clau

Audiències, estrangers, consums mediàtics, consums culturals i aculturació.

1. Introduction

Immigrants arrive in their host countries with cultural consumption habits that are strongly influenced by the structure of the media system in their country of origin. Each immigrant therefore settles in Catalonia bearing a series of cultural practices that have to be modified or developed anew.

One line of research that has been quite widely studied in this respect is based on the theory that immigrants undergo acculturation processes. These processes are dynamic processes of cultural change resulting from direct, concentrated contact between two or more different, autonomous societies. Within non-authoritarian social contexts, acculturation is the result of harmonising the tension created between the cultural patterns acquired in the society of origin and the dominant cultural patterns in the host society (Kim, Y.Y 2001). What occurs is known as cross-culturalism.

The acculturation of immigrants does not mean they lose their original cultural practices to a single cultural practice from the host society. The complexity of modern cultural systems means that there is no such thing as a single culture and it is more appropriate to refer to diverse or superimposed cul-

tures based on different ways of seeing and understanding life. An appropriate image is that of a cultural system in which many different subcultures live side by side. These subcultures are expressed in a wide range of forms and some of these are dominant while others are marginalised. A good way of observing the tension between these subcultures is through the differences in how culture and the media are consumed.

Most foreigners living in Spain occupy subordinate areas within the social structure which, according to Javier Callejo (2005), means they have a different idea of what culture is. For Callejo, citizens in these subordinate positions tend to resist dominance by means of a broad conception of culture: for them culture is "what they do" (Callejo 2005, 483). The dominant sectors, on the other hand, have a more restrictive and elitist view of what culture is.

Callejo's studies of this broad conception of culture (typical of positions with less power) also indicate that this is more integrating, collective and group-based, with the culture industry occupying a central position and where they aspire to share a common language with the rest of the groups in society. This common language is that of marketed culture: i.e. ultimately that produced by the mass media.

In Catalonia, with the increase of more than one million foreign immigrants in the last ten years, several different ways co-exist of watching television, listening to the radio and reading the press. There is a range of cultural consumption patterns and various uses of the internet in which the consumers' country of origin is a decisive factor. What we don't know are the distances separating the different cultural practices and consumption habits between the different groups and particularly among foreign and native citizens.

The aim of this study is, on the one hand, to specify the practices in which this differentiated sense of culture becomes crystallised. By means of a comparative analysis of the media and culture consumption patterns of both foreign and native citizens, we can specify those areas where these differences are most marked. On the other hand, observing the age profiles, length of time in Catalonia and education, among other variables, of the different groups among foreigners, we can note correlations that serve to explain some of the reasons behind such consumption patterns.

Most of the research carried out to date in Catalonia on communication and immigration has basically focused on studying the production of content aimed at groups of foreigners, on the one hand, and on understanding qualitatively how foreigners relate to the media. This present study provides a cooler and more distant perspective, characteristic of quantitative studies, but we believe it is necessary to complement more in-depth approaches in the future.

1.1. Method

In order to answer these questions, we have analysed the findings of the different waves of surveys carried out by the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura² throughout 2008. This survey carries out audience and cultural consumption surveys in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencia region. With regard to Catalonia, the total sample size is almost 30,000 individuals. The sample of foreigners interviewed in

the different waves is between 5,000 and 6,000 individuals over 14 years of age who were born outside Spain.

The sample of foreigners interviewed by the Baròmetre is therefore broadly as follows:³

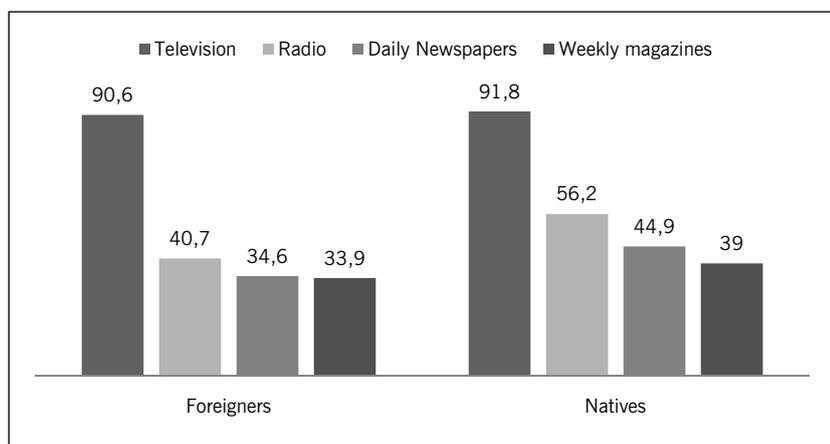
- 57.8% of those interviewed live in the province of Barcelona, 16.7% in that of Tarragona, 13.1% in that of Lleida and 12.4% in the province of Girona
- 52.5% are men and 47.5% are women.
- The largest age group is between 25 and 44, accounting for 61.7% of the sample, followed by those aged between 14 and 24, with 21.7%, those aged between 45 and 64, who account for 14.7% and those over 65, with 1.9%.
- The group of Latin Americans, who go to make up 50% of the sample, are over-represented. North Africans account for 16.4%, Eastern Europeans 12.1%, those from the 15 European Union countries 8.7%, those from Sub-Saharan Africa 4.7% and the remaining 8.1% are from other areas.

From the huge volume of data available we have concentrated, on the one hand, on the figures that provide the clearest image of the basic structures of media and cultural consumption and, on the other hand, those findings that express significant nuances or differences in the groups that go to make up the universe of foreign residents in Catalonia. This focus is clearly relational in nature, insofar as it attempts to present the data always compared with the figures for the different groups. Often this comparative analysis is difficult to explain merely in words and we have used quite a few graphics that clearly extend the cross-referencing of results.

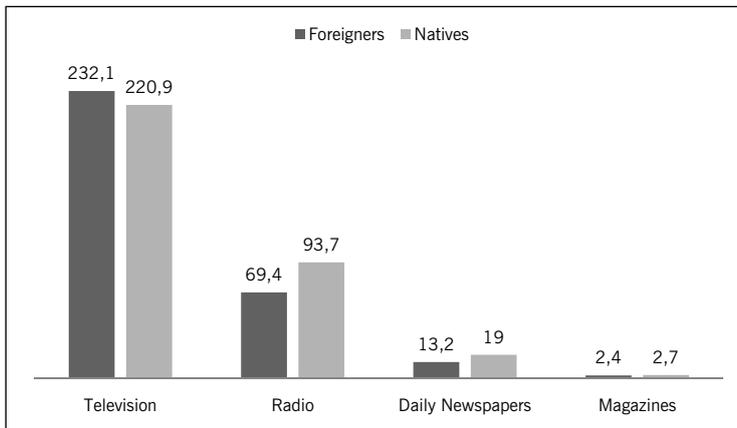
2. The cultural consumption of foreigners and natives

The findings provided by the Baròmetre during 2008 show a basic structure of media consumption that is similar among foreigners and Spanish people resident in Catalonia (Graphic 1).

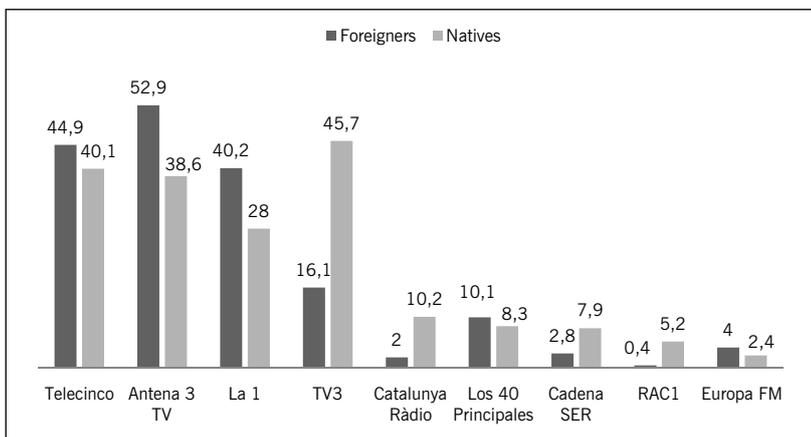
Graphic 1. Media audiences according to country of origin



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Graphic 2. Media time consumption according to country of origin (minutes/day)

Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Graphic 3. Television and radio preferences according to country of origin

Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Within this structure, there is clear dominance by television as the medium consumed by the majority, compared with radio and, even more so, with newspapers and magazines. However, the media analysis shows slight differences between groups, especially in radio audiences and in reading the daily press. In spite of the wide range of printed media available in Catalonia, with the recent inclusion of free newspapers, media consumption here continues to be dominated by audiovisual products.

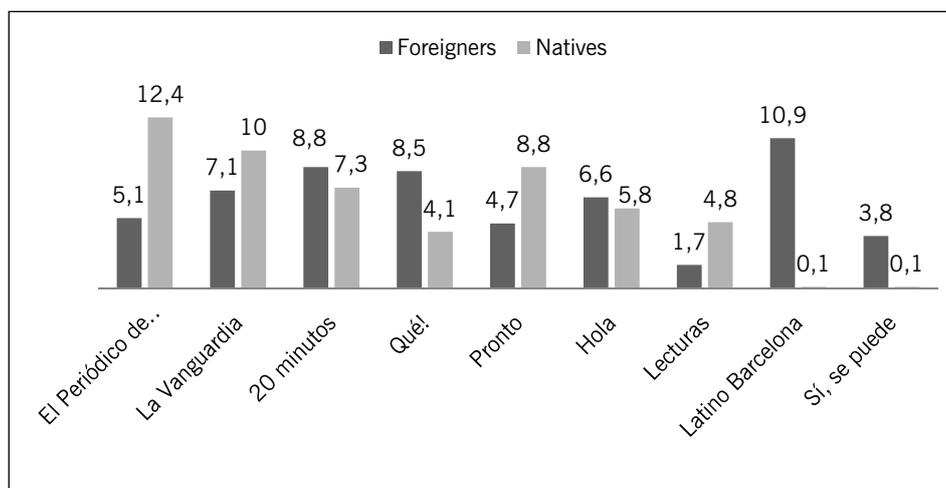
The differences between media types is seen again when examining the consumption time, with audiences dedicating much more time to television than any other medium (Graphic 2). But, unlike the previous graphic, foreigners devote more time than natives to watching television. In other words, there are slightly fewer foreigners who watch television but, those who do, devote more time to it.

Some of the most marked differences between natives and foreigners appear when we look at preferences for the communication products consumed. The order of preference for natives, with regard to television, is headed by TV3, followed by Telecinco and Antena 3 TV, and is quite different from the

ranking for foreigners (Antena 3 TV, Telecinco and La 1) (Graphic 3). The television channel in Catalan highlights clear differences between the two groups.

There are also significant differences associated with the Catalan language in the case of radio. Neither Catalunya Ràdio nor, even less so, RAC1 are among the leading radio stations listened to by foreigners. But, apart from language, the differences between foreigners and natives in radio preferences are also associated with the type of product. Music stations or formula radio appear in the top five spots of preferences for foreign immigrants, while generalist stations are more typical for natives.

One explanation for these radio preferences among foreigners can be found if we look at the demographic profile of the listeners in each case. Listening to the radio seems to have become a practice for older people among native citizens, while it is not so markedly generational among foreigners. Young foreigners aged between 14 and 24 listen more to the radio than young natives of the same age (in a proportion of 20.4% the former compared with 13.5% the latter). On the other hand,

Graphic 4. Newspapers and magazines preferences according to country of origin

Source: Baròmetre December 2008

foreigners aged between 45 and 65 listen less to the radio than natives in the same age range (in a proportion of 17.2% the former compared with 28.3% the latter).

It is in this more minority media consumption, even marginal in the case of magazines, where the most differences are detected between foreigners and native citizens. The distinction between them is influenced, firstly, by economic reasons. The consumption of the printed press among foreigners tends clearly towards the free press (Graphic 4). But this statement needs some provisos when evaluating the penetration of the pay newspaper *La Vanguardia* among foreigners, third in their audience ranking. In this case, the battle between the two leading newspapers in Catalonia, *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*, is won by the former newspaper, from the Grupo Godó, while it's the opposite among natives. This situation raises doubts as to the popular image traditionally given by the newspaper from the Grup Zeta and also breaks with the elitist stereotype that accompanies *La Vanguardia*.

The newspapers *Latino Barcelona* and *Sí, Se Puede* warrant special mention, appearing as the most popular weekly press among foreigners. These two magazines, produced by the immigrants themselves and aimed particularly at the Latin American public, achieved a monthly average of more than 100,000 readers in 2008 for the first publication, and a little over 40,000 for the second.

Findings in other areas should also be noted, such as the reading of books, going to the cinema, concerts, exhibitions, etc. We consider all this cultural production as different from that of the media insofar as it requires different uses and practices. It demands greater commitment on the part of consumers when deciding what to choose, when compared with the more passive nature with which television, radio and now the free press are received. Moreover, price also represents an obstacle to achieving levels of consumption similar to those of

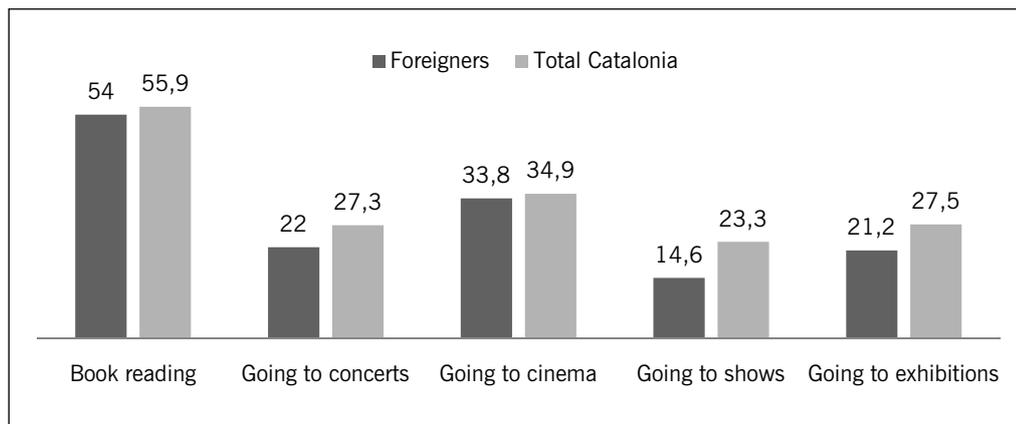
free cultural products and consumers' purchasing power appears strongly as an independent variable. But, apart from these differences, books, exhibitions, concerts and plays all form part of the cultural system as a whole and have increasingly adapted to the media logic that governs this system (Berrio 2009).

As we can see (Graphic 5), there are very few differences between the cultural consumption habits of foreigners resident in Catalonia and those of the Catalan population as a whole. We should note, therefore, that, as no broken down data are available, in this case the comparisons are not made with the data on natives but with the population as a whole, including foreigners themselves, so that the differences may actually be slightly higher. Throughout the year, more than half the foreign citizens have read a book, a third have gone to the cinema and around a quarter have gone to a concert. The distribution of the consumption patterns for these cultural products does not, therefore, show any significant differences, apart from the fact that the figures for foreigners are always a few points below those for citizens as a whole.

The results from the surveys offer some interesting data in terms of the social attributes of consumers, such as the fact that, among those aged over 65, reading is a more widespread practice among foreigners than the rest. The level of reading among older foreigners is 20 points above the general level of reading for the elderly in Catalonia.

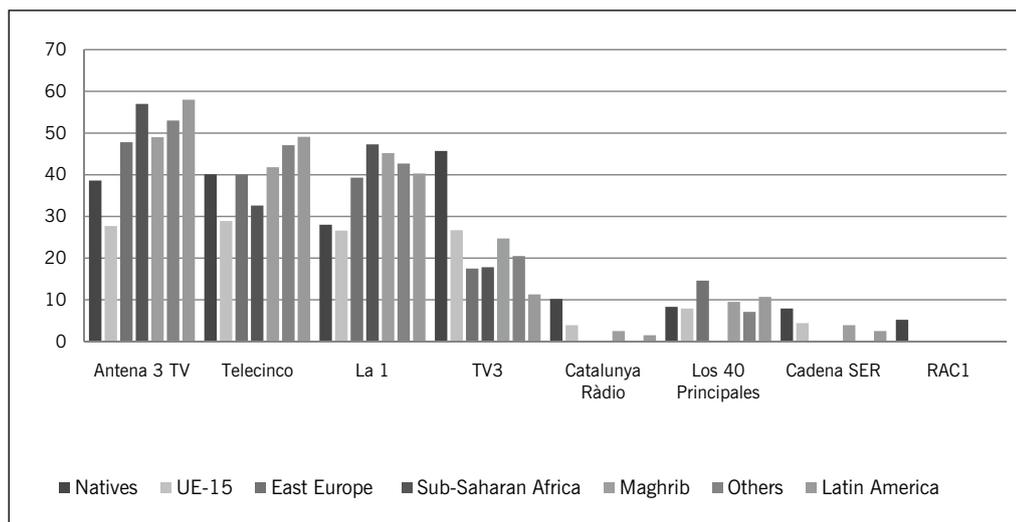
In general, the cultural habits measured both of foreigners and citizens of Catalonia as a whole coincide in, for example, going to the cinema or concerts being a more habitual practice among the young than those in middle age or later years, attending exhibitions is more typical among the middle aged, and all these cultural consumption habits are slightly greater among the higher social classes.

Graphic 5. Volume of readers, at least, of a book and going to an event, in a year according to country of origin



Source: Baròmetre 2007.

Graphic 6. Audiovisual media preferences according to groups of public



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

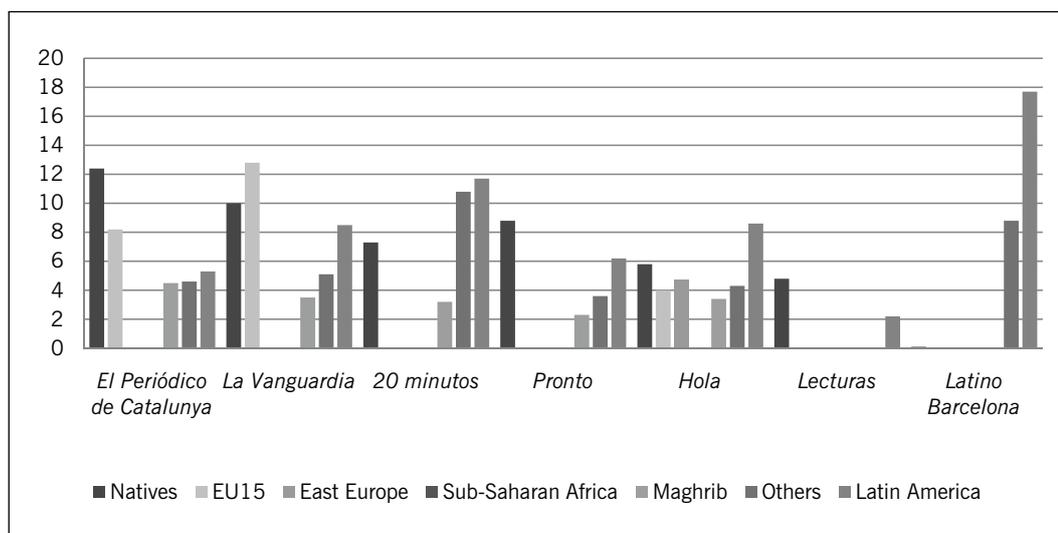
2.1. Heterogeneous group

The differences between groups of foreigners are well-defined when we look at the detailed rankings of the television channels, radio stations and newspapers consulted (Graphic 6). These rankings measure the preferences for a television or radio channel within each of the groups studied. For example, Latin Americans prefer to watch Antena 3 TV (58%), followed by Telecinco (49.1%), then La 1 (40.3%) and TV3 with 11.3%.

We can therefore see that Antena 3 TV is the most watched television channel by Latin Americans and Sub-Saharan Africans. It can also be seen that this broadcaster, in general, achieves a higher audience among all groups except those from the EU-15 countries and native citizens, whose preferences are also different from each other. The former have similar audience figures for all the channels mentioned, while for

the latter most of the public is taken by TV3. We can also see how La 1 and Telecinco are almost always secondary in the different groups. Lastly, the graphic clearly illustrates the little audience for TV3 among foreign groups, strengthening the perception of the Catalan channel as a medium to be consumed “by those at home”.

With regard to radio audiences, a similar phenomenon can be seen as to that with television stations. The preferences of native audiences differ greatly from those of foreign groups. The only broadcaster that appeals equally to natives and foreigners is the music station *Los 40 Principales*, which is particularly attractive for those from Eastern Europe. Generalist stations, on the other hand, appeal far more to natives than foreigners. The only one of these broadcasters to have a certain following among foreigners, especially from the EU-15, North Africans

Graphic 7. Newspapers and magazines preferences according to groups of public

Source: Baròmetre December 2008

and Latin Americans, is Cadena Ser. Lastly, among the radio preferences of most foreigners, except those from the EU-15, the generalist broadcasters in Catalan, such as Catalunya Ràdio or RAC1, are practically inexistent.

A comparative analysis of the preferences of the groups in terms of printed media also provide interesting results (Graphic 7), which have also been observed in previous research (CAC 2008) and appear once again at the end of 2008. At one extreme, of note is the high level of penetration of the free magazine *Latino* among those from Latin America, with almost 18% of readers within the group. At the other extreme of the graphic we find that the two leading newspapers in Catalonia (*El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*) are much more read by native citizens and those from the EU-15 than by the rest of foreigners. The latter, in general, prefer free newspapers and, in the case of Eastern Europeans, there is also a high level of penetration for the magazine *Hola*, a gossip magazine that is also published in other European countries.

Media evaluation

All foreigners recognise the news quality of TV3, and the news credibility and quality of Catalunya Ràdio, and in both cases they are either first or second in the ranking, but these evaluations are not so strong as to consume Catalan media.

On the other hand, the most popular television channel among foreigners is Antena 3 TV, while for natives it is TV3; the most popular radio station for foreigners is *Los 40 Principales* and for natives Catalunya Ràdio. These results do coincide with the general consumption patterns of foreigners. This correspondence only alters in the case of the daily press, where foreigners believe *La Vanguardia* to be more interesting and, in second place, the free *Qué!*, while for natives the most interesting is *El Periódico* with *La Vanguardia* in second place.

In the printed press, whether the editions are free of charge is the clearest motivation for consumption. Although *La Vanguardia* is believed, among foreigners, to be the most credible, the most interesting and providing the best local information, it is only the third newspaper among foreign audiences, behind two free newspapers.

Other cultural practices

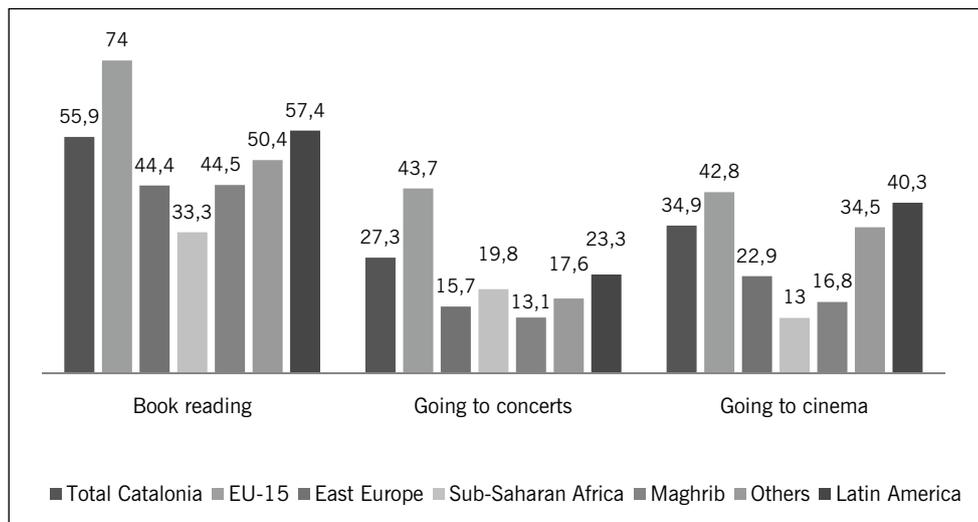
With regard to other, not so common cultural habits such as book reading, going to concerts or to the cinema (Graphic 8), these are practices whose results are more sensitive to the different socio-demographic variables of groups of foreigners.

The results for foreigners as a whole indicate that, in general, there are more readers than filmgoers and even fewer concertgoers. Of note in all these cultural practices are foreigners from the EU-15, with the highest rates of all groups for book reading and going to the cinema and concerts. Although there are no broken down data on the practices of native citizens, those from the EU-15 countries have even higher levels than for all residents in Catalonia, among whom they are also included. The second highest group for these consumption practices are Latin Americans.

Other habits, such as going to shows, attending exhibitions and consuming videogames are, in general, less frequently practised than the previous ones (Graphic 9). The differences by group are reproduced here as in the habits for the previous graphic, with a high penetration among people from EU-15 countries and with Latin Americans as the second group, although at a long distance from the first group.

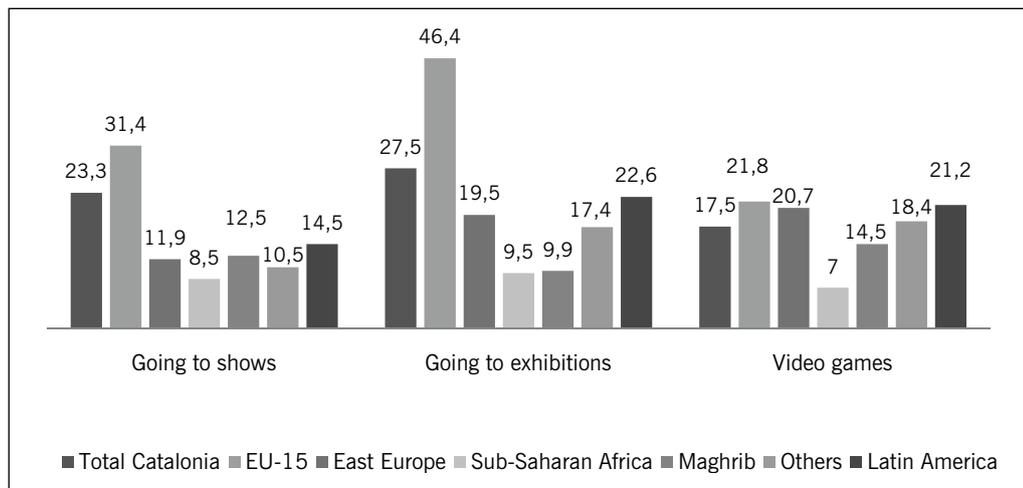
The different levels of penetration of the cultural consumption habits presented in the last two graphics suggest that there are many other factors behind the differences between groups apart from their country of origin. One of these is the level of

Graphic 8. Book reading, going to concerts and cinema, according to groups of public (once or more in a year)



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Graphic 9. Going to shows, exhibitions (once or more in a year) and use of videogames (last three months), according to groups of public



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

education of the consumers, which is higher among foreigners from EU-15 countries. A second factor is social class, which helps to explain why immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, with a very low social level, are those with the lowest levels of penetration in almost all the cultural practices analysed. Lastly, a third factor found is age, which is directly related to practices such as the use of videogames, so widespread among young people, or attending exhibitions, more frequented by the elderly.

3. Language and consumption

On a base of significant mastery of Spanish and a timid growth

in Catalan, especially among younger citizens, we will now look at the overall ability of the foreign population to access the media and culture produced in our society.

The criterion on which any measure of this access is based is the ability of foreigners to understand the two languages mostly used to channel this culture, namely Spanish and Catalan. All foreigners state that they understand Spanish, while only three quarters state that they understand Catalan.⁴

Associated with this level of understanding of the two official languages in Catalonia, a mastery of Spanish is absolute if we observe that, in the findings on media consumption, all the foreign audience understands Spanish (Graphic 10). It is not the same situation with Catalan, where only three quarters of foreigners who watch television understand Catalan, more than

ten points lower when compared with the foreign users of the internet who do understand it.

Out of all foreigners who consume audiovisual media, a little more than one third understand Catalan, while among foreigners who read and use the internet there is a larger number who understand Catalan. There is the paradox that, those sectors of the media where Catalan has more penetration in society in general, as in the case of television and radio, have fewer foreign audiences who understand Catalan. In sectors such as the daily press or magazines, with an almost anecdotal presence of printed media in Catalan with large circulations, this is where the relative number of foreign publics who say they understand Catalan is higher. However, it is one thing for these foreigners to understand Catalan and another for them to watch listen or read media in Catalan.

Foreigners who watch television in Spanish, listen to the radio in Spanish or read the press in Spanish are far greater in number than those who do all this with media in Catalan (Graphic 11). For example, only 4% of all foreign residents in Catalonia read newspapers in Catalan. Here, unlike the previous graphics on foreigners who understand Catalan, we can see, however, that the differences between Spanish and Catalan are greater in the printed press than in the audiovisual media.

Consequently, foreigners actually consume much more television, radio and press in Spanish but the differences in media consumption levels in Catalan and Spanish are proportionally less in the audiovisual sector than in the printed press.

The little weight of television and radio stations in Catalan among foreigners relates to the channels provided by the Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió (Graphic 12). With regard to newspapers and magazines in Catalan, the figures provided by the Baròmetre survey are insignificant but among the products most mentioned are *El Periòdic* in Catalan and *Segre*, for newspapers; in magazines, the free publications dominate that are distributed in counties outside the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

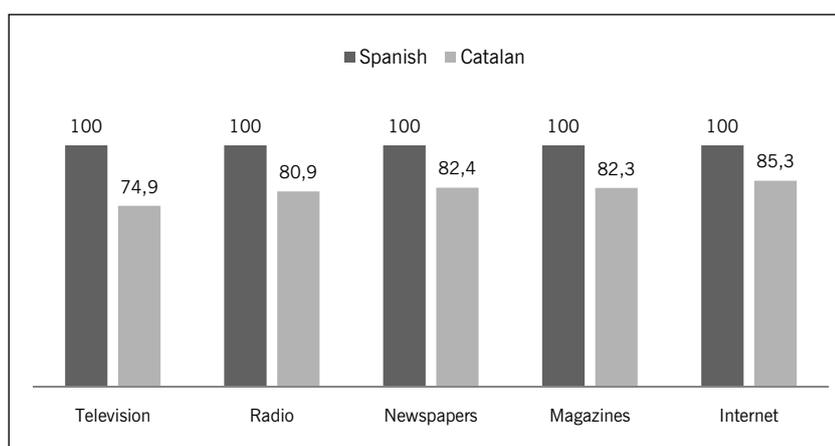
In general, the group with the most consumers of media in Catalan is the European Union, followed by North Africans. In the preferences of foreigners for TV3, when this occurs, certain values are involved such as the quality of the news. The Catalan broadcaster is considered to be the second TV channel with the best news, after Antena 3 TV. This belief is decisive in the case of EU-15 foreigners and North Africans, for whom TV3 provides the best information. The rest of the groups place this second but very close to Antena 3 TV.

Certainly Spanish has become the “lingua franca” of immigration in Catalonia. All the immigrants interviewed by the Baròmetre claim to be able to understand and speak it, and 96% also write it. And this is the case although Spanish is not, for some, their usual language nor, even less so, do they consider it to be the language they identify with. The distance between Spanish and the rest of the languages used by immigrants is very large. Their contact with the Catalan language through the media is particularly through television but we cannot ignore the influence that may be exercised by seeing this language in the free bilingual newspapers, the most widely read daily press among foreigners.

The newspaper *20 minuts*, the most widely read by foreigners, has a distribution of news items of 63.4% in Spanish and 36.6% in Catalan.⁵ The newspaper *Què*, the second in the ranking, has 94.2% in Spanish and 5.8% in Catalan. *ADN*, the fourth in the ranking, is 84% in Spanish and 16% in Catalan and *Metro*, the fifth, has 65% in Spanish and 35% in Catalan. However, we cannot forget that the consumption of this kind of press is more related to the type of distribution than the language in which its news is written.

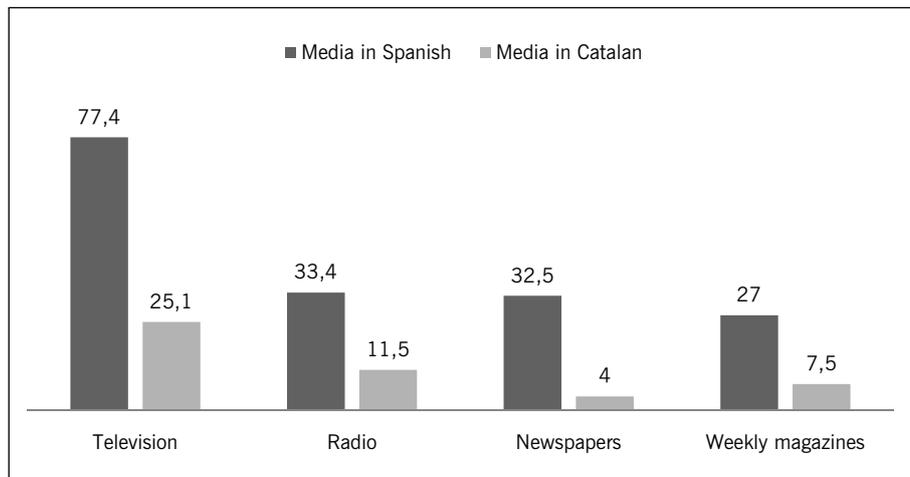
This means that language is not an insuperable obstacle or, at least, is not the only obstacle to achieve an audience among foreigners and that, through this, Catalan becomes more present among a group where it has traditionally played a marginal role.

Graphic 10. Percentage of people that understand Spanish and Catalan among foreigners, according to media consumption



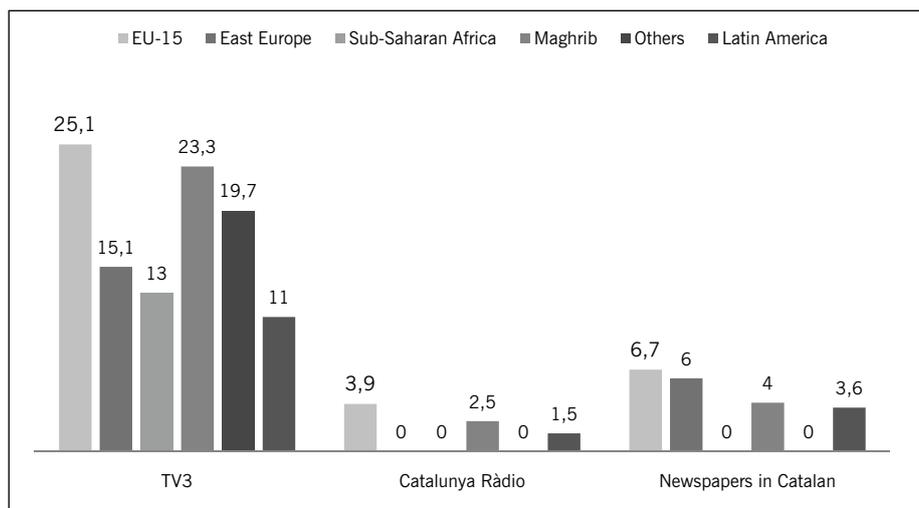
Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Graphic 11. Penetration of Spanish and Catalan media among foreigners



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Graphic 12. Audiences of TV3, Catalunya Ràdio and the principal newspapers in Catalan according to foreigner groups of public



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

4. Internet use

Those foreigners for whom the internet plays a leading role are young people, especially because of the possibility to access cultural products in various languages (Kong 2009). Using the internet combines access to and the consumption of traditional mass media with new forms of interpersonal communication. In accordance with the theories of Young Yun Kim (2001) on the acculturation processes of foreigners in host societies, interpersonal communication with native citizens and with other foreigners is the main vehicle for the acculturation of an immigrant, while the mass media play a secondary role, so that the role of the internet should be very much taken into account (where interpersonal and mass communication combine) as a powerful catalyst for acculturation processes.

The few cases studied in Spain, mostly qualitative, on internet use among immigrant communities show that, before emigrating, people usually make prior consultations on their destination via new technologies (González and Barranquero 2008). Other studies explain the use of the internet among immigrants as a function of the “myth of return”, a way of returning to their country of origin but in a virtual sense (Cavalcanti 2004). Far from being able to generalise in this respect, where these studies do agree is that the internet has become a practical instrument for the migratory phenomenon and that those who used to use the internet in their original countries find practical purposes for its use in their host country.

However, foreigners who come to Spain come to one of the places in Europe with the lowest rate of frequent internet users. The figures for Spain as a whole at the beginning of 2009, pro-

vided by AIMC, were 48.2% of users, while the total data for France for the same period, provided by Mediametrie, were 63.5%.⁶ The data available on internet use among foreigners resident in Spain show that 34.1% had used the internet the day before the survey.⁷

Internet connection. Close to half the foreigners resident in Catalonia have computers with an internet connection in their homes. The findings of the Baròmetre on technological equipment among foreigners are directly linked to economic capacity, as seems to be shown by the fact that foreigners from the EU-15 countries are the best equipped (72.3% have an internet connection), while those from Africa are the least (23.7% of North Africans and 21.7% of Sub-Saharan Africans have an internet connection). It cannot be said, therefore, that foreigners access the internet under equal conditions.

Frequency of use. Given the unequal weight of the different groups of foreigners, it is more illustrative to look at the level of internet penetration in each group rather than the absolute figures on consumption. Consequently, among those who come from EU-15 countries, 72.4% use the internet almost daily, while among foreigners in the "Other" category, made up mostly of Chinese and Pakistani immigrants, 54% are practically daily users. Similar figures are shown by those from Eastern Europe and Latin America. The groups with the least frequent use are those from Africa, both North Africans and Sub-Saharan Africans, of whom only 28.2% use it daily.

The results of the Baròmetre on internet use at the end of 2008 show few differences between the total percentage of users for Catalonia and for foreign users. Only three tenths of a point separate them, from 34.5% for the former and 34.2% for the latter. Although the internet is good for easily overcoming distances for cultural consumption and communication with the country of origin, foreigners will certainly use many other ways to communicate with their culture of origin.

The digital divide. In absolute terms, the largest number of internet users can be found in the 25 to 44 age group because it is also the largest age group in Catalonia. But if we look at the data in terms of internet penetration in the different age

groups we can see that there are fewer internet users as age increases (Graphic 13). Among all young people aged 14 to 24 living in Catalonia, the use of the internet is much more widespread (64.1%) than among those over 65 (5.5%).

The phenomenon of the digital divide between generations is clearly reflected in these data. But this circumstance is much slighter among foreigners thanks to the much higher percentage than average of use among the elderly (18.7%).

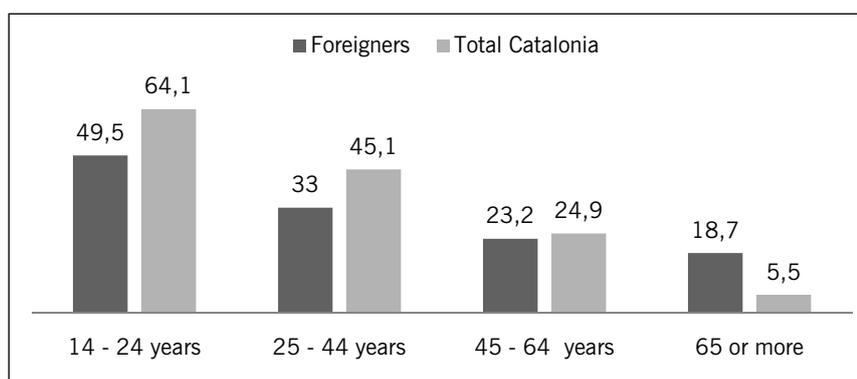
Internet surfers. If we widen the focus on the sub-sample of foreign internet users to see the uses made of the internet in the last 30 days, we can also find out some details concerning the sites they visit, the amount of time they devote and the time of day when they use the internet. The findings provide some interesting data to help us understand, in general, the role played by the internet in their lives.

The vast majority of them used internet at home (81.1%) and very few accessed it from work or internet shop, only around 10%, respectively. Access was only higher in those cases of internet users from Sub-Saharan and North Africa, 19% and 32%, respectively.

The availability of the internet at home is an outstanding aspect of this use because it allows them to devote quite a long time on the internet. A little more than half are connected between one and four hours. Although the data from the Baròmetre do not allow us to draw any direct conclusions concerning whether immigrants use the internet to keep their links with their original culture, we can find some indications of this in the times of day they connect, as can be seen below.

With regard to the "prime time" for connecting, 40.8% use the internet between 4 pm and 7 pm, a timetable that does not seem to be conditioned by time zone differences, between four and six hours behind in Latin America and greater in Africa. In other words, African, Latin American and Chinese immigrants have similar connection patterns in terms of timetable, which indicates that these uses are conditioned by their everyday lives in the host society and their use of the internet is not at all adapted to the pace of everyday life in their country of origin. This is the favourite time band for all groups of foreigners.

Graphic 13. Use of internet the day before by age group according to country of origin



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

Where there are significant variations in this respect is in the second most popular time band for surfing the internet for foreigners, which in the case of Africans and Latin Americans is between 7 pm and 9 pm, while for Eastern Europeans, those from the EU-15 countries and Orientals, it is between 9 am and 1 pm. Certainly, the groups that come from time zones that are earlier than that of Catalonia use the internet more in the morning and those from later time zones, such as Latin Americans, use it more in the evening, although the variations are not very significant (31% use it from 7 pm to 10 pm and 28% between 9 am and 1 pm).

Another notable finding is related to internet use by how long the immigrant has lived in Catalonia. In absolute data, the largest number of foreign internet users, more than half, have been living in Catalonia for more than five years, and a third have lived here between two and five years. However, these results change when they are analysed in terms of the penetration of internet use by length of residence. Among those who have lived in Catalonia for more than five years, only 33.2% are internet users, while among those who have just arrived, less than two years ago, internet use increases to almost 40%. In other words, those who have arrived recently use the internet more than those who have been here for some time. This might be related to the profile of the new arrivals.

In general, what foreigners consult on the internet coincides quite strongly with the surfing habits of all users in Catalonia (Graphic 14). Foreigners, like the Catalan population as a whole, have a marked preference for search engines in more than 90% of the cases of internet users. As can be seen in the graphic, there are only small variations in visits to the websites of banks and savings banks, less frequented by foreigners, and in the case of reading the generalist press, slightly higher among foreigners than natives.

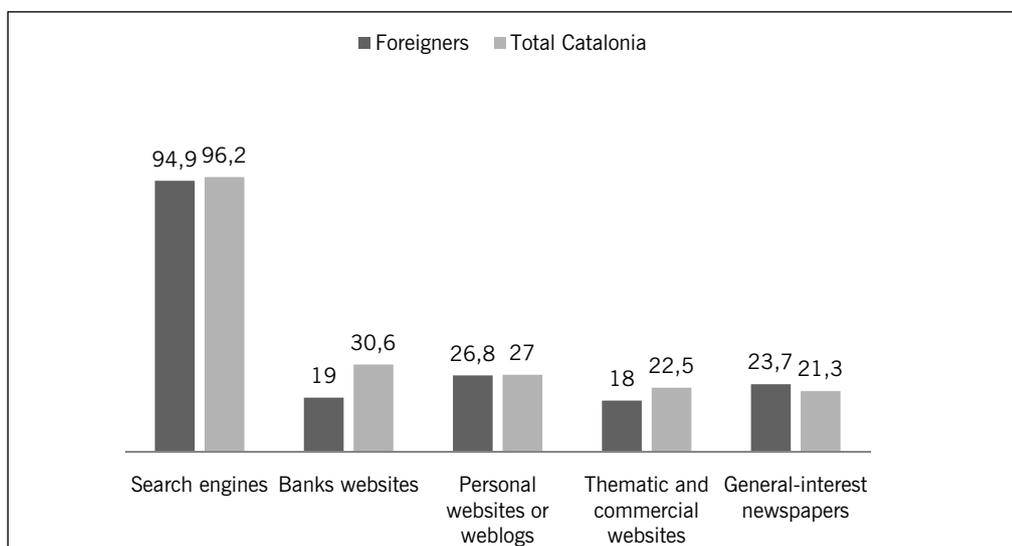
The second most visited kind of website is where differences appear between the groups of foreigners. For those from EU-15 countries, Latin Americans, Sub-Saharan Africans and the group of "Others", reading online press sites ranks second (46.4%, 29.9%, 12.9% and 32.2%, respectively), whereas for Eastern Europeans, personal sites or weblogs rank second (23.4%) and for North Africans they are "other" kinds of websites (22.1%).

5. Ethnic media

With regard to the consumption habits of ethnic media, described by Arnold and Schneider (2007) as the remote consumption of products produced in the country of origin, in Spain there are almost 800 television channels that can be received directly via parabolic aerials or indirectly via subscriber digital platforms (Amenzaga et al 2001). Some studies indicate that, in Spain, 4% of immigrants watched international TV channels in 2006 (Observatorio de las Migraciones 2006). Although there is little data on the degree of penetration of different satellite TV channels among the foreign population in Catalonia, the number of parabolic aerials can give us an idea.

According to the Baròmetre of media for 2009, the number of parabolic aerials connected to the homes of foreigners was almost 13 points higher than for the total of Catalonia. 36% of the television sets of foreigners are connected to satellite receivers. Most of those who have parabolic aerials are families that have been living in Catalonia for more than five years (60%), while those who have been here for between two and five years account for 31.5%, and those who have arrived recently do not reach 8% of foreigners with parabolic aerials.

Graphic 14. Most visited websites according to country of origin



Source: Baròmetre December 2008

However, observing each segment separately, we can see that the decision to acquire a satellite receiver must be one of the first decisions taken by foreigners when they settle in Catalonia. Within the segment of new arrivals, almost 25% have a parabolic aerial.

With regard to the ethnic media produced by foreigners themselves (Arnold and Schneider, 2007), in many countries these have become key agents in explaining the adaptation of foreigners and represent powerful cultural vehicles. For example, in the state of California alone (United States), in 2005 45% of adult residents from Asia, Africa, Latin America or the Middle East preferred ethnic media (Deuze, 2006).

Studies carried out in Spain have also highlighted the presence of ethnic media among groups of foreigners resident in the country (Observatorio de las Migraciones, 2006; CAC, 2008; Santos, 2008). Data for 2007 from the Media for Immigrants Study (EMI) indicate that the weekly publications most widely read among immigrants were *Latino*, followed by *Sí, Se Puede*, *El Comercio del Ecuador*, *Noi in Spania* and *Nova Duma*, while the monthly magazines were *Ocio Latino*, *Toumai*, *Grupo Raíz*, *Pasión Deportiva* and *Pueblo Nuevo*. Some of these studies point out that the supply of these media in Catalonia is quite widespread and includes the press, radio and television (CAC 2008). Magazines can be found written in Urdu, Romanian, Chinese, etc. but the largest supply is concentrated in publications for Latin Americans (Santos 2008). These are not only vehicles through which immigrants can get information on their countries of origin but have also become veritable business platforms (Santos 2008).

Concerning the audiences measured by EMI in 2008, only in Barcelona, *Latino*, *Sí, Se Puede* and *Nova Duma* are the leading weeklies among foreign titles, read by 22.7% of foreigners. The data from the Baròmetre referring to the whole of Catalonia with regard to this kind of media are not very revealing. At the end of 2008, the free weekly *Latino* was the leader among foreigners with 10% of foreign readers in all Catalonia, while the other big free weekly, *Sí, Se Puede*, came fourth with 3.8%, behind the Spanish magazines *Hola* and *Pronto*.

Almost all readers of these two ethnic magazines are from Latin America and are concentrated in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The magazines are distributed quite homogeneously among this segment of foreigners. On analysing the data from the Baròmetre throughout 2008, no significant audiences can be found for any other ethnic medium, neither press nor audiovisual.

Ethnic media form part of the media offered in Catalonia but, in reality, we do not know the exact size of their consumption in sectors such as television or radio as many media are not officially recorded and are not measured. This presence is more visible in the sector of periodicals and the surveys carried out to date do not detect as significant audiences comparable with the ethnic media in other western countries.

Conclusions

The practices that most distinguish the media consumption of foreigners from natives are particularly associated with the consumption of music radio and the free press. In general, these cultural practices have remained quite constant over the years, although there has been a slight increase towards the consumption of pay press and media in Catalan among those who have lived in Catalonia the longest.

When we look at attributes of a socio-demographic nature, such as age or education, the findings paint quite a heterogeneous picture. Reading books and the pay press are more habitual practices among those with more schooling, such as people from the European Union. The levels of consumption for free media products, on the other hand, are higher among groups with a lower average social class, such as those from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Regarding language, the findings of the Baròmetre indicate that the dominant option is Spanish and that the media through which foreigners come into contact with Catalan are principally television and free bilingual newspapers. Preferences for media in Catalan are only higher than those for media in Spanish among immigrants from EU-15 countries, principally, and North Africans. On the other hand, the group that is potentially closest to Catalan, linguistically speaking, i.e. Latin Americans, hardly consume any media in this language.

The degree of internet use among foreigners is usually lower than for Catalonia as a whole. Differences between foreigners and Catalans as a whole appear when we look at these data by age group. It is clear that young people have quickly taken on new communication technologies, whether they are immigrants or not. But when we look at the elderly the rate of penetration among immigrants is three times higher than among retired people as a whole in Catalonia. The experience of migration may have stirred up old immigrants enough to bring them closer to new technologies.

On the other hand, one kind of media and cultural manifestation that is typical of migratory processes, namely ethnic media, seems to present problems of visibility given the lack of data on their presence. The direct consumption of these media has only been measured among Latin American immigrants, although this has also been seen indirectly among North Africans, if we look at parabolic aerials. However, the media consumed by immigrants in Catalonia seem not to have reached the critical mass required to ensure the most ambitious initiatives for ethnic media are successful.

In summary, and in line with the general view provided by the surveys' findings, the intensification of migratory flows towards Catalonia in the last few years does not seem to have altered, to any great extent, the balances of audiences for media and cultural consumption. Consequently, we cannot talk of cultural impact nor of cross-culturalism insofar as foreigners' consumption habits have not led to any significant changes in the media system or to the emergence of new products associated with such consumption.

Notes

- 1 This article is a summary of a more extensive report produced on commission from the Fundació Jaume Bofill. I would like to thank Mònica Nadal, from the Fundació Jaume Bofill, and Caterina Masramon, from Fundacc, for their collaboration and the improvements they have made to this work.
- 2 The Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura is a longitudinal survey carried out by the Fundació Audiències de la Comunicació i la Cultura (Fundacc), which we will refer to from now on as the "Baròmetre".
- 3 For a more detailed description of the characteristics of the universe in question, see the report by the Fundació Jaume Bofill entitled "Anàlisi comparada d'audiències i consums culturals dels estrangers a Catalunya".
- 4 It should be noted that the Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura first samples the citizens to be interviewed and afterwards questions them provided they understand just one of the two languages, Spanish or Catalan, in which their questionnaires are written.
- 5 The data come from the unpublished work by Xavier March Cabal from the Universitat Abat Oliba CEU, which measures the space devoted to each language in the four free newspapers with the highest circulation in Catalonia during the first half of 2008. This work is the most precise to date on bilingualism in the free press in Catalonia and has the particular feature of taking, as its unit of measurement of language, the number of informative units from the edition and not only the area written in Catalan on the front pages of the newspapers.
- 6 The internet data for Spain and France refer to internet use at least once in one month. The AIMC data are based on users aged over 14 while the universe for Mediametrie are users aged over 11.
- 7 AIMC survey from 2005.

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