

# An Examination of Media Usage among French-Muslims

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## Abstract

Media usage is a powerful site for the formation of identity. For ethnic communities, ethnic media can play a dual role, aiding in the acculturation process and assisting in holding onto ethnic identities. This study examines this site of identity negotiation. Specifically, this study analyzes differences in media usage among French-Muslims. The principal researcher interviewed 42 first and second generation French-Muslims to explore their media usage and the relationships between their media usage and ethnic identification. Analysis uncovered two key findings. First, second-generation French-Muslims prefer to use ethnic media more than French produced media as a form of protest against French assimilationist policies. Second, abandoning ethnic media is equated with becoming French, which is something first and second generation French-Muslims resist.

**Keywords :** Media Usage, Assimilation/Acculturation, Islam

## 1. Introduction

In October 2005, the French-Muslim population erupted into riots throughout the streets of France. The riots were an immediate response to the death of two Muslim youths. The police killed the youths accidentally as they were hiding from police (Astier, 2006; Geary & Graff, 2005; Winter, 2005). The riots were also a response to the French government's passage of a ban on the wearing of religious symbols in public schools, which was regarded by the Muslim population as an attack on Islam and religious freedom of expression (Croucher, 2005, 2007, 2008; Ganley, 2004; Geary & Graff, 2005).

In the years and months leading up to the 2005 riots, not only did tensions mount between the Muslim and non-Muslim French populations, but members of the Muslim population were beginning to separate themselves from the non-Muslim population in their media use (Croucher, 2007, 2008). In response to what the Muslim population regards as the French government forcing Muslims to assimilate to France, many Muslims took to boycotting French media (Croucher, 2007). Instead of using French media, many Muslims specifically second and third-generation Muslims have instead chosen to consume as much Arabic language or Muslim oriented media as possible in an attempt to maintain their ethnic identity and to

prevent the total assimilation of their culture. This study examines this attempt to protect French-Muslim ethnic identity and to prevent the total assimilation of Islam into France. To conduct this analysis, this paper will first include a theoretical review of literature. The theoretical review examines cultural adaptation and media usage. Second, a brief description of the method of data collection is offered. Third, interviews with French-Muslims are analyzed to show how this community frames their media usage. Last, this analysis concludes with a discussion of media preference, how media preference influences ethnic identification, French-Muslim vitality and media gratifications.

## 2. Review of Literature

### 2.1 Cultural Adaptation

Gudykunst and Kim (2003) define assimilation as a "convergence of strangers' internal conditions with those of the native and a minimum maintenance of the original cultural habits" (p. 360). The convergence of strangers around an internal condition of the native culture emphasizes the immigrant's responsibility to find a way to function in their new environment. Gudykunst and Kim (1997) define functional fit as "the operational (or behavioral) capacity that enables a person to carry out behaviors externally in accordance with the host cultural patterns" (p. 342). According to Kim's cultural adaptation theory, individuals go through three stages on their way to total assimilation: enculturation, deculturation and acculturation.

Enculturation is the adoption of the behavioral patterns of the surrounding culture. Kelvin (1970) describes the enculturation process as the socialization process of children and newcomers to the norms of their cultural milieu. Gudykunst and Kim (2003) expand the concept of enculturation to include not only socialization but also communicative response, "socialization provides children with an understanding of their world and culturally patterned modes of responding to it" (p. 359). For Muslim immigrants to France, most are enculturated into the Muslim religion in an Arab country such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria or Libya (Croucher, 2007). This enculturation brings with it specific cultural norms and practices that are unique to this group, and that make this group different from the dominant Christian, Caucasian French population. For example, within a traditional Muslim worldview, the Koran is taught to be the center of personal, social and governmental decision-making. All decisions and laws should be governed by the words set forth in the Koran (Lewis, 1988, 1993). The emphasis placed on the Koran has often put Islam and the West at odds with one another.

As Muslim immigrants enter France, or as these immigrants' children come into contact with French culture they are confronted with new cultural practices, these practices in some cases may run counter to the newcomer's original cultural identity. Often this confrontation occurs through mass mediated messages. Gudykunst and Kim (1997) argue this process is when the newcomer is learning a new culture to replace their culture in order to become a "universal person" with a "transcultural identity" (p.364).

Deculturation describes the process individuals go through when losing their socialized cultural identity. According to Brim

and Wheeler (1966), during deculturation, individuals learn new cultural habits from the host culture, and in turn, as individuals realize certain behaviors are more acceptable in the host culture, the individuals question their previous behaviors. If the behaviors are deemed foreign, or non-functional within the dominant culture, many immigrants or new comers will simply abandon the practices and enter Kim's third stage of assimilation, acculturation. Various scholars deem this process of deculturation leading to acculturation as inevitable and beneficial, even though some newcomers to a culture will attempt to resist this transformation (Brim & Wheeler, 1966; Deutsch & Won, 1963; Goffman, 1961; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, 2003; Lysgaard, 1955).

Croucher (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008) asserts many French-Muslims are currently stuck in the deculturation stage of the cultural adaptation process. These individuals are in the midst of losing aspects of their originally held socialized cultural identity. To name a few examples: many second and third-generation French-Muslims are unable to fluently speak Arabic (the language of the Koran), many women do not hijab (the act of public veiling), and many immigrants no longer read or watch media from their native countries. Practices that were once deemed innate and unquestioned are now debated or in some cases totally abandoned in order to adopt the dominant culture.

When individuals abandon their previous cultural habits (deculturation) and adopt the behaviours of the host culture, the individuals are engaged in the final resocialization process of assimilation known as acculturation. Acculturation is the final stage in the process of cultural change resulting from contact between groups with distinctive cultures (Oh, Koeske & Sales, 2002). Kim (2003) defined acculturation as the process when strangers "become acquainted with and adopt some of the norms and values of salient reference groups in the host society" (p. 359). Kim (1977) asserts newcomers to a culture will begin to use more dominant media out lets the longer they are in the dominant culture. Not only does their use of the dominant media signal a desire to acculturate according to Kim (1976, 1977), but Kim also argues it correlates with a increase in language proficiency, contact with the dominant culture and psychological adjustment. Acculturative change is achieved slowly over time, since the majority of individuals inherently want to retain some of their "foreign" cultural practices. Furthermore, researchers have demonstrated this process to become easier and quicker for newcomers in a host culture over generations, first, second to third, and so on (Buenker & Ratner, 1992; Conklin & Lourie, 1983; Oh, Koeske & Sales, 2002).

Many members of the French-Muslim population have not reached this final stage in the cultural adaptation process. A large percentage of the population finds this stage unattainable or do not want to acculturate to French culture (Croucher, 2007, 2008). Racism against the Muslim population in France has been a historically growing problem (Croucher, 2006, 2007, 2008; Fetzer, 2000; Fetzer & Soper, 2005; Hargreaves, 1995), which has become a key issue in the 2007 French Presidential campaign (Sciolino, 2007). The growing Muslim population in France, with its inherent connection with religion is a direct confrontation to France's ideal of secularism (Croucher, 2006, 2007, 2008; Fetzer, 2000; Fetzer & Soper, 2005). Laws such as 2004's ban on the wearing of religious symbols in French public schools (which did

ban all religious symbols not just Muslim symbols) are regarded by the Muslim population as an attack on the Muslim people and culture; and a sign that Muslim acculturation into France is unattainable because the host culture is not welcoming of their advances (Croucher, 2006, 2007, 2008). Moreover, some members of the Muslim population simply do not want to acculturate at all to French culture, but prefer to culturally separate themselves from France. This cultural separation takes the form of refusing to learn the French language, interact interpersonally with non-Muslims, participate in French politics, and consume French media (Croucher, 2007, 2008).

### 3. Media Usage

Numerous studies have documented the role mass media plays in the process of acculturation (Hwang & He, 1999; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Raman & Harwood, 2008; Vishwnath & Arora, 2000; Yang, Wu, Zhu & Southwell, 2004) and maintenance of ties with the homeland (Durham, 2004; Gillespie, 1995; Hargreaves & Mahdjoub, 1997; Lee, 2004; Lum, 1991; Sinclair, Yue, Hawkins, Poonkong & Fox, 2000; Vishwnath & Arora, 2000). However, media usage patterns and preferences are not homogenous among immigrants.

Studies have found first generation immigrants exhibit a greater preference for ethnic media products when compared to the mainstream media products. For instance, according to Gillespie (1995), first generation immigrants of Indian origin in South Hall, London placed a great emphasis on watching Indian films. Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997) found first generation immigrants of Islamic origin in France exhibited a preference for programs aired by satellite channels from their home countries. Shoemaker, Reese, and Danielson (1985) documented similar results in a study of print media usage of Hispanic Americans in Texas and Sreneby (2000) in a study of Iranian Diasporas in Britain. First generation immigrants not only exhibited a personal preference for ethnic media products, but they also wanted their children to consume more ethnic media when compared to mainstream media and often put pressure on them to alter viewing habits. Lee's (2004) study of Korean immigrants Gillespie's (1995) study of Indian immigrants in South Hall London bear testimony to this fact.

Though the desire to maintain ties with the homeland was the main reason for the preference for the ethnic media products among first generation immigrants, factors like income of the immigrant, level of education, and command of the language spoken by the dominant group in the host society, and familiarity with the host culture also played an important role in choice of media. For instance, according to Shoemaker, Reese, and Danielson (1985) older Hispanic Americans who consumed more of Spanish media were not well educated and generally belonged to the low-income group. Lum (1991) says a lack of proficiency in communicating in English was one of the reasons for the preference of the parents of the Hong Kong Cantonese immigrant family's for ethnic media products. Hwang & He (1999) observed mixed trends between two groups of middle-aged Chinese immigrants. While one group consumed a substantial amount of English language television, the other group consumed more Chinese television. The members of the group that consumed a lot of English language television were very fluent in English, spoke both English and Chinese at home,

and had associations with members of the host society. The members of the group that consumed more of Chinese television did not speak English fluently, spoke mainly Chinese at home, and rarely associated with members of the host culture. Lee's (2004) study of the viewing patterns of Korean immigrants identified the lack of familiarity with the American culture as one of the reasons for the preference for Korean Satellite Television.

Studies have documented that second and subsequent generation immigrants exhibited a greater preference for mainstream media when compared to the ethnic media. For instance, Gillespie (1995) found second-generation Indian immigrants in South Hall, London preferred to consume British and other Western media products rather than Indian media products. According to Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), second-generation immigrants of Islamic origin in France preferred to watch French television and American channels like TNT, CNN, and MTV. Sreneby (2000) found second-generation immigrants Iranian immigrants educated and brought up in Britain were voracious consumers of British media. Similarly, Shoemaker, Reese, and Danielson (1985) found while second generation Hispanics were found to consume Spanish language print media, in addition to English language print media, the proportion of the English language print media consumed was more when compared to Spanish language print media (Spanish language print media was only one quarter of the total number of magazines and newspapers read). In addition, coercion by the parents to consume ethnic media was often met with resentment. Gillespie's (1995) study of Indian immigrants in South Hall London found that when parents, who controlled the remote control, used ethnic media products as tools for cultural didactics, children especially boys resented it.

In spite of the general trend exhibited by many studies that second generation immigrants tend to exhibit greater preference for the mainstream media when compared to the ethnic media, certain exceptions have also been reported. Studies have shown second-generation immigrants earnestly desire to identify with their ethnic origins. This is reflected in their media usage patterns and preferences. For instance according to Ray (2000), Fiji Indians in Australia who have been displaced twice in history have created an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) through the consumption of Hindi movies (Bollywood). Through these movies, they try to identify with a land they have neither seen nor experienced. A similar trend was observed in a study conducted by Durham (2004). The desire of teenage girls of Indian origin to connect with India, an imaginary land which they sought to embrace with affirmation and longing, was one of the reasons behind the consumption of Indian movies. In addition, Peeters and D'Haenens (2005) found youth belonging to certain minority communities of Islamic origin used chat rooms and participated in news groups to obtain information about religion, art, culture and developments in their country of origin. In addition, they also used these communication technologies to exchange views regarding the cultural norms and values and the interpretation of Islam in the West. Similarly, Lum (2004) found in the Korean family the children, in addition to consuming the dominant media products also consumed Chinese media products and kept themselves informed about the happenings in Hong Kong.

The desire to establish connections with the homeland could be on account of the attitude of the host society. Shiramizu (2000) as cited in (Sinardet & Mortelmans, 2006) says while second generation immigrants tend to prefer the mainstream media, the attitude of the host society could reignite in them a desire to connect with their ethnicity, similar to retroacculturation tendencies (Jandt, 2007). The political tensions involving the ethnic community could also influence the media usage patterns among second generation immigrants (Sinardet & Mortelmans, 2006). This was evident in the case of Fiji Indians, who reconstructed their ethnic identity through Indian media products. This community had been at center of political tensions in Fiji and this led to the second wave of immigration to Australia (Ray, 2000).

Even though the second-generation immigrants exhibited a desire to consume ethnic media products, their preferences were different from the first generation immigrants. Cunningham and Nyguen (2000) found "Farewell to Saigon," which was a historical production of the pre 1975 Saigon with musical performances by popular performers of that period, viewed with great passion by the older generation, did not elicit a similar response from the younger generation. The younger generation felt it was meant for their parents and others who were part of the pre of 1975 period. They preferred programs aired by the ethnic media, which were targeted at the youth. Lee (2004) found the preference of the younger Koreans for programs targeted at the youth such as those featuring popular teenage singers were in contrast to the preferences of older first generation Koreans. The older first generation Koreans preferred historical dramas and programs featuring old Korean songs.

Ultimately, first generation immigrants tend to prefer ethnic media when compared to the mainstream media as it connects them to their homeland. However, factors like income, level of education, command of the language of the host society, and the lack of familiarity with the host culture were also factors responsible for the preference for ethnic media products. With regard to second-generation immigrants, the general trend has been to exhibit preference for mainstream media rather than ethnic media. However, it has also been found that some second-generation immigrants earnestly desire to connect with their homeland. Some of the reasons cited for this are attitude of the host society toward the immigrant community, political tensions involving the community, economics, and other cultural/social reasons. This has led second-generation immigrants to reconstruct their ethnic identity and media has been one of the means that has been used for this purpose. Thus, after briefly reviewing the immigration of French-Muslims into France, their general cultural adaptation tensions, and literature on media usage across generations, we propose the following research questions:

- RQ1 : What media (ethnic or mainstream French produced) do second-generation French-Muslims prefer to use?
- RQ2 : Does media usage choice influence ethnic identification among French-Muslims?

#### 4. Method

##### Procedures

In-depth open-ended interviews in French were conducted among members of the French-Muslim community in France.

The interviews took place in May and June 2005. Interviews took place in the following French cities: Lille, Lyon, Bordeaux, Clichy-sous-Bois, and Paris. These cities were chosen because the cities represent different geographic regions of France, the cities have a varied number of Muslims and because the principal investigator had contacts in each of these cities who assisted in contacting interview participants. The principal investigator conducted all interviews. Forty-two French-Muslim men and women were interviewed (15 men and 27 women). Each of the participants was a first or second-generation of North African descent (Algerian, Tunisian, Moroccan or Libyan). Interviewees ranged in age from 18 to 57 years old. Interviews probed many issues ranging from self-identification (Croucher, 2005), language use (Croucher, 2006, 2008) and cultural adaptation successes or failures (Croucher, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Kramer, 1998, 2000, 2003). The interviews also included in-depth questions about the types and frequencies of media usage used by each interviewee. Interviews were then transcribed in French, and then translated into English. After translation, the research team inductively analyzed the interview transcripts using a grounded theory approach to identify recurring themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

#### 5. Media Usage among French-Muslims

French-Muslims described how as a group they are divided amongst themselves. They asserted those members of the French-Muslim community who were born in France generally seem to like French media more than those who were not born in France do. Bilal, a 24-year old Tunisian born male said : French télé (television) is ok. I watch it because it easy and have information. I know people born here [pause] here in France like watch it more because they see it when they children. They watch for information and to laugh. I see télé in Tunis when I child. I think that why I like télé made in Tunisia [pause] or not made by French people more today.

Similarly, Bushra, a 32-year old French born Muslim female said: I think it easy for people who,s children born in France to understand French media. We have it when children and when adults. We speak language, we understand the culture. It part of my life. Many Muslims who not born in France, not understand they do not understand French television and French journals (newspapers) because they not children of France. It is important.

Faris, a 52-year old male from Algeria described how when he first came to France, he did not watch or read much Algerian media because it was hard to access. However, he asserted he wanted this kind of media. After living in France for more than 45 years, he now says, it is easier for him to get Algerian media, which he consumes regularly. Unfortunately, for Faris, his children refused when they were growing up to consume Algerian media. He said : When I come France, I want Algerian news and TV but it not easy to find because we not have satellites and Internet. Now it easy to find and make me happy to have. My children they when young not want Algerian things. They want only French things. They want be very French. They watch French TV, read French newspapers. I not happy when they young, they forget Algeria and all things Muslim I think. It is normal that children do what they think known.

However, this trend of abandoning ethnic media for dominant media outlets is changing among the French-Muslim population. Respondents described how over the past five to ten years more and more French-Muslims, whether they are born in France or not, and independent of their generation are seeking out more Muslim or Arabic oriented media to consume in conjunction with French language media. Aasim, a 29-year old Moroccan male who was born in France, discussed how when he first came to France he was an adamant consumer of French only media, but he has recently begun to seek out more Arabic language media. He said : When I come to France first I I want French things French television and French papers all days. Now I think it better for me to watch and it better for me to read Arabic papers because I born in Morocco and born in Arab country not in France.

Dhuha, a 57-year old Algerian born female described how she, as well as members of her family born in France use more Arabic language, Algerian based and Islamic media today than they did approximately five or ten years ago. She explained : Maintenant il est communal dans ma famille pour les membres regardent la télévision Algérienne ou Arabe, pas la télévision Française. Ce changement a commencé peut-être il y a 10 ou 5 ans. C'est un grand changement pour moi et pour le reste de ma famille.

Now it is common in my family for members to watch Algerian or Arabic television and not French television. This change began maybe 10 or 5 years ago. This is a big change for me and for the rest of my family.

Waahid, a 62-year old Tunisian born male explained a similar occurrence with his family. He described how he and his family (including his children and grandchildren) have recently begun an active pursuit of Tunisian visual and print media. He said : Aujourd'hui ma famille et moi pensent que les programmes Tunisiens et uh les journaux de télévision sont meilleurs que des programmes Français et des journaux. Moi et ma famille veulent des médias autant Tunisiens comme possible.

Today my family and I think Tunisian television programs and newspapers are better than French programs and newspapers. Me and my family want as much Tunisian media as possible.

This return to Arabic language, Muslim oriented, and or ethnic media by French-Muslims can be contributed to two factors. First, French-Muslims are actively attempting to rediscover their linguistic and ethnic roots as they attempt to form loosely organized French-Muslim communities. The establishment of loosely organized French-Muslim communities not only helps French-Muslims find or solidify their Muslim or ethnic identity, this communal organization also assists the Muslim minority in France in their second reason for using more ethnic media. Second, many French-Muslims are choosing ethnic media because they are lashing out against recent French Governmental domestic and foreign policy decisions.

Roy (2004) asserted the Muslim population in France is not a highly organized group. The group is composed of first and second-generation immigrants from numerous nations and from different sects of Islam. The French-Muslim population, while making up approximately 6-7 million French citizens does not make up an organized or consistent voting or economic group.

However, since September 11, 2001, the outbreak of the United States war on terror and the 2004 French ban on the wearing of religious symbols in French public schools the French-Muslim population is increasingly unified in a desire to establish a unified identity in order to represent themselves as a French-Muslim community (Croucher, 2005, 2007, 2008; Roy, 2004). Hessa, a 45-year Algerian born female explained this communal desire to have a unified Islamic identity in France. She said : We know here in France different Muslims. We know we are very different but we all Muslims. We need be together and have unity. Unity that a good thing to have and it show other people we good people. Good way to have this unity is to have and use things that are Muslim and not all French things like papers and programs.

Gabir, a 52-year old Algerian born male further added to this communal desire for a unified Islamic identity when he said : In France many Muslims live here and think and act French. But I I think now it important and something people want in Islam to be one Islam in France. It is very important to future of Islam in France. Children need see this future today and believe it can happen.

Rashid, a 29-year old Moroccan male born in France added to the desire for French-Muslims to have a unified identity. He further asserted Muslims' media usage is one key aspect of this identity formation. He stated : The Muslim people in France are different people. I think we need be together more. I think we have many ways we have many ways to be together. We can work together in same places. We can watch Arabic television and read Arabic journals and not French television and journals. Support these and support Islam To make France stronger.

Nawal, a 37-year old French born Algerian female specifically commented on how the different nations of origin and media choices should not serve as a form of division for Islam in France. She asserted : Algerians have media. Tunisians have media. Moroccans have media. Libyans have media. We all Muslims in France have media that different. But I do not think the different media make us different. The media all about Islam or it all Arabic maybe. It all can help Islam in France be better and more together. It important for future.

The conglomeration of the various media all aiding in bringing together Islam in France was further supported by Hadiya, a 37-year old British born Muslim who recently immigrated to France. She described how she sees more and more Muslims in France using ethnic media because they see it as a way to rediscover their roots and to help form a French sense of Islam. She explained : I see many Muslims in France who now do not use as much French media as they did before. I think now that they use more Arabic and their ethnic media because it helps Muslims here in France come together behind one another and for one Islam they remember from North Africa or the Middle East.

Hamza, a 40-year old French male further added that not only does the use of ethnic media aid French-Muslims in forming a unified Muslim identity, but this decision is also based on their desire to represent themselves as individuals who are not terrorists. He said : Les musulmans en France sont dans une bataille aujourd'hui. Nous sommes fatigués de s'appeler les terroristes [pause] et nous voulons être une communauté forte en

France. Je pense que nous devons essayer d'avoir une identité musulmane Française unifiée. Je suis heureux que les jeunes musulmans aujourd'hui se rappellent l'Islam, aillent à la mosquée davantage, regardent une télévision plus Arabe et apprennent et parlent l'Arabe davantage.

Muslims in France are in a battle today. We are tired of being called terrorists and we want to be a strong community in France. I think we must attempt to have a unified French Muslim identity. I am happy that young Muslims today remember Islam, attend mosque more, watch more Arabic television and learn and speak Arabic more.

Aside from the desire to create a unified Muslim identity in France, French-Muslims interviewed for this project also discussed how they are beginning to use more and more ethnic media instead of French produced media in direct response to French domestic and foreign policy decisions. Jala, a 39-year old French born Tunisian female said : I know many people in my family who not like French media now because it represent French government and French culture. France do many things that not good ban hijab, help US in Iraq and arrest Muslims in street. That why I not watch or read French media now.

Baha, a 41-year old Tunisian male further added to the assertion that French language media is intrinsically linked to French domestic and foreign policy decisions. He stated : I do not want to buy or watch French media now because government in France do very many bad things to Muslims. This why I like Muslim media, it not control by France and not do bad things to Islam.

He added that Muslim media allows him to support alternative voices on political issues, "when I listen to Arabic radio they say things that French media not say. It have diversity that not in all news."

The refusal to consume French media also allows many French-Muslims to boycott or protest an entity that many in the Muslim community regard as discriminatory toward minorities. Jameel, a 29-year old Algerian born French male said : The press in France is controled by government. Government and press not like Muslims and people in France who poor. That more now I think than years before. I think President Chirac and Sarkozy and other leaders they make more hate for Muslims. So I not give money to the French press because that give money to French government too, I think.

Hooriya, a 31-year old Algerian female born in France further elaborated on the political connection between the French media and the French government. She said Muslims in France must realize that the media is no longer an objective form of news or entertainment, but a tool of the government and of Christian propaganda. She argued : When I first come to France I think media fair. I think it not fair now. It not fair today. I think government and media now control by government and Catholic Church. Media always say Muslims, they make war and make terrorism in France and in world like in United States. I not buy media in French because it make many lies. I buy Arabic news. I hope other I want other Muslims do same thing. I see it many young Muslims today in France think and make (do) like me but many old Muslims make (do) nothing new because they always like Arabic media.

The response to French or ethnic media is different across the generations. The younger generation, generally born in France is now becoming increasingly ardent supporters and consumers of Arabic and Muslim oriented media. The first generation immigrants and the older generation, who generally never stop advocating the younger generation, continue to consume ethnic media for the same historical reasons, which are normally less political in nature unless the immigrant was a supporter of Algerian independence during the Algerian War (Croucher, 2007, 2008).

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 Second-generation Media Preference

The first research question asked what media (ethnic or mainstream French produced) do second-generation French-Muslims prefer to use. Second-generation French-Muslims interviewed for this study overwhelmingly prefer to use ethnic media more than French produced media. In response to feelings that the French Government is controlling the French press, many second-generation French-Muslims have taken to protesting against French media by only consuming ethnic media. Not only are their protests a response to the perception of government controls of the press, but their use of ethnic media is also a direct response to perceived pressures that the Muslim community must assimilate to French culture. Croucher (2005, 2007, 2008) asserts Muslims are more likely to use ethnic media because they see it as a chance to fight back against a culture demanding they give up their religion, culture and identity.

Moreover, the French-Muslim community's increased use of ethnic media over French produced media represents French-Muslim retroacculturation, or an attempt to rediscover their ethnic roots (Jandt, 2005). For example, there is a growing trend in the United States for many second and third-generation Hispanics and Chinese immigrants in the United States to not only learn their ethnic languages (Spanish, Mandarin and Cantonese) but to also consume ethnic media. This rediscovery of ethnic roots, often not passed on to these generations by their parents, who were attempting to assimilate into US culture, is somewhat similar to what is happening in France with the Muslim population. While many first-generation Muslim immigrants initially attempted to assimilate to a degree to French culture (Croucher, 2007, 2008; Hargreaves, 1995), they also passed on aspects of their ethnic heritage to their children. However, today their children and grandchildren are actively pursuing more information and connections with their ethnic heritage (Croucher, 2006, 2007, 2008; Laurence & Vaisse, 2006).

### 6.2 Ethnic Identification and Media Preference

The second research question addressed the issue of ethnic identity and media usage. Specifically, it asked how does media usage choice influence ethnic identification among French-Muslims? Within the framework of cultural adaptation, French-Muslims should abandon the Islamic part of their ethnic identity and attempt to become only French. However, multiple analyses of this particular population reveal this population does not abandon the Islamic aspect of their identity (Croucher, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Jelloun, 1999; Roy, 2004). Bowen (2007) and Croucher (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008) assert French-Muslims perceive themselves as "under attack" and do not want to lose an essential part of their identity by attempting to become something they are not.

Furthermore, the recent surge in ethnic media choice in France represents an attempt to create stronger ethnic group vitality (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977) for French-Muslims. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory proposes groups with stronger vitality are more likely to remain a collective entity while those groups with low vitality are more likely to weaken. The vitality or ethnic strength of a group is broken down into three different categories: "status, demographic and institutional support factors" (p. 309). If a group is a minority, lacks institutional support, and has low status in the larger community, they are likely to have low ethnic vitality. Moreover, when a minority group, like the French-Muslim community perceives themselves as of a lower social status, as a minority (which demographically they are) and if they perceive themselves as restricted or not supported by the government they are more likely to become collective in order to protect one another (the ingroup) against outsiders (the outgroup). This link between media usage and ethnolinguistic vitality needs to be further analyzed in future studies of this population.

## 7. Conclusion

The media usage of French-Muslims has changed in response to governmental pressures to assimilate to French culture and as the Muslim community perceives the French press to be under the control of the French government. Ultimately, media choice between first and subsequent-generation French-Muslims has become a perceived vehicle for change and protest. The type of media the different generations choose the gratifications the different generations receive, and the justifications for their choices all differ. Yet, the French-Muslim community shares a common characteristic, this community sees ethnic media as the best choice for representing their way of life and French produced media as a tool of oppression and of a separate culture from Islam.

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