Maghrebi Women in Spain: Family Roles and Media Consumption

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Abstract

This article examines the process of adaptation of Maghrebi women in migratory contexts by analysing their media diet, placing a focus on women of Moroccan origin who reside in Spain. On the one hand, the cultural setting is considered as a symbolic space in which the foreign-origin population should feel interested and to which access should be facilitated; on the other hand, cultural identity is considered as something that is both flexible and dynamic. Given that the lives of these women are basically limited to the home and that their roles in the family are heavily influenced by gender, the question addressed is: to what extent does the condition of being wives and mothers affect their media diet? Concepts such as 'cultural overburden' (feminist theories) and 'institutional mediation' (cultural studies) underpin the theoretical framework. The results suggest that the consumption of Arabic-language media reflects the need to maintain an emotional tie to the culture of origin. In the host country, access to media is restricted due to the low level of technological equipment in the home and to claims that this is 'good for the family'. However, the behaviour of teenagers approximates to that of a 'bridge' generation.

Keywords: gender, women, media consumption, migration, family, Maghreb.

Introduction

When European media talk about Maghrebi women in migratory contexts, they do so from the angle of faith. Thus, all Arab-origin women are identified with their religion, and instead of referring to them as Moroccans or Maghrebis the media refer to them as Muslims. In this context, the hot topic is the use of the veil. Western journalists rehearse the same issues over and over again, mainly around the question of whether or not European countries should allow women to hide their faces in public. For their part, Muslim women who defend the use of the veil base their arguments not only on their culture and traditions, but also on their personal freedom to choose.[1] The issue could be summarised as follows: the Western world sees the Islamisation of Europe as a problem, while the Arab world is critical of Western dominance.[2] In the light of such social controversy, generated mainly by discursive feedback exchanged between media and

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[1] For further information on the topic, see the case of the Spanish girl of Arab-Muslim origin (from Arteixo, Galicia) who challenged the education system by refusing to remove her hijab, even though her parents asked her to do so. The news was reported in the press in February 2011 and generated considerable institutional debate.

[2] For further information on this topic, see the extensive and comprehensive work of Sophie Bessis (1994, 2002, 2005, 2008).

politicians, we felt that a more in-depth and rigorous look at the everyday lives of Maghrebi women living far from their geographical areas of origin was needed.

Without wishing to undermine the importance of the debate on banning the use of the veil or of studies (for example, the work by the anthropologist Angeles Ramírez [2011] and the pioneering study by Fadela Amara [2004]), we felt that this topic had become so big that it overshadows other issues such as the study of the everyday lives of these women, while reinforcing negative stereotypes and intolerant attitudes. An alternative approach that does not present women only as victims of their own culture is the starting point of this article.

Our focus is on women originating from the Maghreb and living in Spain, and particularly on Moroccan women, who represent the largest group.[3] In early 2012, 11% of the population residing in Spain was foreign, and Morocco was one of the main countries of origin (people born there account for 29.7% of the foreign population).[4] Explanations for this high presence of Moroccans are the historical links between the two countries and their geographical proximity. The year 1973 was a turning point. Due to the combined effect of the oil crisis and Europe's increasingly restrictive migration policies, many Moroccan workers who had previously only crossed the Iberian Peninsula to get to France decided to settle in Spain, particularly in the south.[5] Today, the group's presence is high not only in Andalusia (where 14.5% of Moroccans residing in Spain live), but also in Catalonia (32.8%). Following the feminisation of migration (Zapata-Barrero, 2004), women now account for 38.8% of this social group.

The aim of this article is to examine the everyday lives of these women by analysing their media consumption habits. It is generally believed that the process of adaptation to the host country inevitably involves an approximation to the available cultural offerings, which include the media. Underscoring the inequalities of access to cultural capital (thus reintroducing Pierre Bourdieu's concept) and with reference to the migrant population, David Morley (2005) expresses his fear that this population will end by adopting segregationist cultural consumption habits because "'Euroculture' is not designed to feel like home for many of those who currently reside within its borders" (Morley, 2005: 157).

In turn, a specific focus on Moroccan women in migratory contexts entails an approach to one of the groups whose process of adaptation is the hardest and therefore the longest (Serrano-Niza, 2011). There are several aspects that act as major obstacles, such as those stemming from their cultural-religious traditions (Bramon, 2007), their social role of dependence on/submission to male members of the family, and their obligation to focus their life projects on the home (Serrano-Niza, 2011; Alcalde, 2002; Gómez, 1995). In other words, this is a group that suffers discrimination on two fronts: gender and cultural-

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[3] The Maghreb region encompasses most of North-west Africa, and is formed by Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Western Sahara and Mauritania.
[4] The sources of the sociodemographic data given are the Spanish National Statistics Institute and the Spanish Permanent Observatory of Immigration.
[5] In 2004, the Observatory of Moroccan Immigration in Spain published an atlas with a complete view of this group. For further information, see: http://www.uam.es/otroscentros/TEIM/Observainmigra/Atlas%202004%20inicio.htm

religious background (Garreta, 2000; Moreras, 1999). It is no accident, therefore, that this is precisely one of the hardest groups to access with regard to fieldwork involving population sampling. One of the most recent examples in this respect is the project led by Giménez (2012) on intercultural coexistence.

However, it should not be forgotten that internal diversity is a characteristic of every migrant (and non-migrant) group. Two key factors that define the differences are economic status and educational level. The time factor also needs to be added to the mix; in other words, the age of a person when emigrating and the amount of time that a person has spent outside the country of birth (Kymlikca, 1996; Zanfrini, 2007). Studies of Moroccan women are the ones that have highlighted this factor the most: in this respect, the differences between sub-types are very significant. Alcalde, García, Moreno and Ramírez (2002) found that, even though the illiteracy rate is still high, over time more women were actually tending to study at university. They also found that it was vital to distinguish between married women emigrating with their families and women emigrating alone, the latter having managed to become financially independent. In this respect, the role of new generations of women, and especially of those educated in Spain, is worth studying because they usually exhibit behaviours and develop aptitudes that tend to break traditional norms. They clearly emerge as a 'bridge' generation, although a long way behind their male counterparts (Losada, 1998; Amezaga, 2001; González Escudero, 2000).

It should be added that the attitude of the receiving population (native and non-native), which is formed by personal predisposition and cultural competence, plays a vital role, in the process of adaptation (Hannerz, 1998). This attitude does not, however, necessarily make matters easier, since it is strongly influenced by the discursive feedback mentioned before. In a study carried out in Catalonia, three out of ten male and female interviewees (35.3%) stated that Moroccans and Arabs were the migrants that they disliked the most (García, 2012).[6] According to our own studies focusing on teenagers, there is a greater intolerance of the so-called 'Latino gangs' among the autochthonous population while, by geographical area of origin, it was surprising to find that the intolerant discourse of Spanish teenagers (male and female) was directed at Asians and Eastern Europeans, and the most racist attitudes of Latin American teenagers were directed at foreign-origin Muslims. Intercultural coexistence is a complex reality.

This article is divided into four sections. The first reviews the main approaches to the topic, thus forming the theoretical framework for the analysis. The second briefly describes the methodology. The third contains patterns identified in relation to media consumption by Maghrebi women in Spain in the family setting, and the fourth offers a final reflection.

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[6] A figure that was much higher than the second group in this ranking: Eastern Europeans, at 9.1%.

Theoretical Frameworks

The changes that information and communication technologies (ICTs) are bringing to the lives of the migrant population are an object of study that is generating more and more interest. In general terms, the majority of works can be classified into two groups.

First, there are those that examine how ICTs can be used to build new communities bringing dispersed groups together. According to Nilüfer Göle (2007, p. 59), "ICTs shape and strengthen new types of interrelation in a more transnational than national way: they have caused a shift from the social organisation framed within a nation state and linked to territoriality to a transversal and virtual worldwide 'connection'". This line of research has close ties with the concept of diaspora, a topic on which Tölölyan (2012) believes more critical theoretical reflection is required. This author questions especially the fact that when groups define themselves as diasporas most scholars automatically consider them as such, even though most are not actually diasporas according to the traditional understanding of the concept. In addition, Tölölyan (2012) underscores the fact that this behaviour among the migrant population is a growing phenomenon as online social networks develop.

Second, there are works that examine how ICTs are used to keep in touch with people in the countries of origin, to which the term 'transnational communication' is mostly applied. In this second area, there is a predominance of contributions on family relations that explore the idea of 'connected presence' (Licoppe, 2004): ICTs facilitate situations of co-presence in which the people who interact share time despite the distance that separates them. In the Spanish setting, this is the area that has been most explored and a significant percentage of works have applied a feminist perspective to researching couple and motherhood relationships. For example, among the most recent publications are works by Graciela de la Fuente (2011), Claudia Pedone (2010) and Mª Carmen Peñaranda (2011).

The approach taken in this article also deals with the impact of ICTs on the lives of the migrant population. However, unlike the two lines of research described above, this text concentrates specifically on the process of adaptation to the new context of coexistence. This line has already been applied in earlier works (Cogo, Gutiérrez & Huertas, 2008). We consider the cultural settings (of which the media form part) as a symbolic space in which the foreign-origin population should feel interested and to which access should be facilitated because it constitutes a crucial platform for negotiating individual and group identities. In classic theories on the socialising capacity of the mass media (Huertas, 2002), such media are seen as an inevitable source of sociocultural resources and a means of shared participation.

Studies of processes of integration have given priority to other areas, such as economics (labour market inclusion), education (the educational background of migrant children) and healthcare (which has led to the creation of the mediator figure in patient/healthcare staff relationships). By contrast, leisure and/or

entertainment have not been prominent objects of scientific interest (except for market surveys undertaken by the commercial sector) and have not been considered as a priority for research on processes of adaptation in migratory contexts. The limited amount of research on these topics is surprising, in view of their socialising capacity as symbolic goods and their close connection with two particular aspects that are paramount for an individual's wellbeing, sociability (providing sociocultural resources that, when shared, contribute to the formation/consolidation of circles of friends) and identity (providing resources that allow people to self-identify).

In accordance with the classic types of behaviour among the migrant population (assimilation, segregation and integration [Berry, 1997]) and with a classification of the media into three groups (the mass media of their country of origin, those aimed specifically at migrants and those aimed at Spanish/European citizens), it is considered that the ideal situation would be one in which people could decide on their media diet irrespective of the cultural origins of content/message. In other words, conducive attitudes involve neither an exclusive consumption of products corresponding to their own cultural roots (segregation) nor an outright rejection of these (assimilation). However, while it is easy to define these migrant audience profiles, empirical study of reality shows that the boundaries are not quite this clear. A person may exhibit contradictory behaviours. On the one hand, not all cultural products generate the same types of response and, on the other, some people have social profiles that are more open to intercultural contact than others (Huertas, Reguero & Sagarzazu, 2010).

According to Serrano-Niza (2011, p. 114), "culture is a living being that is constantly changing and whose signs of identity are worked and reworked every day by individuals who are identified with it". The same author points to the 'border individual' concept to refer to a person whose migration generates cultural combinations and blends that are hard to anticipate. If, as Alberto Melucci (1997) suggests, identity is no longer a 'metaphysical essence' but rather a 'dynamic system' among migrant populations, this becomes much more evident. "As people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of travelling even when people stay, territories cannot really contain cultures" (Hannerz, 1998, p. 24), but in such territories people from several cultures coexist. Regarding North African women, Casal (2004, p.84) points out that immigration "is giving rise to cultural, religious and gender identities that, far from being uniform and static, are hybrid, fluid and in a state of constant construction and re-elaboration (...). All women in the everyday flow of the migratory experience are constantly redefining their identities as women, Muslim, Maghrebi and immigrants on the basis of past experiences, current conditions and future expectations".

Given that the lives of Moroccan women are basically limited to the home (public meeting spaces are minimal or non-existent [Fuentes & Vicente, 2007]) and that their roles in the family are heavily influenced by gender (in this social context based on a patriarchal society, "women's time is epitomised by the

reproductive cycle" [Serrano-Niza, 2011, p.117]), the question addressed in this article is: to what extent does the condition of being wives and mothers affect their media diet?

Gender roles give rise to differences in media and cultural consumption between Maghrebi women and men (Huertas, Reguero & Sagarzazu, 2010). Education and literacy generate considerable inequality in relation to conditions of access. According to the Moroccan Haut Commissariat au Plan (2004), among citizens residing in Morocco the illiteracy rate stands at 54.7% for females and 30.8% for males (Zaid & Ibahrine, 2011).[7]

Feminist theory is key to approaching this issue, and one pioneering idea is that of the cultural overburden of women. In migratory contexts, women are asked to make extreme efforts to maintain cultural obligations at home, thus making the burden excessive (González Cortes, 2005). Regarding Moroccan women, Rosa Soriano (2001, p.2) points out that "it is a complex issue because women form part of a developing modern society project, in which they are expected to be the custodians of traditions".

Following Michèle Le Doeuff's theories on the 'identity overburden' of women, Femenías (2007, p.87) asserts that "the emergence of stereotypically standardised female subjects is functional for the survival of various groups and cultures". This standardisation is based on the feminisation of tradition, where women comply with 'standard' duties as carers and as cultural mediators. In the context of cultural diversity, the feminisation of tradition is reinforced. Femenías adds that "power and control manoeuvres are strengthened in the light of new things, thus reinforcing the models of womanhood. If that is effectively the case, the intercultural clash directly or indirectly reinforces heterodesignations, where the dominating group has the power to define what the others are, thus generating a dual message: for women (inside the group), in favour of traditional stereotype and social immobility; for men (outside the group), in terms of authority and dominance, strengthening the dynamic aspects" (Femenías, 2007, pp. 87-88).

In the field of communication, cultural studies also contribute to the theoretical framework. While the development of the concept of mediation seems to be connected with the reception of a single medium – television – (Martín-Barbero, 1998; Orozco, 1996), mediation is indeed a very useful concept when it comes to analysing how the migrant audience appropriates meaning and makes sense of communication processes. Along these lines, the terms 'individual mediation' (how gender, ethnicity, social class, origin and place of residence influence media decoding) and 'institutional mediation' (the importance of the family's role as an institution that generates certain 'rules' with regard to consumption) are both worthy. The notion of an 'interpretive community' (Lindlof, 1988), referring to a group of people who share the same decoding code, is also interesting and may be linked to Teresa Losada's (1998) observations on the Maghrebi

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[7] A study carried out in 2000 by the World Bank –*The Little Data Book 2002* – put the illiteracy rates in Morocco at 66% for women and 40% for men. This shows a greater reduction in illiteracy among men than among women, reinforcing the imbalance between the sexes.

culture's attachment to orality as the element that determines their preference for audiovisual over written media.

This set of reflections led us to consider a key hypothesis: Muslim Maghrebi women in migratory contexts have difficulties in accessing media-cultural products that are distant from their cultural roots because their families act as agents overseeing their activities in this area. In accordance with the theoretical framework, we considered the following two sub-hypotheses: wives' media-cultural consumption is controlled by husbands; children's (particularly daughters') media-cultural consumption is controlled by mothers. Since it was necessary to deal with internal diversity within the female group, this article explores an intergenerational perspective.

Methodology

Since 2007, the Communication, Migration and Citizenship research group of the Institute of Communication at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CMC InCom-UAB) has been analysing how migrant populations adapt to the new environment of coexistence through communication processes. Emerging from the research on media consumption, this article is the outcome of a transversal analysis of several social studies involving population sampling that included Maghrebi women.

Statistical data came from the Communication and Culture Audiences Foundation (FUNDACC). This Foundation measures cultural (and media) consumption among populations in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community, and includes foreign groups in its sample. Specifically, the data for the Maghrebi population residing in Catalonia were analysed twice. First for the period May 2007 - April 2008, from a sample of 1,136 people aged 14 and over (432 women), and second for the period March 2008 - February 2009, from a sample of 100 teenagers aged between 15 and 19 (56 women).[8]

Conclusions drawn from the fieldwork that CMC InCom-UAB periodically undertakes in order to help analyse and understand the available statistical data were also included. Specifically, we had access to 20 interviews with members of the Maghrebi population (11 women) conducted in 2008 in Catalonia and to data for 24 Moroccan-origin teenagers obtained from focus groups and in-depth interviews conducted in 2009 and 2010 in the Spanish provinces of Barcelona, Malaga and Madrid.[9]

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the formation of this sample was complicated, both during the FUNDACC fieldwork and in the qualitative phase. This has always been the case when dealing with Maghrebi women in migratory contexts. It is hard to contact Maghrebi women and once in touch they need

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[8] For further information about FUNDACC, see: http://www.fundacc.org/fundacc/ca.html
[9] The fieldwork was led by Amparo Huertas; the research teams consisted of Luciana Fleischman, Adriana Ibiti, Yolanda Martínez Suárez, Núria Reguero, Chiara Sáez, Itxasne Sagarzazu and Luis Felipe Velásquez. For further information about CMC InCom-UAB, see: http://incom.uab.cat/cmc

to be persuaded to take part as sample members. Their minimal command of foreign languages is usually an obstacle and in some cases so are their husbands, who act as mediators.

Television: Mothers Connected with the Country of Origin and Watchful Fathers

Television is the main element in the media diet of the Maghrebi group as a whole. Surveyed by FUNDACC in Catalonia, 91.6% of the sample (aged 14 and over) stated that watching television was one of their leisure habits. However, the defining characteristic is the percentage of Arabic-language television viewing. While the foreign-language channels' penetration barely reaches 11% for the migrant population as a whole, it was 24.5% for the Maghrebi population.[10] This pattern had already been observed in earlier studies (Amezaga, 2001; Fuentes & Vicente, 2007; Benitez Eyzaguirre, 2011).

Turning to our line of reflection, the qualitative fieldwork clearly showed gender differences in the discourses justifying the watching of television programmes in general. Both men and women watched Moroccan and Spanish/Catalan television in order to keep up to date with the news, and watched Spanish/Catalan television in order to learn the language of the host country. However, a greater connection with Arabic-language programmes on the grounds of culture-religion and family needs emerged more clearly from women, whereas criticism of the host country's entertainment programmes predominated among men.

> ... When I get satellite TV, the first thing I'm going to watch is Almaghribya to see how Ramadan went in Morocco, because here… all you do is watch the clock and say prayers on your own… there isn't any great feeling... [the interviews coincided with the celebration of Ramadan in September 2008]. (05-female, 35 years old)

> But I want Moroccan channels. I am a Moroccan woman, I miss my country, I remember my family, my friends, my neighbourhood. And Spanish channels help me to learn the language. Even when I've got satellite TV, I'll carry on watching them. All I'm interested in is the pronunciation. That's the goal. (10-female, 32 years old)

> … We [male] Muslims don't like television because you get to see sex scenes… (03-male, 29 years old)

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[10] The channels mentioned most often were *Almaghribya*, a Moroccan generalist public channel broadcasting in Arabic; *Al Jazeera*, the news channel with headquarters in Qatar; and *2M*, a Moroccan public channel broadcasting programmes in Arabic and French.

> The problem with Spanish TV in general is that we can't watch it with the family because there are sex programmes that you can't watch with the children. It's like smoking, even though my father would really like to smoke, he would never do so in front of me. (09-male, 51 years old)[11]

> … I don't like TV series because they're different from my culture, it's tedious… I don't like it, I don't know why, but I do like the news from here. (05-male, 35 years old)

One could consider that women need contact with their country of origin not just symbolically but somehow physically, as the notion of 'co-presence' (Licoppe, 2004) suggests. By contrast, the open rejection of Arabic-language programmes was more widespread among men.

> I haven't watched any Arabic channels for a while because now I'm here! Only if there's something important on... I'm fed up with all the doom and gloom of Arabic news. (05-male, 35 years old)

> … I just don't want to, I want Spanish and Catalan news. (02-male, 25 years old)

Although women present themselves as childcares, their responsibilities basically seem to be limited to aspects such as feeding and personal care. As women are assigned the function of maintaining traditions that are understood as culture and not as knowledge (hence the higher level of illiteracy among women), concerns about their (male and female) children's acquisition of knowledge were more apparent among male discourses. Indeed, examples of remorse with regard to family separation caused by the migratory process were found more among men, perhaps because all the cases studied corresponded to situations in which the decision to leave the country of birth was taken by the husbands.

> My future isn't at all clear, and I think I've maltreated my children by leaving them there. (07-male, 43 years old)

> I'm a married woman and I'm under the obligation to come with my husband. And that's that… If I weren't married, I'd never have come. But I love my husband. That's life! (10-female, 32 years old)

In a study specifically of Maghrebi teenagers in Spain, the difference between the sexes in relation to their interest in Arabic-language television was identified both quantitatively and qualitatively. Arabic-language channels were watched by 39.8% of women as compared to 29.9% of men. In contrast, state-wide Spanish channels were watched by 91.8% of men and 79.8% of women. The viewing figures for Spanish autonomous-community and local broadcasts, at around 45% and 10% respectively, were more similar for both sexes.

Such behaviour among teenagers is consistent with other patterns already identified. Transnational contact with family members and friends is more usual among Maghrebi and foreign-origin women in general than among men (Huertas & Martínez, 2012). Furthermore, Maghrebi women seem more inclined than men to

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[11] This interview was conducted at the interviewee's home and there was an uncomfortable atmosphere: the women covered their faces with cushions. Men told us that it was not possible to watch sex scenes or talk about the topic in front of family.

take part in Arab sociocultural associations in order to facilitate the process of adaptation as new immigrants.

> I'm a member of an association of Arabs… devoted basically to educating children and teaching them how people live here, because they come from Morocco, and I also teach them about Islam. (95-daughter of Moroccans, 17 years old)

Future research should examine how children brought up and educated in a migratory context establish links with media from the culture of origin and explore the strategies that such children develop. According to the available information, the search for audiovisual materials from the country of origin is in general a residual activity. From the qualitative sample, just one teenager stated he was interested in watching football online (at http://www.rifclubs.com/). Rather than a low technological level in the country of origin, the element that seems to bring about a media-cultural distancing is the minimal command or complete lack of knowledge of their parents' native language.

The Home: Safeguard or Straitjacket?

The fact that women take on the majority of domestic duties is seen as a reason for their lower media consumption. Statistical data for teenagers bear this out: fewer girls than boys watch television, 79.8% and 91.8% respectively.

> My brothers don't do anything. They say they're tired and leave their rucksacks on the floor and my mother picks them up. My brothers say "I'm a man. Those are women's jobs, not mine." Dad can't do anything because he works a lot. (Statements about the distribution of domestic duties. 20-female, 24 years old)

The most obvious limitation arises in relation to the Internet, access to which is quite difficult for women. Maghrebi homes are among the least technologically equipped households. For example, while 46% of immigrants' homes have a desktop computer and 45.4% have Internet access, the figures for the Maghrebi group are only 28.3% and 20.6% respectively. Some women stated that they could only connect from their husbands' workplaces. This leads us to believe that there is a gender imbalance in relation to access.

> … The Internet is [only] available at my husband's workplace. (02-female, 29 years old)

This low level of equipment at home is often justified by the parents' concern that such technology will jeopardise the growth of their children, allowing them to access undesirable content. This discourse was observed among both parents and it also extended beyond the Internet:

> … At home, if your parents are there, you can't listen to what you like. What I hear a lot of at home is the Quran. (Participant in Focus Group 2, Moroccan male, 16 years old)

> … I can't go [to the disco]. I can't even ask to! But, knowing everything that goes on there…, I'd rather not go. (05-daughter of Moroccans, 18 years old)

The most surprising thing is the considerable digital divide among young people. According to the available data, 64.3% of male teenagers and only 35.3% of female teenagers regularly use the Internet. The absence of the Internet at home can be overcome more easily by male teenagers, who mostly go to Internet cafés, than by female teenagers, whose consumption takes place basically in public spaces such as libraries and civic centres. Unlike for other youth groups, it is worthy of note that schools are not usual places for Internet access, and this may be interpreted as a symptom of difficulties encountered in intercultural coexistence.

This vision of home as a 'closed space' was also found in two other aspects, one concerning the adult population and the other the teenagers. Many women who were mothers ended by pointing out that the only way of accessing the cultural offerings of the host country was by following their children's activities at school. Regarding teenagers, the consumption of music radio was slightly more usual among males because the main space for consumption was the workplace, outside the home.

> … I haven't got any friends here, I'm with my family. (03-female, 25 years old)
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> Saturday is my husband's day off, though he sometimes works, and Sunday... that's when we visit my husband's family. He's got a lot of family here, but I haven't. (10-female, 32 years old)

Adult Women Resigned to their Lot and the 'Bridge' Generation

Among women living with their husbands, the usual stance is one of resignation to consuming what their husbands consume. Television was a mass medium used by the family as a whole, and husbands chose what family members could watch. Similar examples were observed concerning radio. By contrast, discursive nuances that could be associated with 'submission' were found in other types of situations, such as men providing women with films (especially selected for women). In other words, the Maghrebi women interviewed, who were generally very critical of the patriarchal society in which they live, seemed to accept the decisions made by their husbands if they were led to understand that such decisions were good for the family. However, when such decisions affected Maghrebi women more individually, their criticism was more explicit.

> I watch [Arabic-language] satellite TV because my husband has it on all day [she smiles]. (04-female, 37 years old)

Free newspapers are the only medium that singles out migrant Maghrebi teenagers as a 'bridge' generation, although this is basically a consequence of the female group's behaviour and the consumption

levels are relatively low. In general terms, Maghrebis are one of the foreign groups in which the press has one lowest penetration rates. According to FUNDACC data, 15.7% of the foreign population as a whole reads free newspapers, whereas only 7.4% of the Maghrebi population does so. However, in relation to teenagers' media behaviour there are clear differences between the sexes. While 14% of female teenagers read newspapers of this type, only 5% of male teenagers do so. Regarding the profile of female readers, the data indicate that most readers are employed, middle-class and resident in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Final Reflection

Looking at these patterns, it seems that the attitudes and habits of migrant populations are not only shaped by the convergence of the 'local' and 'global' - to use the terminology of Giddens (1997) -, but also by their interplay with the 'native' (Ernst & Moser, 2005). When the Western world looks at alien cultures, this note becomes very clear, even when there is a degree of historical and geographical proximity between researchers and the citizens studied, as was the case for this article.

Thus, the Maghrebi group neither turns its back on media content that corresponds to its cultural roots nor fails to pay attention to local media (to learn the language in the new environment of coexistence for example). The group also does not turn its back on tendencies that are consistent with more general stereotypes. For example, when men's and women's preferred thematic content was analysed, men stated that this was football and women that it was fashion - in fieldwork, the most frequently cited magazines were *Elle* and *Glamour*.

> First… I go to sport because that's what I like the most, and after that, to general stuff. (06-male, 31 years old)
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> Sport. I don't support any particular team. I like football, those who play well. I like playing Sudoku. (03-male, 29 years old)

But how does the condition of being migrants and female impact on Maghrebi women's media consumption? The available literature usually emphasises that illiteracy is an obstacle in terms of being able to access any type of cultural product, both in the migratory context and when residing in the country of origin.

> … I only look at the pictures because I don't understand the language. (05-female, 35 years old)

From the fieldwork, this idea was found to be very prominent in their discourses. Nevertheless, other issues were identified, such as those that are closely related to the roles assigned to them in the family, that is to say issues that they themselves cannot readily express.

Results confirmed our key hypothesis that Maghrebi women in migratory contexts have difficulties in accessing media-cultural products that are distant from their cultural roots, since families act as agents overseeing their activities in this area. One of the sub-hypotheses (wives' media-cultural consumption is controlled by husbands) was confirmed, while the second one (children's -particularly daughter's- media-cultural consumption is controlled by mothers) was not corroborated because the fathers seemed to have this responsibility, while mothers took care of feeding and personal care.

Women have difficulties in consuming media products that do not correspond to their culture. On the one hand, cultural-religious and family ties give rise to a use of Arabic-language media associated with an emotional wellbeing that is hard to avoid. On the other, the fact that their life projects are limited to the home means that their access to other cultures is restricted as a consequence of low levels of technological equipment in the home and little free time. So their predominant form of consumption is within the family, in accordance with instructions given by men (husband, father or brother). Furthermore, if someone in the family oversees access to the media, this appears to be accepted with resignation as being for the good of the family.

From their part, male teenagers seem to reproduce the male way of doing things that they learn in the family setting. Moreover, the ease with which they are able to move within public space and their digital know-how favour a greater ability to choose media content (for example, they are the main users of Internet cafés). Thus, only those young women who fit a certain profile –employed and resident in big cities– seem to be capable of breaking away from traditional gender roles.[12] As one young woman said:

> Work… well, a woman works damn hard to earn half or less than half of what a man earns... a woman then gets home and has to do all the housework, we're really crushed, more is demanded of us and then we're discriminated against when people say "you're not up to it", but we have to do twice the amount… a woman will never have the same strength as a man... but… as far as everything else is concerned...
>
> (29-female, 24 years old).

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[12] A paradigmatic example of this critical female mass is the international movement formed in the Parisian suburbs in 2003 called Ni Putes Ni Soumises. The book of the same name, written by the movement's founder, Fadela Amara, and the reporter Sylvia Zappi, is recommended reading.

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