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Media, Migration and Integration

**An analysis of the media practices of Nigerians in Stockholm
Sweden**

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An analysis of the media practices of Nigerians in Stockholm Sweden

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Dedication

This research is dedicated in loving memory of my father Babatunde Kolawole Adebisin. I am grateful for your encouragement, support and prayers and I am fortunate to have had you as my dad, you are my hero and my best friend. I miss you more than words can say.

Rest in Peace dad

1943- 2013

Abstract

This study deals with the issue of migrants and their use of media to facilitate integration and negotiate nostalgia, identity and other social factors that ensue during the analysis of six selected Nigerian migrants in Stockholm.

By means of a two-step ethnographic approach the empirical material is obtained from documented media use logs and semi-structured interviews of six Nigerian informants in Stockholm. This study sets out to discover the social factors that influence or shape the media practices of Nigerian migrants; furthermore, to understand the concept of nostalgia, integration and more descriptive concept of media use from the perspective such as: the number of years the participants have lived in Sweden, gender and ethnicity.

The results show the motivation behind the media use of participants with emphasis on how Nigerian migrants use media in terms of type of medium used and frequency of use.

Additionally, results show how social factors such as: ethnicity, gender, education, work and the number of years lived in Sweden play a role in influencing the media practices of the selected Nigerian migrants in Stockholm while likewise exhibiting a difference in the media practices of participants who have lived in Sweden for the same number of years. In conclusion, results display how the in number of years lived in Sweden in addition to other individual factors played a role in the media use of the participants. The results also show how the participants use media to negotiate nostalgia and ethnic identities.

Keywords:

Media use, Migration, Integration, Transnationalism, Nigerians, Nostalgia, Ethnography, Diaspora

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1. Introduction

Mass migration and international mobility has over the years become increasingly researched with the population of migrants around the world increasing every year. The need to stay connected driving the creation of multiple new ways of communication and transnational media use is of the utmost importance. This development has made for an increase in empirical material such as of the work of Ingegerd Rydin, &Ulrika Sjöberg 2008 which provide insights into the modes of communication, media consumption and practices of migrants in Sweden in addition to a select number of European countries.

Migration is a topic that is ever present in the media the first migrant study on media use in Sweden was conducted in the late 1990's based on a survey of 470 interviews (Horsti 2008:12). However, mass migration and international mobility on its own is no longer a new phenomenon but the combination of mass migration and concurrent rapid flow of transnational media use defines the connection between globalization and the modern (Appadurai: 1996). This connection also prompts a reevaluation of our notions of migration, transnational communication, identity and belonging.

The overview of this research draws upon the media practices of Nigerian migrants in Sweden; however, as all the participants in this study reside in Stockholm. This research will be based on six semi structured interviews and documented media logs of six selected Nigerian migrants in Stockholm. This study will utilize an ethnography approach that permits an in-depth investigation into the individual experiences of Nigerian migrants while giving people the opportunity to explain in their own words how they feel, think and how they make sense of the new society in which they currently reside.

I am going to use the documented media logs and the semi-structured interviews to determine the social factors that influence the media use of selected informants with particular emphasis on the motivations of said media use on the integration process of Nigerian migrants.

This present work focuses on Nigerian migrants for the reason that the African continent is diverse and rich in culture. As cultural practices in the Northern part of Africa vary greatly to that of Western African and bearing in mind that the method for this study is Ethnography, it is inevitable that social and cultural similarities and differences will be observed, which has an inherent limitation of the selection of the sample frame to Nigerian Migrants in Stockholm and not a wider frame of African

migrants in Sweden to avoid generalizing the social and cultural extrapolations that might emerge during the research.

There are several studies conducted on migrants and their media practices (Rydin, & Sjöberg 2008) however, there are limited studies on Nigerian migrants media use in Stockholm. This study will provide rich qualitative insight into the ethnic relations of Nigerians in the diaspora coupled with a view on social factors that affect their media use such as integration, ethnic background in addition to creating awareness to social factors that frame their immigration and integration experience such as discrimination, racism and often times negative portrayal of migrants in the Swedish media in a way that has not been documented previously.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

As there is very little knowledge about Nigerian media use in Stockholm, the overarching aim of this study is to break new ground and study the media use of Nigerian migrants in Stockholm. In addition to this aim are two sub aims to this study; the first sub aim is studying the media use of Nigerian migrants in Stockholm in relation to the concepts of integration and Nostalgia and the second sub aim is exploring the number of years lived in Stockholm in relation to the transnational media practices of Nigerian migrants in Stockholm.

Research questions

RQ1: How do Nigerian migrants use media in terms of type of medium and frequency of use?

RQ2: How do the media practices of Nigerian migrants in Sweden vary in relation to social factors such as ethnicity, gender, education, work and how are these media practices used to negotiate ethnic and national identities?

RQ3: How do Nigerian migrants in Stockholm use media in relation to their negotiation of nostalgia and the number of years lived in Sweden?

1.2 Method

Ethnography is often defined as a research method and a written text used to tell a credible and authentic story thereby giving voice to people. (Fetterman, 2007: 1) The use of ethnography in media studies has become increasingly popular. Successful use of ethnography to understand media practices from a user's point of view and gaining insights into what motivates these practices makes for an interesting discovery. However, "the desire for complete knowledge of 'the other' is an

unattainable fantasy” (Moore, Shaun 1993:3). Bearing this in mind, this study will make no assumptions on the knowledge of Nigerian migrants media practices in Sweden; but, it will use ethnography to present the findings obtained from selected informants and interpret them in the context of the above stated research questions.

Ethnographic study however allows for multiple interpretations of reality and alternative interpretations of data (Fetterman, 2007: 1) that enables the ethnographer to utilize and interpret the data in the context of his research area as Fetterman explains “an ethnographer is a human instrument and must discriminate among different types of data and analyze the relative worth of one path over another at every turn in fieldwork...” (Fetterman, 2007: 2). Thus, the method for this research is a modified ethnography method using a combination of semi structured interviews and media use logs of six selected informants.

During the initial access to the field of study it became apparent that participants were not interested in participating in the more traditional ethnography method of observation. Hence, a modified version of the traditional ethnography method was created which is a 2 step method that begins with utilizing a media use log which replaced the more traditional method of observation followed by the semi structured interviews.

1.3 Limitations of method

This study makes no assumption on having knowledge on the media practices of all Nigerian migrants in Sweden as there were only six informants used for this study. Hence, the results derived from this sample will not be used to determine the media practices of all Nigerians in Sweden.

Due to the reluctance of participants to the use of observation of their media practices, the method of study was modified and as such valuable information that would have been documented first hand were documented by the participants and this affected the type of data that would have been obtained.

2. Background

This chapter will focus on providing information on the background to this study and introduce a background to Nigeria as a country and communities in the diaspora particularly Nigerian communities in Sweden. Furthermore, this chapter will look into the number of Nigerian Migrants in Sweden and a short timeline to the creation of the present diasporic ethnic communities in Sweden today.

Before the surge on the use of the internet as a communication tool for diasporic communities, media consumption across borders was limited to telephones and satellite dish media transmissions. However; with the advent of various forms of new media technologies such as mobile internet and social media technology, media consumption and communication has evolved in multiple dimensions. The accessibility of these new technologies has improved cultural diversity and allowed diasporic communities to embrace the potential of diasporic media in affirming and articulating their cultures.

However, irrespective of the evolution of transnational media technologies, there are several issues that migration raises for all migrants such as the questions of belonging, identity and the right of individuals as citizens. According to Babacan & Singh (2010:2), modern constructs of citizenship are organized around the relationship between the state, the territory and the citizen (Babacan & Singh 2010). These constructions imparts on the integration process of migrants creating the questions of identity and belonging. Do I belong here? Am I a citizen of Sweden or my home country Nigeria?

Based on this structure, identity is thus shaped by social factors which are premised by the perception of the individual and others (Babacan & Singh 2010:2). According to Nigerians interviewed during this study, several other social factors contribute to influencing the media habits of Nigerian migrants in Stockholm.

By utilizing an Ethnographic approach of interviews and self-observation conducted by the participants by way of media use logs; this work focuses on themes that emerge in the process of integration of migrants by observing the media habits of selected informants in their homes and in their social interactions.

2.1 Nigerian Community

In order to understand the Nigerian community in Sweden, some of the information expressed here is drawn from the views expressed by the participants during the interviews. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic country consisting of 3 major tribes, the Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo, in addition to hundreds of smaller ethnic groups. Nigeria is a multivariate and religious country where the construction of identity and national identity is deeply rooted in ethnicity, politics and religious beliefs. “Ethnicity is a salient identity among Nigerians, though ethnic feelings vary among language groups, and fluctuate over time.” (Lewis 2007). Ethnicity is however the foundation to which identities are constructed and communities are created.

According to the Nigeria government website, Nigeria as a country consist of multiple ethnic groups and has over 50 languages and over 250 dialects and ethnic groups. The 3 largest ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani who are pre dominant in the North, the Igbo who are in the south-east, and the Yoruba who are predominant in the southwest of Nigeria.

The Edo people are located in the region between Yoruba land and Igbo land, majority of the Edo people are Christians while 25 percent of the ethnic group worship deities. The remainder of Nigeria’s ethnic groups is spread across different parts of the country. However they are mostly located in the middle belt and in the northern part of the country.

The Hausa’s are predominantly Muslims with a small percentage of Hausas practicing Christianity while the Igbo people are predominantly Christians.

The Yoruba people practice both Christianity and Islam as there are equal number of Yoruba Christians and Muslims. In addition to Christianity and Islam, indigenous religious practices remain imbedded and important to all ethnic groups in Nigeria. There are religious conflicts that occur due to religious differences and these has been more in the Northern part of the country, however this has not deterred intermarriage among ethnicities. Several ethnicities intermarry.

There are several ethnic media present in the different states of the country, these Media are targeted at the ethnic groups and the content is in the ethnic language of each group. However there is a national ethnic media which is located in Lagos city, Wazobia radio station is an ethnic media that targets all ethnic groups and the language of the content is Pidgin English which majority of Nigerians understand. Wa-zo-bia means “come” in the three major Nigerian languages, Yoruba Igbo and Hausa. Wa is Yoruba, Zo is Hausa and Bia is Igbo which translates to “come”. Wazobia radio station is

broadcasted in ¹Pidgin English and is targeted at all Nigerians, and as pidgin English is spoken and understood by majority of Nigerians the target group for this radio station cuts across ethnicity and languages.

According to information gathered from Nigerians during the communications and interviews conducted for this research, migration has not created the unity amongst Nigerians in the diaspora as one might expect. On the contrary, it has further distanced the idea of national identity. As more Nigerians are spread around the world due to immigration, this pattern has continued on to Nigerian communities in the diaspora.

The 70's and 80's saw a population growth in the number of Nigerians immigrating to different parts of the world. However, it was not until the 1990's that the highest rate of immigration started and the numbers have increased significantly. (www.nigeriandiaspora.com)

According to the Nigerian population commission Nigeria's population currently stands at ²167 million. Also, based on the 2006 population census, the numbers have not deterred the rate of migration. Nigerians are present all over the world and according to the Swedish statistics office; there are 2993 Nigerian immigrants living in Sweden since the year 2000. (www.population.gov.ng)

³Table1:

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Nigeria												
Men	44	37	66	85	158	276	311	194	199	237	253	217
women	14	17	25	39	42	71	99	77	112	137	150	133
Total:	2993											

The table above indicates the number of Nigerian men and women moving into Sweden each year from the year 2000 till date. It does not however indicate if this number is restricted to Nigerians

¹This is defined by dictionary.com as language made up of elements of two or more other languages; a simplified or broken form of a language, especially when used for Communication between speakers of different languages.

² Nigerian population census obtained from www.population.gov.ng

³ Table obtained from Swedish statistics website February 15 2013.

that immigrated from Nigeria, or from other countries. In reality, this number seems small compared to the number of people that belong to the different Nigerian diasporic ethnic communities in Sweden such as the Igbo union, Yoruba union and the Edo forum.

Nigerian diasporic communities in Sweden consist of several ethnic groups. As expressed by all the participants of this study, the diversity in ethnicity and culture is a direct reflection of the ethnic groups that can be found in Nigeria. This thus makes for an interesting study and requires empirical material to understand the intricacies of how this mirror image of ethnic diversity is reflected in the diaspora contrary to the perceived notion that ethnic groups in the diaspora come together and are unified in a shared national identity.

According to the Nigerian embassy's official records, there are several cultural associations and groups in Sweden as the various associations serve as a social network for Nigerian citizens in Sweden. Associations such as the Nigerian Union, Yoruba union, Edo forum and the Igbo union collectively form the body of Nigerian diasporic ethnic groups in Sweden.

According to the official Nigerian union in Sweden website (www.nigerianunion.se), the first Nigerian diaspora group in Sweden was created in 1973 and named Union of Nigerians in Stockholm. The union was made up of Nigerians regardless of ethnicity and cultural backgrounds. However, during the communication with Nigerians in Sweden, the reports that emerged showing that there were more people of the Igbo ethnicity in the Nigerian union and this created for dissention and division. This unfortunate behavior further gave room for the creation of several ethnic groups such as the⁴Yoruba union, the Edo forum, the Igbo union, the Nigerians in diaspora organization (Nido).

⁴ *The Yoruba union is made up of people of the Yoruba ethnic group, the Yoruba's are from the southern part of Nigeria.
Igbo union is made up of people of the Igbo ethnic group, the Igbo's are from the eastern part of Nigeria.
The Edo forum is made up of people of the Edo/Bini ethnic group, this group are from the south-south part of Nigeria*

3. Literature Review

3.1 Key concepts explored

This chapter starts with critically discussing concepts such as migration, modernity, ethnic identity and longing for home in a bid to understand the relationship between them and introduce existing material and theory of media scholars on said concepts. Furthermore, this chapter explores concepts relating to media and the diaspora and concludes with an overview on the social factors that influence media use.

As we live in a mediated environment migrant's all over the world use new modes of transnational communication to connect with those "left behind" in the home country and Nigerians are no exceptions. "Being a foreigner, an immigrant, by force or choice, can change people's lives in ways they could never have imagined" (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:17) and the negotiation of identity for Nigerians in the diaspora has a degree of influence on their daily lives regarding media use and diasporic connections. The media practices of diasporic communities might help forge feelings of 'belonging' (Bailey ed. 2007:18) and in the case of Nigerian migrants in Sweden it may aid in 'bridging' the cultural divide in their host countries. In diasporic communities, bridging the cultural divide is not limited to the host country; it also extends to the 'home' country and the perceived link to nostalgic feelings of the past and essentially what used to be.

However, as pointed out by Tsagarousianou (2004:56.), the notion of home is much more complex than the premised power of Nostalgia. The longings of 'home' and the use of media to attain the connection and link to the home country beg for inclusion in the discussion of diasporic media use of migrants.

A recent investigation into media practice of minority groups is that of Rydin & Sjöberg (2008) which presents research findings about media use and reception among children and teenagers with an ethnic minority background. It focuses on the transnational media use of teenagers with some contributions from their parents which created an intergenerational comparison on media use. It also touches upon the everyday negotiations of identity and how migrant children draw on transnational media production mainly from their home country.

While the focus of the investigation was children and teenage migrants in this study, this present work on the other hand will use the number of years a migrant has lived in Sweden as a the main focus

of this investigation, with additional variables such as gender and ethnicity to analyze the media use of Nigerian migrants in Sweden.

The key concepts explored in the text are quite similar to that which were found during the process of this research. Concepts such as globalization, nation state and modernity, integration, negotiating ethnic identities, transnational media use and longing for home (nostalgia) cut across the informant's interviews. These concepts are explained in this text from the general perspective of social anthropologist view on modernity and globalization on to how they relate to media use that transcends beyond nation states.

These interwoven concepts are explained in a way that highlights the connection to media and migration. It further leads to the explorations on the perceived notions of globalization and the modern and how migrants interpret these in the daily pursuit of defining and redefining identity and nostalgia within the context of media use, migration and integration in their new diasporic communities.

3.2 Modernity, Globalization and the nation state

Modernity refers to a period that is marked by the move from feudalism toward industrialization capitalism and the nation-state. Arjun Appadurai (1996) stresses modernity when he experienced American pop culture in Bombay by watching Hollywood movies and blue jeans purchased by his brother from America (Appadurai 1996:1)

According to Appadurai, the world we live in now is one 'in which modernity is decisively at large' (p.3). Lipset who was one of the first proponents of modernization theory stressed that capitalist industrialization contributes to democratization (Lipset: 1981).

However, as stressed by Wallerstein and other theorists, several countries show that capitalist industrialization does not necessarily lead to democratization. China and countries in the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia (Bruhn Jensen 2002) these are states which have experienced capitalist industrialization but have not turned into democracies. One factor that often characterizes democracies is free media and the opportunity for private channels, newspapers and online magazines to exist.

The media is to a great extent limited in many parts of the world such as China and Saudi Arabia. Lipset, an adherent of modernization theory, has also questioned the absolute nature of such theory.

‘However, an extremely high correlation between such things as income, education, and religion, on the one hand, and democracy, on the other, in any given society should not be anticipated even on theoretical grounds because to the extent that the political subsystem of the society operates autonomously, a political form may persist under conditions normally adverse to the emergence of that form. Or a political form may develop because of a syndrome of unique historical factors even though the society’s major characteristics favor another form.’

(Lipset, 1981: 28)

Appadurai also points to the lack of modernization theory’s absolute nature by stressing it as being self-conscious and unevenly experienced (Appadurai 1996:3). What is evident for Appadurai however is a break that has taken place that has moved humanity into the time which it lives in the now. He does not necessarily see this break to be the one identified by modernization theory; Appadurai rather sees this break to be identified by media and migration.

On the other hand, Klaus Bruhn Jensen speaks about a new kind of nation as one characterized by other phenomena. He referred to Anderson when explaining the modern nation – one characterized by culture and discursive formations rather than territory and constitution, which characterizes the conventional state – that being the nation state. (Bruhn Jensen 2002:173.)

The ideas of a nation state as expressed by Bruhn Jensen and the conception of the nation state by migrants in their negotiation of belonging and identity reflects the images of modernity which are strongly connected with the ideas about the desired “national community” (López –alves, 2011:249). This culture formation of the nation state is negotiated in varied ways in different communities; based on the notions of belonging and identity thereby the meaning of nation in relation to identity is the consideration of both space (diaspora) and personal history (identity) (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:49). Moreover, the relationship between identity and globalization suggests ‘that one is- where one lives’ (Rydin, & Sjöberg 2008: 90); both the space where one was conceived and the space one has migrated to.

Appadurai also links the modern to globalization. He stresses the mobile relationship between mass-mediated events and migratory audiences which defines the core of the link between globalization and the modern. He goes on to stress that imagination is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern (Appadurai 1996: 4). Although globalization seems to be a fact for him like modernization, he acknowledges its’ unevenness by stressing that ‘the global is to space what the modern is to time’ (Appadurai 1996: 9).

Globalization has shrunk the distance between people and diasporic groups. Members of diasporic groups can stay connected via suggested ‘public spheres’ such as Facebook and

instantaneous updates from 'home'. Thus the answer to Appadurai's suggestion what is global to time? Is the answer it is time-space compression, the sense that time paces faster and that distances are shorter? (Harvey 1990) However; modernity is an elsewhere for many societies and therefore not the same as what global is to space.

On the other hand, one can also argue that globalization for many also are an elsewhere. As many in the world experience globalization through technology or space they inhabit, there are others who do not experience globalization such as those who reside in villages where technology is nonexistent and the experience of mixed cultures.

Moreover, as Klaus Bruhn Jensen writes it is not only culture and discursive formations that hold de-territorialized nations together but also media and mediated communication for example print technologies functioning in a way that enforces national languages as a means of collective self-definition (Jensen 2002:173).

Appadurai introduces the notion of ethnoscapas which also explains how imagination plays an important role in creating modern nations characterized by de-territorialized ethnic groups. Ethnoscapas refers to the cultural dynamics of de-territorialization which are spaces made up of different ethnicities. Ethnoscapas are landscapes of ethnicities, which no longer are bound to certain territorial locations. It is the collective imagination of people belonging to the same culture or ethnicity that make up an ethnoscapas (Appadurai 1996: 48).

Jensen and Appadurai seem to agree and stress that the current modern era is characterised by imagination created by mass media. Appadurai for example stresses that migrants are deeply affected by a mass-mediated imaginary that frequently transcends national space (Appadurai 1996:6). Harvey stresses the importance of space "how we represent space and time in theory matters because it affects how we and others interpret and act with respect to the world." (Harvey 1990:205). We use media to establish the space we occupy both physically and mentally. This is evident in the need to describe the physical space during communication with others and the mental space we occupy in our negotiation of identity and belonging.

3.3 Negotiating Ethnic Identity in diaspora

One could say that a conventional way to stress ones identity is to stress ones national identity. However, with the current scale of migration and globalization of transnational media use, new kinds of bases to form ones identity have emerged. Roza Tsagarousianou speaks of cultural citizenship (Wood & King 2001:169) diaspora's instead of basing their identity on soil – their 'homeland' or their 'new land' base their identity on cultural belonging. Appadurai also speaks about new forms of

identity based on an ethnic belonging as opposed to a territorial one. This identity is enforced by mass media use (Appadurai 1996: 6) for immigrants. People today encounter a mass exodus from their birthplace to a country with technological innovation, economic growth, war and poverty. This scale of migration creates Diasporas and spaces characterized by ethnicity rather than territory – ethno-scapes (Appadurai 1996:26). The nation-state which perhaps traditionally have been the source of identity is no longer so. Many migrants identify foremost with their ethnic belonging within their original or new nation state. They also negotiate their ethnic identity. Appadurai also speaks of cosmopolitanism (Appadurai, 1996: 64). Cosmopolitanism can be seen as yet another way for migrants to negotiate their identities.

Olga Guedes Baily writes that immigrants and foreigners feel the need to ‘reshape’ themselves as to cope with the new realities of being/becoming the diasporic ‘other’ (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:18). One could say that they revalue their identities or negotiate them in order to adjust to their new communities. She stresses that the diasporic identity is based on different aspects such as the diaspora’s relation with the home-country and socio-cultural situation. Other factors influencing the diaspora’s identity negotiation is class, gender, ethnicity and diverse cultural influences and power structures (p.18). The notion of negotiating ones identity is not one that is evident for all diasporic people. Many resist negotiating their identities and try to keep their ‘home land’ identity. Diasporas face ‘internal-group’ pressures to resist and/or comply with a defined ‘cultural identity’ (p.18). One can argue that living in the diaspora can bring questions of belonging to a nation, identity negotiation and the internal or group pressures can effectively be used to negotiate ones belonging.

Giovanna Cmoani writes that the most important work carried out on the theme of media and migration in Italy was made by Massimo Ghirelli. He showed how Italian media to a great extent used stereotypes and prejudice to represent migrants ((Wood & King 2001:169: 38). Further Italian studies also show that the media in Italy rather contributes to segregation rather than to belonging and inclusion. An example shown by the study carried out by Cotesta and presented in the journal *Studi Emigrazione* (Wood & King 2001: 38) displayed how media via a strategy of anticipation spread pre-formed images of foreigners, well before the Italian population as a whole could have a direct experience of them (Wood & King 2001: 38: 38).

Although diasporas themselves negotiate their identities, it can also be said that the media in the host country and other ‘external actors’ such as local citizens negotiate diasporas identities for them through constructions of identity of migrants by the host media which will condition migrants eventual experience of inclusion or exclusion. (Wood & King 2001: 2)

Media discourses have been immensely influential in the construction of migrants as they often act as the mouth piece of political parties and powerful groups (Wood & King 2001: 2). (Rainer

2009:74) similarly expressed “ethnic identities are integrated into power relations” that is evident in politics of ethnic identities of migrants in the diaspora.

As illuminated by using Baily’s example of ‘latinos/latinas’ in Britain negotiating of ethnic identity is not only an internal process but also an external one. In their home countries latin descendants identify themselves as Peruvian or Bolivian; but, the British identify them as latinos/latinas. This has thus become a mechanism for them to identify themselves when abroad ((Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:20). Baily’s study focuses on latinos/latinas identity in Britain that points to the existence of a structural disadvantage (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:19)

Giovanna Campani elaborates on the reason why it is the media and locals that have such a power to influence migrant’s identities. Campani stresses that ‘the dominating group (which usually means the ‘white’ majority) and the elite support an information system which legitimizes their power and dominant positions., Hence, creating prejudice against members of ethnic minorities (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:39). The media does not only work as a disadvantage for diasporas as Roza Tsagarousianou stresses diasporic media gives the diaspora an opportunity to express a part of their identity that is not addressed in many other spaces for example racism and gender relations (Wood & King 2001:166). This experience of transnational media use maintains a connection to the home country and helps migrants in the negotiation of their identity

3.4 Transnational media use

Roza Tsagarousianou speaks about how transnational media use by a diaspora brings people together by reducing the sense of distance from ones country of origin (Wood & King 2001:161). Tsagarousianou also touched upon the other side of transnational media use in that transnational media use by a diaspora does not only bring people together by reducing the sense of distance from ones country of origin; but, can also create tension among the diaspora. An example expressed by Tsagarousianou is that of the Greek Cypriot community in London have expressed anger as the perceived London Greek Radio has being transformed into a station increasingly catering for audiences from Greece and focusing too much on this country as opposed to Cyprus and the London Greek Cypriot community (Wood & King 2001:162). However according to Olga Guedes Bailey, the space that transnational media occupies can be referred to as the ‘contact zone’ for diasporic groups providing transnational bonding amongst migrants. The users of transnational media are in the continuous process of cultural negotiation. (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:25)

While Tsagarousianou speaks about the unfortunate tensions that can rise among diaspora’s due to transnational media, Baily raises another aspect to this point - the fortunate opportunity for

diaspora's to reaffirm differences. One states that while Tsagarousianou's study depicts Diasporas find it unfortunate that transnational media use can contribute to tension. Baily's study shows that Diasporas see an opportunity to use transnational media as a means to reaffirm differences (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:18).

Transnational media such as television have different functions. According to Olga Guedes Baily Nacify (1993), she categorizes these different functions one being which she calls 'minority television' that further elaborates on the issue suggesting minorities might have a history that influences them to use transnational media in order to reinforce their culture and in that way pursue a political agenda (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:17).

Furthermore, transnational media use is developing and there are more demands having been placed on its functions, content and delivery, Roza Tsagarousianou's interviews showed that South Asian and Greek Cypriot diasporas 'expect to be treated in a way that acknowledges and accepts the fact that they are living in a different place *physically and socially*. Also, they are attempting to negotiate their inclusion into the national community as well as affirming their commonality with fellow-nationals living in their home countries or in other diasporas' (Wood & King 2001:167). Diasporas have different media needs than those living in the 'home country'. Diasporas are not simply an extension of the 'homeland' and at the same time they are not locals in their new land. Diasporas are not nationals of their home land and they are in between which can be interpreted as being both or something new, perhaps a third culture. This third culture demands transnational media to develop as it needs to fulfil the requirements of the diaspora.

Most users of transnational media are those who belong to this 'third culture'. Those who are in a continuous process of cultural negotiation, i.e. migrants who are living dual lives; who speak more than one language and whose family – and sometimes work – ties involve transnational travel (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:18).

Cultural negotiation as a characteristic of those who use transnational media is also raised by Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman who investigated the transnational media use of Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish diaspora in Switzerland. They emphasized that the Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish diaspora in Switzerland are tossed back and forth between identifying themselves as Turkish or as Swiss. Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman described this state of being tossed back and forth as living in a 'parallel society' (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008: 81). It can be argued that this back and forth discrepancy in identity and belonging can influence the negotiations of nostalgia for migrants not just within diasporic communities and host countries but in the connection to the home country.

3.5 Conceptualizing Nostalgia

According to the study made by Roza Tsagarousianou diasporic media is used to 'no longer feel lonely' and to 'have a daily companion' (Wood & King 2001:164). Longing for home perhaps is not solely based on the feeling of missing home but also based on the feeling of not being able to relate or make sense of the new place of settlement and the inability to overcome feelings of 'emptiness'.

Both Tsagarousianou, Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman stress that it is harder for the older people to settle because they may lack the cultural, linguistic or emotional resources to an initially alien environment and therefore use diasporic media as a framework that enables them to turn the meaningless and 'empty space' of settlement into an intelligible and 'lived space' (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008) thereby creating their own imagined space within the diaspora.

Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman compare Turkish children living in Switzerland with their parents and conclude that the parents watch more Turkish TV since they are less familiar with the German language (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:80&81). Thus it seems that both refer to the difficulty of understanding the host country's culture, society and media as a motivation for them to use diasporic media, this motivation is separate from a longing for home, at least during the first years of the migrants life in his/her host country.

Moreover diasporic media plays an important role in sustaining what Herzfeld has called 'structural nostalgia' (Wood & King 2001:168). This type of nostalgia does not necessarily refer to an historical community – which is the conventional use of the term – but a never existed idealized community. Many belonging to a diaspora for example speak of their 'homeland' in a way that is not congruent to reality. This idealized image of their 'homeland' is then reinforced by diasporic media and by the diasporic community itself. Longing for home is perhaps created by being away from 'home' but one might argue that it is also sustained by the use of diasporic media.

Heinz Moser, Thomas Herman and Olga Guedes Baily speak about diaspora's longing for home at the same time as they prefer to live in their host country. Baily refers to this by investigating Latinas media use and identity negotiations in Britain. She quotes a Brazilian woman living in Britain that stresses that 'Media from 'home' makes me miss something I don't want or cannot have right now.' ((Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:31). At the same time the woman stresses that she does not want things from home and she cannot have things from home. This begs one to consider if this documented duality of her expressions stems from a lack of desire for things from home or if it is the lack of opportunities to get things from home.

Heinz Moser's and Thomas Herman's study of Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish diasporas in Switzerland also touched upon this duality stressed by the diasporas. They quote a Turkish mother living in Switzerland to illuminate this: 'I would like to live here. In Turkey I will come back as a

tourist. Turkey is my homeland and I would like to live there. But it is difficult to go there forever.’ (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:81). Thus the expression of longing for home for the woman betrays her desire to stay where she is, however this is not clear as one can also assume that if she would not feel like a tourist in her home country then she would prefer to live there. Longing for home seems to be a recurring trait amongst people in the diaspora, and so does the insecurity of what they prefer – living in their new country or returning home. One might suggest that this duality can be attributed to the imagined memories of home that migrants created while in the diaspora and when faced with the reality of what home is they struggle between this duality of desire.

One might also argue that the media helps both to connect Diasporas to their home country and to distance them from it and as Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman elaborated second generation immigrants are more familiar with the language and culture of the host country and therefore seek more to use national media than diasporic media. (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:81). Their national media use distances them further from their home country as they are not aware of happenings in the “home country” as much as they are in their new country and their longing for home is influenced by this compared to the first generation of immigrants.

However there are also people belonging to the second generation that feel a longing for home and even move to a ‘home country’ where they have never lived so as to fulfill the longing for home. ‘Our son probably will try to live in Turkey, because without such experience his uncertainties will last.’ (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:81). It might also be the case as Karen O’Reilly stresses that Diasporas do not long for home. ‘Yet i had visited the Costa del Sol on several occasions and had never met British migrants who wanted to go home’(Wood & King 2001: 173).

She investigate the images of the British on the Costa del Sol and explains how the images of them in Britain are not congruent to the actual lives of the British on the Costa del Sol. O’Reilly investigates how the media portrays British migration to the Costa del Sol in the 1990s and stresses that many media images and representations were derisory, negative or sensationalist. She goes on to stress the importance of how the images of the British in Spain should be viewed for what they were: media constructions which created representations that had some basis in reality but which were essentially stereotypes. (Wood & King 2001: 173). One can argue that this representation reflects the perception of migration in Spain and ultimately influences the longing for home for migrants who consider Spain home.

However another view on nostalgia as expressed by Tsagarousianou is the irrelevance of perceived nostalgic links and memories that Diasporas have of an original homeland which are based on observable facts of them looking back to the home country. (Tsagarousianou 2001:57) Longing for home for migrants in the diaspora is therefore attributed to looking back at the home land and this action is termed as nostalgia however Tsagarousianou argues that the notion of home is much more

complex than diasporas premise on the power of nostalgia would want us to believe, it is intrinsically linked with the way in which the processes of inclusion and exclusion operates and experienced (Tsagarousianou 2001:57) and similarly mentioned by Russell King & Nancy Wood the constructions of migrants in the host country's media is critical in their eventual experience of inclusion or exclusion of migrants in the diaspora (Wood & King 2001: 173).

3.6 Social Factors behind Media Use

Historically media and migration field of studies have overlapped in various ways and this connection is not just a matter of academic research but one which is present in the ordinary European citizen on a daily basis (Wood & King 2001:1). This is facilitated by the constructions of migrant's identity by the host countries media which can shape the perception of the host country about migrants negatively.

The negative construction of migrants image in the media can as well prompt them to seek alternative media content such as using new media technology to access media content from their home land so as to reinforce their identity and this gives migrants a sense of home in their new country and thus creates a space where they do not feel alone and as Tsagarousianou pointed out the availability of these "New technologies and faster communications in the new century, contrasted to the long and precarious journeys of emigration and the slow and fragile communications among earlier migrants are therefore just one of the factors that have clearly shaped what we understand as diasporic experience in late modernity."(Tsagarousianou 2001:61)

These trends regardless of displacement have been a constant in the history of migration has produced transnational diasporic groups related by culture, ethnicity, and language. (Tsagarousianou 2001:60) and these groups have imparted on the diasporic experience of migrants. These motivating factors such as culture and ethnicity and concepts discussed in this chapter such as nation, home and identity, nostalgia helps in shaping migrants diasporic experience. Thus one can suggest that in order for us to understand the extent of how these factors play a role in the diasporic experience of migrants there is need to understand the term diaspora.

The term diaspora has been used frequently in the discussion of larger societal theories such as ethnic identity, globalization, nation and nostalgia touched upon in this chapter, and the assumed referral to diasporas are migrants who move away from their home country by choice due economic reasons or by force due to war and go on to create new communities in their host countries that form a common identity with members of their ethnic groups.

However the constructed meaning of diaspora as explained by Tsagarousianou should not only use the points from Cohen. He expresses that the definition of diaspora should acknowledge that diasporic communities not only form a common identity with members of their ethnic group in the same country but in other countries too (Tsagarousianou 2001: 55). This view in addition to the significance that she expressed of diasporic identities being a product of 'active engagement' in cultural and political action which articulates the elements of different cultures into one redefines the term diaspora. Furthermore Tsagarousianou argues that this element can perhaps allow us distinguish between 'ethnic' and 'diasporic' identity as not all dispersed populations can be identified as diasporas as it is their willingness to engage with the building of a transnational imagination and connections that takes them from the ethnic to a diasporic identification (Tsagarousianou 2001: 59)

Therefore the definition of Diasporas should not be generalized but should instead focus more on the complex processes of negotiations that often transcend the limitations of ethnic definition of diaspora. (Tsagarousianou 2001: 59). Thus media use is motivated among other things by the negotiations of identity, belonging and a desire to connect to the homeland , this desire to connect is one of the several factors that motivate the media use of migrants in the diaspora and as Olga Guedes Baily expresses diasporas use of transnational media can reduce the sense of distance to their original country by producing or reproducing their culture in their new country by using new communication technologies (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008 :17). This production of their culture can be described as a motivation behind media use as migrants are more interested in keeping abreast of ethnic news or information.

Kim Christian Schroder touches upon this in his multidimensional model of mass media reception. The model includes six dimensions of reception: Motivation, Comprehension, Discrimination, Position, Evaluation and Implementation (Schroder 2000: 243) Schroder elaborates on how audiences or what we can call in this context diasporas are motivated to use media by several factors such as ethnicity.

Ethnicity is a strong motivator behind media use, as migrants can relate more to their own ethnic media and are more interested in keeping abreast of ethnic news or information thus this motivation creates a link between the diaspora and the homeland and as Schroder writes 'The motivation dimension thus deal with the 'link of relevance' between the reader's personal universe and the universe perceived to be presented by the text.' The link of relevance can be based on different things such as 'community' (feeling a sense of belonging in the textual universe) (Schroder 2000: 245). In this case diaspora's use of transnational media in search of a sense of community as it helps them to create a feeling of belonging in the textual and actual universe.

However as Tsagarousianou also noted, the diasporic identity of migrants can be drawn more from their diasporic experience in their host country rather than through transnational communication

that is based on a fixation of the 'homeland' (Tsagarousianou 2001:58). The negotiations of identity and belonging are thus not only in relation to the identity which migrants draw from their 'homeland' but from their diasporic experiences in their host country. These shows the duality in the factors that influence media use, factors that can stem from diasporic experiences in the host country and factors that stem from the desire to connect to 'home'.

The above discussed literature provides background information and theory that can be directly related to the topic of this study, the literature selected directly reflects the focus are of this study and this motivates the selection of the above literature.

4. Method and materials

4.1 Research design

This chapter will explain the step by step method that was used for the following investigation, starting from the general introduction of ethnography as a method to a more specific introduction to the design of the ethnography method that was used and the motivation behind the design. Furthermore this chapter will introduce the process of sample selection, interview process, data analysis process and finally the result of the analysis.

The use of ethnographic research methodology has been effective in investigations of social behaviors and norms and this has been espoused into other disciplines such as media studies. However the combination of media studies and migration up until 2001 was not prevalent. In the 2001 book *Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference* interdisciplinary authors presented the connection to media and migration as a new and viable research area, it goes on to conceptualize how the perception of migrants about places which enter their migration fields are influenced by the information they get through the media. (Wood, N., & King, R. 2001). This creates a foundation for investigations such as this present work which delves into media and migrations and explores the factors that connects these two disciplines.

In a similar vein Shaun Moores in his book from 1993 *Interpreting audiences: The ethnography of media consumption*, describes the historical overview on the developments in qualitative audience research over a span of fifteen years while characterizing the features of ethnography as a method of cultural investigation. Moores stresses the potential of ethnography as a tool for giving a voice to everyday interpretations of audience reception and an interpretative activity. (Moores, 1993,:1) this supports the premise of ethnography as a preferred method in observing the media practices of Nigerian migrants in Sweden.

The goal of this study is to use ethnography to tell a credible, rigorous and authentic story and this story is told through the eyes of local people as they go about their daily lives (Fetterman 2010:1). This thus informed the design of this method with started with a multi-dimensional approach of traditional ethnography that included a combination of field observation aimed at observing the media practices of the participants in their environment secondly a short exploratory interview to prepare each participant and finally a more in depth semi structured interview of each participant.

However there were some difficulty encountered during the initial entry into the field of study, the first problem encountered was the refusal of the participants to consent to the observation of their media practices in their environment (home, work, and social setting), this made it difficult to use a more traditional method, thus the research design was modified and the observation method in the design was replaced by a documented media used log. In place of have their media practices observed, the participants were asked to document their media use instead. The second problem encountered was during the process of conducting the short exploratory interview. The first participant to be interviewed was Gabriel. After the first short exploratory interview with Gabriel which lasted 30 minutes, he was given the media use log form to fill out over the next 7 days with detailed information on how to observe his media use and document it in the form provided.

The next step in the design was to listen to the recording of the short interview and during the process of listening and transcribing the first interview it was discovered that the questions that were asked in the short interviewed would turn out to be repetitive when asked in the longer interview therefore the decision was made to modify the research design once more and use a two-step design that combines a documented media use log and an hour long semi structured interview of each participant and as expressed by Fetterman this kinds of decisions are made by an ethnographer during fieldwork as an ethnographer is a human instrument and must choose among several types of data and analyze the relative worth of one path over another at every turn in the fieldwork, well before any formalized analysis takes place.” (Fetterman 2010:2)

Ethnographic study allows for an adoption of a cultural lens to interpret observed behavior, while ensuring that the behaviors are put in the culturally relevant and meaningful context (Fetterman 2010:1). Thus using ethnography to observe how participants negotiate ethnicity, identity, integration, gender through their media use in their diasporic communities will provide a rich amount of untapped data which will allow for multiple interpretations of reality and alternative interpretation of the data throughout the study. (Fetterman 2010:1)

4.2 Two Step Ethnography structure

As mentioned in the research design of this study, gaining access to the field of study proved to be challenging due to the unwillingness of participants to be observed in their homes or social setting. Based on this development a media use log was developed as an alternative to the more traditional direct observation method. This log will provide the information that a direct observation would provide. The log was created to document the media use of the selected respondents for a period of Seven days, Monday to Sunday at different times during the day so as to accurately document the media use of said informants.

The first step in this method is a media use log that was created for each participant so as to enable them document their daily media use. The media use log were handed out as a sort of introduction to each participant at the first meeting and this made them to become conscious and aware of their media use, each participant was asked fill in each day of their media use log. When they received the media log each participant was were forced to think about their individual media use, which consequently prepared them for the second step in this method, the semi structured interviews.

The second step in this method is the semi structured interviews which aimed at observing and obtaining a deep insight into the media practices of the selected informants. The dates for the semi structured interviews were set after the media use log was handed out to each participants, and they were required to bring the documented media use log to the interview. Each of the participants complied with all the instructions.

4.3 Sample selection

Ethnographers usually use an informal strategy to begin fieldwork and the most common technique is to use a judgmental sampling method which relies on the judgment of the ethnographer to select the most appropriate participants for the study (Fetterman 2010:35). Based on this strategy and in combination with the independent variables preselected such as gender, work, ethnicity and the number of years the migrants has lived in Sweden, Six participants were thus selected based on their ethnicity, the number of years they have lived in Sweden and their gender and this resulted into the following sample:

Table 2:

Pseudonym	Ethnicity	Number of years	Gender	Type of Work	Education
Gabriel	Igbo	26	Male	Owns accounting company	2 Masters degrees
Paul	Yoruba	26	Male	Taxi Driver	2 Masters degrees
Yinka	Yoruba	10	Female	Teacher	Bachelor degree and Master's

					degree
Collins	Edo/Bini	10	Male	Engineer	2 Master's degree
Victor	Delta igbo	5	Male	Security	No University Education
Anna	Edo/Bini	2	Female	Medical doctor	Bachelor degree

The first five columns were used to select the participants, however the sixth column Education, was used as a dimension for the interpretation of the material gathered from the media use logs and it reflected on the results of this study.

One male participant from the Yoruba ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 26 years, one female participant from the Yoruba ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 10 years, one male participant from the Igbo ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 26 years, one male participant from the Delta-Igbo ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 5 years, one male participant from the Edo/Bini ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 10 years, one female participant from the Edo/Bini ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for 2 years.

The above samples fall into the following categories:

Nigerians living in Sweden between 1-5 years

Nigerians living in Sweden for 10 years

Nigerians living in Sweden for over 25 years

The Participants were contacted for this study through various means, Gabriel and Victor were contacted through the Nigerian union in Sweden president who was informed about the study and assisted in contacting these participants. After the initial introduction by the president of the Nigerian union, Gabriel and Victor were contacted via telephone and given brief information about the study. The interview meetings were scheduled during these phone calls.

Yinka was contacted via the Nigerian embassy in Sweden consular officer, the consular officer was contacted so as to give information about Nigerians who would be possibly be interested in taking part in this study, Yinka's name and contact information were obtained through this contact, and she was contacted via telephone.

Collins and Anna were contacted through mutual friends; the researcher contacted them after having being introduced by mutual friends. They were both contacted via telephone and their interviews were scheduled thereafter.

4.4 Media use logs

Media use logs were created for the participants to replace the direct observation method so as to document the media use and practices of selected participants. These logs were distributed to selected participants with explicit explanation on how to use it to document their media use. Each participant received a media use log prior to the date for the semi-structured interview; this gave enough time for each participant to fill in the media use log and to hand it in. The logs were for a period of 7 days Monday to Sunday and this was so as to ensure that the media use of the participants was reflected throughout the week and that it gives a complete account of their media practices irrespective of what day of the week it was. The participants were asked to document the 'time', the 'type of media', the 'location' they were using the media and the 'activities' that occurred during the media use and the thoughts of each participant during the media use.

Every category in the media use log was selected so as to accurately document the kind of media use, the time of media use the location of the media and the activities that occurred during the use, the combination of all categories provided a rich data of the documented media use of the participants which in turn created an opportunity to explore questions regarding their individual media use during the semi structured interview.

4.5 Interviews

Interviews aids in the understanding of experiences and reconstruction of events in which one did not participate in and thus helping us to extend our intellectual and emotional reach across age, occupation, class, race, sex, and geographical boundaries (Herbert J. Rubin & Irene Subin : 3)

The interview is the most important data gathering technique and they explain and put in a larger perspective what the ethnographer sees and experiences. (Fetterman 2010: 40). Thus within the larger frame of ethnography as a method of investigation in this study, semi structured interviews were chosen as a method for investigating the media practices of the six selected participants.

Prior to the interview, the respondents were asked to document their media use through the use of a media use log for a period of 7 days. The first interview was thereafter scheduled after the media use logs were filled and completed. This gave the opportunity to ask questions about the documented media use during the semi structured interview. A preliminary interview guide was created and used during the interview. However as it was a semi-structured interview only a handful of questions were

used and several questions were developed during the course of the interview and some questions were tailored to the specific media practice of each individual participant based on their previously document daily media use based on their submitted media logs.

As ethnography studies sketch an overall cultural setting such as that shared by an ethnic group or community, this type of research helps in describing the key norms, rules, rituals and shows how they all fit together. (Herbert J. Rubin & Irene Subin: 7). In accordance to this, the interviews conducted for this investigation aimed at understanding how the key norms, rituals of Nigerian migrants in Stockholm relates to their media practices.

4.6 Semi structured interviews

The approach used in conducting this semi structured interview is based on an ethnographic interpretation of the subject matter, the questions were broadly focused in the beginning but it allowed for more narrowed down questions with the aid of the information garnered from the initial media log documented by the participants.

Using a combination of grand tour questions and specific questions (Fetterman: 2007) the interview questions were designed to obtain general overview and furthermore a specific insight about the media practices of my selected informants. The specific questions will probe into established understanding that the grand tour questions revealed (Fetterman: 2007: 44)

Participants were contacted with the proposed date for the interview and the media use logs were sent out prior to this. However for the first participant, the media use log was given to him on the same day the initial short interview was conducted. At the initial contact with the participants, a date was set The interview was scheduled after the media use log was handed out to the participants.

All the interviews were recorded with a mobile phone recording device, there were no pictures taken as the participants requested that their identities be kept private and in accordance to that, the names in this work are pseudonyms. All interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 1 hour. After conducting the interview it became clear that the participants who has lived in Sweden for a longer time had a lot more to say than participants who have lived here for a shorter period of time and this reflected in the time spent during the interview.

There were some difficulties encountered while conducting the interview with the participants. As all the participants were from different ethnic backgrounds, age groups and genders, every interview was different. The overarching guide for interviews according to Fetterman is respect for the

culture of the group under study and respect for the person (Fetterman 2010:46) and as such adjustments were made to accommodate each participant.

For some of the participants they needed an explanation of the questions several times before they could understand enough to answer and for others the knowledge of been recorded by created a self-consciousness that made it difficult to answer questions, the solution to that was to make the interview as informal as possible, this means that in several of the interviews the participants were allowed to drift off topic so as to create a sense of a conversation.

On the day of the interview each participant was met in their respective office or home. For the first interview conducted, which was for Gabriel who has lived here for 26 years, a preliminary short 30 minute interview was conducted for him and a date was set for the longer interview, however after the interview it was clear that the short exploratory interview would not be necessary as it became repetitive when the longer interview was conducted, the questions that were asked during the short interview were asked during the long interview. The rest of the participants took part in only the long interview.

4.7 Participants

Six participants were selected for this study and they come from different cultural and educational backgrounds which make for an interesting contrast between the participants and furthermore their respective media practices.

The first participant was Gabriel a Nigerian migrant from the Igbo ethnic group who has lived in Stockholm for the last 26 years and owns his own accounting firm in Stockholm. He migrated to Sweden for studies in the early 80's and according to him it was a time in Sweden where there were not a lot of Africans in Stockholm much less as students at the University. This he said was a distinguishing factor, and he claimed that this made the early days difficult for integration. He has 2 masters from the University in business and accounting and he has 2 young daughters and he travels back to Nigeria every couple of months because he has business in Nigeria.

The second participant is Paul a Nigerian man from the Yoruba ethnic group who has also been living in Sweden for 26 years, he is married and has children, and he works as a Taxi driver in Stockholm. He migrated to Sweden at the same time Gabriel did, and he came here for studies, he also has 2 masters and has worked in the Swedish defence. He joined the group of participants after his friend Gabriel suggested him, they both requested that their interview be conducted at the same time and they were obliged.

The third participant is Yinka a Nigerian migrant from the Yoruba ethnic group who migrated to Sweden ten years ago for studies, she initially got admitted to school in Latvia but due to some errors she stayed in Sweden instead. She has a first degree from her country in Education and she got another degree in early childhood education in the University in Sweden, now she is studying for her masters in the same field. She does not have any family in Sweden. She works as a school teacher.

The fourth participant is Victor a Nigerian Migrant from the Delta-Igbo ethnic group who has lived in Sweden for five years. He migrated to Sweden to play professional football as this was his profession back in Nigeria; he has lived in several countries including Israel and Morocco. He works in a security company in Stockholm. He does not have any family in Sweden and he lives alone.

The fifth participant is Anna from the Edo/Bini ethnic group who migrated to Sweden to meet her husband 2 years ago. She is a medical doctor from Nigeria and she hopes to continue in that field in Sweden. She is presently studying the Swedish language for her profession so that she can qualify as a medical doctor here in Sweden. She lives with her husband and baby.

The last participant is Collins, a Nigerian migrant from the Edo/Bini ethnic group who migrated from Nigeria ten years ago, he has also lived in Norway for a while. He has two master degrees in Engineering and he works as a project manager in Stockholm, He lives with his wife and baby.

Five out of the six participants have a high level of education, with the lowest been master's degree level of education, even though not all the participants work in in a career equivalent to their level of education such as Paul who has 2 master's degree but works as a taxi driver, his level of education can be evident in his interest and choice of media and his interest in political matters in Sweden and in Nigeria.

“..yea international in the morning only ...maybe for one hour or so..it is comprehensive African news and international news...I enjoy finding out about politics of the world both in Sweden and internationallybecause I am well informed about what is going on...about my country...what is going on in my country...what is happening in my country and what is happening internationally...”

Victor is the only participant who does not have a high education and he was reluctant to talk about his level of education during the interview with him. He came to Europe to play football but was not very successful in his football career and now has a regular job in security.

All the aspects of the participants media use are not evidently connected to their level of education, but perhaps their education plays some role in their interests which therefore reflects in their choice of media as evident in the motivation of Victor's choice of media content

“... Yes sometimes, I don’t consciously look for the international information on television, but sometimes I just like happen to get international news. The only thing I consciously do on Television is watching football on Television. Football is what I search for (laugh)...”

4.8 Transcripts

The interviews were all conducted in English however there were some Swedish words and Nigerian ethnic words that were translated during the transcription of the interviews, these translations were listed in the transcripts. The style of transcription was loosely based on ethnographic transcription. Most of the recorded interview was transcribed and in the case were it was not, it was indicated in the transcripts.

During the interview several of the participants paused and some asked that the recording be stopped as they were either embarrassed that they did not have an immediate answer or that they needed time to think however this was not often. The transcribing process was long and tedious as the recordings had to be listened to carefully several times and at some times some of the recordings were inaudible, and in this case it was noted in the transcripts using (inaudible) to identify the area that could not be heard or understood.

A short field note of each participant interview was included in the transcripts listing their pseudonym name, age, gender, education; years lived in Sweden and location of the interview.

4.9 Process of analysis

The process of analysis that utilized to obtain categories and subsequently the emergent themes from the interview transcripts is a general guide to the process of qualitative data analysis drawn from Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data.* (Rubin & Rubin 2005:201)

The process of analysis began from the first few interviews transcribed; however recognition of the concepts and the themes across the interview transcripts was the first stage of analysis. “A concept is defined as a word or term that represents an idea important to your research.” While “Themes are summary statements and explanations of what is going on” (pg.207)

The step by step process of the analysis requires identifying the themes in the interview transcripts by going through the transcripts and identifying the concepts which were Integration, Nostalgia, Identity and the descriptive concept of media use. The next step was to use these concepts

to identify consistent and refined themes by using a series of colors to label each theme, this resulted in identifying the following examples from the interview transcripts.

- Transnational media use/ mentions, Nigerian media use/ mentions

“...I watch TV for local information and news, I like to listen to Wazobia radio on my computer and on my phone at work, sometimes I listen to music on the radio in my car, like I read Nigerian newspapers on my computer and phone....” Victor

“...I like to watch the CNN which and the BBC if i want to know what is going on in the world, I believe you need to go to those two websites which they are free....” Yinka

- Swedish media use/mentions

“...the Swedish media because number 1 is that they have immigrants from Africa that is living here and interested in knowing exactly what is going on around Africa ..but they don’t do it, so they are more interested in what is happening in Europe...” Gabriel

“...the fact is that as I told you last time the media does portray...they don’t give us the positive vibes of this country you know once they are reporting about Africa, Africans its always negative you know so....” Gabriel

- Integration mentions

“...yes an immigrant even if I have lived here for so long I have the Swedish passport I have Swedish kids..you understand...I have worked in the Swedish defence...I have worked where some foreigners are not allowed too, so I have all this things behind me but I am constantly reminded by the populace...” Paul

- Media use/habits and Motivations for media use –most and least used

“...No actually radio I do listen when I am on my way home in the car you know, but not all the time you know sometimes its music..but my news source is from the newspaper...you know they have this local newspapers...I don’t usually read it because I have already read it the one in the morning...the daily newspaper not the one they norm

ally give out for free like the `metro` so but “dagens nyheter” svenskadagbladet” I always subscribe to those ones.” Gabriel

“...yea international news, its in English so it is more comprehensive than the Swedish news, sometimes there are others like the P1 that are a little more comprehensive...but I will rather stick to the international news because its more....”Paul

- Nostalgic feelings

“...The fact that its just my baby and my family here...most times I am bored and I long for things at home, I feels nostalgic...so I try to use the internet to stay connected to people back home and at times I listen to music..i like to remember the way things use to be even if I have not gone for too long I miss home...”

After the identification of the above utterances the themes were further broken down into subthemes.

4.10 Identified concepts and themes

During the studying of the data these concepts were identified as been discussed by participants in different context and at different points during the interviews as reasons or motivations for their media use.

Nostalgia, migration, and integration are the major concepts that will be used to discuss the media use of participants. Using these major concepts as a representation of the areas of importance to this investigation, the themes and subthemes were identified by examining the interview transcripts for specific or related utterances to the major concepts of this study and that expressed how the participants motivate their media use and how they explain the rationale behind their media practice the following are excerpts of the utterances. Therefore based on the identified concepts the following themes and subthemes were identified

Themes: Motivation behind media use

Sub Themes: Transnational media use, local media use, sharing

Theme: Discrimination

Sub-theme: Perception of the Swedish media, perception of how Africans are represented in the media,

Theme: Longing for home

Sub-themes: Connection to home, belonging

Theme: Ethnic identity

Sub-themes: National identity, ethnic identity, Swedish culture

These themes and sub themes are used to structure this analysis, furthermore they are used to express the following identified concepts Integration, Nostalgia, Identity, and descriptive concept of media use from the perspective of years they have lived in Sweden, their ethnicity, Gender of the participants. The aim is to understand if there are any differences or similarities among the participants and to understand if media use and motivations behind media use is more individual or based on factors such as how long they have lived in Sweden, their gender or ethnicity. The concepts are then grouped together by the identified themes and subthemes. The following categories were created for the structure to which the interview transcripts were analyzed.

- Concept: Media use

Themes: Motivation behind media use

Sub Themes: Transnational media use, local media use, sharing

- Concept: Integration

Theme: discrimination

Sub-theme: Perception of the Swedish media, perception of how Africans are represented in the media,

- Concept: Nostalgia:

Theme: Longing for home

Sub-themes: Connection to home, belonging

- Concept: Identity

Theme: Ethnic identity

Sub-themes: National identity, ethnic identity, Swedish culture

After the themes were identified and color labeled, the identified themes and sub-themes were written out and the relevant text were copied from the transcripts and placed in the relevant themes and sub-themes as references in the results.

5. Results/Analysis

This chapter explores the step by step process of analysing the data gathered and reporting the results obtained by clearly explain the process of analysis, a short biography of all the participants, explanation of the data obtained from the media use log, the process of transcribing, the analysis of the transcribed data, the process of identifying themes and sub themes and the analysis of these themes. This culminated into the results obtained from this study this and the general conclusion of the study.

5.1 Daily media use of Participants

The participants of this study were given a media use log so as to enable them document their daily media use and this log depicted varying trends in the media uses of the selected informants. The daily media use of the participants was analyzed based on the time/frequency of use and the preferred medium of use for each participant.

5.5.1 Time/ Frequency

The frequency of Victor and Paul's documented use of the internet is very similar, Paul who has lived in Sweden for 26 years documented his media use log interestingly similar to Victor who has lived in Sweden for 5 years, they both use the internet at the same frequency, every day and through the computer and through mobile internet use, they both stream news content from Nigeria, albeit via different websites as Victor documented that he streamed Wazobia a Nigerian radio station that streams online every morning via his computer and on his way to work via his mobile telephone internet, the total number of times Victor documented his use of the media was 26 during the seven day media use log documentation.

Paul also streams news content from Nigeria via a Nigeria news website called Nigerian news online every day of the week and quite similar to victor he uses his mobile telephone to stream this news more than his computer. This could be attributed to the fact that Paul is a Taxi driver and he is constantly on the move as documented in his media use log. The total number of times Paul documented he used the internet was 24 in addition to a total number of 6 times for watching Television.

However compared to Gabriel who has lived here for the same amount of time as Paul, Paul's media log looks more like the media logs of participants like Victor that have lived in Sweden for a shorter period of time.

The documented frequency and time of Gabriel's media use showed that he read the Newspaper every week day morning and the one day on the weekend bring the total amount of time he read the newspaper during the seven day documentation to six times in addition to a total number of 16 times that he used the internet, Gabriel mentioned the motivation for using the internet and several times he mentioned checking news updates on his mobile phone or via the computer. Gabriel's also used the radio and television during this time and his media use log showed that he used the radio 4 times and the television 5 times during the documentation period.

Similarly to Victor and Paul, Anna who has lived in Sweden for 2 years media log showed that she used a lot of internet during the week for different reasons, on some days she wrote that she used the internet to get information regarding her profession at other times she stated that she use the internet to get news from Nigerian news websites and from Facebook. She only stated that she used Television 3 times during the week and she did not mention her thoughts during this time or the activities she was doing during the time of media use.

Yinka media use log showed that she used the Television before going to work 4 out of five days in the week days and she documented she used the metro newspaper 6 times during the week, however similarly to all the participants she documented her internet use as 17 times during the period of documentation. She motivated her media use as a communication tool as well as information tool. She documented that she used it to check her email and Facebook during the day.

The same can be said of Collins whose media use frequency also showed a high number of times using the Internet, Collins documented his internet use as 18 times during the period of documentation. His primary media use was the internet and even though he did not fill in all the days the media log showed a high use of the internet. He also documented using television two times and the radio once during the time of the documentation.

5.1.2 Medium

The media used log showed that all the participants used the internet and considered the internet as a medium. Some of the participants used the internet on a daily basis just like Victor who has lived in Sweden for 5 years; Victor's media log was not completely filled with his daily media use, however on the days he filled he mentioned the reason why he used the media he used. Victor is from the Delta-Igbo ethnic group and this influences the kind of transnational media he uses, he documented that he streams an online radio station on his computer and his mobile phone daily, morning and evening. The radio station called Wazobia is a multi-ethnic radio station but majority of presenters are of the Igbo

tribe and the language of broadcast for most of the shows is a mix of Nigerian ⁵Pidgin English and English.

His media use log shows that he uses quite a lot of mobile media as he listens to online radio through his phone via the internet and through his computer every morning. And according to his media log he uses it to get news from home. Overall Victor's most used media during the week was streaming of transnational media content from Nigeria through his computer and his mobile phone. His media use log shows a lot of documentation of internet and this was primarily used for listening to Nigerian online radio in and only an occasional mention of any other form of medium such as the Television, he documented that he only watches sports on the Television during the weekend.

This is also similar to Paul who has lived in Sweden for 26 years, his media log showed that he reads Nigerian news from an online website via the internet every morning before going out to work and he reads news from several websites via his mobile telephone during the day. His media use log shows that majority of his media use was the internet; he however also documented the use of Television in the evening to relax with his family, however compared to his internet use, his television use is quite limited. Paul's media log also shows that the motivation behind his choice of medium is to access more comprehensive news from foreign news channels via the internet. There was no documentation of Swedish media use in Paul's media log.

Quite different from Victor and Paul, Gabriel who has lived in Sweden for 26 years shows a more detailed media use log. His media use log shows frequent use of newspaper in combination to the use of the radio and television at different times in the day and in the week. He used the internet during lunch time and he uses the radio in the evening in his car on his way home and he mentioned that this was for him to get a summary of the day and finally he uses the Television and internet at home to catch up on the news of the day and specifically to enlighten himself on world news and events. Every day of the week was the same. He also documented that he has pop ups on his phone that gives him the latest news from Sweden and around the world and that he constantly looked at the news during the day.

During the weekend Gabriel's media use log showed that a decrease in media use, he only document one newspaper reading in the morning and watching Television to relax in the evening. In comparison to other participants that have lived here for a shorter number of years, Gabriel's media use showed a more balanced use of media with the combination of Swedish and Nigerian media.

⁵ *Nigerian Pidgin is a combination of vernacular, Nigerian ethnic languages and English. This is the layman's language in Nigeria and it is used in most parts of Nigeria but influenced by the ethnic language of the area where it is been used.*

Similarly to Victor and Paul, Anna who has lived in Sweden for 2 years media log showed that she used a lot of internet during the week for different reasons, on some days she documented that she used the internet to get information regarding her profession at other times she stated that she use the internet to get news from Nigerian news websites and from Facebook. Her media use log showed she used the internet, and the Television as her main media.

Collins media log also showed his use of the internet, he streams internet radio on his mobile home every morning on his way to work while reading news from Nigerian news websites and occasionally from the metro news online via his mobile phone. Collins media log was very sparse as he only filled in a few boxes a day. However his documented media is predominantly the internet and he only mentioned the Television and radio a few times. His media log showed that the major part of is media use was online and specifically Nigerian websites.

Yinka's media log showed her preferred medium is first the Television as she documented watching in the morning before going to work 4 out of five days in the week days and she mentioned she watched the news report in the morning on Swedish Television. Her second documented medium is the newspaper as she documented that she reads the metro newspaper every morning. Her third documented medium is the internet as she documented that she used her mobile phone through the day to check her emails to chat with friends and to check news online via social media sharing sites like Facebook.

In comparison to Collins Yinka's media use log looked more like that of Gabriel who has lived here for 26 years, unlike Collins media log which looked like that of Victor who has lived here for five years. This is considering that Yinka and Collins have lived in Sweden for the same period of time.

The time/frequency and medium of choice vary amongst the participants. However there are few that share similar time and frequency such as Victor and Paul who have lived in Sweden for different amount of years but share almost identical frequency in their internet use for streaming Nigerian media. This shows that there are other individual factors to consider as influences of choice of medium or frequency outside of factors such as the number of years you have lived in Sweden.

The overall trend of the media use log showed that every participant shared a similar medium of choice which was the internet and majority of them used it for similar reasons, to stream online content from Nigerian media.

5.2 Concepts themes and sub themes

Concept: Media use

Theme: Motivation behind media use

Sub-themes: Transnational media use, local media use, sharing

Majority of Nigerians in Stockholm use the internet as a portal to access media channels in Nigeria such as Channels television, a news and current affairs channel that broadcasts live via internet feed in addition to several other local channels such as AIT (African independent television which streams online and also broadcast via satellite channels. Although the media use of Nigerians in Stockholm is much less than that of Greek Cypriots and south Asians in London interviews show that creating a space where one feels at home does not solely rely on the array of ethnic media options but also on the number of years one has spent in ones 'new country'

The question "How do you use Swedish and Nigerian media?" created a variety of responses from the participants, Anna who has lived in Sweden for 2 years responds that she uses local Swedish media to learn the Swedish language but she still gets her news from international source because then she can understand

"...Most times when I watch the TV I want to hear them talk and pronounce and I also learn to structure sentences from the subtitle... It has made me understand their life style....i use CNN for news, Aljazeera...BBC to just to keep me abreast of what is going on in the world and because most times it's not in English and I will just want to get the news in English and it's easier to get it from this foreign channels and Nigerian news online.com for my Nigerian news.."

Victor who has lived in Sweden for a short time like Anna uses media for different things he unlike Anna does not use the Swedish media to learn the language, he uses a lot more transnational media specifically Nigerian media

"...I listen to Wazobia station, for international news, it is a Nigerian radio station....I wanna know what is going back...what is going on back home, you know... yea.... I am not really interested in other station's, this was my favorite station before leaving Nigeria..."

Collins on the other hand uses media as not just an information tool but for communication, he explains how he has several apps on his tabs and mobile phone and all the apps are from Nigeria and international media sources, and he says he likes to keep abreast of everything Nigeria. If he sees news or music that he is interested in and he shares it with his friends and family via facebook

"...i enjoy getting all kinds of information about Nigeria, be it entertainment and news..and when I do I share with my friends and even family...."

Similarly Roza Tsagarousianou writes about Greek Cypriots all around the world sharing experiences through global Greek media outputs (Tsagarousianou, “a space where one feels at home”p.162). Nigerians in Sweden even though lacking in ethnic media have created their own media by selecting from the array of transnational media available via internet streaming. Nigerians in Sweden cannot say they have this ‘global media output’ as mentioned by Tsagarousianou. However use social media forums such as Facebook and twitter to communicate with the other Nigerians in the diaspora worldwide, especially about what is going on in Nigeria.

According to Anna using Facebook to communicate with her family and friends is the norm but she goes a step further and also uses Facebook to share news with them, she said she uses Facebook to source for news and when she gets this news about Nigeria she forwards this news to her family and friends via Facebook

“... Before they get to know about some news I tell them and at times my dad says..you are not here how come you know all this things...”

Another example of how social media facilitates communication and information sharing among diasporas is the case of the slogan ‘my oga at the top’ which went viral on the internet as a result of the backlash that a public office holder received in Nigeria after appearing unprepared and incoherent on local television station channels television morning show which was streamed live on the internet.

The broadcast received a considerable amount of viewers, a large proportion of which were Nigerians living in the diaspora. Consequently the video went viral on Facebook , YouTube and twitter, with video montages created and a comedy sketch was produced to emphasize the errors made by the public office holder.

This event created a public sphere were Nigerians defied national boundaries and contributed to the discourse with other Nigerians in the diaspora who in turn shared their opinions and comments about this news event. It is quite clear that without the streaming of the television program online, this transnational public sphere would not have been created and the audience would have been limited to Nigerians living in Nigeria.

However for Nigerians it is not only staying connected to Nigeria that urges them to use transnational media but also the connection to their own ethnic group. For many migrants in Sweden or England it is the bond to their home country that influences them to use diasporic media. For Nigerians it is more the bond to their ethnic group – Yoruba, Igbo or Edo – that urges them to use diasporic media. As described in the background chapter to this study, some Nigerians use ethnic media such as the Wazobia radio station to connect to their ethnic media, however there are other

types of ethnic media present in the different states in Nigeria, ethnic media that are specifically target to ethnic groups and that uses the ethnic language of such groups to broadcast programs.

Gabriel who has lived in Sweden for 26 years admits that he uses pop up's on his mobile phone to keep abreast of what is going on in Nigeria. The opinion is echoed by all the participants. The only participant that did not share in this opinion is Yinka who has lived in Sweden for 10 years and feels no need to go out of her way to get news from Nigeria.

“...I don't really focus on the news from Nigeria not that much any ways but I think my focus more is the news around the world...”

However, she explained that might probably be because she does not have a lot of siblings back in Nigeria, her siblings are spread across the western world and she is more interested in getting news from CNN and BBC so as to keep abreast of what is going on in the world.

Concept: ⁶Integration

Theme: discrimination

Sub-theme: Perception of the Swedish media, perception of how Africans are represented in the media, Swedish culture

All of the participants were interested in talking about their integration process and experience in Sweden and the interviews turned out to be a lot more about integration, discrimination and racism much more so than media use. However there is the need to explain this structural discrimination as it shapes the perception of the participants of the Swedish Society which according to the participants is also reflected through the media.

“..you know they know that foreigners or Africans can't do anything because the media has already portrayed us as people that are dependent on financial aid and so and so forth so they don't see you as that you can do a lot of things. So once they see you in that area that you are not supposed to be they are very suspicious...” Gabriel

⁶ All the informants wanted to talk about other social factors pertinent to their integration into the Swedish society, social factors such as discrimination and racism utterances were evident in all the interviews in different fashions. Not only did this influence the media use of the participants but it also influenced the longing for home or longing for something else at least even if it is not home but longing for a place to feel accepted

Sweden explicit racism is not visible but there is a strong structural discrimination that comes to play in the workplace, when you want to get an apartment and according to the participants it doesn't matter what you do, this structural racism is evident on an individual level and as Yinka, who has lived in Sweden for ten years expressed, the society is discriminatory and even when she has a Swedish citizenship she does not feel like she is Swedish. This reflects in her ability to integrate

“I have lived here for ten years I am Swedish legally but I don't feel Swedish And another thing is there is some discrimination in Sweden where one or two people discriminate against you at work or something and that is enough for you not to be integrated regardless of if you learn about the Swedish through the media or not and try to understand the culture here, they will still tell you don't belong here...”

Paul who has lived in Sweden for 25 years shares similar views with Yinka, he feels that he is been constantly reminded that he is an immigrant despite having lived in Sweden for 25 years, having Swedish children and working in Swedish organizations. He doesn't feel that the society or the media helps in his integration process as the way Africans are portrayed in the media is negative and this reflects on his acceptance in the society

“...I am constantly reminded that I am an immigrant even if I have lived here for so long I have the Swedish passport I have Swedish kids. ..You understand...I have worked in the Swedish defense...I have worked where some foreigners are not allowed to, so I have all this things behind me but I am constantly reminded by the populace.....but then there are so many negative reports in the media about foreigners that they are bad that they are this they are criminals bla b la bla that they can't get a job all this kind of things.....this means that I don't belong here so I am not integrated.. (defeated sigh)...”

This view is also echoed by Paul's friend Gabriel who has also lived in Sweden for 26 years and is of the opinion that the negative image that the media creates of immigrants reflects on how immigrants are accepted in the society and thus how they integrate

...”you know they know that foreigners or Africans can't do anything because the media has already portrayed us as people that are dependent on financial aids and so and so forth so they don't see you as that you can do a lot of things. .”

However unlike Paul, Gabriel believes himself to be integrated because he says he understands the Swedish culture and he can switch off and on from his Nigerian culture to his Swedish culture if he needs to, according to him this has helped him in his business transactions and dealings with Swedish people.

“...I am integrated because I can mix up ...you know I can change my Nigerian style of living to Swedish...you know when I meet Swedish people if I want to transact with them I know exactly how to behave you cannot come and discuss some certain business aspect with Swedish people with your Nigerian mentality it doesn't function like that...and then the Swedish people are very suspicious initially while talking to foreigners you know especially in areas that is not meant for you...”

Cultural negotiations such as these are expressed by Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman in the investigation of transnational media use of Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish diaspora in Switzerland. He describes this back and forth switching between identifying themselves as Swedish or as Nigerian as a state of living in a 'parallel society' (Heinz Moser and Thomas Herman. *Migration – Transnational Media and Diasporic Life in Switzerland*: 81).

Collins who has lived here for 9 years shares the same view as Gabriel, Paul and Yinka; He feels that the perception of immigrants in the media reflects on his own integration process.

“...I don't feel integrated because there are a lot of things that shows me that I am not accepted, I have been discriminated because of my ethnicity when I applied for a job and things like this don't make you feel confident or accepted in the society...the local Swedish media does not really help even though there are all this debates about racism brought up in the media. The general perception of immigrants shown in the media does not help us integrate....”

As expressed and experienced by Collins, Sweden has a very strong structural racism which is not obvious in the society but migrants such as Collins encounter it in the work place or labour market and this plays a role in their feeling a sense of belonging or integration into the Swedish society, it motivates the longing for something or someplace to fit in.⁷

On the other hand Victor does not see a problem with integration; he has lived here for 5 years and still has a strong connection to Nigerian media but at the same time feels quite positive about the role of the media in his integration process and even if he sees himself first as an African and doesn't consider himself fully integrated he stated that he believes he is on his way,

“...I still an African fully. ..So i will just say I am just on my way, not fully, 100% integrated I was not born here so....”

Unlike Yinka, Collins, Gabriel, Paul who have lived here between 9 to 10 years, Victor does believe the media helps to integrate him. He does share in the opinion that the media portrays Africans

⁷ An example is Collins who expressed personal experience of this sort of discrimination, according to him he applied for a job with his real name and his qualifications, and he was not called for an interview and he saw on the local.se website about another person that experienced the same thing however this person decided to change his name to a typical Swedish name and recent the same CV, Collins decided to do the same thing and he was called to an interview

in a negative light but he does not agree with Yinka, Collins, Paul and Gabriel that this reflects on his integration.

....Yes, of course, like I said it is much easier with the media because when you look around it is very easy for you to get information that will help you a lot through the media...I know sometimes they say some negative things but I don't think that will stop me..i am still new here I have time to integrate”

Anna who has lived in Sweden for 2 years does not think she is integrated, she considers finding employment and since she has not done that she does not feel integrated. Similarly to Victor, Anna believes that the media aids in her integration because she uses the media to learn the Swedish language.

“...I am not fully integrated because I am not working yet...i consider working and having a source of income as part of been integrated so I am still in the process so I am not integrated...the media aids my integration a lot I use television to learn Swedish....Most times when I watch the TV I want to hear them talk, pronounce and I also learn to structure sentences from the subtitle...”

The concept of integration in the responses were ethnic-cultural and this was unraveled with questions such as awareness of the Swedish culture, willingness to integrate, perception of the Swedish culture, this as shown above elicited a varying

Concept: Identity

Theme: Ethnic identity

Sub-themes: National identity, ethnic identity, Swedish culture

National identity and ethnic identity are separated for Nigerians living in Nigeria and Nigerians in the diaspora. As Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society, cultural divisions are the norm and this is reflected in diasporic groups. Paul a Yoruba man and Gabriel an Igbo man both belong to the same diasporic group called Nigerian union in Sweden which is made up of different ethnic groups. However they both identify themselves as their separate ethnic group regardless of the fact that they both belong to the same diasporic group (the Nigerian union).

When asked the question “How do you identify yourself?” Gabriel was quick to say he identifies as an African and Paul said he identified as a Yoruba man and Paul went on to explain that even though he was a member of the Nigeria Union he identified as a Yoruba man.

“...first of all I am a Yoruba man..emm ...this does not mean I am not a Nigerian...this is normal even back home we have all this associations and it is by where you are from...”

Gabriel also identifies as an Igbo man but he explains that he is a member of the Nigerian union regardless of the availability of other unions that were made up of the Igbo ethnic group

“... yes I am a member of the Nigerian union although I am also aware of other unions but I believe we should all be under one umbrella. ... You know I am Igbo but I am a member of the Nigerian union not the Igbo union.

The Interviews show that Nigerians in Sweden negotiate their national identities to an extent that makes them identify with a hybrid identity, this hybrid identity includes a sense of international, Nigerian, ethnic (Yoruba, Igbo or Edo) and Swedish identity. Gabriel expressed this when identifying his ethnicity, he mentions that he can not only combine his Nigerian culture and ethnicity with his learnt Swedish culture, he also recognizes the need to combine these cultures so as to avoid frictions in his interactions in the society

“... For instance you know I can combine my own African culture with the Swedish culture in order to move on otherwise if you come like a Nigerian and want to be a Nigerian in Sweden you will just hammer into a place that is called culture (crock) crock you know that is you jam the culture together you know..”

However in Yinka's case she doesn't identify with the hybrid of cultures, she sees herself as a Nigerian, not as a Yoruba not as a Swedish but as a Nigerian, she explains that it is hard for her to identify as Swedish when she doesn't feel integrated and she believes identifying herself as a Yoruba and not Nigerian is not patriotic..

“...i don't think I need to identify as Yoruba I am a Nigerian and I am patriotic.. this other groups that are divided...Nigerians are too tribalistic, you don't see Swedish people going abroad and saying I am a Gottenborger or a Stockholmer they say I am Swedish...that is why I don't see a reason to join any Nigerian ethnic group...”

Asking the participants the question “Do the media make you understand the Swedish culture?” elicited similar responses from all the participants, Gabriel and Paul who have both lived in Sweden for 26 years both agree that the media helped them in understanding the Swedish culture, however while Gabriel viewed this in a positive way

“...you know because when I came here they were telling us how to behave you know as a foreignerso when we arrived here I was learning Swedish language and learning about the culture too..and then eh they wanted to tell us how we have to behave..”

Paul on the other hand did not think this was positive he expressed that he felt that what the media showed about the Swedish culture was telling immigrants that the Swedish culture was better and that by singling out some groups of people and labelling them as people that behave wrongly the media was creating a wrong perception of that group of people

“...Well most of the time they try to tell you that em this is the way things should be done this is the way things should not be done for instance many times it has been written in the newspapers how some certain groups of people behave and how some other groups of people behave...I mean to their own interest they try to say their own is better (referring to Swedish people)...”

This contrast in opinion has nothing to do with the years they have lived in Sweden but more to do with the individuals involved.

For Victor and Anna who has lived in Sweden between 1-5 years agree that the media helps in understanding the Swedish culture

“...yes... there are some things you read about the Swedish culture or country and about the people, you get a little bit knowledge about how it is to be Swedish and how it is to be in Sweden yea...so yea...”

So does Collins and Yinka who have lived in Sweden for 10 years also agrees with Victor and Anna that media helps in understanding the Swedish culture

“...Yes it does, because you can watch Swedish films, listen to some shows and through the news and to some extent it helps understand the Swedish and their culture...”

Regardless of the amount of years lived in Sweden, ethnicity or gender of the participants, all the participants have had similar experiences of discrimination and structural racism in the work place or in the society at large. They were very passionate about discussing these discriminations during their interviews such as discrimination.

Concept: Nostalgia:

Themes: Longing for home

Sub-themes: Connection to home

Roza Tsagarousianou's investigation shows that diasporic media is important because it reduces the sense of distance - physical and emotional - from ones country of origin (p.161). This is also the case for Nigerians in Sweden who use media to stay connected and reduce the distance between themselves and the developments 'at home'. Nigerians in Sweden mostly use the internet to stream news, keep updated about the countries politics, and listen to music and to follow social and cultural life in their home country. They use the available ethnic media via the internet to keep themselves updated about what is going on in their home country thereby fulfilling a longing for home and need to stay connected.

All the participants except Yinka expressed the need to connect to home using transnational media,

Victor expresses this need as a way to connect to what is going on back home

“..I listen to ⁸Wazobia station, for international news, it is a Nigerian radio station..i wanna know what is going back...what is going on back home, you know... yea....I miss Nigeria and I used to listen to wazobia when I am in Nigeria so it is a way for me to connect to what is happening back home..”

Anna who have lived here between 2 years shares the same opinion on this and her need to feel connected to home and to the people left behind motivated their transnational media use. This need for Anna stems from being alone and bored. As her immediate network in Sweden are her husband and baby she feels more need to stay connected to people back home through transnational media

“...The fact that its just my baby and my family here...most times I am bored and I long for things at home, I feels nostalgic...so I try to use the internet to stay connected to people back home and at times I listen to music..i like to remember the way things used to be even if I have not gone for too long I miss home...”

Diasporic media plays an important role in sustaining what Herzfeld has called ‘structural nostalgia’. (p.168 Roza Tsagarousianou). This nostalgia does not necessarily refer to an historical community – which is the conventional use of the term – but a never existed idealized community. Some of the participants speak of their ‘homeland’ in a way that is not congruent to reality. This idealized image of their ‘homeland’ is then reinforced by diasporic media and by the diaspora itself. Longing for home is perhaps created by being away from ‘home’ but one might argue sustained by diasporic media.

This is so in the case of Paul who has lived in Sweden for 25 years and thinks of Nigeria in a glorified memory

“...the way it used to be back then in Nigeria before I left was much better..people don’t just travel abroad then it was not a big deal Nigeria was better and then you get here and people will treat you like second rate citizens when things are better at home....”

As for Collins who has lived a fraction of the time that Paul has, his longing for home stems from a realistic need to feel connected, this needs makes him keep informed of happenings in Nigeria by using new technology such as mobile apps to inform himself, he prides himself as one that keeps

⁸ *Wazobia: is a Nigerian multi- ethnic radio station streamed online but broadcasted in Nigeria.*

abreast of all information in Sweden and out of Sweden, he mentions his interest in Swedish news but emphasizes his need to get Nigerian news on a daily basis.

“...i read Swedish news sometimes I have this metro app on my phone so I don't necessarily use the metro and I have DN on my phone too ...hmmm and then of course Nigerian news, I read Nigerian news everyday like a day is not complete without....”

He further attributes this desire to get news from home to his need to stay connected

“...I mean because I (pause)...I mean I mean...you know how it all started when i first came here there was this longing to be back home and the only way you could get to know what was happening at home was to read the news back home so it was a sort of connecting with home...”

Yinka on the other hand does not feel the need, she has lived in Sweden for the same period of time as Collins has and her view on news from Nigeria is different from other participants

“...I don't really focus on the news from Nigeria not that much any ways but I think my focus more is the news around the world.”

This trait is similar to Heinz Moser's and Thomas Herman's study of Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish diasporas in Switzerland which also touched upon this duality stressed by the diasporas of people who long for home and others who are content living in their new found home country.

5.3 Years lived in Sweden as a social factor influencing media use.

As reflected in previous themes, the number of years a participants lives in Sweden plays a role in not only feeling a sense of been integrated into society but also reflects in all the factor that are behind the media practices of Nigerians in Sweden. Interviews showed that the selected Nigerian participants feel very different compared to the Swedish people. Those who have lived in Sweden between 6 and 10 years are those who feel mostly connected to the Swedish culture, these are also the group of persons who less frequently travel back to Nigeria. Yinka who has lived here for 10 years has little or no interest in going out of her way to get news from Nigeria; she mentions that the number of years she has lived here has influenced her media use so much so that she is more interested in getting to know about her immediate society than about Nigeria

“maybe because once you start living in a particular place or you feel like you acclimatize yourself to that particular environment I think focus will be more on that particular environment than on the outside environment which if I say Nigeria environment is the outside environment right now...”

The people who have lived in Sweden between 5 to 10 years are those who out of the three groups mostly negotiate their national identity. Those who have lived in Sweden between 1 to 5 years and between 10 to 20 years feel much more Nigerian than Swedish and do not think much of integration.

Asking the question “has the years lived in Stockholm influenced your media use?” All the participants were unanimous in their response and they all agreed that their media use has changed albeit for different reasons.

Yinka attributes the change to language, she explains that in her early years in Sweden she did not understand the Swedish language and as such her media use was limited to transnational media from Nigeria, but now that she understands the language she can use the Swedish media more and this has change her media use.

“...Yea there has been a kind of change because when I moved here I didn’t understand the language so there was no point in reading the Metro, there was no point trying to sit down and watch the Swedish news too, I understand, but of course of the years it has changed now I understand what is written there, I can read, I can discuss and just hear my own views...now I want to really know more about what is going on in our society I want to be more involved here in Sweden...yea there is a great difference from couple of years ago when I moved here, I feel like now turn on the TV and not pay attention to it unlike in the beginning when i didn’t understand the language...”

For Collins who has also lived in Sweden for 9 years, he attributes this change to interest in everything Nigeria and availability of new media technology, he explains that being that far away from Nigeria has created more interest to know what is going on not just in the news but through Nigerian music, he stress that he listens every day to Nigerian news, music and entertainment via several apps on his tab and this keeps him connected and compared to his early years where he was not that inclined

“...you know in the beginning... I was not that much interested but along the line as the years came I became more interested in connecting with home...it is very convenient to have all the new technology and apps on my finger-tips, I have on my tab on my phone and I can access Sahara reporters, Nigerian news online, AIT, Channels Television and Youtube ...I use this apps every day to get Nigerian entertainment and information...”

6. Conclusions

According to the study made by Roza Tsagarousianou diasporic media is used to ‘no longer feel lonely’ and to ‘have a daily companion’(p.163) and as seen in the results some of the selected participants in Sweden who have been living in Sweden between 1- 5 years cope with their longing from home by tuning in to ethnic media. Due to their limited Swedish language skills, it felt more comfortable and easier to use transnational media to and to seek Nigerian news and stream Nigerian music online in order to maintain a sense of home.

Table 3:

Participants	Years lived in Sweden
Gabriel	26
Paul	25
Yinka	10
Collins	10
Anna	2
Victor	5

RQ1: How do Nigerian migrants use media in terms of type of medium and frequency of use?

The time/frequency and medium of choice vary amongst the participants however there are few that share similar time and frequency such as Victor and Paul who have lived in Sweden for different amount of years but share almost identical frequency in their internet use for streaming Nigerian media. This shows that there are other individual factors to consider as influences of the choice of medium or frequency irrespective of factors such as the number of years you have lived in Sweden.

The media use logs showed that every participant shared a similar medium of choice which was the internet and majority of them used it for similar reasons, to stream online content from Nigerian media. This showed that the participants selected media of choice and frequency of use is not determined by the number of years they have lived in Sweden or their ethnicity or gender; it was highly motivated by their individuality. At the same time since this conclusion is based on the results from six participants, it is difficult to accurately say that these factors don’t play a role as regards the medium of choice and the frequency of use. Perhaps with a larger number of participants the results would be different.

RQ2: How do the media practices of Nigerian migrants in Sweden vary in relation to social factors such as ethnicity, gender, education, work and how are these media practices used to negotiate ethnic and national identities?

The empirical material for this study showed that the selected Nigerian participants used media for different reasons but the similarity with every participant was the use of transnational media to some degree and their perception of the negative portrayal of Africans/Nigerians in the Swedish media. The primary factor that motivates media practices of Nigerians in Sweden is the number of years lived in Sweden in addition to the desire to connect to “home” this can be seen at different levels among the participants.

None of the 6 participants used media to negotiate their ethnic identity due to the lack of available Nigerian ethnic media in Sweden, however several of the participants used transnational ethnic media through the internet to connect to their ethnic media. Victor is one of such participants that consciously used *Wazobia* a Nigerian ethnic media streamed online to identify himself as a delta Igbo which reinforced his ethnicity. *Wa-zo-bia* means “come” in the three major Nigerian languages, Yoruba Igbo and Hausa. *Wa* is Yoruba, *Zo* is Hausa and *Bia* is Igbo which translates to “come”.

Wazobia radio station is broadcasted in ⁹Pidgin English and is targeted at all Nigerians, and as pidgin English is spoken and understood by majority of Nigerians the target group for this radio station cuts across ethnicity and languages.

Other participants identified with the diasporic ethnic groups that are present in Sweden. These are not directly related to their media practices, however the perception of Swedish culture from Swedish media by the participants brought up questions of culture and integration. For some they experienced a hybrid culture which showed the negotiation their national identities to an extent that makes them identify with a hybrid identity, this hybrid identity includes a sense of international, Nigerian, ethnic (Yoruba, Igbo or Edo) and Swedish identity.

The question of integration became a surprising common trend in all the interviews, all the participants expressed that they did not feel integrated in Sweden and this for some re enforced their Nigerian ethnicity regardless of how many years they have lived in Sweden.

According to the participants this reinforcement of Nigerian identity is further encouraged by the negative portrayal of Africans in the Swedish media, majority of the participant believe that

⁹*This is defined by dictionary.com as language made up of elements of two or more other languages; a simplified or broken form of a language, especially when used for Communication between speakers of different languages.*

because of the portrayal they cannot feel integrated because it is a constant reminder that they are immigrants in Sweden.

Integration plays a key role in the negotiations of identity for the participants and this is connected to the longing for home that migrants feel. According to the participants in this study, their need to integrate into the society makes them long for something or some place where they can fit in and be accepted.

RQ3: How do Nigerian migrants in Stockholm use media in relation to their negotiation of nostalgia and the number of years lived in Sweden?

The empirical material showed that 5 of the 6 participants experience nostalgia which motivated their media use. Nostalgia varied based on the number of years that participants have lived in Sweden.

However there is no one group based on the years they lived in Sweden that exhibited nostalgia more than the others. The differences in the exhibition of nostalgia or having nostalgia as a motivation for transnational media use is based on the individual and their personal experience living in Sweden. These 5 participants have a strong longing for home and actively use Nigerian media channels albeit for different reasons. Some have longing for home because of family while some long for a glorious past that they recreated, however all six participants long for a place where they could fit in and be accepted, the issue of discrimination and racism was an integral part of the discussion of belonging and nostalgia for all the participants.

They all equally longed for a place where they can be accepted not as immigrants but as citizens in their nation state and as expressed in Babacan & Singh (2010) "Rights to citizenship are accordingly linked to belonging to a specific nation state. Within such a structure, identity, which is shaped by historical and social factors, is premised not only on self-perception but also on perception by others. Individuals and communities possess overlapping identities which are negotiated and varied across changing social, political and economic conditions and across borders (Du Gay et al. 2000)." (Babacan & Singh 2010)

The Negotiation of national identity for Nigerian migrants in Stockholm was not explicitly evident in this analysis Roza Tsagarousianou speaks about how transnational media use by a diaspora brings people together by reducing the sense of distance from ones country of origin (Wood & King 2001:161).

However it must be mentioned that as much as the number of years lived in Sweden played a role in the media practices and in the perception of the Swedish media and culture by the participants,

there were several differences in opinion regardless of the number of years spent in Sweden. Take the two friends Gabriel and Paul who have lived here for the same period of time and who are of the same gender, they however still have different perceptions of living in Sweden and this is greatly reflected in the difference of opinions and in their different media practices.

Irrespective of the social differences in the circumstances of each participants such as gender, ethnicity, and the number of years lived in Sweden, It is clear that the media practices of all participants have been influenced one way or the other, by their migration journey on to their integration process in Sweden. Media has played a pertinent role in their stories and continues to do so through negotiations of their identity and nostalgia, albeit individually as shown in the analyses of the six participants.

Social factors are not only responsible for the media practices of these selected migrants, their individual interests or individual social factor play a role in their media use and negotiations of identity.

Immigrants irrespective of ethnicity and gender share similar experiences, they all have to deal with the change that comes with moving to a new country and, as expressed by Olga Guedes Baily “Being a foreigner, an immigrant, by force or choice, can change people’s lives in ways they could never have imagined” (Rydin & Sjöberg 2008:17)

6.1 Limitations

Due to the limited access to the field of studies, there was a minimal number of participants used for this study and this did not provide enough material to accurately analyze the media practices of Nigerians in Sweden. This is why this investigation focus on determining the media practices of the selected informants and not the general population of Nigerians living in Sweden.

In addition to this the lack of a variety of ethnic groups did not provide enough participants and this in turn did not give the opportunity for a comparison of the major ethnic groups which is the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group.

The lack of Nigerian ethnic media in Sweden made it difficult of analyze the use of ethnic media or how Nigerians negotiated their ethnicity through the media. In view of these limitations the result of this study is limited to the 6 participants observed and interviewed.

6.2 Recommendation

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and diverse nation with interesting dynamics when it comes to ethnic relations and identity negotiation, with the exception of this present study, there are no empirical materials or study on the media use of Nigerians in Sweden in relation to ethnicity, nostalgia, and identity relations. There is need to conduct more research into this field so as to create more knowledge on Nigerians living in the diaspora.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Media use Log

Thank you for taking part in my research, this media log is the first step in my analysis of your individual media use. Please don't be scared off by it, it is a simple process of recording your media use. This media log will provide a feel of what a "typical week" is like for you as regards media. It is however not necessary for you to use media that is not typical for you just because you are participating in this study. You may have some days where you don't use media, that is ok, please leave the page blank in this case. My goal is to get a sense of what you typically use (by choice or circumstance)

This is how the media log works.

Over the next week please use the log provided below to keep a record of your everyday media usage; television programs you watch, online television you watch, magazines and newspapers you read, radio programs you listen to etc. You don't have to spend a lot of time on the journal it is just a tool for me to understand your daily media use at different times of the day and different days in the week. Please do not hesitate to share your thoughts during this process, for examples if you are using television as background noise, please write it down.

When I write my thesis your responses, views and thoughts will be completely anonymous and confidential.

Thanks!

Brooklyn

Sample

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Monday Time: 6pm	Television	Home	Eating dinner, reading my mails	Just watching the evening news and using the TV as background noise

Please find below the empty log sheets you can fill!

You can print the copies out or you can fill it in on your computer and send it to me via email.

For any clarifications or questions please contact me

Name

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Monday Time:				
Monday				

Time:				
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DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Tuesday Time:				

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Wednesday Time:				
Wednesday				

Time:				
Wednesday Time:				

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Thursday Time:				

Thursday Time:				
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DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Friday Time:				

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Saturday Time:				

Saturday Time:				

DAY/TIME	Medium	Location	Activities	Thoughts
Sunday Time:				

Appendix 2

Media and Migration

An analysis of transnational media practices of Nigerians in Sweden

Interview Guide

Introduction

Hello, my name is Brooklyn Adebesein, I am a master student at the Institute for Media Studies University of Stockholm. I am conducting a research on the media practices of Nigerian Migrants in Sweden. This interview will take 1 hr and If I may have your permission I would like to take some notes and record this interview as I go to help me better recall what you have said, would that be OK?

Statement of Confidentiality

Your participation in this research is confidential; pseudonyms will be used to ensure that your information will be anonymous. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared.

Purpose of the Study

The reason I have asked you to come and share with me is so that I can learn about your media use in Stockholm. What I want to learn about is the way in which you use media and what reasons are behind your particular media habit. Question Explanation

There is no wrong answer to my questions, if I am looking for a different kind of information; I will let you know that we are moving into a different kind of question as we talk.

- Can you tell me what a typical day would look like for you from beginning to end?
- When you think of media, what comes to mind? Why?
- Can you please describe your media use?
- What are your media habits? Why?
- What kind of media do you use in Sweden?
- What do you primarily use Media for?
- What are your most used or least used media in Stockholm?

- What media do you use in Stockholm (home and work)?
- What do you think about the Swedish media?
- What do you use the Swedish media for? Why?
- Do media help you understand the Swedish culture? How?
- How long have you lived in Sweden?
- Do you have family in Sweden?
- If yes/no, how has that influenced your media use?
- Has your longing for home increased or decreased in the years you have lived in Sweden? How?
- How often do you use transnational media? Why?
- Do you consider yourself fully integrated into the society? Why?
- Do media aid your integration into the society? How?
- Has your media habits changed in the years you have lived in Stockholm? How?
- Has the years you have lived in Stockholm influenced your media habits? How?
- Is your media habit in Stockholm different or similar to your media habits in your home country? How?
- How do you use media now? Why?
- Can you tell me about the last time you used any form of media in the course of your day? What kind of media and why did you choose the media?

Follow up questions:

- Can you explain that further?
- Can you give me an example?
- Is there anything else?

Thank you for your time! Can I contact you again for follow up questions?

