The Role of the Mass Media Among Muslim and White Adolescents: A Study of Media Use and Gratification as it Relates to Cultural, Social, and Psychological Background.

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ABSTRACT

The present study examined the relationship between cultural, social and psychological background and the uses and gratifications associated with mass media among a sample of 90 Muslim adolescents and a matched group of 81 white British youths from a small, industrial Yorkshire town. The sample was aged between 11-16 years. The Muslim youths were shown to attend to both print and cinema more than white British youths, and the white youths demonstrated a higher use of television. Print media were associated with a wider range of functions among the Muslim youths compared to the white youths and television was shown to fill a wider range of functions among the white youths. An explanation resting on the cultural bias in the available content on these media, and previous associations with these was suggested as accounting for these differences. Four gratification areas were associated with both samples' use of television; these were: personal identity seeking, learning about life and the world, social utility and family integration, and diversion with associated areas of para-social interaction and escape. The area of learning about life and the world accounted for the major proportion of variance among the Muslim sample's endorsements; the diversion area accounted for the major proportion of variance among the white sample's endorsements. A fourfold classification scheme using parent/peer orientation and ethnic group evaluation was proposed in order to predict media use and television gratification seeking. Among both samples personal identity seeking was shown to be associated with interpersonal and identity conflict. On the whole, the fourfold classification was shown to have greater predictive ability in describing the Muslim sample's media behaviours. The strongest correlates of gratifications associated with television

viewing were examined in separate sample regression analyses. Muslim sample solutions suggested that the proportion of one's life spent in Britain, ethnic identification, relations with parents and peers, and attitudes towards religion were most important in explaining television gratification. Among white youths willingness to approach various groups of individuals and identification variables contributed most towards explaining television gratifications.

To my parents and K. for making this possible.

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All of the work presented herein is the author's except where otherwise stated.

C O N T E N T S

L I S T O F T A B L E S

L I S T O F F I G U R E S

L I S T O F A P P E N D I C E S

INTRODUCTION

During the post World War II period Britain has played host to successive waves of immigrants. Some have come as refugees from political pressures, as did the Hungarians in the wake of the 1956 uprising, or more recently Kenyan and Ugandan Asians. For others, the immigration to Britain has been primarily self initiated usually with an underlying financial motivation, as was the case for many West Indians who came to work for London Transport during the 1950s, as well as for many Indians and Pakistanis both before and since then (Khan, 1974; Allen, 1971). As such their period of stay in Britain sometimes serves only as an interlude before resuming life in their country of origin.[1] For others, the time in Britain has marked the end of a lifestyle in one country before moving on to another homeland, as in the case of Ugandan refugees who were temporarily resident in Britain before being permanently resettled in other European countries. Many, however, have chosen to remain in Britain and, in spite of frequent opposition from the indigenous population, to establish their right to British citizenship.[2] Their children are growing up in our cities, attending our schools, and surrounded by British culture and tradition.

Much of the detail concerning their arrival, acceptance, (and often times, rejection) by members of the indigenous population, and

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1. According to the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (1974) the United Kingdom since 1969 loses more people to the West Indies than it receives, as is the case with Old Commonwealth immigrants as well.

2. The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (1974) indicates that between 1964 and 1974 approximately 73,900 people immigrated to Britain from the New Commonwealth whereas only 34,100 emigrated (annually).

acculturation has been the subject of empirical investigation. There have been studies of the effect of immigrants on host community members (e.g. Rex and Moore, 1967; Kawwa, 1968; Pushkin, 1967), on the effect of minority status on self-identity among immigrant children (Fiscian, 1960; Milner, 1971, 1972; Hill, 1970), on their progress in the educational system (Coard, 1971; Fuller, 1974). While many of the facets of daily life have been well documented, some areas, such as mass media use have been largely unexplored. Although there are many studies examining racially relevant content or cultural bias in media portrayals (Husband, 1975; Equity Coloured Artists Committee, 1974; Greenberg and Dyckoff, 1972), there have been few studies examining the use of media by immigrant groups in Britain,[3] and this, then forms the focus for the present study.

The present study concentrates on the Indian Muslim Community in Batley, Yorkshire and the role of the media in the lives of their children. [The aim of the investigation is to determine (1) not what effect the media were having on the individual groups members, but how they were using the media, with a view towards beginning to understand both the relative priorities that they attributed to the various mass media and the functions they saw these as fulfilling.]

The Muslims number roughly 6½% of the 41,000 people resident in Batley. As such they represent a sizeable section of the population with strong and distinct religious and cultural traditions. What role could western media be expected to play among such a group? Consider television with its content firmly entrenched in Western values of success, attractiveness, and morality; could such content appeal to

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3. A notable exception is Faulkner, 1975.

these individuals? At a simple level television and, to a lesser extent, radio could be useful tools in learning language, or, at a slightly more complex level, in order to glean information about the culture, mores and values of the indigenous population. One question that arises then is, to what extent are particular media being consciously used to overcome or alleviate problems of acculturation? Alternatively, one also wanted to examine whether certain media instead of facilitating acculturation were inhibiting such perhaps because the content depicted a lifestyle inimical to that of their own ethnic group, or emphasized the distance between the two cultures. Specialist media, such as the ASian cinema or press, or Asian language broadcasts might also be expected to reinforce the Asian identity by enabling indirect, but nonetheless extended contact with their own culture.

(2)

One was also interested in examining whether media behaviours in this group followed any patterns which could be related to particular background variables. How far could ethnic identity explain differences between Muslim and white youth's media consumption? Alternatively, were there any overarching variables such as social class or quality of relations with parents or peers or self-esteem which mitigated the influence of cultural background? Were there any salient differences between Muslim children born in Britain versus those born overseas, perhaps in their keeping of religious practices or in their strength of identification with the British or with Asians? If this were the case, did this have any bearing on their use of the media? It would seem logical to assume that the

more traditional Muslim youth would use the Asian oriented media more to the exclusion of western media, but was this so?

A fundamental assumption underlying the present study is that media use represents purposeful activity. This is not to say that everytime we glance through a newspaper or turn on the radio it is because we are specifically motivated to do so. But if we persist in reading our newspaper daily or in turning to the same radio programme, then it seems reasonable to assume that we do so because such behaviour is rewarding, either intrinsically or functionally. In other words, media use should be regarded as operating according to the same rules regarding acquisition, maintenance, and extinction as any other behaviour. We generally assume that our actions aremeaningful and deliberate, that we conduct our lives in order to attain certain goals, acquire certain knowledge, fulfil certain requirements which may be either self-imposed or socially motivated. While the meaning of our behaviours need not be manifested in any particular action, an examination of a constellation of activities, associates and attitudes should expose a pattern of salient goals which are consistent and externally verifiable. It is with such a view as a starting point that the following research was undertaken in the expectation that a comprehensive examination of the lifestyle of a highly cohesive group of adolescents would contribute to an understanding of the salient influences operating to socialize them towards a particular cultural view, as well as, more specifically, the role of the mass media in the context of these wider social, cultural, and psychological influences.

Chapter 1 THE MASS MEDIA AND RACE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In recent years a resurgence of interest has been noted in research on the audiences for mass media. Much of this interest could be accounted for by the ever present question of the role of the media in relation to aggressive behaviours, but an increasing interest has been shown in a more functional approach to the use of mass media. The primary point of divergence for these two areas lies in the assumptions each is willing to make about the part of the audience member in the consumption situation. For so-called 'effects' research the basic model consists of a relatively passive viewer (in the case of television) whose dispositions are either maintained, displaced, or heightened through interaction with the media; hence often leading to seemingly contradictory predictions concerning the effect of the media. For example, Bandura (1962, 1965) would postulate that a media portrayal lowers inhibition for acting out the depicted behaviour while also teaching new behaviours. Berkowitz (1969) would claim that the witnessing of behaviours enacted in the media serves as a cue for provoking similar types of behaviour (provided that a certain amount of prior arousal exists); and Feshbach (1963) argues that media exposure provides a cathartic effect due to the consumer's vicarious participation in the portrayed behaviours. While the foci for such effects studies are the contents of the portrayals and psychological state and/or physiological arousal of the audience member, the conscious motivations of the consumer in actually turning to the particular content or medium are typically ignored. In distinction to this, 'functions' research has a two-level approach: on the macro-level, the sociologically oriented study of the media's role in socio-cultural maintenance; and on

the micro-level, the 'uses and gratifications' tradition.

The type of functions research which focuses on the macro level of analysis has taken many forms. There is the research on diffusion of innovation, analyzing the impact of the arrival of mass media in developing countries and its influence on modernization in both social and technological realms (Rogers, 1962, 1969; Frey, 1973). While having some common features, this work is rather different from that which explores the effect of the arrival of a new mass communication medium in western societies. For example, Belson's study (1959) on The Impact of Television in Great Britain, the work of Campbell (1962) on the arrival of television in Sydney, and Himmelweit, et al's. study (1958) have all been concerned with the effects of the arrival of television on previously established patterns of social interactions and time allocation. Here, too, we can slot the studies of political socialization, such as Adoni's study (1976) of media use among Israeli adolescents and those on the role of the media in political campaigns (e.g. Katz, 1971). In addition to the forementioned empirical work, there is the more theoretical work of people such as Wright (1960), and Merton (1957) which strives to conceptualize the functions of mass communication media in society. The thread uniting these divergent approaches is the treatment of the media as social institutions exerting an influence on society as a whole or on sections of that society.

The uses and gratifications research takes as its starting point an active audience member whose media use is assumed to be purposeful and directed towards gratification. Whereas effects research in general ignores the motivational aspects of the communication situation,

except as an acute accompaniment of consumption, the uses and gratifications approach is aimed at attempting to translate the individual's ongoing life circumstances into a set of motivations. These motivations may be conceived of as both deficiency and/or actualizing needs which accompany the individual in all of his activities and determine both the uses he makes of the media and the types of gratifications sought therefrom, as well as the functional alternatives to the mass media as sources of need satisfaction.

The uses and gratifications research seeks to integrate media usage into a meaningful pattern consistent with a person's general lifestyle. Most of this work has focussed within a single cultural orientation usually concentrating on a limited number of either social, demographic, or psychological factors and attempting to gauge their influence on media use and gratification, e.g. Rosengren & Windahl (1972), Sargent and Stempel, (1968).

There is some mass communications research, however, which has attempted to focus on differences in cultural backgrounds. This area has generally been approached by either documenting the differences in consumption patterns between the races, i.e. who uses what media or favours which content; or, by examining the content of various media usually with a view towards relating this to the development of racial attitudes. In Britain this last mode of research has been most favoured. One of the earliest studies along these lines in Britain was conducted by Hartmann et.al.(1971) investigating newspaper coverage of race. They noted that the values defining newsworthiness in general are unfortunately usually

influencing the coverage of material on race. Hence they found that newspaper coverage tends to highlight race as an area of actual or potential conflict in Britain and thereby condition our attitudes towards members of other racial groups. Laishley (1975) concentrates on images of non-whites among children's literature, criticizing the unbalanced treatment of black and white characters. Faulkner (1975), while not examining media content per se, but taking the perspective of the Asian resident in Britain, is similarly critical of television for setting "expectations and aspirations that are totally unacceptable to the traditionally minded of the Asian community" (p. 153). While this line of research draws attention to potential obstacles to "good" race relations, it fails to draw specific comparisons about the effect of such content on both minority and majority racial groups, or indeed to highlight any differences in consumption patterns. Most of this comparative literature hails from the United States.

Carey (1966) in surveying 5,000 Illinois families, of whom 10% were black found a rank order correlation of .5 in comparing Negro and white preferences for 80 prime time television programmes. In a qualitative analysis Carey cites the differences as attributable to a Negro preference for content portraying conflict and focussing on the individual persona rather than content dealing with family presentations. He interprets these predilections as consistent with the higher level of conflict in the Negro family and the social isolation of the individual. Fletcher (1969) investigating viewing preferences among 461 schoolchildren, both male and female, Negro and white, from seven school grades found a rank order correlation

of only .2 between racial groups. (It should be noted that white children represented a range of social class backgrounds, whereas Negro children were primarily from lower socio-economic classes). When matching subjects on particular background characteristics, however, this figure improved. In general Negroes were heavier viewers than whites, as were children from lower school grades compared to those in higher grades.

Gerson (1966) found racial differences in adolescents' uses of television to obtain dating information. They looked at television to reinforce dating ideas they already had as well as to get new ideas. Basically, lower classes, particularly blacks, used mass media more heavily for socialization information. Blacks who were poorly integrated into their own peer culture made more use of the media than those who were more successfully integrated. Gerson suspected that the blacks felt a need for information on how to succeed in the white society.

Greenberg and Dominick (1969) supported Gerson's suspicions finding that low-income blacks made greater use of television as a 'school of life' device than did middle or lower class whites. The black teenage respondents indicated using television for more learning: how to solve problems; things they couldn't learn in school; and about people in all walks of life. In sum, differences in income among respondents were associated with divergent motivations for watching television. They found poor blacks to be the heaviest consumers of television followed by lower income whites and then middle income whites. Being both black and poor accentuated the differences..

Both Clark (1972) and Greenberg (1972) have found a preference for programmes featuring blacks among black children, and a tendency to be heavier viewers of these. Bogart (1972), using data from a national survey of 15,322 American adults of whom approximately 10% were Negroes, noted similar patterns of use in comparing blacks and whites in radio and newspaper consumption. Using income, education, city size, and region of residence as predictors tended to sharpen the differences. In respect of television viewing, the trends within each group were similar, but the non-whites displayed heavier viewing than whites when the samples were further delineated by background variables. As Bogart neglected to provide a measure of variation in his population scores, it is difficult to assess the significance of these differences. Williams and Lindsay's analysis (1971) of racial differences in media habits concludes that, "Media habits and attitudes varied far more as a function of social stratification than of respondent ethnicity", and goes so far as to suggest that studies which may previously have found racial differences in media consumption may only have done so due to failure to control for social background features. Comstock (1978), however, in a more recent review of the literature comes up with a more equivocal conclusion. He states that whereas social class among whites tends to be inversely related to both frequency of viewing and favourable attitudes towards television, "These relationships, depending on the specific measure, tend to be sharply attenuated or reversed for blacks. The higher-status black typically views as much or more television and typically holds about as favourable or more favourable attitudes towards it, than the lower-status black"(p.24).

On balance then it would seem that relative deprivation and alienation are at least as powerful as racial or cultural factors in delineating media consumption, but that both racial background and socio-economic status are important factors in indicating media functions.

But one could also argue that the major lack in this area has been on documenting differences between racial groups of distinct cultures. Though one could contend that the black in the United States represents a lifestyle different from that of the white American, it would seem that the cultural differences are minimized by common American ancestry, religion, language (although Black English Vernacular may sometimes be considered a separate dialect), and education. Although the black community may provide a variation on the American cultural theme, it certainly provides less of a cultural distinction than, for example, the Asian population in Britain. The bulk of research in the communication area and concerned with highlighting different usages by culture may be underestimating this factor through concentrating on the Negro-white situation in the United States, and not focusing on other sub-populations or countries where cultural anomalies may be more significant. Indeed, a further possibility is that these studies may be measuring the effect of the mass media in reducing cultural differences, although their use of survey techniques may have precluded their ability to comment on this aspect. Clark (1972) for example, demonstrated that black adolescents showed more favourable reactions towards a socially conforming black character than to a black militant. Given the tendency of American media in the wake of the Kerner Commission (1968) to portray blacks

in middle class, conforming roles (Northcott, 1975; Roberts 1975), it may be that this content preference has been conditioned by previous consumption.

There are some studies which have attempted to overcome this issue of culture. One study which attempted to isolate the role of the media as an information source among members of a distinct cultural group was conducted by Mowland (1969). Fifty-nine foreign students at the University of Tennessee were sampled for: (1) the sources of general information; and (2) the various sources used in determining attitudes towards the United States. The results were analysed according to country of origin, length of stay, and major subject area. The main findings of this study are indicated below.

1. Radio and television were cited most frequently as a source of general information, followed by U.S. publications, foreign publications, and personal contacts, respectively.

2. The self-reported use of various information categories in determining attitudes towards the United States were as follows:

Source	% of Endorsement
Contact with Americans	66
Newspapers	51
T.V.	49
Magazines	46
Radio	25
Instructors	25
Home Government Publications and Magazines	20
Contact with Foreign Students	19
Foreign Press	15

Attempts to gain any significance from the variables of country of origin, length of stay, and course of study failed due to the limited sample size and wide range within each category. It was noted, however, that students from Asia and the Middle East placed the greatest emphasis on oral media. As a possible reason for this the authors stress the major reliance, in developing nations, on oral media as sources of general information. A further explanation might lie in the degree of familiarity with the language of the receiving country.

In another study of foreign students in the United States Markham (1967) through using a longitudinal study sought to measure the impact of media use on identification with the United States. Although the findings are somewhat inconclusive Markham notes that foreign students who are high media consumers generally begin to develop more favourable views of Americans than their low media consuming counterparts, when initial level of favour is controlled for. Unfortunately, however, Markham operationalizes identification as favourable attitudes towards Americans, and therefore does not provide information about how previous level of identification with the United States influences exposure levels.

There are a number of studies which have noted a relationship between mass media use and degree of acculturation. Both Nagata (1969) and Chang (1972) found differences in media use corresponding to period of stay in the United States (whether first, second, or third generation Japanese-American) or strength of identification with

their original ethnic group, respectively. Lewis (1955) in looking at both media and interpersonal communication patterns of recently arrived immigrants (Italians, Latvians, Poles) to the United States found that all groups exposed themselves to American mass media, but due to the political situation, news from their homelands was restricted. The level of correspondence with people in their home country varied inversely with the political restrictions imposed at the borders. Koshy, T.E. (1973) studied communication patterns relating to news about their homeland among Indo-Asians resident in the United States. He was primarily interested in the relationship of demographic variables to information seeking and noted that more students than non-students read Indian newspapers for current Indian news, and, further that women showed a greater interest in Indian news than men.

A main limitation of the forementioned studies is that they have addressed themselves to questions which preclude comparisons with an indigenous population. So while their findings may be interesting, they do not provide information about how culture or ethnic background influences media use in relation to an indigenous group. One study which does seek to make an inroad here is Greenberg's investigation (1974) of television viewing among British children. In a survey of 726 London school children from both middle and working class backgrounds and representing both whites and non-whites, Greenberg noted that 'non-white' status correlated significantly with using the media to learn about the world and self; whereas, 'white' status correlated significantly with using the media for escape or

diversion. These results are intriguing but further elaborations on the role of culture are precluded due to the failure to differentiate among West Indian, Asian and African backgrounds among these non-whites. One could argue that the cultural variation within the non-white group is as large as that between the white versus non-white groups. These findings, however, do bear some similarity to the gratification differences found by Greenberg and Dominick's (1969) earlier study of black and white American teenager's viewing patterns. The more disadvantaged the group, either black or white, the more they sought to learn about life from television, and the more they depended on the media for excitement. Differences in the use of the media for escape and relaxation, however, could not be explained by either race or social class.

All of the foregoing then suggests two problems: firstly, what are we going to define as a culturally distinct group in order to be able to distinguish cultural from social background influences in media use; and secondly, once we have accepted the notion of similar social background but distinct culture, how would we expect these factors to act, or interact in order to affect media gratifications and use?

Chapter 2 FEASIBILITY STUDY, PILOT WORK AND SELECTION OF SAMPLES

The current chapter will concern itself with the early exploratory and pilot work that preceded the development and design of the final survey. We will begin by looking at the results of a feasibility study. That study had several purposes. Firstly, one was interested in shedding light on the feasibility of exploring cultural influences on media use within a functional context. Were there interesting differences in the way members of various cultural groups used the media, and, if so, would it be possible to systematically study these? Also the feasibility study was intended to collect material in order to generate hypotheses about the kind of relationships which could be subsequently tested, as well as to formulate impressions about the kinds of information one needed to measure in order to test these hypotheses. We will then move on to consider the selection and design of test instruments and proceed to discuss the rationale behind the final choice of subjects.

EARLY EXPLORATORY WORK

One of the primary foci of the research was to be an examination of the use of the mass media as a tool for facilitating acculturation or as an aid in preservation of one's original cultural identity. Given this aim, it was necessary to focus on groups which had a tradition of a cultural heritage distinct from the British, hence the interest in non-white samples. The age of the sample was decided on the basis of two considerations.

1) It seemed reasonable to assume that as youths grew older and more independent they would have greater opportunity, if they so desired, to deviate from the tenets and practices of their traditional culture, or, in the case of white youths, the values of their parents. It is also reasonable to assume that it is easier for males, than females to exercise their freedom, especially in the Asian family setting (Collins, 1957; Khan, 1975). Hence one wanted a group of subjects who would potentially be growing more independent given increasing age without being overly preoccupied with exams and school leaving, which could interfere with the typicality of media use.

2) In order to allow for age related differences to occur without conducting a longitudinal study it was necessary to have a spread of age within each group.

On the basis of these considerations it was decided to concentrate on male youths between 12 and 16 years of age.

During the early part of 1976 a series of group discussions were conducted with separate groups of Asian, West Indian, and white British youths aged between 13 and 15 years. The discussions were informal, held in small groups of between six to eight persons and usually centred on "Things I Like To Do In My Spare Time". The purposes of these discussions were many: to gain an impression of their lifestyles and the individuals who figured prominantly in their daily routines; to find out about the language they used in referring to themselves; and to learn about the role of the mass media in their lives. In addition to these discussions, both the Asian and white youths were asked to keep a diary on a prepared sheet for one full day, Monday 16 February 1976. They were requested to enter information for

half-hourly intervals indicating what they were doing and who was with them. If they were engaged in any media activity they were further requested to specify the channel (for either radio or television) or title (for books, newspapers and comics). In all, 19 Asian and 22 white British youths completed diaries. By examining the results of these discussions and diaries some patterns will become apparent.

Twelve Asian youths spent between ½ - 3½ hours in mosque on Monday evening: nine boys spent at least 3 hours, and the three remaining youths between ½ - 3 hours. For these boys the time spent in religious instruction takes up what amounts to the 'twilight hours' for most youths, i.e. the period between arriving home from school and getting tea, usually about 4.00 - 6.00 p.m. For most boys this is one of the prime times for television consumption, often with other siblings. On this particular day 11 white and 4 Asian youths watched 'Blue Peter', 'Jumbo Spencer', and 'Jackanory', most with younger members of their families, and "just to pass the time". In addition, during this same time one white and four Asian boys managed to watch 'Clapperboard', which dealt with a film about two adventurers in nineteenth century India.

On this particular Monday, the most popular programme seemed to be 'The Waltons', viewed by 13 Asian boys (12 of them with their families) and 4 English boys (3 of these with family). 'The Waltons' is the type of programme which lends itself to family viewing. It is a sort of 'Coronation Street' series about an American Southern family during the 1930's depression. It is basically inoffensive family entertainment, providing no 'threat' through embarassing

sexual scenes or innuendo and, as noted, it appeared to be favoured particularly among the Asian youths. For seven of these twelve Asians, it is the first time the television has been switched on all evening, and for six of these seven boys, it was the only time television was watched all evening, possibly due to earlier attendances at mosque. For an additional three Asians, it was the first time in the late evening that the telly has been switched on, following the twilight hour phenomenon; the rest of the evening had been consumed in "talking with the family" and reading for pleasure or homework (either for school or mosque).

For the remaining six Asians, the 'family viewing' consisted of 'News at 10', 'Panorama', 'Police Story', 'Ask the Family'. Only two boys saw the film, 'Banning', one of these on his own, and one with a brother, (apparently the rest of the family left at this point).

Table 1. FREQUENCY OF TELEVISION VIEWING

Number of Hours Viewing Television	No. of Asian Ss	No. of White Ss
0 - ½ hours	0	2
½ - 1½	12	5
2 - 2½	3	7
3 - 3½	4	4
5 - 6	0	4
TOTAL	19	22

For the white youths, both the amount and pattern of consumption is more varied. Although much of the television was consumed with

family members, the type of programme viewed seem to be less predictable. Seven whites viewed the film 'Banning', described in Radio Times as "a lush, artificial world of powerful, ruthless men and bored, predatory women". (This was seen by only two Asian youths, neither accompanied by parents, whereas one white youth viewed this on his own, and the remaining six with parents present). There is a higher amount of 'block' viewing among the whites, i.e. the television continually on, although with no clear content preferences. 'Z Cars' and 'Police Story' figure prominently; 'Coronation Street' and 'Emmerdale Farm' only appear once each for the Asian and white youths.

On the gratification side of things group discussions hinted at different functions which media fulfils, or do not, but which the youths are seeking through media.

If we start with a discussion with the older Asian youths, some points will be illustrative.

"I'd like to see some of our films come on this T.V. 'Cause, you know, we only have one programme in a week, and that's on Sunday morning and Wednesday, and that's not interesting. It's all on politics. It's for immigrants to learn English and we're not interested in that lot. It's good for our parents because they're a bit interested in what we are now. It helps the parents 'cause they talk about problems like immigration, steps to take. The young generation doesn't understand it because it's in Urdu."

"Most of us would like to see our own films, in our own language".

"Show German, American, why not Asian films; they're second biggest in the world."

"It's not fair, it costs 55p to see a (Asian) film in Bradford."

"Trying to take someone's tradition away from us..."

"Like these British trying to take us away from our religion by showing us these films."

"I'd like to see some sceneries from back there (Pakistan); it would bring some enjoyment."

"Some parents have an advantage in that they were born in India; they have a knowledge of what the land is like."

These comments by the youths imply that there may be greater entertainment derived from content which is culturally relevant. In addition, the Asian resident in a western culture may be using the media to re-establish contact with the overseas Asian community whether it be physical, or cultural, i.e. what the countries look like, and how the people live. Dissatisfaction with the meagre amount of Asian oriented content is obvious, so too is the fact that when such content is available, it is readily consumed. Most youths mentioned a particularly good programme of the past few months as a 'Horizon' programme on the mountain people of Pakistan, a programme about Gandhi, one about an Indian film star, (although they complained that they would prefer to see the film itself, rather than a film about a film), as well as an 'Open Door' discussion on immigrants. The comments on the 'Open Door' were fairly antagonistic; "It was disgusting, what they said. Most people here just want to get on with everyday life."

These comments, coupled with the prevalence of short-wave radios in homes, and Asian weekly papers indicate that there is a

heavy reliance on the media for maintaing cultural contact. The Asian community in Batley is primarily Muslim, mostly from the Gujerat in India or the bordering Pakistani community. They represent a fairly close-knit community where extended family patterns and arranged marriages with remote relations in Pakistan or India are fairly typical. For the youths in the sample, maintaining their cultural tradition seems to be a prevalent concern. Even the more Western appearing (in dress style and speech) express a firm respect for Muslim tradition, particularly maintaining Muslim customs in the home, expecting to marry a Muslim woman through the arrangements of parents or other relations, and respecting the opinions of their elders. ("Parents have a better sense of what's right and wrong. Some people don't take any notice of parents today.")

The respect for the tradition and the veneration of women in a sheltered position seem to be reflected in the style of televiewing: families watch general interest, non-sensational programmes, current affairs, or situation drama together. Any more contentious presentation is accompanied by the parents and any females present exiting from the room. The Asian youths are the only ones who also frequently mentioned family activities such as singing and talking. The prevalence of cinema going, not to general British films, but to the Asian films in Bradford, attests to this deliberate use of the media to try and retain contact with a specific tradition, as does the use of short-wave radio in some Asian families to tune in to programmes from Indian and Ceylon.

Switching to the West Indian youths, a different set of orientations seems to be present. These youths do not use the media to establish contact with a specific culture. Instead their media

use, while not quite as haphazard as the white English boys, indicated a fairly general consumption of the mass media: television and comics, as well as a more particular use of specialized media. Records figured prominently for listening to Reggae music with friends. Local radio also appeared to hold a greater attraction for them, similar in some respects to the Asian use of local radio. (The Asians listened to the Asian programme and the West Indians listened to the West Indian programme on local radio). The functions for the West Indians do not seem to be very clear cut, but their comments on television indicated some identity seeking, e.g. "It's not often that you see a black person starring on T.V., so when you do it makes a change." "Usually blacks are seen getting pushed about by white cops." These comments led from the mention of Shaft, a film featuring a black detective which was appearing on television in serial form, and often cited as a favourite programme. ("I'd like to be someone like him, no one pushes him about.") The indefiniteness of the West Indian gratifications can potentially be explained by the haziness of their status in Britain today. The youths tended to see themselves as British (whereas Asian youths identified themselves as 'Asians', 'Pakistanis', 'Indians' or 'immigrants') and yet are aware of their tenuous relations with whites. Many of the West Indians spoke of wanting to leave Britain eventually to go somewhere "like America, where you don't treat blacks like here". They frequently mentioned whites as being prejudiced, "When there's only one it's all right they talk to you." But they accustomed themselves to the confrontation, "You get used

to it (violence) sometimes, when someone attacks you, well, it's self-defense." The West Indians seem to be more involved in a 'pop' culture than the Asians. Their interest in 'Top of the Pops', listening to the 'Top Thirty', "just about every Sunday", and playing cassettes was often cited. Although pilot diaries for the West Indians were not collected to verify any of the statements emerging in the discussions, there seemed to be a varied preference for violent/action content, "You get your own back. If you watch people fighting on T.V., you don't feel so violent after." Kojack is cited as another favourite. In contrast to the style of viewing found among the Asian families, where non-sensational content focusses as a gathering point for the family, the West Indian youth claim that "Telly doesn't bring the family together". Although they may sit and watch the same programme, there seems to be argument about the content. In the Asian family the content for family viewing tended to be non-controversial to avoid embarassment.

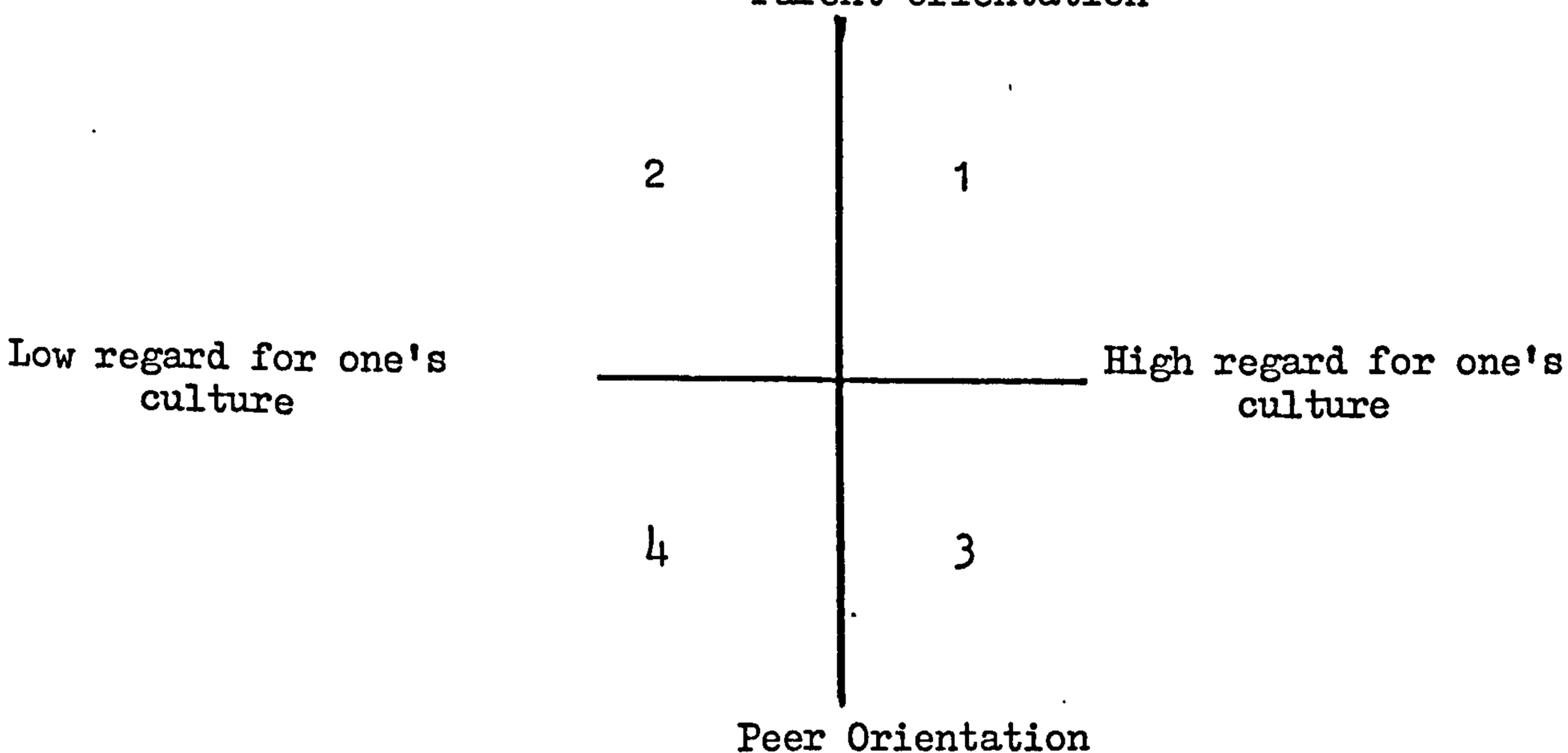
In general, the exploratory study confirmed one's impressions that media use when subjected to a filter of cultural background represents meaningful activity. Whereas the one day diaries tended to demonstrate that white youths were the heaviest consumers of media, especially television, both diaries and discussions suggested that the Asians were the more deliberate users. While the white youths were the only ones to mention a steady diet of 'kiddy' programmes during the 'twilight hours' (those hours immediately after school and before dinner), as well as fairly steady 'telegazing' (watching the box for an entire evening), the Asians, owing perhaps to the time

restrictions which attendance for religious instruction imposed, as well as cultural background, appeared to be far more discriminating in their content choices. The West Indians, on the other hand, appeared to have a somewhat intermediate style, using media such as radio and records which allowed a more 'pop' focus, though not a specifically West Indian cultural bias. If we consider white British culture as the norm, the differences in style of media use and gratification therefrom appeared to be consistent with the distance from that norm, with the most culturally distinct group, the Asians, evincing the most discrepant (although highly consistent) pattern from the whites, and the West Indians demonstrating less dissimilarity with the whites, and less homogeneity amongst themselves.

The feasibility study clearly highlighted differences between the ethnic groups in media use and function. While the limited numbers of subjects and range of information covered precluded precise formulation of differences within the respective groups, certain factors in respect of which there could conceivably be differences of orientation among youths in the final sample, suggested themselves as having a significant bearing on these youths' lifestyles. Particularly, the group discussions had indicated that it is not only an individual's location within a cultural group, that is a person's ascribed status, but also his position with respect to that status, whether or not membership in that group is valued and accepted, that is important. While most of the Asians in the current sample seemed to hold their ethnic group in high esteem, it is quite plausible that other Asians would not, and that these would, for example, hold

the majority culture in a higher regard than their own. It also seemed that regard for one's own ethnic group was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it was closely bound up with respect for one's parents and willingness to follow their example. This seemed to be particularly so among the Asian youths. It would be equally reasonable however to assume that among some youths there would be a greater regard for the peer group than for their parents. And it seemed equally likely that low regard for one's ethnic group and peer orientation should have as much an influence on media behaviours as high regard for one's culture and a parent orientation. If we are assuming that media use represents purposeful activity then it seemed necessary to recognize that both of these factors would be reflected in such use, as well as in general lifestyle. Specifically the aforementioned seemed to suggest that if it were possible to locate youths in the space defined by two bipolar axes, marking orientation towards parents and peers on one axis and strength of identification with one's own ethnic group versus another reference group on the other, then it would be possible to make certain predictions concerning media behaviours and general lifestyle.

Let us consider the space defined by the model indicated below:



Taking the Asian Muslim group as our example we would expect those in position one to be the most traditional in their beliefs and behaviours, showing a high regard for Muslim culture and faith, as evidenced in keeping of religious practice and attendance for religious education. One would also expect this group to use the "Western" media, such as television less frequently and media such as radio, cinema and books (which would enable more ready selection of culturally appropriate fare) more frequently than the three other groups. As this group would be secure in its identity it would use television primarily for surveillance and entertainment purposes.

Those youths falling into position three could be expected to demonstrate a similar pattern generally to those in the first group given that we would anticipate ethnic identification/cultural orientation to account for a larger share of variance in behaviours than parent or peer orientation. However, given the orientation towards peers, one would expect this to temper religious adherence somewhat and so while the Asian ideal would be maintained, identification with that ideal would be lower than among group one individuals, and mosque attendance and religious practice less as well. While media use and gratifications would generally follow the lines of group one youths, one would also expect some personal identity seeking, given that the parental model is not very highly regarded.

Group two and four members would both represent high conflict categories. One would anticipate the group four member demonstrating the least reliance on ethnic media and highest use of television. As he neither highly values his own culture nor his parents' model he would be most likely to use media, especially television, for seeking

out new models to identify with, hence one would predict a high use of television for surveillance and personal identity seeking here.

Group two members could be expected to be torn between maintaining traditional orientations stemming from their respect and adherence to parental values, while desiring a close bond with British culture. One would expect their lifestyle to represent a combination of groups one and four. Hence they would demonstrate a general willingness to follow religious practice, but in a less rigorous fashion than group one, but more than group four. While their media use would be expected to be high, perhaps in response to their conflict, use of ethnically oriented media would be low. Television would be expected to serve both surveillance and personal identity seeking functions, but would be used relatively less for personal identity seeking than among group four members.

In summary then, one would expect the largest dichotomy to be present between groups one and three versus groups two and four. This model essentially argues that cultural orientation will account for the larger share of variances in predicting behaviours, whereas parent or peer orientation will account for a relatively smaller share. Although these two axes may not be entirely unidimensional and orthogonal given that, for example, a traditional Muslim orientation entails greater respect for parents, they should represent sufficiently separate categories to enable positioning of youths within one of the four previously cited categories.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY AND SELECTION OF VARIABLES

In addition to indicating the feasibility of investigating the relationship between ethnic background and media use and gratifications derived therefrom, the exploratory study also showed adolescents to be both insightful regarding their own motivations and articulate in their expression of such. Given this it seemed reasonable to assume that these youths could serve as informed observers of their own behaviours and, furthermore, that by actually enlisting their conscious effort in examining their motivations, the self reports would be more reliable than data derived through less direct means. To quote from Rom Harré (1974):

> A prominent feature of the approach we are advocating is the respect we pay to the intellectual capacities of ordinary human beings as managers and interpreters of the social world. Everyone is, in a certain sense, a fairly competent social scientist, and we must not treat his (or her) theory about the social world and his place in it with contempt. (P.244)
>
> (italics in original)

Having said this however, one also wanted to ensure that it would be possible to directly compare the data derived from distinct ethnic groups across a common range of variables. In order to reconcile these two positions, it was decided to use a survey format as the main means of data gathering. It therefore seemed reasonable to use a questionnaire format to elicit information concerning both the use made of mass media and gratifications derived from such use, as well

as data concerning a selected number of background variables. In addition, as the diary method had proved to be a rich source of information it seemed an appropriate means of augmenting, and checking on, the responses concernings frequency of media use derived from the questionnaire.

Selection of Variables

Given the areas of gratification associated with media use in former studies, i.e. substitute companionship, information seeking, value reinforcement, escape, identity seeking (Blumler, et al., 1970; Greenberg, 1974) one wanted to select social and psychological variables which would have an a fortiori face validity in relation to these, taking account of the decision to focus the study on adolescent males. One also wanted to ensure that variables relating to changes in the youths current circumstances were sampled, as well as any variables which would enable testing of hypotheses generated during the exploratory work. Taking these considerations into account, the following measures seemed desirable.

A Measure of Parent-Peer Relations

This would highlight differences among youths in their relations with parents and peers. A peer-oriented youth might demonstrate greater involvement with 'pop' media, i.e. radio, magazines, and cinema, whereas a more parent-oriented youth might show other media preferences. Johnstone (1974), for example, had found that American adolescents having more favourable relations with their parents spent more time watching television than youths with more favourable relations with their peers. Relations with parents had also been implicated

during the exploratory work as having a bearing on the attitudes, especially among Asian youths, towards one's own cultural group.

A Measure of Attitudes towards One's Own Ethnic Group and the Majority Grou

It had been hypothesized that adolescents holding their own ethnic group in low regard, with respect to the majority reference group, would demonstrate differences in both their use of media and gratifications sought therefrom as compared to youths with a positive regard for their group of membership.

A Scale to Indicate Involvement with and Knowledge of British Culture.

It would be anticipated that subjects with a greater knowledge of British culture would demonstrate a higher use of British media such as television and comics, relative to more specialist media providing a non-British focus.

A Scale to Provide Data on Relative Importance of Various Social Groups.

As Johnstone (1974) had found differences in media use relating to parent-peer orientations it seemed likely that there might be other relationships which would relate to media use and gratification. In the case of the Asian sample, for instance, one might expect youths who show a greater willingness to approach religious leaders to use ethnic media more than western media.

The forementioned seemed to cover the most obvious social background variables which could be expected to relate to media use.

In addition to these,measures of both media use and gratification had to be developed. Given the success of the one day diary during the feasibility study in eliciting information about time budgeting as well as media use, it was decided to use the diary in an extended form to cover a one week period. This would provide comprehensive information concerning the utilization of time among adolescents

for both media and non-media activities as well as data on peer interaction and weekend versus weekday activities.

As television had emerged in the exploratory work as a major time-consuming activity among adolescents irrespective of cultural background, it seemed to demand that especial attention be paid to its uses and functions. In addition, as we were interested in examining the use of mass media as it relates to cultural background, then television seemed to merit a special place. Firstly, because television readily allows a vicarious participating in or eavesdropping on another's way of life given both the visual and auditory cues, which would seem to be particularly useful for persons resident in an alien culture. Furthermore, given both the availability of auditory and visual information, it would also seem to be a more efficient medium than either radio or print for providing linguistic information to non-native language speakers. In the current context this was deemed to be relevant as both West Indian and Asian children resident in Britain are thought to be at a disadvantage in schools deriving from their limited knowledge of Standard English (Coard, 1972; Fuller, 1974). Ironically, perhaps, the disadvantage is thought to be greater for the West Indian child as he seldom receives the additional language tuition often offered to the Asian child. This is mainly because the West Indian is assumed to speak English as a native language, and it is frequently not recognized that the language of the West Indian home is usually an English dialect such as pidgin or Creole.

This focus on television, then, demanded the design of an instrument to look specifically at the functions of the medium. One

also wanted to be able to compare a range of media including the specialist ones such as Asian cinema and newspapers, across a range of functions.

As previous studies of media use among children in both Britain and Japan (Brown, et al., 1973; Furu, 1971) had independently developed similar scales which effectively compared a number of both media and non-media alternatives across a range of functions, it seemed reasonable to use Brown et al's., only modifying it slightly to take account of specialist media and functions which would be of special relevance to the current group of subjects.

In addition to the above, social demographics, such as age, number of family members and extended family living with the youths, period of time resident in Great Britain, father's and mother's occupation would be requested, as well as information on frequency of media use.

Development and Piloting of Test Measures

In this section we will examine the pilot work and development of the test instrument, taking each of the major scales separately. It should be noted that owing to the limited number of Asian children resident in the town where the final survey was to be administered and the range of test instruments to be developed, the pilot work was conducted in schools of neighbouring Yorkshire towns which had similar racial compositions and socio-economic status to the target community.

A Measure of Parent - Peer Relations

Background. In recent years much attention has been given to the respective roles of parents and peers in influencing the adolescent, particularly in Western society. Many authors stress the growing

importance of the peer group during adolescence and a movement away from the family group. Dunphy (1975) notes, "The peer group at adolescence assumes many of the functions previously performed for the individual by the family and is thus of considerable significance in promoting his increasing independence from the family" (p. 297). Coleman (1975) reiterates this view attributing the increased significance of the peer group partly to the decline of the family as a "source of occupational learning" given the time today's parents are spending in both employment and socializing outside of the home. Sherif and Sherif (1964) echo their accord in stating that greater rapport exists among adolescent groups when peer group activities serve an expressive or pleasurable function. By contrast, home life in these circumstances is almost invariably unsatisfactory. The notion of inevitable conflict between parents and peers has been further stressed by writers such as Erikson (1959, 1963) and Ackerman (1962).

Other research, however, has maintained that although adolescence marks a movement away from parents and a growing significance of peer groups, this does not necessarily imply mutual antagonism. Brittain (1963, 1967-68, 1969), for example has emphasized the significance of each group in distinct realms: the importance of parents in long-term, future planning such as education and career and the role of the peer group in day-to-day encounters.

The limited number of studies conducted in this area among British youths have indicated a similar pattern. Willmott's study (1966) of boys in East London showed that 14-15 year olds spent more time with friends than did older youths. Whereas 14-15 year olds claimed to spend 57% of their spare time with friends, 16-18 year

olds spent 44%, and 19 year olds only 32% of their time with peers. Coleman (1974) notes a steady increase in negative themes among 13-17 year old boys writing about their parents, expressing frustration and indicating, "that restriction, confinement, and the imposition of rules and regulations are the main features of their relationship with their parents, and therefore major causes of the antagonism which they feel" (p. 83). Coleman further notes a concomitant increase during this period in favourable themes towards peers. The limited data among Asian youths in this area suggests that they experience less conflict in their parent-peer relations than do indigenous youths (Taylor, 1976).

The intent of the current scale was to assess the quality of parent and peer relations in order to relate these to media functions. It was decided to adopt the format of an instrument developed by Dembo (1973) in connection with a study of aggression and media use among British adolescents. In that study Dembo had presented a series of vignettes each portraying a different kind of youth. Each respondent was then asked to indicate how like the prototype he perceived himself to be. Some of the statements used in the present study were adapted from Dembo's study and further statements originated in group discussions yielding a total of 29 statements. These were intended to cover a range of situations involving both parents and friends. The statements were accompanied by a 4-point Likert scale, viz:

A Lot Like Me A Bit Like Me Not Very Much Like Me Very Different From Me.

These were presented to a pilot sample of 48 male youths representing three racial groups: white Britons, West Indians and Asians. There

were two forms of the scale, one using English boys names which was presented to the West Indian and white youths, and a second form using Asian names which was presented to the Asian youths.

Analysis. All of the scales were assigned values from 1-4, a score of 1 indicating 'Very Different From Me' and 4 indicating 'A Lot Like Me'. The data were then subjected to a principle component analysis using a Varimax rotation (Harman, 1967). The purpose of the factor analysis is to enable a reduction in the final number of items by allowing the researcher to select those items which are most representative (load most highly) on the dimensions (factors) underlying the measure. The adequacy of the factor analytic solution was checked by obtaining an average linkage cluster analysis (McQuitty, 1957) on the same data. This clustering technique assigns items to clusters on the basis of placing each item within the cluster in which it has the highest average correlation with all other items in that cluster, thereby ensuring homogeneity and unidimensionality (Blashfield, 1976; Lance & Williams, 1966-67). Three clearly defined clusters emerged from these analyses containing a total of 21 items. The statements falling within each of these clusters and their reliability coefficients[1] (McKennell, 1970) are indicated in Table 2. Cluster one appears to focus on quality of relations with parents while cluster two indicates both degree of conflict between parents and peers and orientation towards peers; cluster three focuses on integration with peers. It was decided to use clusters one and two as separate scales to assess the quality of relations with parents and conflict between parents and peers/orientation towards peers,

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1. $\alpha = \frac{n\bar{r}_{ij}}{1 + (n-1)\bar{r}_{ij}}$

Table 2 PARENT-PEER SCALES

Cluster 1

Relations With Parents

John spends most of his free time on his own doing his own hobbies.

Tom find that the older he gets, the less like his friends and more like his parents he becomes.

Steve thinks his parents are strict with him, but doesn't mind because he thinks his parents have a better sense of right and wrong than he does.

Tal spends most of his free time reading or studying.

Paul gets on well with his parents.

Gavin spends a lot of his free time at home with members of his family.

Anwar feels that on the whole, it is easier to talk with his family than his friends, after all, his family understands him better.

Hanif respects his parents and hopes to treat his own children as his father treats him.

Dick enjoys doing things as much with his family as he does with his friends.

$$\bar{r}ij = .29$$
$$\alpha = .79$$

Cluster 2

Conflict Between Parents and Peers/
Orientation Towards Peers

Tim would like to have more friends, but he never knows what to say to the other boys in his class. He would like to join in, but is always being left out.

Leslie would like to get on better with his parents than he does, but finds he does not agree with many of the things his parents believe in.

Ismail sometimes tells his parents he is going to see one friend, and instead goes to see a different friend, because he knows his parents do not like him to spend time with the person he would like to see.

Dan sometimes tells his parents he is going one place, and then goes somewhere else, because he knows his parents would be unhappy if they knew where he was really going.

Mark doesn't take much notice of his parents.

Jim sometimes does things with his friends which he doesn't think he should, or which he doesn't think are right, but he is afraid that he may lose their friendship if he doesn't join in.

Sharif worries about losing his friends.

Ahmed finds it difficult to make friends.

Les cares more about his friends than he does about his family.

$\bar{r}ij = .27$
$\alpha = .76$

Cluster 3

Integration with Peers

Malcolm has lots of friends and spends most of his free time with them.

Dave has one group of friends in school, and another group of friends at home.

Doug thinks that if you're going to have friends then you have to dress and act the same way they do.

$\bar{r}ij = .45$
$\alpha = .72$

respectively. A further degree of support for the structure of these clusters was obtained by performing an elementary linkage cluster analysis on the data provided by the final sample. This allocated seventeen of the eighteen items originally comprising the two scales into the appropriate cluster. Reliability coefficients for these clusters were .82 and .75 respectively.

A Scale to Measure In-Group/Out-Group Attitudes

Background. A positive regard of self, or high self-esteem, is regarded by many personality theorists and clinicians as an essential prerequisite for mental health and effective interpersonal relationships (A. Freud, 1946; Sullivan, 1955; Rogers, 1967; Maslow, 1971). As such, self-esteem is usually seen as developing out of a comparative evaluation of the self against others. Stouffer (1949) has stressed that an individual's satisfaction with himself depends on a comparison of the person both with respect to his 'normatic' reference group as well as his 'comparative' reference group. Indeed studies by Brody (1963, 1964), noting early development of racial awareness in Negro schizophrenics, implied that the schizophrenia stemmed in part from guilt associated with the early rejection of black status and identification with whites. Works by Grier and Cobbs (1969) and Fanon (1967) reiterate similar themes.

Given the significance of the actual group of membership in development of self-esteem, it seemed appropriate in the present study to assess self-esteem by concentrating on the individual's assessment of his own normative reference group, that is the group to which he belongs by birthright. Assuming the person to be an informed observer of his own opinions, beliefs and prejudices, asking

him to indicate his perceptions of his own and other reference groups should provide insight into his self-esteem, at least insofar as we are justified in considering group membership as a salient dimension of self-esteem. Furthermore, the discrepancy between evaluations of one's actual group of membership and an aspired to out-group or highly visible comparison group would provide a measure of relative self-esteem. Those persons evaluating their own group less favourably than the out-group would be deemed to held a negative or low self regard; equal identification would not provide any information concerning relative esteem. Similar techniques have been used to assess self concept by measuring the discrepancy between subjects ratings of 'actual' versus 'ideal' self on semantic differential scales or adjective checklists (Katz and Zigler, 1967; Carlson, 1965).

Given the forementioned it was decided to use the semantic differential format (Osgood, et al., 1957) as it enabled comparing a number of concepts along a constant range of scales. The semantic differential seemed more appropriate than the adjective checklist format as it provided a measure of strength of attribution. Similarly, the personal construct method (Kelly, 1955) had been dismissed as it precluded inter-individual comparisons across a constant range of dimensions.

Originally the study was intended to focus on three separate cultural groups, hence in the pilot stage three samples representative of each of these (Asians, white Britons, West Indians) were used. As a number of researchers have demonstrated that attributes which are personally elicited from subjects will prove more meaningful than those supplied by the experimenter (Cromwell and Caldwell, 1962;

Bonarius, 1965; Landfield, 1968) and also elicit more extreme endorsements (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1964) it was decided to use adjectives which emerged from tape recorded discussions with target group members. To this end a series of conversations were held with 5-8 male youths at a time (all groups were composed of same race individuals) on the topic "What It's Like Being You" for the West Indian and Asian youths and "What it Means to be British" for the white youths. The intent of these conversations was to find out how each group characterizes itself; what are the salient dimensions which might prove useful in discriminating between groups? Forty-one adjectives were selected from these discussions and presented in a semantic differential format using 7-point scales. Three concepts were evaluated:'West Indian People', 'Asian People', and 'British People'.[2] Ninety-two male adolescents in all, comprising 35 white, 26 Asian, and 31 West Indian youths rated each of these concepts separately.

Analysis. In accordance with the recommendations of Osgood et al. (1957) the data were taken together and factor analyzed using a principle component analysis with a Varimax rotation. The factor analysis enabled a reduction in the final number of scales by highlighting those most representative of the various dimensions of semantic space. The results of the factor analysis are provided in Appendix A. The analysis yielded three primary factors accounting for 46%, 11%, 11% of the variance respectively. The first factor indicates

2. The concept 'British' rather than 'white British' or 'whites' was selected as it had emerged fairly clearly that during group discussions all references to 'British' by non-white youths always referred to white persons, and never themselves.

a general dimension, whereas factors two and three indicate evaluative and potency components, respectively.

All of the scale means and standard deviations were computed for the Asian's ratings on the concepts 'Asian People' and 'British People'.[3] The magnitude of difference between means for each scale were also computed. These data are presented in Table 3.

In addition to the forementioned analyses, all of the scales and concepts were subjected to a discriminant function analysis. The aim of the discriminant analysis is to find the linear combination of variables which will maximize the ratio of between group to within group variance (Timms, 1975).
In the present example the discriminant function would therefore highlight those variables which are most powerful in discriminating between white, Asian, and West Indian evaluations of their respective groups. A summary table indicating the contribution of each of the scales to the discriminant function is provided in Appendix B. It should be noted that only 36 of the 41 original scales are included in the analysis. Four of the items had been eliminated given their low loadings on the factor analysis; the fifth item had been included twice as a measure of reliability.

3. This was done once it had been decided to focus the final study on Asian and white youths.

Table 3

RANK ORDER ON MEAN ENDORSEMENT FOR ASIANS RATING 'ASIAN PEOPLE'

ON 7 - PT SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES.

Variable Name	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	Difference between Mean Ratings of 'Asian People' and 'British People' by Asians
* Unreligious-Religious	6.19	1.47	.48
* Friendly-Unfriendly	5.81	1.27	1.75
* Lazy-Hardworking	5.77	1.68	1.26
* Dirty-Clean	5.65	1.38	-2.23
* Dishonest-Honest	5.65	1.16	2.17
* Violent-Peaceful	5.35	1.38	1.55
* Nasty-Nice	5.23	1.53	1.77
* Sad-Happy	5.15	1.54	1.83
* Thick-Clever	5.00	1.50	1.83
* Enemy-Friend	4.89	2.16	1.60
Love-Hate	4.89	1.73	2.26
Sweet-Sour	4.89	1.58	2.46
Bad-Good	4.85	1.71	1.39
* Ugly-Beautiful	4.73	1.56	2.07
Soft-Hard	4.73	1.34	1.56
Cowardly-Brave	4.65	1.33	1.08
* Weak-Strong	4.65	1.47	1.28
* Worthless-Valuable	4.62	1.90	1.70
Small-Big	4.58	1.34	.43
Cold-Hot	4.58	1.79	1.66
Alone-Not alone	4.39	2.39	.49
Childish-Adult like	4.35	2.24	.32
Rugged-Smooth	4.35	1.83	1.46
Worst-Best	4.31	1.72	1.59
Poor-Rich	4.19	1.30	.99
Dull-Bright	4.19	1.13	.88
Blunt-Sharp	4.15	1.85	1.64
Prejudiced-Unprejudiced	3.92	2.40	1.12
Slow-Fast	3.92	1.57	.49
Harsh-Mild	3.92	1.85	.47
* Selfish-Unselfish	3.89	2.50	.40
Young-Old	3.81	1.30	.29

Continued .....

Variable Name	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	Difference between Mean Rating of 'Asian People' and 'British People' by Asians
Far-Near	3.62	2.19	1.27
Empty-Full	3.58	2.58	1.78
Strong Smell-Weak Smell	3.58	1.86	1.55
Inferior-Superior	3.54	2.04	.60
Last-First	3.54	1.86	.91
Low-High	3.35	1.94	1.00
Closed-Open	3.08	2.04	1.02
Black-White	2.89	1.03	1.14
Wet-Dry	2.73	1.97	.30

* Items selected for final survey use.

On the basis of these three analyses 14 items were selected from the original scales (see starred items in Table 3) intended to be both representative of the main factors derived from the factor analysis as well as indicative of the salient characteristics the groups would use in describing themselves. On the final version of the semantic differential measure subjects were also asked to respond to a scale 'like me - different from me' which was intended to gauge the extent of identification with the normative and comparative reference groups.

Scales to Indicate Involvement with and Knowledge of British Culture Background. Acculturation has always been a difficult word to define. As its most basic level it implies a process whereby two groups of individuals with distinct cultural patterns bring about changes in the cultural patterns of either or both groups as a result of their direct experience of each other. (Taft, 1965; Weinstock, 1964; Gordon, 1964). As such it implies what Gordon (1964) calls 'structural change' - a desire to become a member (citizen) of a new society, as well as 'cultural adaptation' - accommodation to the behavioural norms of the new society. In the present study our concern was with gaining an estimate of the extent to which new cultural traits were being acquired by our target sample as well as the degree to which previously adhered to habits were being abandoned. The difficulty in assessing both of these aspects was that both of the non-native samples we were anticipating studying, namely West Indians and Asians, have had long histories of interface with British culture. Given that history, a professed desire to assimilate or knowledge of British traditions

would not necessarily indicate actual movements towards or adoption of a British lifestyle.

Slang Test. One area which did seem to provide an appropriate focus, however, was that of language (Taft, 1964). Despite familiarity with Britons, both samples, as has already been mentioned, had been deemed to suffer a relative disadvantage in the educational system due to their lack of familiarity with Standard English. While testing their knowledge of Standard English would perhaps only provide an indication of the failure of the educational system, testing the knowledge of local slang should provide a measure of integration within the local community. Given that parents, especially among the Asian community, had a rather limited knowledge of English, it seemed reasonable to assume that knowledge of local slang could only arise through interaction with the English, or with peers who themselves had interacted with the English. Taft (1964) had originally conceived the idea of a slang test in a study of immigrant assimilation in Western Australia. In the present study it was thought that knowledge of slang would be indicative of a sensitivity towards, if not receptivity of British, and especially Yorkshire, culture.

Method. Following discussions with both teachers and white youths at a Yorkshire secondary school a list of 23 slang words were drawn up. The words were commonly used among white youths in their conversations with each other and some of the words, given their Yorkshire flavour, would be used among adults as well. The words were then presented in the content of an ambiguous sentence to 40 white boys from each of four years in school, providing a total sample of 160 youths ranging

from 11-16 years of age. For each sentence the youths were asked to select the correct meaning from among five multiple choice alternatives, the fifth alternative being "I don't know". Sixteen items were selected on the basis of 80% of youths at each level chosing the correct meaning. The final format of the 'Slang Test' giving both the words used and their appropriate meanings are presented in Appendix C.

Guttman Scales. While the slang test was thought to provide a general measure on which both white and non-white youths could be compared on knowledge of a facet of the indigenous culture, it did not provide a measure of direct participation in that culture or of relinquishing of traditional culture. To this end, once the final sample was agreed, it was decided to interview each Asian participant on a range of items concerning their adherence to social and religious mores. The interviews were conducted with pairs of youths at a time to enable interviewees to relax and encourage conversation. Whenever possible the pairs were composed of friends. The interview generally lasted about one hour and was conducted during school hours. As close contact with the school had been maintained during the year prior to the survey, it was thought that sufficient rapport existed to enable a free and honest exchange. The interviews were structured and focussed on four main areas: following of dietary habits; attitudes towards elders and marriage; friends and clothing; media and leisure. All of the interviews were tape recorded with the participants consent and confidentiality was promised.

Analysis. The information from the interview was coded onto data sheets and these replies formed the basis for the building of Guttman Scales. Guttman Scales are intended to be unidimensional in so far

as they measure attitudes concerning a particular theme, and are cumulative. As the component scales can be ordered by degree of difficulty, a person giving a favourable response to an item high on the scale would be expected to reply favourably to all items lower on the scale (Edwards, 1948; Torgerson, 1958).

In the end two scales emerged consisting of four and five items respectively. The first scale was primarily concerned with the keeping of dietary traditions while the second scale provided a measure of involvement with indigenous Britons. Two reliability measures were used to assess the scales: a coefficient of reproducibility[4] which measures the extent to which a respondent's scale score is a predictor of his response pattern, and a coefficient of scalability[5]. Both the scales and reliability measures are provided in Table 4.

A Scale to Indicate Relative Importance of Various Social Groups: Who Would You Go to If...? [6]

Background. Discussions during exploratory work load indicated that while parents and peers were important in the adolescent's day to day lives, so too were other social groups such as teachers, religious leaders, and siblings. The significance of each of these groups of course varied depending on the situation. It was thought, however, that by gaining an estimate of willingness to approach each of these

4. Coefficient of reproducibility = $1 - \frac{\text{total number of errors}}{\text{total number of responses}}$

5. Coefficient of scalability = $\frac{\text{percent improvement*}}{1 - \text{minimal marginal reproducibility}}$

*percent improvement = (coefficient of reproducibility - minimal marginal reproducibility)

6. The format for this scale is similar to one used by Faulkner (1975)

Table 4

GUTTMAN SCALES

Dietary Traditions Scale

(Yes = 1)Eats meals only in home, does not take school meals .

(Yes = 1)Fasted all days of Ramadan, excepting illness.

(No = 1)Fasted only a few days, and gave age as an excuse for not prolonging fast.

(No = 1)Sometimes eats haram (forbidden foods) outside of the home.

Coefficient of reproducibility = .86

Coefficient of scalability = .61

Involvement with Britain and Britons (Ethnic Isolation)

(Yes = 1)Would prefer to live in a Muslim country when older, e.g. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India.

(No = 1)Is friendly with English boys outside of school.

(No = 1)Visits or is visited by English youths at home.

(Yes = 1)Speaks with friends in both Asian languages and English.

(No = 1)Speaks with friends in English only.

Coefficient of reproducibility = .86

Coefficient of scalability = .53

(items are ranked from most difficult to easiest within each scale)

groups in a range of circumstances it would be possible to gain an estimate of relative salience of these persons for each subject.

To this end ten situations were selected to cover areas of both practical needs, such as help with schoolwork, and emotional needs, such as someone to confide in. These ten items were accompanied by a list of five people whom adolescents would be likely to approach - parents, teachers, brothers or sisters, friends and religious leaders. A sixth category was left for subjects to fill in if none of the forementioned was appropriate. This scale was presented to the same group of 48 youths who responded to the parent-peer scale items. They were asked to read each statement and rate the persons from 1-6 to indicate the order in which they would approach each, 1 indicated the person would be approached first, and so on.

Analysis. Scoring of these items consisted of computing the relative frequency of approach to each group weighted by the order in which that group was approached. As a measure of validation the results of these endorsements were correlated with the scales measuring parent/peer relations. No relationship was demonstrated between the quality of relationship with parents and willingness to approach parents ($r = .05$; $p = .72$), however willingness to approach both siblings and peers negatively correlated with quality of relationship with parents ($r = -.28$, $p = .05$ and $r = -.27$, $p = .06$, respectively). A positive correlation existed between willingness to approach friends and the measure of integration with friends ($r = .28$, $p = .05$).

In the final survey it was decided to maintain the same format for these items, but to limit the number of group alternatives to five,

omitting the open category. In addition instead of forcing a ranking of all of these categories it seemed more reasonable to ask subjects to indicate the person or group which would be approached first, and then to indicate any other groups which might also be approached. This allowed subjects to eliminate certain groups entirely. The scoring for these items then consisted of a ratio of the number of times a group was nominated, weighted by a factor of 2 for every 'first approach' nomination, to the total number of nominations, including the weighting for 'first approaches'.

Media Gratifications

Background. Most studies of gratifications derived from media use have approached the issue in one of two ways: either the researcher examines the content concerned and the attributes of the audience and fortuitously links the two through hypothesized gratifications sought or derived (Bailyn, 1959; Horton & Wohl, 1956); or the audience member is presented with a checklist of media and potential satisfactions to be derived from these and asked to indicate whether or not these gratifications apply to his own use of the media. (Greenberg, 1974; Blumler, Brown & McQuail, 1970; Peled & Katz, 1974). The choice between these alternatives implies that either one trusts the audience members to be able to recognize his own motivations for media use, or at least recognize the satisfactions derived therefrom; or, alternatively, that the researcher feels competent to impute motivations or derived satisfactions as intervening variables once he

has gathered information concerning prior or constant state of the audience members and consumatory behaviour. In the current study one of the primary interests was to investigate media use and function as it related to cultural background. However, given that one was interested in the relative strength of social and psychological variables over cultural variables as predictors of media behaviours, the decision had already been taken to gather information on prior state or disposition. It had also been decided to gather information concerning frequency of media use as well as limited information on content preferences.[7] Two problems, though, precluded imputing gratifications or satisfactions connected with media use in the current instance. The first problem concerned the different cultural backgrounds of the samples. It is conceivable that given similar social or psychological background, members of different cultural groups would respond differently to similar circumstances. For example, a western youth experiencing conflict in his relations with parents might respond by spending more time outside of the home thereby escaping the source of conflict. An Asian boy in a similar position might respond by spending more time with television, using it as a means of escape. The second problem with imputing gratification is that associating particular content with particular functions is a rather risky business. There is no logical reason to assume, for example, that cartoons may only be used for escape; they may also be educational or provide for

7. Subjects were to be asked to name their three favourite television programmes.

vicarious personal identity seeking or some other gratification. Given these problems, as well as the experience gained during the exploratory study as previously mentioned, demonstrating the perspicacity of adolescents in identifying their own motivations, it was decided to use the survey format and ask the youths to identify the gratifications associated with television viewing from among the items in the list provided.

Pilot Uses and Gratifications Items. The pilot items (N=83) were selected, verbatim, from tape recorded group discussions and essays. A series of group discussions were conducted with eight groups of approximately 5-6 male adolescents per group, centering on either "Things I Like to Do" or "Favourite Television Programmes". The groups were composed of same race individuals, either West Indian, Asian or white British in background, all roughly between the ages of 13-16 years of age. 59 schoolchildren wrote essays on the topic "Why I Watch Television". The children were all informed that these essays were never to be seen by their teacher nor were they to be marked.

The initial selection of items was on as broad a base as possible to try to represent areas of gratification which had previously been demonstrated in research (areas of social utility, personal identification, surveillance, escape, social utility), as well as to try to allow for potentially new areas to emerge. The final list of 83 items was administered along with the parent-peer scale and "Who Would You Go To If" scale to the sample of 48 male adolescent subjects. The items

were presented along with a 5-point Likert scale, viz;

I Strongly Disagree (1)	I Disagree (2)	I neither agree or disagree (3)	I Agree (4)	I strongly agree (5)

Analysis. All the items were entered into an intercorrelation matrix, and both Spearman rho, and Pearson product-moment correlations were computed. The agreement between both sets of correlations was extremely high and, given this, it was decided to use the product-moment correlations and assume that the equal appearing intervals represented by the Likert scales did in fact exist. The inter-correlation matrix was then used as the basis for an average linkage cluster analysis. The average linkage analysis would enable a reduction of data by selecting items which cluster together along dimensions representative of the original matrix (Blashfield, 1976). As a reliability check alpha coefficients (α) and mean intercorrelations of each item with every other cluster members ($\bar{r}ij$) were computed. Six clusters emerged (see Table 5) representing a subset of 41 of the original 83 items.[8]

It is worth noting that while the clusters which emerged represent many of the areas which have been identified in earlier studies, there was an unprecedented preponderance of clusters falling within the personal identity/personal reference area. A likely explanation for this finding would seem to rest with the age of the present sample. Adolescence, as has been formerly indicated, is typically a time associated with crises of 'identity' (Erikson, 1963). If media use does represent purposeful activity then it is not surprising that the quest for identity is continued in front of the television screen.

8. For a discussion of the interpretation which may be given to clusters such as these see Chapter 5.

Table 5

T.V. GRATIFICATION CLUSTERS

Cluster 1. Window on the World Function.

T.V. helps me to keep in touch with things going on in the world.

T.V. shows me how others manage who are less well off, or handicapped, in some way as compared to myself.

T.V. shows me things I would normally never see.

I sometimes have to explain T.V. programmes to my parents.

Television helps me to learn about people who are different from myself.

T.V. shows you what the world is really like.

T.V. is a good source of information.

Telly broadens my outlook on life.

$$\alpha = .8439$$

$$\bar{r}ij = .4033$$

Cluster 2. Personal Identity - Self Affirmation.

T.V. lets me feel I am right there where things are happening.

Sometimes the people I see on T.V. have the same opinions and beliefs I do.

I spend a lot of time talking to my friends about things I see on television.

Watching T.V. I can get a view of someone else leading my life.

I watch T.V. to get away from my parent's nagging.

I sometimes feel embarrassedby things I see on T.V.

$$\alpha = .7476$$

$$\bar{r}ij = .33052$$

Cluster 3. T.V. Dependence and Involvement.

I feel guilty about wasting so much time on T.V.

I find I get involved with the people and situations shown.

T.V. is really the only entertainment there is.

Watching T.V. is a very good, enjoyable way to spend time.

I do not think I could live without T.V.

I watch T.V. because I like an escape from reality.

$$\alpha = .7324$$

$$\bar{r}_{ij} = .3133$$

Cluster 4. Personal Reference with Para-Social Interaction.

T.V. allows me to keep in touch with places and things I used to know.

There are certain programmes I never miss and everything else I do is fitted around them.

T.V. helps to bring the family together.

Teaches me about people like myself.

Turning to T.V. is like dropping in on a friend.

Watching T.V. is like spending time with a friend.

$$\alpha = .8177$$

$$\bar{r}_{ij} = .4278$$

Cluster 5. School of Life - Personal Identity Aspirant.

T.V. shows me what the world will be like.

T.V. shows me what life used to be like.

Sometimes I wish my life could be more like the lives of people I see on T.V.

T.V. teaches me about life.

T.V. shows me the kind of person I could be.

T.V. makes me think of how I would like to be.

T.V. shows me how to get on with other people.

Some programmes show me what others think about people like me.

T.V. helps me to get on in the world.

T.V. shows me what I want to know more about.

$$\alpha = .8439$$

$$\bar{r}_{ij} = .3754$$

Cluster 6. Diversion.

Watching T.V. is relaxing.

I watch T.V. because it helps me forget about my problems.

Telly is a cheap form of entertainment.

There are some programmes I go out of my way not to miss.

T.V. has become almost a necessity rather than an object of pleasure.

$$\alpha = .7146$$

$$\bar{r}ij = .3337$$

As former gratification type studies had been conducted primarily among adults (Blumler, et al. 1970; Katz, et al. 1973) or younger children (Greenberg, 1974) they would necessarily have highlighted different gratifications more appropriate to those age groups.

Concluding Remarks

These scales represented the main instruments to be developed for use in the final study. Three of these scales, the measure of parent-peer relations, the "Who Would You Go To If" scale, and the television gratification statements had been administered to the same sample of 48 male adolescents. This allowed for a preliminary examination of the relationship between media gratification and background variables once the scales had been formulated. To this end Pearson product-moment correlations were computed between the sample's scores on the separate scales of parent and peer relations, willingness to approach various persons or groups, and endorsements on each of the gratification areas. The results of Table 6 below indicate the significant findings.[9]

9. As this was intended as a hypothesis generating exercise correlations above .2, p=.15, n = 48, were accepted as indicating potentially significant trends.

Table 6

SIGNIFICANT TRENDS IN THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BACKGROUND VARIABLES AND TELEVISION GRATIFICATION (N=48)

Correlated Variables			Pearson r	P
Relationship with Parents	and	Personal Identity Aspirant (Cluster 5)	-.36	.01
Relationship with Parents	and	Personal Reference (Cluster 4)	-.29	.05
Conflict Between Parents/Peers	and	T.V. Dependence (Cluster 3)	.39	.006
Willingness to Approach Parents	and	Learning	.32	.025
Willingness to Approach Parents	and	T.V. Dependence (Cluster 3)	-.21	.15
Willingness to Approach Religious Leaders	and	Personal Identity Aspirant (Cluster 5)	.35	.02
Willingness to Approach Teachers	and	Personal Identity Aspirant (Cluster 5)	.34	.02

Of the seven relationships which approached statistical significance, five involved parent and/or peer relationships. The pattern of correlations tended to demonstrate that youths having good relations with their parents were generally less likely to use television for personal identity (cluster 5) or personal reference seeking (cluster 4). This might imply that the parents are going at least some way towards serving these functions. This view would be strengthened by the fact that youths having conflictive relations between parents and peers showed a greater reliance on the media than those having good relations with their parents. Furthermore, youths who showed a greater willingness to approach persons outside of the family were also using television more for personal identity seeking (cluster 5). The correlation noted between willingness to approach parents and viewing television for learning (Window on the World, Cluster 1) could conceivably imply two relations: either the orientation towards parents predisposes a greater respect for knowledge, hence the information seeking, or that the secure relationship with one's parents provides the youths with a firm base from which to widen their horizons.

Confirmation for all of these relationships would be sought in the final survey.

Selection of the Final Sample

As previously noted, one of the main objectives of the present research was to examine the relationship of cultural identity and mass media use. This necessitated a subject population which was culturally distinct from the British, assuming a white British control

group as the criterion against which comparisons would be made. One also wanted a population which was relatively homogeneous so that the variance between the criterion and comparison groups would ideally be greater than the variance within each group. Discussions among the West Indian youths had indicated that they or their parents came from a number of different islands in the West Indies. In addition some youths came from racially mixed family backgrounds and many were living with single parents or relations in lieu of nuclear family settings. The Asians, on the other hand, were all Muslims, either the children of first generation immigrants or themselves first generation immigrants. In addition to this most of the Muslims hailed from a very limited area of the Gujerat in India, indeed most Batley Muslims tend to come from three villages in the Gujerat and, with rare exception, are of pure racial backgrounds. Another advantage to studying the Muslim group was that these youths seemed to possess a more cohesive sense of identity than the West Indian youths. Given the size of the Muslim population,[10] and the absence of any other visible minority group in the town, the Muslim parents were able to act in a concerted manner to foster the cultural identity of their offspring. For example, the parents successfully lobbied for the school to provide religious instruction for the youths on Friday afternoons, the Islamic Sabbath. In contrast, the West Indians were much less organized as a group and seemed to possess a more diffuse sense of identity. They represented only one of a number of minority groups in their school.

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10. The Muslims numbered approximately 2,800 out of a total population of 41,000 in Batley according to 1974 estimates.

A further consideration was that given the size and social composition of the Batley community, one was confident that selecting a sample of white youths from the same community school as the Muslims would enable reasonable control of socio-economic status background variables.

For all of these reasons it was decided to concentrate in the final survey on the Batley Muslims and to use a white British control group drawn from the same town. Sample matching occurred on age and form class, using a virtually complete sample of Muslims drawn from the first three forms of the all male Batley High School. Boys from below average forms were eliminated in order to ensure comprehension of the questionnaire. The Muslim sample was selected first and then matched with the first white British youth from the same class who was of similar age and from a similar housing area, i.e. council estate, private terraced house, outlying community, inner-town area, etc. The deputy headmaster assisted in the matching. A total of 90 Muslim youths and 90 white youths were selected in all. Owing to illness and absence from school, however, the final sample consisted of 90 Muslim youths and 81 white Britons. Table 7 below indicates the socio-economic status differences between the two samples.

Table 7

COMPARISON OF BACKGROUNDS OF THE MUSLIM AND WHITE SAMPLES

(Percentages are given to nearest whole number)

Place of Birth:

White Sample	N	%	Muslim Sample	N	%
Great Britain	81	100	Africa (Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda)	8	9
			Great Britain	31	34
			India	36	40
			Pakistan	14	16
			Singapore	1	1
Totals	81	100%		90	100%

Parents Occupation:	White				Muslim			
	father		mother		father		mother	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper Middle Class and middle class: Intermediate and Higher Managerial Administrative and professional.	3	4						
Lower Middle Class: Supervisory or clerical, junior managerial or junior administrative and professional.	9	11	7	9	1	1		
Skilled Working Class: Skilled Manual workers, small shopkeepers, constables, etc.	36	44	11	14	15	16.7	2	2
Unskilled Working Class: Semi skilled, unskilled State pensions	19	24	39	48	47	52	2	2
Unemployed	9	11	22	27	22	24	83	92
Deceased, not living with family	5	6	1	1	5	6	3	3
Totals	81	100%	81	100%	90	100%	90	99%

Final Survey Administration

During the autumn of 1976, the 171 participants in the study were informed of when survey administration would begin. Given the author's presence in the school since the previous January, she felt confident that rapport existed with the youths. The boys were assembled by year in the central hall of the school, and the questionnaires were administered aurally, with one teacher in addition to the author in order to ensure that anyone needing special attention could be taken through the difficult parts individually. There were six such sessions, each lasting approximately 1½ hours. The directions were read out loud, examples explained and then each item was read aloud along with the response alternatives. After a brief interval we would proceed to the following question, pause, and so on. Subjects were encouraged to raise their hands or call out to request help if they did not understand any of the questions.

During the week of October 31 - November 6 all of the participants in the study completed diaries. All of the youths had previously completed one-day practice diaries. The youths were encouraged to seek help from their teachers if they had any difficulty in filling these in. At this same time interviews with the Muslim youths commenced. In all 86 youths were interviewed by January 1977. A checklist of the items covered in these interviews is appended (see Appendix E).

Chapter 3. A COMPARISON OF THE MUSLIM AND WHITE SAMPLES: CULTURAL AND SOCIAL AFFILIATIONS

Unlike the West Indians, the Asians never perceived their migration to Britain as indicative of a socio-cultural affinity. Prior to their emigration for political reasons, as in the expulsion of Asians from Kenya in 1968 or from Uganda in 1971, the voluntary immigration to the United Kingdom was undertaken primarily for economic purposes. It was almost invariably regarded as a temporary measure (and some would still insist it is) in order to accrue wealth to ease the domestic situation and elevate the status of both those remaining in the village and the migrant. Indeed, the decision to emigrate, as with most major decisions, was usually jointly made and financed by both family and kin. The pattern was one of male migration marked by the maintenance of familial obligations through sending or bringing of money and gifts (Wickenden, 1958; Khan, 1977). Only gradually did the men bring their wives over to Britain, or if unmarried, return to the village to marry in order to further cement relations. For many, the period between leaving the village and being joined by the wife exceeded ten years.[1] During this time they sought long working hours and financial renumeration in order to maintain their honour with the home village through continued financial support as well as saving to buy a house in Britain. Given alien dress, religion, dietary habits and customs, and language, it would be difficult for the Asian to regard Britain as a kindred culture in the way a West Indian might. Whereas the West Indian might sense his distance from

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1. The Times of 17 February 1961 estimates that by the beginning of 1961 there were between 3,500 - 5,000 immigrants in Bradford, only approximately 100 of whom had been joined by their wives.

white Britons and resent a de facto situation of separate but unequal, the Asian is likely to perceive the division and welcome it as a case of separate and equal. To quote J. Wickenden (1958),

> Those who have the most clear cut and distinct culture of their own are the least likely to become involved in friction; they do not wish to enter or to become integrated in the British system. They are not hurt by rejection from a society they have no wish to enter, the chances of social misunderstanding are thus less. (p. 18-19)

The views propounded by Wickenden may be rather exaggerated in their simplicity. Cultural differences may become a political issue and hence a source of friction, irrespective of the desires of the culture's members to avoid such conflict. Similarly, the wish to sustain a separate ethnicity does not necessarily preclude a desire for economic integration. Indeed, the Asian community has certainly made inroads in this respect in Great Britain. Nonetheless, one might well expect an attitude of self-sufficiency to flourish in the Asian community, providing their own outlets for both cultural and leisure pursuits, and centred on a common religion.

The language barrier, most notable in the Asian women over, say, 40 years led to the provision of Asian films and an Asian press, catering exclusively for the needs of the community. The former would provide a meeting place for maintaining contact with other Asians in the local community as well as an art form which is highly expressive of Asian culture and values. The latter provides a mouthpiece for the community leaders as well as affording a forum for discussion of current affairs in both the domestic and overseas Asian community.

While all of the forementioned would seem to be particularly applicable to Asian adults in Britain, its relevance to Asian youths is less straightforward. For one thing, the youths usually never made the decision to emigrate; they were either sent for or brought over by their parents, or born here. Nor do they have the same direct obligation to kin in India or Pakistan to maintain allegiance to those who sponsored their parents' journey here. They usually do not cherish the, often self-deluding, belief of their parents that their stay in Britain is only transitory; for many youths it is the only home they have ever known. Given this, they are likely to differ from their parents in their attitudes and receptivity towards the British lifestyle and culture. During the early school years the Asian boy is likely to interact freely with white Britons; both boys would share similar interests in sport and games and jointly participate in these in school. In the home setting the orientation would be more towards an Asian culture (heritage) - in the case of the Muslims, a strong emphasis on religion and the Koran. Generally Gujerati, Punjabi or Urdu would be spoken in the home, as it is often the only available language with which to communicate with an older or, sometimes pre-school, family member. Despite the fact that many children can speak the traditional language, they frequently cannot read or write it, as is also the case among some parents.

Hence the Muslim youth is most likely to be exposed to a cultural interface, and would be expected to function and participate in each side daily, one in the school among classmates, the other at home with

family. Whereas it may be possible for the Asian-reared adults to regard themselves as culturally distinct or separate from British norms and thus to maintain a certain detachment or aloofness from the typically British institutions such as the pub, the 'chippy' or the working men's club, this may not be possible for the British-raised youths. For the child the cultural distinctions are often unclear and may result in identity confusion or identity conflict. They are often torn between becoming like the youths they know from school, adopting the culture they are surrounded with, and/or maintaining the culture they inherited. Some may try to straddle the cultural divide and maintain one foot in each camp.

With this as a background, the aim of the present chapter will be to delineate differences between the white and Muslim samples in their social and cultural affiliations as well as in their use of the mass media. If Islamic culture lays greater emphasis on various aspects of life such as religious and familial activities than does British culture, we would expect the Asian sample to place a different emphasis on these aspects than would their British counterparts. Furthermore, if this were the case, then the amount of time devoted to such activities should impinge on the time available to pursue other activities. On the other hand, we could expect that if their common background is mitigating the cultural differences between the Muslims and white youths, then attitudes and responses of both sets of youths are likely to be similar. In this first chapter we will concentrate on the social and psychological variables and how these relate to our samples. We will begin by looking at the attitudes of both sets of youths towards groups of individuals who

may be considered potential sources of information and/or influence, such as parents, teachers, siblings, peers, and religious leaders. Next we will examine how the Muslim and white samples perceive both themselves and each other, as indicated by endorsements on the semantic differential scales. Throughout the discussion we will be concerned with the extent to which Islamic culture and tradition is influencing the day-to-day lifestyle of the Muslim adolescent, and how these cultural-religious demands may be emphasizing the differences between the two sets of youths. In the next chapter we will look at differences in the use of the mass media.

'WHO WOULD YOU GO TO IF' SCALES

The ten items comprising this scale were intended to provide an indication of the overall inclination of each sample to approach people who could be seen as potential sources of information or social influence. These questions should also provide information about the kind of situation in which each type of would-be adviser is going to be most useful. There are five groups of individuals here: parents, teachers, religious leaders, siblings, friends. These represent both older and same age alternatives, familial and non-relation groups. For the Asian sample, they would also separate into Asian versus British groups, with parents, siblings, and religious teachers falling within the Muslim camp, and teachers primarily in the British camp.[2] Although there were three Asian teachers in the school, only two of these were Muslim. Friends, as will be discussed later, for the Muslim group mainly consisted of other Muslims, while for the British they were mostly whites. The results of these items are

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2. There were two members of the Asian sample whose mothers were British. In both cases the father was Muslim, and the children were being raised within the Islamic faith.

indicated in Appendix F. Comparisons between samples on overall reliance on each group are provided in Tables 8 and 9.

The most striking point to emerge here in considering the overall trends is that both Muslims and whites tend to preserve the same patterns of overall dependence: in general parents are most frequently approached, then friends, followed closely by siblings; teachers are less typically approached, as are religious leaders. What this tends to highlight is the significance of the family for both adolescent groups with peers beginning to make inroads into the parental supremacy as the boys grow older.

Looking at the between sample comparisons, there are small but statistically significant differences in the use of parents and religious leaders. Whereas the white sample tends to approach parents more than the Muslim group, the Muslim sample is more willing to approach religious leaders. Over the situations queried, 36% of the time the white youths chose to approach parents, whereas 40% of the Muslim youths choices indicated approaching parents. Similarly 5% of the nominations among white youths were for religious leaders, versus 7% among the Muslim sample. Not surprisingly the pattern of approach for both groups seems to be somewhat related to age. For both groups there is a peak in the approach to parents at around thirteen and fourteen years, with both younger and older boys going to parents less frequently. For the Muslim sample age is unrelated to dependence on religious leaders, $\bar{r}$ Pearson r (age:religious leaders) = .057, but for the white sample the older one becomes the less religious leaders are approached $\bar{r}$ Pearson r (age:religious leaders) = .287.

The pattern of approaching parents begins to assume more meaning

Table 8

CROSS-SAMPLE COMPARISONS ON "WHO WOULD YOU GO TO IF?" SCALES*

Sample	Muslims		Whites				
Group	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	Comparison	D.F.	P
Friends	.22	(.12)	.20	(.11)	t = .83	169	n.s.
Parents	.36	(.09)	.40	(.12)	t = 2.35	169	$<.05$
Religious Leaders	.07	(.05)	.05	(.05)	t = 2.60	169	$<.01$
Siblings	.21	(.10)	.20	(.12)	t = .43	169	n.s.
Teachers	.14	(.09)	.15	(.08)	t = .58	169	n.s.

* Scores for each sample are computed out of a maximum possible score of 1. A score of 1 indicates that a group will be approached across all situations queried.

Table 9

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE TO "WHO WOULD YOU GO TO IF?" CHOICES

Sample	Muslims			Whites		
Group	Pearson r (age : group)	N	P	Pearson r (age : group)	N	P
Friends	.36	(90)	$<.001$	.26	81	$<.01$
Parents	-.16	(90)	.06	-.07	81	n.s.
Religious Leaders	.03	(90)	n.s.	-.26	81	.01
Siblings	.05	(90)	n.s.	.21	81	.03
Teachers	-.38	(90)	$<.001$	-.42	81	$<.001$

when we take into account the relative importance of other groups at different ages. The decline of parental approach in early and late adolescent years may be seen against the increased reliance of younger boys, irrespective of race, on teachers, /̄Pearson r (white; age: teachers) = -.45; Pearson r (Muslim; age: teachers) = -.387 and the tendency for older boys, again irrespective of race, to increasingly pursue friends /̄Pearson r (white; age : friends) = .28; Pearson r (Muslim; age: friends) = .397. This pattern would tend to indicate a shift of orientation from school to home to peer dependencies with the approach of later adolescence. Siblings maintain a constant position within the hierarchy for Muslims at all ages, /̄Pearson r (age: siblings) = .047; whereas, the British group tends to rely more on siblings as they grow older, /̄Pearson r (age:siblings) = .227.

The reasons behind these apparent shifts of emphasis should become clearer upon examination of the areas that each reference group is nominated for.

If we first look at the Muslim responses one finds that the items tend to dichotomize into those areas where siblings and peers are predominantly approached versus those where parents and siblings provide the first alternatives. This suggests that for the Muslims the issues raised in these items could be separated into ones which are appropriate for discussion with or approaching parents about, versus those that are more suitable for peers. Siblings would seem to span the divide between these groups. The only items where parents are the first to be selected are:

Who would you talk to about trouble you were having in school?

Who would you talk to about doubts you may have about religion?

Who would you most like to be like in, say,10 years time?

The selection of parents as a group to be identified with in the future is possibly indicative of identification along ethnic lines, given that the choice of parents is closely followed by siblings and friends, most of whom, as previously indicated, are Muslim. On the other hand, it also highlights the greater respect for parents by the Muslims when compared with the white sample. On the questionnaire dealing with quality of relations with parents the Muslim sample scores are slightly, but significantly higher than the white sample's. ($t=3.0$, d.f. 169, $p \leq .001$).[3] Furthermore, whereas the quality of relationship with parents for the whites tends to decrease from early to later adolescence [Pearson r (age: parents) = -.19, $p \leq .057$, the Muslim's relationship is maintained at an even keel throughout this period.

This result must be examined in conjunction with the scale of parent-peer conflict. On these items the Muslim group scores only slightly less than the white sample ($t= -1.138$, d.f. 169, $p < .20$),

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3. Quality of Relations with Parents

	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N
Muslims	22.89	3.86	90
Whites	21.07	4.02	81

Note. A higher score indicates better relations.

indicating marginally lower levels of conflict.

For both groups this parent-peer conflict seems to be unrelated to age /Pearson r (Muslim, age: conflict) = .03; Pearson r (whites, age: conflict) = .067. So it would seem that while both samples are experiencing conflict in their parent-peer relations, for the whites the solution seems to lie in gradually drawing away from their parents and orienting themselves more towards peers, while for the Muslims, the answer is in going to friends more and parents less, although preserving good relations with parents. The explanation for these differences in strategy probably lies in the religious and cultural background. In Islam, the family represents an institution which is deemed to have been included in the Revealed Law of God and outlined in the Koran. As such, respect for the family group and the parents' role within it, is implicit in the life of a Muslim. Denial of the widsom and authority of parents would be tantamount to denial of the teachings of the Koran. So while the Muslim youth may find it difficult to reconcile the differences between competing reference groups, he does not deny the role of the parent as central to the family unit. We will now proceed to concentrate our discussion on the Muslim sample and return later to consider the white group.

It is noteworthy that there are two areas for the Muslims where one would also expect parents to be important, girls and career choice, but their nomination here is lacking. Indeed parents are second to last as a group that the Muslims would approach concerning career decisions, with teachers the most favoured group, followed by siblings, then friends. This pattern suggests that while parents

may be revered for their role within the family and emulated for their religious example, they are seen as somewhat out of touch with British society. Hence when it comes to making decisions concerning one's future role in British society, the Muslim boys tend to talk to those individuals who have a more intimate understanding of it, namely teachers and siblings and friends.

The selection of siblings as a group to discuss girls with, followed by friends and then parents is probably a reflection of the significance of the marital agreement in Islam. It is the recognized right of the father to contract marriage for a son below puberty and to arrange for the marriage of a daughter to whomsoever he pleases. Indeed it is the male next of kin of the respective parties that is the formal contractor in marriage, not the bride and groom. In addition, it is seen as important for the male to remain chaste before marriage as it is for the female, although it is easier to turn a blind eye to transgression by the males. Given all of this, most of the Muslim sample will expect to have an arranged marriage. Of the 86 Muslims who were interviewed, 71 agreed that parents or relations would find them a wife. Given the practice of biraderi endogamy, most of these boys, if not already contracted in marriage, can expect to marry a relation, ideally their father's brother's daughter. Seventy-seven Muslims indicated that they would only consider marrying a Muslim, despite the fact that the Koran allows men, but not women, to marry Christians or Jews, provided they are willing to convert to Islam. Familial sanctions are strong enough to ensure that this rarely occurs, though.

Although 'purdah' is not followed as such by the Batley Muslims, the honour of the Muslim women is closely guarded by both the community at large and male relations specifically. Indeed the Asian community has been able to successfully resist government plans for the local schools to become comprehensive and Batley still maintains single-sexed secondary schools. These protective attitudes towards women would account for the fact that whereas seventy-two percent of the white sample's mothers work, only four percent of the Muslim's mothers are employed. Of those Asian women who do work, two are employed in the local factory in the exclusive company of other women. While the traditional 'salwar', the baggy trousers which tighten at the ankle, have given way to trouser suits, the women, and girls included, still take care about their dress so as to guard against exposing their arms and legs or otherwise reveal the shape of their bodies. A scarf is often worn by the women around the neck as a token veil. There is a longstanding argument between parents and school authorities about the indecency of the British gymslip, which prompted one parent to withdraw his daughters from school.

Dating, by either sex, is strictly frowned upon. Sixty-nine of the Muslims interviewed said they would mind if their sisters went out with boys. Only six boys admitted to having gone out on dates with girls. All of the dating that had occurred was of a clandestine nature usually unknown to either the boys or the girl's parents, and consisting of pre-arranged rendezvous in cafes or cinemas, or other public places. (One favourite place for such meetings is the local library, a place which could manifestly scarcely be objected to).

Against this background then, it is not surprising that discussion of girls for the Muslims are usually furtive and more likely a matter for advice from older siblings and speculation among friends than conversation with disapproving parents.

In all of the remaining areas it is siblings, followed by peers who are selected first by Muslims, i.e.

Who would you go to if you needed money?

Who do you think understands you best?

If you were worried about something or feeling down in the dumps, who would you turn to?

Who do you think you could depend on most to help you through difficult times?

Who do you usually confide in or share your secrets with?

What stands out about these areas are their expressive/emotional flavour. It is as though siblings would seem to have an advantage over both parents and peers. The supremacy over parents stems from the age factor and also the similarity of experience as a Muslim spending one's formative years in a non-Islamic culture and trying to reconcile the differences between the competing cultures. The advantage over peers arises from the sharing of family bonds, and again the central role of family in Islam must be remembered.

In summarizing the patterns of responses for the Muslims we can note firstly the predominance of family groups - either parents or siblings as first choices. Nine out of the ten questions produce either parents or siblings as a first choice. The second point to bear in mind is the dichotomy between the authoritative and expressive

roles of parents versus siblings, with parents seen as more appropriate for the former and siblings for the latter. Thirdly, it is worth bearing in mind the position which the siblings occupy as somehow spanning the gap between parents and peer group. Lastly, but perhaps most significantly, is the relatively minor role that religious leaders appear to play as reference groups, despite the significance of religion in their daily lives. On all but one item, 'Who would you talk to about doubts you may have about religion?', religious leaders are the last group to be cited. There are two possible interpretations for this. One is that the religion can be interpreted as involving a way of life and is therefore all-embracing. Given this pervasiveness religious leaders, although respected, should play no greater role in the Muslim's life than any other group. Another interpretation could be that the adolescent simply does not aspire to emulate the religious leaders and therefore does not regard them as a reasonable reference group. The actual reason probably is somewhere between these two interpretations. The religious leaders are not likely to be particularly useful for these boys in sorting out any of the problems outside of religious ones, which they may expect to encounter. Indeed, the problems which religious leaders may be most helpful for, could probably be coped with as well by parents. With regard to the significance of religious attendance, the 'typical' youth would spend roughly 8 hours a week attending mosque for Islamic education. For many of these boys, mosque attendance can be considered on a par with school attendance, the only difference being the content of the curriculum. As with secular education, attendance at mosque is regarded as somewhat compulsory, given that parents expect it, the

religion requires it, and most of one's peers are also attending. The position of the religious leaders then can be interpreted as similar to that of teachers, only for religious matters more particularly. Given this, it is not so surprising that the significance attached to them is rather less than that afforded teachers, as their role can be seen as more specialised.

Turning to the white subjects, the response patterns on these items are not so straightforward. The first thing to note is the greater diversity of reliance among the white sample when compared to the Muslims. Whereas the Muslims indicate family as a first choice on all but one item, this is the case on seven of the ten questions for the whites, with friends and teachers filling the other nominations. This reliance on family members seems to be characteristic of both sets of youths, but for the whites the dividing line between roles for family and other groups is less clear cut, as is the distinction within the family group between domains for siblings and parents. The expressive/authority areas separating parental areas from siblings or peer choices among the Muslim sample does not emerge for the whites.

Parents are selected first on two of the three items that they were nominated first for by the Muslims, namely:

Who would you talk to about trouble you were having at school?

Who would you talk to about doubts you may have about religion?

As with the Muslim sample this would emphasize the parents' position of authority. Unlike the Muslims though, this position of authority is somewhat softened by a greater willingness to speak to parents about girls as well as to confide in them. The religious background

could be seen as accounting for some of this difference, but perhaps as important would be the greater familiarity of the British parent with his son's lifestyle and problems. Many of the Asian parents, having been born and educated in India, and growing up in extended kin network in a rural village, would have little understanding of the social or educational difficulties of their children. Unfamiliarity with the language would serve as a further hindrance. The increased tendency of the white boys to cite parents before siblings and peers as an appropriate group to discuss career choice with, as compared to the Muslims citing teachers, siblings, peers, and then parents, would further attest to this interpretation.

Teachers would appear to play a more significant role for the white sample than for the Muslims. In both of the items previously cited the nomination of parents is followed by teachers, and in two further cases teachers appear first:

Who would you talk to about choosing a job or career?; and

Who do you think understands you best?

Interestingly for both samples, parents and religious leaders are perceived as the groups who understand them least. The increased importance of teachers for this group probably stems from two factors: firstly, the amount of time spent in school and therefore in contact with teachers; and secondly, the fact that most teachers are of the same race and sex[4] as themselves and can therefore provide an appropriate sex role model for identification. The racial difference between Muslim

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4. During 1976-77 there were only two female teachers on the staff of the school.

youths and teachers would most likely preclude identification. So although both groups have the same overall dependency on teachers, the scope for the Muslim group is much more restricted to more practical areas, such as career's advice and school problems.

On two items, the white responses correspond precisely to the Muslim's, namely:

Who would you go to if you needed money?; and

Would do you think you could depend on most to help you through difficult times?

In both cases siblings appear as first choice. Siblings seem to play almost as significant a role for the white sample as for the Muslims. Their position can be seen as providing a confidante who is just a bit more intimate than a friend, while clearly lacking the authoritative role of the parent or teacher.

There is only one item in which friends are chosen first, that is;

If you were worried about something or feeling down in the dumps, who could you turn to?

It is perhaps surprising that the peer group does not figure more prominently among these adolescents. Looking at the tables relating age to group dependence, however, one can only hypothesize that as these boys reach late adolescence the trend of decreasing relations with parents, coupled with a tendency to seek their advice less, will be balanced out by an increase in the trend already indicated of older boys to seek out siblings and peers more frequently.

MUSLIM AND WHITE SELF-EVALUATION

The next scale for comparison is concerned with evaluation of

Asian and British ethnic groups by the Muslim and white samples. These items are designed to provide both qualitative and quantitative information about each group's perception of themselves as seen against their impression of the other ethnic group. For the Muslims, these data may be interpreted as indicating the discrepancy between actual and ascribed status, and potential or desired status. In other words, these data should indicate in what ways the Muslim youths perceive their actual status group, that is Asians, as distinct from the British. In so far as the British represent an out-group which is also in the cultural majority, it is reasonable to assume that for some Muslims British status, not only in terms of citizenship, but in terms of being recognized as such by the indigenous Britons, may be a goal which is aspired towards. The direction of the discrepancy between the evaluations of "British People" and "Asian People" should indicate whether or not the Asians actually perceive the British as a group they identity with or would want to identify with. Using the distinction between the white sample's evaluations of "British People" vs. "Asian People" we should get an indication of the gulf which the potential reference group perceives to exist between itself and an aspiring out group. This should provide a gauge of the amount of resistance an Asian person, irrespective of his British citizenship, would have to overcome before being considered 'British'. In addition, using the individual items we may judge in which areas the discrepancy is greatest, and the degree to which each group's self-appraisal is validated by the other. The overall and individual scale comparisons are noted in Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10

COMPARISONS OF WHITE AND MUSLIM YOUTHS'

EVALUATIONS OF 'BRITISH PEOPLE' AND 'ASIAN PEOPLE'

Concept:	BRITISH PEOPLE				ASIAN PEOPLE			
Sample:	WHITE		MUSLIM		WHITE		MUSLIM	
Scale	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Friendly-Unfriendly	5.40	(1.38)	5.06	(1.46	4.63	(1.70)	5.73	(1.51)
Clever-Thick	4.99	(1.49)	5.20	(1.63)	4.36	(1.61)	5.00	(1.61)
Religious-Unreligious	4.68	(1.52)	4.38	(1.92)	5.95	(1.77)	6.38	(1.36)
Nice-Nasty	4.84	(1.35)	4.69	(1.73)	4.49	(1.43)	5.19	(1.49)
Strong-Weak	4.91	(1.42)	4.83	(1.64)	3.94	(1.57)	4.96	(1.62)
Selfish-Unselfish	4.41	(1.47)	4.68	(1.48)	4.06	(1.46)	4.60	(1.80)
Clean-Dirty	5.25	(1.44)	5.4	(1.38)	4.22	(1.68)	5.61	(1.61)
Hardworking-Lazy	4.90	(1.77)	4.91	(1.67)	4.16	(1.75)	5.52	(1.60)
Honest-Dishonest	4.54	(1.40)	4.33	(1.62)	4.44	(1.54)	5.89	(1.42)
Beautiful-Ugly	4.84	(1.24)	5.11	(1.25)	3.27	(1.61)	5.01	(1.47)
Valuable-Worthless	5.22	(1.48)	4.72	(1.37)	3.88	(1.70)	5.14	(1.50)
Happy-Sad	4.94	(1.40)	5.37	(1.58)	4.72	(1.43)	5.07	(1.75)
Peaceful-Violent	3.90	(1.74)	3.89	(2.00)	4.59	(1.67)	5.51	(1.69)
Friend-Enemy	5.15	(1.37)	4.89	(1.80)	4.15	(1.78)	5.73	(1.61

Table 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL RATINGS

A

Concept:	ASIAN PEOPLE					
Sample:	MUSLIM			WHITE		
Age	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N
11	79.47	(10.44)	15	63.39	(10.01)	13
12	77.83	(11.35)	18	63.80	(14.43)	20
13	75.15	(12.01)	13	60.12	(10.88)	17
14	72.54	(18.42)	35	57.33	(13.76)	27
15	72.50	(15.23)	8	65.0	(8.17)	4
16	92.00	(0)	1	-	-	-
Overall	75.34	(19.8)	90	60.86	(12.7)	81

B

Concept:	BRITISH PEOPLE					
Sample:	MUSLIM			WHITE		
Age	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N
11	76.07	(12.96)	15	68.69	(9.22)	13
12	67.72	(17.34)	18	68.35	(9.05)	20
13	66.31	(8.19)	13	65.53	(7.95)	17
14	64.69	(11.71)	35	67.00	(10.87)	27
15	63.32	(9.02)	8	80.50	(10.08)	4
16	78.00	(0)	1	-	-	-
Overall	67.45	(12.9)	90	67.96	(9.8)	81

Note. A higher score indicates a more favourable rating.

If we begin by looking at the overall group comparisons, the first two points to emerge are: 1) the congruity between the white sample's self-evaluation and the Muslim's appraisal of them; and 2) the disparity in their judgements of 'Asians'. The overall mean ratings for the concept 'British People' are 67.96 (s.d. 9.8) and 67.45 (s.d. 12.9) for the white and Muslim samples respectively. The differences between these scores are clearly not significant ($t = 0.29$, 169 d.f., n.s.). The overall means on the concept 'Asian People' for the Muslim and white samples respectively are 75.34 (s.d. 19.8) and 60.86 (s.d. 12.7); these differences are highly significant ($t = 6.89$, 169 d.f., $p < .001$). These results seem to highlight a number of things. Firstly, they show the Asians as having a fairly realistic perception of the British, if one accepts a group's self-appraisal as the criterion. They regard the British as highly as the British seem to hold themselves. Not only are their overall opinions similar, but the component judgements are similar as well. Examination of the individual scale item scores shows the largest Muslim/white discrepancy to be 0.5 on the item 'valuable-worthless', with half of the discrepancies less than or equal to 0.2.

Looking to the ratings of the concept 'Asian', however, we find that the samples have widely differing views. Part of this difference can be accounted for by the fact that each group rates itself between seven and eight points above the remaining group. The British tend to devalue the Asians, whereas the Muslims tend to elevate the concept 'Asian People' relative to their judgements of 'British People'. Looking at the items which contribute to this disparity, we find that the largest differences occur on the scales which could be characterized as evaluative, namely: clean-dirty, hardworking-lazy,

honest-dishonest, beautiful-ugly, and friend-enemy. In conjunction with this, the differences between how the whites perceive the British and how they rate the Asians are greatest on the following items.

Table 12

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE SAMPLE RATINGS OF THE CONCEPTS 'BRITISH PEOPLE' AND 'ASIAN PEOPLE'

Scale	$\bar{x}$ Difference ('British People' - 'Asian People')
Beautiful-Ugly	+ 1.6
Valuable-Worthless	+ 1.4
Religious-Unreligious	- 1.3
Clean-Dirty	+ 1.0
Friend-Enemy	+ 1.0
Strong-Weak	+ 1.0

The Muslims perceive the British, however, to be most distinct from themselves on the following items.

Table 13

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MUSLIM SAMPLE RATINGS OF THE CONCEPTS 'ASIAN PEOPLE' AND 'BRITISH PEOPLE'

Scale	$\bar{x}$ Difference ('Asian People' - 'British People')
Religious-Unreligious	- 2.0
Honest-Dishonest	+ 1.5
Peaceful-Violent	+ 1.3

The religious-unreligious item is one on which the white sample score is fairly consistent with the Muslim's self attributions. If hours of attendance at mosque and Islamic school can be taken as an indication of religiousity or at least religious observance and

contrasted with hours attended at church then we can readily verify this as a reasonable perception of Asians, if only for those Asians who the white sample can be expected to have a certain knowledge of, namely the Batley Muslims. Similarly, given the congruity of the Muslim and white ratings of British on the violent-peaceful dimension, and the white judgement of Asians as more peaceful relative to themselves, we can accept the direction of the characterisation, if not its magnitude.

Twenty of the 90 Muslims claim equal or higher evaluation for the concept British over the Asians, whereas, 31 of the 81 white subjects evaluate the Asians equal to or higher than the British. The small proportion of Muslims who overestimate the out-group relative to the in-group tends to emphasize the consistent positive self-regard of this group.

In addition to describing their impressions of each group on the semantic differential scales, both samples were asked to estimate along a 7-point scale how much 'Asian People' and 'British People' respectively were like themselves, a score of 1 indicating "Very Different from Me" and a score of 7 indicating "A Lot Like Me".

Looking at the extent to which each sample identifies itself as similar to their own group characterisations, we find that there are no significant differences between the Muslims and whites. The overall means for the identification of the whites with their British characterisation and the Muslims with their Asian characterisation are 4.566 (s.d. 1.79) and 5.3 (s.d. 2.06) respectively, ($t = 1,169$ d.f., p = n.s.). There is a tendency, however, for the Muslims to say that Britons are more like themselves, than for Britons to claim that Asians are like them; the respective means are 2.64 (s.d. 1.73) and 1.90 (s.d. 1.57). The differences here are significant ($t = 2.96$, 169 d.f., $p < .01$).

We can gain an insight into how we may interpret these differences by looking at the relationship of age to these variables. There is a tendency for each group to devalue the other as they grow older, whereas evaluation of one's own group remains relatively constant throughout. A similar pattern is prevalent in the identification scores: identification with one's own group is fairly constant, but as the youths grow older they both recognize a decreasing similarity between the groups. It appears then that acceptance of, or identification with, ascribed (in-group) status is not so much a matter of default, but a matter of consistent positive identification. For the Muslims, it may be that their decreasing identification with the British results from an increasing awareness of the attitudes of the British towards them. Hence the relatively high identification scores of the 12-13 year olds become modified through recognizing that the British do not ascribe either to the opinions that the Muslims hold of themselves, or to the similarity of the two groups. This decline in identification beginning at 14 years for the Asian may also stem from feelings of alienation from, or frustration at not being able to participate in many of the activities that his British counterpart is increasingly engaged in, such as discos and dating. It follows from this that of 25 Muslims who claimed either to identify more with the British than the Muslims, or with both groups equally, 17 were 13 years or less, and 8 were from the 14-15 range.[5] Included in the later category

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5. The sample age distributions were as follows:

	≤13 years	≥14 years
Muslims	51%	49%
British	62%	38%

were the two Muslims of mixed ethnic parentage. For the whites, 19 subjects indicated no difference in their identification with either group; 12 of these were 13 years old or less, and the remainder were 14 or above. Only one white subject indicated that he identified more with the Asian group than the British. The remaining subjects in each group all indicated an identification with the actual group of membership.

It is interesting to note that among the Muslim group, there is a tendency for youths born in Britain (N=31) to rate the British more highly then those boys who are born overseas (N=59) ($\bar{x}_{\text{UK born}}$= 70.419 (S.D. 12.3); $\bar{x}_{\text{Overseas born}}$= 65.898 (S.D. 13.1); (t = 1.59, d.f. 89, $.10 \leq p \leq .25$,2-tailed test)). Similarly, those Muslims born in the United Kingdom also tend to think they are more like the British, than non-United Kingdom born Muslims ($\bar{x}_{\text{UK born}}$ = 3.1 (S.D. 2.1); $\bar{x}_{\text{Overseas born}}$ = 2.4 (S.D. 1.5); t = 1.81, d.f. 89, p $\leq$.10,2-tailed test). There are no differences between these groups ratings of or identification with Asians.

It would seem that both groups have fairly stable self-images appropos of their own ethnic group and their relationship to this group, with the Muslims having a particularly positive self-evaluation. For the Muslims, however, there is an added flirtation with the British reference group which lasts only until around puberty when the demands exerted by their own group, as well as an increased awareness of the attitudes of the British towards them, preclude further identification. The consistency of these in-group characterizations indicate both the effectiveness of the Muslim community in instilling a sense of Asian identity and culture, as well as the reluctance of the indigenous

population to allow any further claim for membership from immigrant descended group members.

INTERVIEWS ABOUT CULTURE - (Muslim Sample Only)

The last set of data to be considered in this chapter are gathered from the Muslim interviews. These data should identify certain areas where Muslim cultural traditions predominate over British ones as well as those areas in which a blending of lifestyle and custom is apparent. The coded results of these interviews are summarized in Appendix E.

The information contained herein can be conveniently separated into four main areas, these are:

1) Dietary habits;

2) Attitudes towards elders and marriage;

3) Friends and customs;

4) Media and leisure pursuits.[6]

Each of these categories may be seen as referring to habits or preferences which are either expressive of their attitudes towards Muslim or British values as well as predilections to pursue the rituals demanded by the Islamic faith. In order to appreciate the significance of adhering to these rituals, it should be understood that Islam implies a way of life based on a set of religious beliefs. As such, there does not exist the same dichotomy between religious and secular spheres as is found in contemporary Christianity. For

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6. Media and leisure pursuits will be discussed in the next chapter.

the 'Believer' the individual's spiritual adherence gains affirmation in the wider Muslim community both of which are bonded together by the common participation in prayer and ritual. There are five "Pillars of the Faith" which represent the exigences made of each Muslim. These are, briefly:

1) Profession of belief in God and acceptance of Muhammad as His Prophet;
2) Engaging in ritual prayer five times a day;
3) Giving of alms;
4) Fasting during the daylight hours of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year; and
5) At least once in his lifetime, during the twelth lunar month, the 'Believer' is exhorted to make a Pilgrimage to the Sacred Mosque at Mecca.

It is expected that profession of belief also implies acceptance of the dictates of the Koran, which imparts certain additional obligations. Namely, the faithful are to abstain from drinking alocholic beverages, gambling and eating pork; they would be expected to eat ritualistically slaughtered meat, and in general to follow the teachings of the Koran in their everyday lives. Clearly observance of these is difficult for the adolescent, and typically it is not expected that youths under twelve will fast during all of Ramadan.

Returning to the information gathered in the interviews then, we gain an impression of these youths as strongly pursuing the Muslim Community ideal in its most central aspects, namely preservation of the Islam faith, and consolidation of the Islam Community through

acquiecence to the practice of arranged marriage. However, there is a sense in which one feels the more peripheral tenets, such as dietary taboos and religious education are being relaxed in order to take account of the British lifestyle.

Apropos the dietary habits, we note that 17 of the 86 subjects interviewed eat meals only in the home. Although the school does provide a separate "approved" meal conforming to the Islamic requisites, these 17 youths suspected that the meals were perhaps less strictly prepared than they should be, and preferred to eat at home. About a third of the sample indicated favouring English food over Asian, with the most typical favourite being fish and chips. Given this preference, then it is noteworthy that the same proportion of youths were willing to relax the dietary code and occasionally eat fish and chips cooked in fat from non-ritualistically slaughtered animals. On the other hand, the rest of the youths would not, and often told of questioning the proprietor of the local 'chippy' about whether vegetable oil or animal fat was used in the preparation. In addition, only one boy indicated ever tasting pork, and that had occurred only once, "a few years back". Furthermore, only one family broke the dietary code in their home, and this was one of the families where the mother was not Muslim. Three boys indicated that they had tried or would like to taste an alcoholic beverage, again one of these boys was of mixed Muslim-Christian parentage.

Thirty-five of the 86 youths interviewed fasted throughout the 30 days of Ramadan. This figure may appear to be rather low, but it should be considered in light of the fact that these youths would be

expected to attend school as usual throughout this period. Fasting requires total abstinence from food and drink, water included, during the hours of daylight, but any amount of food may be consumed during the hours of darkness. So for those who did fast, it meant having their last meal at about five in the morning and abstaining from thereafter till about seven in the evening. Of the 45 youths who did not fast, 26 were below thirteen years of age, and 19 were thirteen or above. Six youths claimed illness as an extenuating circumstance for breaking their fasts, which is condoned by the faith.

It would appear, then, that there is a high degree of adherence in the dietary sphere, tempered by discriminating relaxation of acceptable practice. One boy's comment seems relevant here, "For small things which you hardly ever notice, we're hardly bothered." But it should also be noted that some of this adherence is only grudging. Speaking about not being able to drink alcohol or consume "haram" meat one boy indicated, " It cuts you off from your friends; you can't go out, well, you can, but it's different though".

Turning to the question concerning elders and marriage, one gains an even stronger impression of a desire to remain within the Islamic Community, as demonstrated by the overall preference for a Muslim wife and the widespread acceptance of a marriage arranged by parents. For some of these youths, though, the issues are not so straightforward. As indicated earlier, some boys have already dated girls, and others would like to. Some boys would try to reconcile what they perceive to be the problem of having an Indian born and raised wife by marrying an English raised Muslim. One comment,

reiterated by other boys was, "I wouldn't like an Indian wife, from India, 'cause she'd be a bit of a bother really. She won't know any English and she'd be .. struggling in England". Similarly for some youths, the solution to the question of possible cultural differences is to date an English girl, although they acknowledge that they would never marry one, "It would look a bit silly if a brown married a white. I don't think the girl's parents would like that, and my parents wouldn't like that".

In general, though, most boys thought that a knowledge of English was irrelevant in a future wife, but considered obedience and domestic skills as more more important. Indeed some subjects indicated a preference for Asian raised women as they would have had less exposure to the liberalizing ways of western society. Speaking of the relative advantages of Asian-, versus British- raised Muslim women, one youth noted, "They (British-raised) are not to our standards. Well, English girls want to go out every night; but Indians don't; they're strict, obey orders". Another commented, "(girls from here) are not too good. They go to cinema and all ... sort of flashy ... comb their hair and all sorts. From there (India) ... sort of plain. We want them to cook and pray, not too flashy".

The remaining areas, concerned with friendship, dress and leisure pursuits are important as they indicate the proclivities of these youths towards the British or Muslim culture in areas that are not particularly dictated by the Koran. In the area of friendship although only 15 of the sample mentioned at least one white Briton among their three 'best' friends, 55 Muslims indicated being friendly with English boys in school. (Only four Britons indicated a Muslim among their best friends). As the levels of intimacy increased to

exchanging visits outside of school and at home the number decreased to roughly one-third of the sample.

There are two factors which may be seen as militating against the efforts of Muslim youth to extend their contacts with white boys. One of these is the attendance at the mosque for religious instruction and the other factor is the efforts on the part of the parents to provide in-group opportunities for recreation.

The typical Muslim youth spends on average 8.7 hours a week in the mosque (s.d. 6.38), whereas his white counterpart is spending .2 hours (s.d. 1.05) in church, and most white youths are not attending at all. Most of the time in mosque is drawn from the 'twilight' hours directly after school, a time when children are apt to extend their relationships with schoolmates through play. Indeed if we compare the time that Muslim and white youths pass in the company of their peers, excluding school time, we find that Muslims are spending roughly half as much time with their peers. The white youths are spending on average 16 hours a weeks with peers (s.d. 9.9 hours) compared with the Muslims 8.5 hours (s.d. 5.06 hours); these differences are clearly significant ($t = 5.89$, 144 d.f., $p < .001$).

It is interesting to note that the difference between these figures is roughly equal to the time spent in mosque attendance. Owing to this severe restriction of their free time the Muslim youths are not participating in school clubs or teams as frequently as the white youths. Only 8 boys indicated participating in either school or outside clubs with white members; 14 boys indicated playing sport for a mixed team. On the other hand the Muslim Community has

encouraged itsyouths to form street teams which are coached by the older members, and to compete with each other for prizes and trophies. Thirty-four of the youths interviewed played in these teams. Given that the Muslims live in highly concentrated areas these street teams are composed almost exclusively of fellow Muslims.

Given this insularity it is not surprising to note the relative unfamiliarity of the Muslims with the local jargon commonly used by the Batley community (see Appendix D). Despite the desire by the majority of the youths to live in Great Britain when older, one senses the cultural gap which on the one hand is desired by the elders to ensure continuity of Islamic culture and on the other hand reinforced by white group solidarity. One youth's comment is worth indicating here,

> In ten years time we could easily get thrown out of here .... Some English boys, they just don't like our colour. They usually support Labour, but now that the National Party, National Front is organized they support them. You know Enoch Powell? He used to be a Liberal leader. They used to do quite well. When they really needed us, Enoch Powell was trying to get us out ... If we do get thrown out, I'm thinking of going to Arabia.

In summarizing the data reviewed in this chapter we are left with the impression of considerable similarities between the Muslim and white samples in some areas and large gulfs in others. There are strong parallels between the groups appropos their overall relationships to other reference groups such as parents, peers, teachers, religious leaders, and siblings. Yet there are very large contrasts in areas

of self-evaluation and religious practice which may be seen as developing from the different demands placed upon them by their respective in-groups. For the younger subjects of each group, there appears to be some attempt to gloss over these differences. Indeed for the younger Muslim this is taken to the point where he ventures to place, albeit rather gingerly, one foot in each camp. In time, though, these efforts are relaxed and the older Muslim adolescent seems more resigned to accept that stronger overtures to a British cultural orientation will jeopardize his standing within the Muslim Community and result, perhaps at most, in a guarded acceptance by the white community. The resolution of this dilemma seems to rest in an increased emphasis on peers who can be seen to provide at least some comfort and empathy for the situation of living in a cultural 'limbo'. One notes the increased emphasis on peer interaction with the older Muslim boys. This same pattern of emphasis is reflected in the white sample, though less strongly so, and presumably for different reasons. For the white youth this seems to be an accompaniment to the movement away from one's parents; for the Muslims parental proclivity remains unchanged. It is as though the Muslim group is using peers as a buffer in a difficult situation while the white group is using peers as a trade-off against parents, given similar pressure. Whereas the whiteyouths can turn away from the family for additional support, e.g.,to teachers, the older Muslim youths finds this increasingly more difficult, probably owing to ethnic differences, and thus fall back on siblings and peers.

The fact that overall each sample eschews identification with the other would imply that the similarities in these patterns do not arise from respective in-group membership. Instead it would seem

more reasonable to attribute correspondences to the general cultural milieu that boys of the same age, growing up in the same town, and attending the same school are likely to share.

Chapter 4. THE USES AND FUNCTIONS OF MASS MEDIA

Estimating the "average" amount of time devoted to mass media by the "typical" consumer is a difficult task. There are problems of both measurement techniques and respondent accuracy and variation to be taken into account. Some of these factors can be systematically overcome once we are aware of them. For example, there is both seasonal and daily variation in patterns of television viewing with longer winter evenings leading to more televiewing than in summer and weekday consumption differing from that during week-ends. There are other influences which are not so easy to control for as in variations in programming or unexpected news events. A James Bond film on television is likely to increase that medium's audience for the evening, while a power cut or newspaper strike may increase radio consumption. In addition to these intervening variables we must take account of factors likely to influence the accuracy and representativeness of responses. Some of these human factors we can only hope will be minimized through random distribution of errors, but we can nonetheless try to control such errors by knowing the limitations of our measuring techniques and by asking the 'right' questions.

The two most common means of ascertaining the information is to ask, for television and radio consumption, "how much time did you spend viewing (listening) yesterday", or "how much time do you watch (listen) during an 'average day?'" In addition there is the diary method which usually requires a certain amount of motivation and cooperation from the respondent. The first method tends to provide an underestimation of time involved relative to the second (Lo Sciuto, 1972) and the third, although the most laborious, is usually reckoned as the most reliable (Schramm, 1961; Lyle and Hoffman, 1972). Some researchers have abandoned any hope of attaining a precise figure and, especially

with children and adolescents, are content to obtain frequency estimates, e.g. "a few times a week", "between 20-25 hours a week" (Brown, et al., 1974; Dembo, 1973). However these estimates are obtained and generally irrespective of country of data collection (Japan, United Kingdom, United States), they usually concur that the early adolescent is among the heaviest users of mass media, particularly television, whereas the older adolescent is a relatively lighter consumer of television, but a heavier consumer of 'pop' culture via radio and cinema (BBC Audience Research Annual Review, 1974, 1975, 1976; Furu, 1971; Johnstone, 1974; Dembo, 1975). The interpretations for these various shifts of emphasis usually rest on the shifts from parental to peer orientation, which as we noted in the previous chapter, are typically associated with a move away from home-centred to an outside, street culture or peer involvement.

In this chapter we will examine the ways in which the Muslim and white samples use the media and the amounts of time devoted to media consumption. We noted in the previous chapter the overall similarity in the responses of the Asian and white British samples to questions concerning significant others, but we also found that Asian cultural and religious demands were having a strong influence on the Muslim youths. If we regard the various media as allowing for varying amounts of control in selection of content choice, exposure times, and general cultural orientation, then we might expect the cultural backgrounds of these youths to influence their reliance on particular media. Given the time constraints on the Muslim youths by virtue of their attendance for religious instruction, we would expect there to be differences between the groups in the time devoted to leisure pursuits. If the Muslim ban on pictorial representation of living

creatures is being taken seriously then we should find Asian televiewing significantly lower than that for white youths. We might also wonder whether the emphasis on education and self-improvement noted in Asian families is affecting either the Muslim's media preferences, content chosen, or gratifications sought. Further if we allow for the common influence of British culture we would expect some similarity between the groups, but finer discrimination in those areas which would be instrumental in keeping in touch with one's culture, as in the use of the Asian press, or expressive of the esteem in which a culture is held, as might be associated with the Asian cinema. Hence we would expect the sample as a whole to demonstrate the shifts in emphasis characteristic of adolescents, but we would expect the Muslim sample's consumption in particular to be tempered by a greater reliance on ethnic media. The findings will be considered in three parts. First we will review the frequency of media use; secondly we will compare the gratification areas associated with the respective media; and lastly we will consider the social background variables related to media use.

FREQUENCY OF MEDIA USE

The data concerning media usewere gathered via questions asking about usual frequency of use, except in the case of television and comics or magazines. The questions about comics or magazines only asked for an indication of whether or not the subject actually read these. The data regarding television use came from three sources: a question asking about frequency of television viewing during the week; frequency of viewing 'yesterday'; and a one week diary which subjects were asked to keep throughout the week of October 31 to November 6, 1977. Seven media were sampled: cinema, comics or magazines, newspapers, radio, records or cassettes, books, and television.

We will look at the use of the print media first, and then turn to the electronic media. These data are summarized in Appendix G.

Comparing the use of print media, overall, we find that the Asian sample is a slightly heavier user of these than the white British sample. Newspapers are read frequently by both groups: 94% of the Muslim sample and 83% of the white sample read a paper at least once a week, and roughly 50% of each group claim to read a newspaper almost every day. These figures for the white sample correspond rather closely to the figures Dembo reports for Northern British adolescents (Dembo, 1975). He cites 82% of his non-aggressive working class youths as reading at least one newspaper a week. For both samples there is a tendency for older boys to read the newspapers more frequently than younger boys (Spearman rho (Muslims; Newspapers: Age) = .20, p=.03 ; Spearman rho (whites; Newspapers: Age)=.35 p = .001) If we compare the newspapers these youths are reading, we find both groups are reading the national and local papers. There is a conspicuous absence of the quality daily newspapers; only three boys indicated reading either the Guardian or the Daily Telegraph. For the most part reading consisted of the Daily Mirror and The Sun as well as the local daily and weekly newspapers (see Table 14). In addition to these, only five Muslim youths indicated reading a newspaper catering for the Asian Community. The reason for this relative absence of Asian press reading has already been alluded to in the preceding chapter, namely that while most Asian youths can speak Gujurati or Urdu, they usually cannot read or write in it. Some boys are learning these languages in school, but do not read the language with the fluency of English.

Table 14

NEWSPAPER READING AMONG ADOLESCENTS

Newspaper	No. White	No. Muslim
Daily Mirror	31	40
The Sun	27	32
Batley News	17	30
Evening Post/Yorkshire Post	22	22
Daily Jang/	-	5

Turning now to the use of books we find a much more marked emphasis in use among the Muslims than the white British. Boys were specifically asked about their reading of books that have "nothing to do with schoolwork". Fifty-five percent of the Muslims claim to read at least a book a fortnight compared to 37% of the whites. Once again the pattern seems to relate to age, with both samples reading fewer books as they grow older. (Spearman rho (whites; Age: Books) = -.32, p=.002; Spearman rho (Muslims; Age: Books) = -.24, p=.01). These data are at odds with those which Dembo collected in 1971 suggesting that boys in this age range are reading only about one or two books a year with a large proportion of this reading consisting of school book classics. Although the questionnaire did not ask for specification of the books being read, subsequent interviews with the Muslim sample indicated a range of topics were being pursued, from thriller paperbacks about spies or detectives to more practical books on hobbies, and informative books on travel and foreign lands.

Comic and magazine reading among both groups again indicated a higher interest among the Muslims than among the white saple. Among the Muslim youths 72% claimed to read a comic or magazine regularly as compared to 61% of the white subjects. Age seemed to bear little relation to patterns of reading here. As both groups indicated a wide range of comics and magazines with low frequencies, no attempt was made to quantify the between sample comparisons on all of the comics or magazines read. In general there was considerable overlap in the patterns of comic book readings as can be seen from the most popular categories indicated below.

Table 15

COMICS AND MAGAZINES READ BY ADOLESCENTS

Comic or Magazine	No of White Ss Reading	No.of Muslim Ss Reading
Beano	16	19
Dandy	16	18
Roy of the Rovers	2	10
Topper	4	6
Beezer	2	10
Warlord	9	5

Turning now to the electronic media, the Muslim/white comparisons present a rather complex picture. Looking first at the audio media we note that whereas the Muslims use of records and cassettes closely parallels that of the whites, they are much lighter users of radio. Approximately 27% of each sample listens to records or cassettes daily, with over 80% listening at least once a week. Only 38% of the

Muslims, however, compared to 70% of the white British listen to the radio daily. Furthermore, both white and Muslim radio and record listening are independent of age, (Spearman rho (whites; Age: Record =.01, p=n.s.; Spearman rho (whites; Age: Radio) = - .12, p=n.s.; Spearman rho (Muslims; Age; Record) = .03, p= n.s.; Spearman rho (Muslims; Age: Radio = .03, p=n.s.).

Turning to the visual media we find that the Muslims are more avid cinema goers than the whites, with 51% of the Asians attending at least once a month as compared to 17% of the whites. The white patterns bear no relationship to age, (Spearman rho (Age: Cinema =-.02, p=n.s.) but the older Muslims attend the cinema more frequently than the younger boys, (Spearman rho (Age: Cinema) = .26, p = .007) The higher figures for the Muslims could most likely be attributed to Muslim attendance at Asian as well as Western films. Of the 86 Muslims interviewed, 57 indicated that they attended Asian films regularly, either with family members or friends. In addition 22 of these youths stated a particular preference for Asian films over Western films.

Lastly, considering the use of television, we find that our data become problematical. It will be recalled that three indices of television exposure were solicited: frequency of television use 'yesterday'; estimated weekly hours of viewing; and diary information. The estimates of both daily and weekly viewing tend to show the Muslims as much lighter viewers than the white youths: 37% of the Muslim sample claimed to view two hours or less of television 'yesterday' compared to 19% of the whites. The median endorsement for the Muslims was between $2\frac{1}{2}$-3 hours daily; for the whites the median score was

3½ - 4 hours. The same patterns emerge when estimating weekly viewing: 58% of the Muslims claim to view less than 20 hours of television weekly as compared to 32% of the white sample. The median endorsement for the white youths indicated between 20-25 hours of television viewing weekly. When we turn to the diary results, however, these differences between samples diminish, but other contrasts emerge. The diary data indicate that there are no differences in the weekday viewing habits of the samples; the Muslims are viewing 9.4 hours (s.d. 5.3) of television during the week compared to the Briton's 9.8 hours (s.d. 5.1), ($t = .47$, 146 d.f., p = n.s.). Comparison of weekend viewing times show the Muslims to be heavier consumers than the British, 7.9 hours (s.d. 4.6) versus 6.6 hours (s.d. 4.6) for the respective groups ($t = 1.77$, 145 d.f. $p < .05$).

Combining the diary estimates we get a weekly viewing figure for the Muslims of approximately 17.3 hours and a figure of 17.7 hours for the white British. This estimate would correspond to the median score for the Asian group on the frequency data, but falls roughly four hours short of the British group median score. Four hours is also the equivalent of one evening's viewing for the British youths using the median score on 'yesterday's viewing' as a guide, so it would seem as though something has occurred to disrupt the weekly viewing pattern. Examination of the week selected for diarying may provide an explanation here. Unfortunately, the constraints of school and religious holidays, and changes in television programming made it necessary to administer the diaries during the week of Bonfire Night - Guy Fawkes Night (Nov 5th). If the white youths were participating

in Guy Fawkes celebrations, then this would account for one evening's entertainment in lieu of television. Among the white youths who completed diaries, 34 boys specifically mentioned attending Bonfire Night celebrations. In addition 21 youths indicated being outside of the house, usually "playing with mates" at the relevant time, so it is conceivable that at least some of these have been engaged in Guy Fawkes parties; the remaining 15 youths were not engaged in any such activities. Among the Muslim group however, only 10 boys mentioned Bonfire Night activities, with a further 2 youths "playing" at the relevant time, and 65 youths specifically not engaged in such celebrations. The widespread participation in this activity for the white youths as noted in the diary data but relative lack of involvement of Muslim youths, would account for the differences.

As such it would seem reasonable to assume that while the diary figures are most likely accurate, they are an atypical base on which to estimate weekday viewing behaviour. Allowing for this and noting the correspondence which exists between the diary data and frequency estimates otherwise, it would appear that we could regard the frequency data as reliable and use these as well as the week-end viewing estimates obtained from the diaries as a basis for between group comparisons. If one accepts this interpretation we may conclude from these data that: firstly, the Muslim is probably a lighter viewer overall than the white Briton; secondly, that most of this difference is attributable to the less frequent weekday viewing among the Muslims; and, thirdly, that in order to compensate for the lower weekday consumption the Muslim is spending more time viewing at weekends, compared to the white adolescent. This pattern

fits in well with what we already know about the Muslim's constraints on leisure time. In the last chapter we noted that the 'typical' Muslim youth is spending over eight hours a week in Mosque, most of which time is drawn from the period immediately after school on weekdays. The weekends, however, are relatively free from such commitments.

Turning to the relationship of age to viewing habits, we see that both 'yesterday' and weekly frequency scores indicate the older white subjects are viewing as often as younger subjects. Age does not seem to affect the Muslims' viewing behaviour either. The white sample data trends conform to data published by Brown (1974) showing television consumption peaking at 13 years, although declining thereafter. In the present data television viewing appears highest among 14 year olds.

All subjects were asked to indicate their three favourite television programmes during the survey period. A comparison of the Muslim and white preferences yields a Spearman rank order correlation of .53. This compares well with the rank order correlation of .5 Carey (1966) found when contrasting Negro and white prime time television favourites in the United States, although Fletcher (1969) in a subsequent American study found a much lower correlation. While the current data indate considerable correspondence between the programmes nominated it is noteworthy that, when considering the top ten favourites of each group, we find only four of the Muslim top ten originate in Britain, whereas seven of the whites' top favourites, including the top ranking favourite, are British programmes. In addition one should note that half of the Muslim's favourite top ten are science fiction programmes, compared to only two among the white's favourites. We will return to consider this point in the next chapter.

Table 16

A. MUSLIMS 10 FAVOURITE PROGRAMMES (TELEVISION)

Programme	Rank
Gemini Man	1
Starsky and Hutch	2
Bionic Woman	3
Six Million Dollar Man	4
Match of the Day	5
Batman	7
Quest	
Water Margin	
Sweeney	10
The Avengers	
Dr. Who	

B. WHITES 10 FAVOURITE PROGRAMMES (TELEVISION)

Programme	Rank
Sweeney	1
Starsky and Hutch	2
Gemini Man	3.5
Blue Peter	
Bionic Woman	5
Match of the Day	6
The Goodies	8
Multi-coloured Swap Shop	
Water Margin	
Top of the Pops	10.5
Yus, My Dear	

Summarizing the data concerning the between group comparisons on media use, we find that the Muslims are using print media more than white subjects and that they are going to the cinema more frequently as well. On the other hand there are no differences in the samples uses of records or cassettes. The white sample is however, using radio and television more frequently than the Muslim group. We will be in a better position to examine the interpretations which one may give for these differences after looking at the correlates of media use and the functions which the youths claim these media fill.

THE FUNCTIONS OF MEDIA

The samples were presented with twelve questions concerned with ascertaining the respective roles of social and media resources as functional alternatives in varying situations.[1] Both the forementioned media, that is television, records, radio, cinema, books, comics or magazines and newspapers, as well as family and friends, the reference groups which both the white and Muslim youths showed greatest affinity with in the preceding chapter, were presented as social and media alternatives. For the Muslim sample two additional media categories were provided, Asian cinema and Asian newspapers. These were included in order to allow for examination of the role which youths who were using these, perceived these specialised Asian media as fulfilling. Both the items and endorsements for these are provided in Appendix H .

Summarizing the patterns of endorsements, we find the white youths are nominating television as their first choice in 7 of the 12 situations queried, followed by newspapers receiving 2 first place

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1. Examples are provided in the following pages.

nominations, and one each for books, family, and friends. For the Muslim group television receives a first choice 3 times, as do newspapers and books; family, friends, and comics/magazines each receive 1 first place nomination.

Examination of the items for which the respective groups cited the various alternatives, reveals some patterns. Beginning with television, we find the following items being put forward:

M= Muslims W = Whites

MW 3) Which of these things gives you something to talk about with your friends?

MW 4) Which of these things do you do if you want to forget about your problems?

W 5) Which of these things do you do in order to learn about people who are different from yourself?

MW 8) Which of these things do you do when you just want something to help you pass the time?

W 9) Which of these things teaches you about people like yourself?

W 10) Which of these things gives you something to talk about with your family?

W 12) Which of these things helps you to learn about the kind of person you would like to become?

It would seem that, on the basis of these items, television stands at least as high with Asians as with whites in some areas, but much less so on others. Both groups equally recognise television's role as a time filler and mood modulator. This accords well with the data Greenberg (1974) collected for British youth indicating that time passing factors received the highest mean endorsements among 12 and 15 year olds. The social utility of the

medium is lower for the Muslim group compared to white youths. The Muslim youths are not using television as much as white youths as a topic of conversation among either their families or friends. The personal identification functions are also lower among the Muslims (see responses for items 9 and 12).

One possible explanation for these differences lies in the content portrayed on television. Given that the major portion of television is either British or American in origin and depicts mostly white protagonists in leading roles, (Greenberg and Dyckoff, 1972; Equity Coloured Artists Committee, 1974) the opportunities for identification with television characters are rather infrequent, unless of course the Muslim identifies with a white person. As indicated in the previous chapter, however, identification across ethnic lines is minimal. Hence if one does not identify with the characters depicted, the media could hardly be expected to play a major role as a coin of exchange among others, namely Muslim family members and peers, who similarly do not identify with the characters depicted. This would also explain why a high proportion of the Muslims favourite programmes are of a fantasy, rather than family, or situation comedy nature, and probably why a larger proportion of the Asian favourites are American rather than British in origin. We will return to this point a bit later on.

If we look next at the functions newspapers serve best we find both samples show a high degree of agreement.

M = Muslims W = Whites

MW 2) Which of these things do you do when you want to find out about things that are happening in the world?

M 5) Which of these things do you do in order to learn about people who are different from yourself?

MW 11) Which of these things do you do in order to keep in

touch with places and things you used to know?

The predominance of the surveillance function is clearly in keeping with the anticipated role of newspapers, but the use of newspapers for areas of learning with personal reference overtones is somewhat unexpected, particularly among the Muslim youths. Despite the overall agreement here, though, the Asians indicate, proportionately, a lower preference than the whites for newspapers in this last area.

This less concentrated appeal of a particular medium is a consistent feature of the Muslim responses if one looks at the overall preferences on these items. The Muslims are using a wider range of media to fill a limited set of functions. It is in this context that we can begin to understand the greater emphasis of the Muslim group on the print over electronic media. On the one hand the print media afford the user a greater amount of freedom in selecting content, so the problem previously cited with cultural bias in television fare is overcome, and given this greater choice one can adapt the print media to fit a wider range of functions. In some sense we could conjecture that the white youths have simply not learned to use the print media as effectively as the Muslim group, primarily because they have no need to: television is filling a wider range of functions, including the personal reference ones adequately. So whereas, for example, 48% of the white youths are citing television as the most useful resource (among those indicated) in order to "learn about the kind of person you would like to become" (item 12), only half that proportion of the Muslim group find television as useful with 30% of these youths preferring books here. And whereas the white youths find television best for teaching them about people like themselves (item 9) the Asians find books most useful. Both groups

agree though that books are particularly useful for stimulating one's thoughts(see item 7).

We can now come to appreciate the role of the Asian-centred media among the Muslim group. Neither the Asian cinema nor the Asian press is predominantly featured as best fulfilling any of the functions about which these youths were questioned. These media are generally useful in providing a wider range of resource alternatives from which the Asians can, and do, pick and choose. They are particularly useful in providing a coin of exchange for family and peer interaction (see responses for items, 3, 6, 10) and as sources for personal reference (see responses for items 9, 11).

In addition to the specifically Asian media, radio and records or cassettes allow the Muslim access to Asian cultural fare. At the time of the survey there were two hours of Asian radio broadcasts weekly, one hour transmitted by Independent and national radio respectively. Many families also possess radios capable of receiving transmissions from India and Pakistan. In the interview situation 49 of the Muslim youths indicated listening to Asian radio broadcasts either with their families or on their own; 39 youths were listening to Asian music on records or cassettes. These figures compare favourably with the 'pop' music audience; 63 Muslims indicated listening to pop music on radio or records and cassettes. From these figures we can assume that the similarity in record use among the white and Muslim samples is partially masking the differences in content preferences. For the white youths it seems reasonable to assume that radio and record use are primarily focussed on pop music. Anyone intending to keep abreast of the ever-changing pop music scene could be expected to exhibit a certain amount of vigilance in radio listening. This may account for the

higher use of radio among whites. As indicated in the previous chapter the Asian youth's involvement in pop culture is limited by his inability to participate in discos and dating. It is this aspect, as well as the lower availability of Asian fare on the radio as compared to records or cassettes, that may be contributing to the lower frequency of radio use among the Muslim sample. It is undoubtedly both of these factors which are influencing the media functions, and can be used to explain cross-sample differences here.

Among the white sample radio and records play a major role as mood modulators: they help the youth to cheer up, forget about problems, and pass the time (see responses for items 1,4). Dembo's study (1973) of white British adolescent media use indicated that relaxation was the main gratification derived from records and radio listening. Radio is also serving the function of keeping in touch with both current affairs and one's past among white youths (see responses for items 2, 11). The fast pace of the music scene insures the white youth's high involvement with records and radio. On the other hand, the Asian music scene is rather less illusory, consisting of both enduring favourites and slightly more transitory film themes. Given this, and the Asian's lower involvement with the British pop scene, it is not surprising to note the less prominent role of records and radio among the Muslim adolescents. Although the media still function as mood regulators and information bearers, their position is one of less emphasis than for the white youths.

Looking at the role of family and friends, we find little difference between the samples. As indicated in Chapter 3, family and friends seem to occupy similar positions of esteem among both

groups. The data on these questions would indicate that they also serve similar functions. Friends previously were shown to be especially important in the expressive emotional areas, and this emphasis is borne out once more. Friends feature most strongly in those areas concerned with mood change and reassurance. They help to cheer one up and forget one's problems. Both groups regard friends as more useful than any media resource in cheering one up (item 1); they also feature prominently in helping to forget one's problems (item 4). Both groups also agree that talking with one's family is the best way to "bring the family together". Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, the Muslims are nominating magazines and comics as best providing a focus for family conversation (item 10).

Considering the responses as a whole we find there is a high correspondence between our data and that collected by Brown (1976) using a similar instrument among a sample of 800 schoolchildren between 7-15 years of age. Seven of the items in both studies are directly comparable. It is interesting to note that in neither study is television nominated first in order to cheer one up. In Brown's study records were nominated first followed by both other people and television. In the present study friends are most useful followed by television and then records for the white youths and Asian cinema among the Muslims. In the social-utility area, using television as a coin of exchange among friends, both studies find television being named most frequently. In the areas of helping to forget ones problems (item 4), finding out about different places (item 11), helping to pass the time (item 8), both studies come up with the same top two choices, with television as the most preferred alternative

in all cases. The one item in which the findings fo the two studies tend to disagree is 'Which of these things gives you something to think about?' (item 7). In Brownds study television figures twice as high as both newspapers and books respectively. In the present study we found books receiving the top nomination among both our samples followed by television and then newspapers for the whites and newspapers and television among the Muslims. Aside from the cultural differences as an explanation for the predominance of print media in the current sample, age is likely to provide for these differences.

Returning to our present data, one is struck by the overall similarities between the Muslim and white samples, as well as the contrasts. Overall we note the reliance on television, both in time spent in viewing as well as the range of functions each group attributes to the medium. Yet for the Muslim television would seem to be beset by a cultural bias which precludes its playing as predominant a role as among the white adolescent group. Although it is the activity which would appear to make the largest inroads into both of these groups' time, the Muslims are turning to other media to supplement the range of content offered. The print media are therefore playing a more significant role for the Asians, especially in the personal reference areas, e.g. for finding out about the kind of person one would like to become. Here, too, the Asian media are contributing to a sense of Asian identity, but not at the expense of the more widely acknowledged British media. The social groups, family and friends, are seen as contributing maginally more to the Muslim's sense of well-being, though not in a different manner from their contribution to white adolescents. This is to be expected from the conclusions of the last chapter indicating the particular importance of the peer and family group among the Muslims. The peer group bond

is forged out of the sharing of an anomalous cultural position, and the strength of the family bond is at least partly attributable to religious background.

Background and Media Use

All of the media behaviours, that is, frequency of newspaper and book reading, radio and record listening, frequency of cinema attendance, and televiewing, as well as whether or not comics and magazines are read, were analyzed in relation to the variables on social background and attitudes towards self and others. The intention was to see which variables might help to explain the differences in media consumption between the Muslim and white samples. Five hypotheses had been formulated at the design stage of the present study.[2]

These are indicated below:

H_1: The more peer-oriented a youth is the higher will be his involvement with 'pop' media.

H_2: The more parent-oriented a youth is, more he will watch television.

H_3: Youths demonstrating a high regard for their own ethnic group will differ in their media use from those having a low regard for their own group.

H_4: The greater a youth's knowledge of British culture (e.g. slang) the more he will use British media such as television and comics.

The last hypothesis would apply to the Muslim group specifically.

H_5: The more willing a youth is to approach religious leaders:

a) the more he will use Asian oriented media, i.e. cinema and radio.

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2. see pages 30 - 32.

b) the less he will use western media, i.e. television.

We will proceed to discuss those relationships which emerge as significant and in so doing note which of these hypotheses have been confirmed. Summaries of the significant relationships, are noted in Table 17.

We will begin our discussion by looking at the correlates of Muslim media use starting with those areas of use which had been shown to differ between the samples. It will be recalled that the Muslims were shown to be heavier users of both print media and cinema, while demonstrating lower consumption of television and radio, and similar dependence to the white sample on listening to records. Examining the correlates of cinema attendance we begin to reinforce our impression of cinema as a medium which is enabling the Muslims to maintain contact with their Asian culture. There are two factors which lend support to this view: firstly, there is a tendency for Muslims born overseas to attend the cinema more than those born in Britain, (χ^2 = 11.39; 5 d.f.; p=.044) and secondly, this is followed up by a trend among those Asians who have been resident in Britain for a smaller proportion of their lives to attend the cinema more frequently than those who have been here proportionately longer. Adding to this the previously noted attendance at both Asian and western films we can now appreciate the great appeal of cinema among the Muslim sample compared to the white group. We had previously noted (p. 105) that older Asian youths are attending more than younger youths and further note increased attendance among those youths who attend mosque less frequently.

Among the white youths there are no significant relationships

Table 17

BACKGROUND AND MEDIA USE

	Muslim Sample				White Sample			
Media Behaviour	Relating Variable	Spearman rho	N	p	Relating Variable	Spearman rho	N	p
Cinema Attendance	Age	.26	90	.007				
	Proportion Of Life In U.K.	-.31	90	.001				
	Hours In Mosque	-.33	78	.002				
Newspaper Reading	Age	.20	90	.03	Age	.35	81	.001
					British Like Me	.32	81	.002
Radio Listening	Parents	-.23	90	.016	Teachers Evaluation	-.32	81	.002
	Proportion Of Life in U.K.	-.23	90	.016	of Asians	.26	81	.001
					Parents-Relations With	.23	81	.019
Record Listening	Religious Leaders	-.25	90	.009				
Book Reading	Age	-.24	90	.012	Age	-.32	81	.002
	Teachers	.25	90	.01				
Frequency of Television Viewing	Religious Leaders	-.31	90	.002	British Like Me	.23	81	.019
	Hours in Mosque	-.26	78	.01				
	Religious Habits	-.25	78	.011				
	Slang	.19	90	.035	Slang	.24	81	.016

Muslim Sample

	Place of Birth	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N	Comparison
Weekday TV viewing (in Hours)	Overseas	8.18	4.31	49	t=2.65, 76 d.f. p=.01
	United Kingdom	11.35	6.21	29	
Weekend TV viewing (in Hours)	Overseas	6.74	4.06	49	t=3.12, 76 d.f. p<.01
	United Kingdom	9.93	4.86	29	

between cinema attendance and background variables. Given this we can only conjecture that the low use of cinema may be attributable to the general decline in cinema attendance noted in recent years due to the advent of television, coupled with the fact that the nearest cinema is in the next town, so that youths wanting to see a film must demonstrate sufficient motivation as well as incentive to actually attend. Among the Asian group, the motivation would appear to derive from the film's cultural orientation, and given that parents and older siblings could be similarly motivated, the travel difficulties would be overcome.

Turning to radio consumption, we find that the highest correlates of frequency of radio use are both in a negative direction: the proportion of one's life spent in Britain and propensity to approach parents. While it is not clear how we may interpret the relationship noted with parents, it seems that there may be two possible interpretations for the relationship with proportion of time spent in Britain. It may be that overseas born youths have typically used radio more than other media, and are therefore more accustomed to use it than longer standing U.K. residents and/or that these youths are using the radio to listen either to broadcasts from Asian countries and thereby maintain contact with their previous homelands, or to Asian fare available on the British channels and thereby maintain contact with their culture.

The significance among the Muslim group of the variables concerning religious background and proportion of life spent in Great Britain and place of birth is further evidenced in relation to television viewing. We noted previously that the Muslim group overall is viewing television less frequently than the white sample. Among the Muslim group the highest correlates of televiewing are those indicating degree of orthodoxy and religious attendance. Muslim youths who are less likely to approach religious leaders, attend mosque less, and are less orthodox in their religious habits, are higher consumers of television. We would expect attendance at mosque to have some bearing here, given that this would directly limit the time

available for media consumption, but it is interesting that, overall, the items concerning religious attitudes have such a strong influence. In addition, we find that those youths who are born overseas are watching television on average much less frequently both during the week and at weekends than those Asians who were born in Britain. While there is no significant relationship between the amount of mosque attendance and country of birth between these groups, there is a slight tendency for overseas born youths to be more orthodox in their religious habits than British born subjects.

All of this would imply that televiewing is an activity which one may be partly socialized into, with overseas born youths demonstrating less dependence on television given the more limited broadcasts in their country of origin (typically India[3]) whereas Muslim youths brought up in Britain where television is more widespread are closely approximating the viewing habits of the indigenous white youths.[4] It is also interesting to note that knowledge of slang is most highly correlated with frequency of television viewed among the Muslim youths. Furthermore, given the relationship of place of birth to cinema attendance, and that of the proportion of time spent in the United Kingdom to radio consumption, one can only conjecture that television does not serve the same needs for these youths as do media which depict a more Asian cultural orientation.

Turning now to the area of print media, we find that the

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3. One youth, speaking of television in India, said, "We used to say 'Its only a standing elephant , 'cause it just stood there.... doing nothing.'

4. It will be recalled that the median endorsement among white youths for television viewing youths fell between 20-25 hours a week.

only significant correlates of Asian book reading are age and a willingness to approach teachers. There are no significant relationships among this group for newspaper reading, although a tendency, as formerly indicated, for older youths to read more than younger youths. Listening to records among Asians correlates in a negative direction with willingness to approach religious leaders.

Among the white sample we find that there are fewer correlates of media use. As noted in the previous section, age is related to both book and newspaper reading, but in opposite directions. Older youths are reading newspapers more often, and books less frequently than are younger youths. We find that newspaper reading is also related to a lowered inclination to approach teachers and radio listening tends to correlate with good relations with parents. Knowledge of slang is found to correlate with television viewing among the white youths, thus lending further weight to the previously noted relationship between these variables among the Muslim sample.

The remaining relationships which are significant all relate to attitudes towards the ingroup or outgroup among the white sample. We note that those using radio more frequently demonstrate a bias towards higher evaluations of Asians than less frequent listeners. (Spearman rho (Asian S.D.: Radio) = .26, N=81, p=.009). On the other hand those white youths reading newspapers and viewing television more frequently demonstrate a higher identification with the British (Spearman rho (British Likeme: Newspapers) = .32, N=81, p=.002; Spearman rho (British Like me: T.V) = .23, n=81, p=.019). The explanation which one may afford these findings is not immediately apparent, yet if we invoke as an intervening variable the cultural bias of the media involved, we may make some attempt at a reasoned interpretation.

It may be fairly safely assumed that the radio content which these white youths are principally listening to represents 'pop' radio stations. One feature of the pop music world is that it is one of the areas wherein both white and non-white performers are given indiscriminate, if not equal, representation. It is suggested, therefore, that the higher evaluation of Asians by the high radio consumption group may be at least partly attributable to this factor given that we tend to regard equal status interaction as an antidote to prejudice (Minard, 1952).

In the case of the final two trends noted, that is between increased identification with Britons among heavier users of newspapers and television, it is difficult to conjecture about the chain of causality. Hartmann, et al. (1970) in a content analysis of four major British newspapers between 1963 and 1967 suggest that,

> Over the years anything about race or colour that could be discussed in terms of immigration, of numbers, of the relations between black and white - particularly the hostility between the groups - or of discrimination has increasingly come to be regarded as more newsworthy than material which requires a different frame of reference. (p. 47)

They tended to find that the news coverage of coloured people as ordinary citizens was becoming increasingly obscured by reports emphasizing the problems associated with race relations, problems of immigration, size of the coloured community, discrimination, and interacial hostilities. In a later study of the 'Mass Media and Social Attitudes' (Hartmann and Husband, 1972) these authors found that when working-class adolescents from communities throughout Britain with varying proportions of coloured residents, were questioned about where they got their ideas about coloured people

living in Britain from, 32% of the responses mentioned newspapers, with television the next most frequent category. Given these findings and the tendency for British television to depict primarily American or mainstream/majority British culture, it is equally plausible that, either: 1) those youths who already strongly identify with Britain are turning to these media for reflection of their views or 2) consuming these media increases the probability of identification with the British given their cultural bias.

Turning back to the hypothesesnoted earlier we find that hypotheses three, four, and five have all received a degree of confirmation from the forementioned analyses. Let us begin by looking at hypothesis three.

H_3: Youths demonstrating a high regard for their own ethnic group will differ in their media use from those having a low regard for their own group.

While evaluation of in-group did not have any direct bearing on Muslim media use, if one considers keeping of religious ritual and attendance at mosque as indirectly indicative of orientation towards the Muslim group, then there is some basis for claiming such a relationship to exist. Among the white sample we specifically did find identification with the British relating to both newspaper reading and television viewing.

H_4: The greater a youth's knowledge of British culture (e.g. slang) the more he will use British media, i.e. television and comics.

Among both our samples we have seen a tendency for knowledge of slang to be positively related to frequency of television viewing.

H_5: The more willing a youth is to approach religious leaders:

a) the more he will use Asian-oriented media,

i.e. cinema and radio;

b) the less he will use western media, i.e. television.

Among the Muslim group we have noted that willingness to approach religious leaders is negatively related to both frequency of television viewed and listening to records. Hence while we have shown a tendency for attitudes towards religious leaders to be related to a lowered use of western media, we have not seen a concomitant increase in the use of more ethnic oriented media among these youths.

In conclusion, one is struck by the major role that variables concerning place of birth and proportion of time spent in Great Britain are having in influencing the Muslim sample's media use. Given the regularity with which these variables bear on media behaviours, the Asian sample's overall media use appears logically consistent with their background. It seems significant that radio, which enables direct access to Asian based broadcasting, and cinema, an industry in which India successfully rivals the West, are the two media wherein frequency of use accords to proportion of time spent in Britain.

By contrast, age would appear to be the most consistent factor influencing media use among the white sample, and even this bears only for print media. One possibility which this raises is that the Asian group may be more purposeful in their use of mass media than the white sample. And this may be especially true of those Asians born abroad given that a) they would have a stronger incentive to maintain contact with their country of origin owing to

direct knowledge of people and places in India and Pakistan; and b) not having grown up in Britain they would most likely have a different history of media use tempered by the limited availability of media fare, than their British born counterparts. The longer these youths remain in Britain, however, the more estranged both their relations with and memory of those in Asia are likely to become. Similarly, the longer they live in Britain, the more socialized to British lifestyle and media use they will become, hence the significance of the finding that British born Muslims resemble indigenous whites more in their television viewing habits than they do overseas born Muslims.

Chapter 5. THE GRATIFICATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH TELEVISION VIEWING.

In the preceding chapter we had seen that television is taking up between 17-21 hours a week, on average, of the leisure time for each of our samples. This is almost the equivalent of the time these youths would be attending school. The cross-media comparisons of the functions the various media and non-media alternative fulfil further attest to the significance of the medium. Television was nominated as best serving seven of the functions surveyed among the white sample, and received the second highest nomination in the five remaining areas. Among the Muslim sample television was nominated as best serving three functions and comes as a runner up in six areas. While all of this demonstrated the relative utility of television as compared to a number of media and non-media alternatives, it remains to be seen what the relative importance is of each of these functions for the televiewing of the respective samples. This is what we shall be considering in the present chapter. We will consider these data in two respects: in the first part of this chapter we will concern ourselves with the analysis of the gratification items and in the second part we will proceed to a more qualitative assessment of the significance of the data patterns.

ANALYSIS OF GRATIFICATION STATEMENTS

Given the similarities and yet very noticeable contrasts between the Muslim and white samples one is faced with the dilemma of whether or not there is sufficient similarity to justify considering these groups as comprising the same population, and therefore combining their data for analyses, or regarding them as distinct

populations and hence analyzing their data separately. The problem with pooling the data would primarily be one of minimizing differences between the samples by increasing the variance and losing sight of the respective groups. On the other hand, analysing data discretely would preclude the direct comparison of data, and after all one wanted to indicate some patterns of relationship for which both groups could be compared. .. In order to determine the extent of the differences between the samples, and whether, indeed, they were from separate populations, the data for the television gratification items were analysed separately, and then combined for a general analysis.

It will be recalled that 46 gratification statements concerning television were administered during the final survey. The responses to these items were translated into an interval scale. Three separate factor analyses using a principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation were performed on these data: the Muslim and white sample data were analyzed separately, and then all data were analyzed jointly. Factor analysis was selected as an appropriate mode of analysis given that it would serve three purposes: firstly, it would indicate the underlying structure of the gratification areas; secondly, it would indicate the relative weightings of the items contributing to that structure; and thirdly, it would provide a reasonable blue print which one could use to begin to reduce the number of discrete variables by building these into largergratification areas. If factor analysis of each sample threw up dramatically different factor structures, then one would have to consider the Muslim and white sample as distinct. If, however, the factor structures were similar, although the factor loadings differed, then one would want to consider the samples as originating

from the same population, but representing different extremes. The results of the factor analyses are summarized on page (see Appendix I.)

The results of the separate analyses indicated similar factor structures for each group, but a different emphasis in the factor loadings. For the white sample, the factor accounting for the greatest proportion of variance (20.6%) consisted of ten highly loading items, and could be characterized as representing a broad category of media functions, e.g. diversion-seeking, para-social interaction, and escape. This factor contained four of the items loading on a second factor to emerge for the Muslim group and accounting for 6.2% variance. For the Muslims, the most important factor, accounting for 23.4% of the variance, consisted of 17 highly loading items and could be characterized as reality exploration, including using the media for information seeking and learning about life and the world. Six items loading on the second factor to emerge for the white group and accounting for 10.6% of the variance, were represented in this Muslim factor. Combining the data into one analysis yielded a primary factor accounting for 21.4% of the variance, which loaded highly on 8 of the 17 items in the original Muslim factor representing learning about life and the world, and a second factor accounting for 8% variance and representing 6 of the 10 items in the original 'diversion' factor of the white sample. The items in the 'learning' factor brought together two cognitive clusters which had emerged separately in the pilot work, namely Cluster 1, "the Window on the World" function and Cluster 5, "The School of Life" function. Two further clearly defined factors

emerged on the combined analysis, each accounting for approximately 5% of the variance. One of these factors loaded highly on items drawn from the two clusters in the pilot study concerned with personal identity and personal identity aspiration. This factor had also been clearly delineated in the separate Muslim analysis. The last factor, loading highly on items concerned with television viewing as a family centred activity, represented an area which had not appeared in previous analyses, but which was selected for inclusion as a new gratification area which might provide interesting insights.

From these analyses it seemed reasonable to conclude that there were sufficient similarities in the types of gratifications each group derived from television usage, even though the relative importance of these areas differed, to arrive at a common set of gratifications. The factors derived from the joint analysis preserved the flavour of the separate analyses, although modifying the significance of the variance accounted for. Given this, it was decided to use factors as a guide for deriving gratification areas, rather than use them as factors per se. Using the factors in conjunction with results derived from an average cluster analysis, the four factors were refined so as to represent clusters having high inter-item correlations and alpha coefficients[1] both within each sample and across the population generally. The clusters which emerged were as follows:

Cluster 1: Learning about Life and the World

T.V. shows me what life used to be like.

T.V. teaches me about life.

T.V. shows me what I want to know more about.

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1. $\alpha = \frac{\bar{n}\bar{r}ij}{1 + (n-1)\,\bar{r}ij}$

T.V. helps me to get on in the world.

Some things on T.V. help me to learn about the place I live in.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "School of Life - Personal Identity Aspirant".

T.V. helps me to keep in touch with things going on in the world.

T.V. shows me things I would normally never see.

T.V. shows you what the world is really like.

T.V. broadens my outlook on life.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "Window on the World".

Cluster 2: Diversion

T.V. is relaxing.

I watch T.V. because it helps me forget about my problems.

T.V. has become a necessity rather than an object of pleasure.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "Diversion".

Tuning in to T.V. is like dropping in on a friend.

Watching television is like spending time with a friend.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "Personal Reference and Parasocial Interaction".

T.V. is the only entertainment there is.

I do not think I could live without television.

I watch T.V. because I like an escape from reality.

Watching T.V. is a very good enjoyable way to spend time.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "T.V. Dependence and Involvement".

I use T.V. to change my mood, like it cheers me up when I feel sad.

Cluster 3: Personal Identity Seeking

Sometimes I wish my life could be more like the lives of people I see on T.V.

T.V. makes me think of how I would like to live.

T.V. shows me the kind of person I could be.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "Personal Identity - Self Affirmation".

T.V. lets me feel I am right there when things are happening.

Watching T.V. I can get a view of someone else leading my life.

All of the above appeared in original pilot cluster "School of Life - Personal Identity Aspirant".

Sometimes I wish my family could be more like the families I see on T.V.

4. Family Integration - Social Utility

I spend a lot of time talking to my family about things I see on T.V.

I watch T.V. because it helps me to forget about my problems.

T.V. helps to bring the family together.

I sometimes have to explain T.V. programmes to my parents.

T.V. shows me what the world will be like.

For further analyses all items within the clusters were given equal weightings. T-test comparisons on the raw scores for each cluster, by sample, all proved to be non-significant. As all raw score distributions approximated normal distributions, it was decided to convert all raw scores into standard scores (Z scores)[2] for ease of data comparisons. The combined population means and standard deviations were used for the standardization.

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2. $Z = \frac{X - \bar{X}}{S.D.}$

Before proceeding to explore the significance of the data patterns, let us pause to examine the structure of these gratification clusters and consider them, briefly, in the context of former studies of media use.

The 'Learning about Life and the World' cluster represents a merging of two separate clusters which had been identified during pilot work. As such, it effectively splits the former 'School of Life - Personal Identity Aspirant' cluster, drawing out items indicative of television's more instrumental teaching function, and combines these with items from the previously labelled 'Window on the World' category, which focussed on the information providing aspects of televiewing. The 'Personal Identity Aspirant' items are brought together with similar items from the pilot cluster formerly called 'Personal Identity - Self Affirmation', to form a single 'Personal Identity Seeking' cluster. The 'Diversion' function taps items from three formerly noted areas representing the diversion seeking aspects of television consumption, overall dependence on and involvement with the medium, and television's role as a substitute companion. The final cluster to emerge,'Family Integration and Social Utility', represents a previously unidentified area centering on television's role in drawing the family together.

Schramm, et al. (1961) in looking at the effects among children of the introduction of television, emphasizes the reality versus fantasy content of television fare and suggests that, given such content, there are three associated functions the medium may fulfil: 1) information-seeking. 2) entertainment; and 3) social utility, drawing people together for purposes of consumption and conversation. Himmelweit, et al. (1958) looking at the displacement of activities among youths associated with the introduction of television in Britain implies that television functions as a "source of ideas", partly satisfied "a need to be entertained" and may "increase the time they (children) spend at home

with their family". Greenberg's (1974) study of television use and gratification among British school children produced the following motivations for viewing: relaxation, companionship, learning about self, learning about things, to pass time, arousal, to forget (about problems), and out of habit. In addition to the forementioned studies of adult audiences in Britain (Blumler, et al., 1970; McQuail, et al., 1972; Blumler, 1976) have highlighted television's role in satisfying the following needs: surveillance, information seeking; diversion; personal identity seeking; curiosity; and personal relationships, including companionship and social utility functions.

It is noteworthy then, that the gratification clusters which have emerged in the present study represent categories which have been previously documented in studies of both adults and children. The current 'Learning about Life and the World' category bears a strong resemblance to the 'Learning about Self and Things' category found by Greenberg (1974), while the current 'Diversion' area seems to combine the habit, arousal, relaxation, diversion, and companionship functions he cites. Whereas the current 'Personal Identity Seeking' function is one which had not been indicated among gratification type studies as salient among children, it has been well documented among adults, as well as being implicated in 'non-gratification' research among children (Hendry & Thornton, 1976).

The 'Family Integration - Social Utility' function seems to combine aspects of social utility previously found among adults while including the dimension of increasing the amount of time spent with families noted by Himmelweit, et al. (1958). In many respects the emergence of these four functions would seem particularly apposite given the age and background of the current sample. Adolescence is the the period marking the transition from childhood, and, at least in western societies, typically associated with drawing away from one's parents and seeking alternative role

models. The 'Learning' and 'Personal Identity Seeking' functions of television would seem especially appropriate for youths from a small relatively isolated, industrial town which provides limited opportunities for interacting with people from a range of backgrounds as well as limited scope for learning about different lifestyles. Similarly, given that the Asian sample's parents may represent inappropriate models for Muslim youths expecting to live in Britain and perhaps desiring to align themselves more closely with British society than their parents may wish, television would seem to fulfil a useful role in providing both vicarious experience from which to gain familiarity with British life as well as providing alternative models to those from their own families. Nor is it surprising to note the emergence of television's role in bringing the family together given the central position of the family within the Muslim culture.

INTERPRETATION AND CONJECTURE[3]

Let us now examine the interpretations we may give to the data patterns for the respective samples. The separate sample factor analyses highlighted one factor as accounting for the major proportion of variance in each group. For the Muslims the cluster we have labelled 'learning about life and the world' featured as predominant; for the white sample, the area of 'diversion' was most significant. In Greenberg's study (1974) of white and non-white media use in Britain, of the eight factors which emerged (see p 184) the category 'learning', encompassing areas of social, interpersonal, and informational-observational learning, was the only area which correlated with non-white respondent status; the area of 'forgetting', including both a diversion and relaxation focus, was the

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[3]Throughout the following discussion it should be borne in mind that we will be considering differences in the proportion of variation each gratification area accounts for as determined by the separate sample factor solutions. As such these imply differences in the conceptualization of television use (e.g., television as predominantly a source for diversion or information seeking) and not in the frequency of endorsement of each gratification area.

only area that correlated with white status. The results of the current analysis would further substantiate these relationships. These would imply that the white youth regards television primarily as an entertainment medium, even though he acknowledges its utility in other areas, whereas the Asian youth perceives his televiewing as a learning tool, perhaps providing him a useful opportunity to observe and learn about the rituals of British culture.

On the surface this dichotomization of gratification area emphasis would seem quite plausible. We would expect the Muslim youths, whom we have already seen to be living in a state of cultural dualism, to lean heavily on the media in order to further acquaint themselves with British life. For the white subjects we might conjecture that the emphasis on the diversion aspects of television might stem from prior expectations about the medium's content, which are likely to derive from early socialization. The white youth has essentially learned to view television as an entertainment form, and, as such he tends to interpret his viewing as diversion oriented. We might also invoke early socialization as an explanation for the information seeking framework for the Muslim's use of television. The Asian community in Britain has shown itself to place great value on education and advancement. Indeed some researchers have chosen to interpret the relative success of Asian children in British schools as compared to West Indian children, as deriving at least in part from the differential emphasis on learning found in the Asian home (Taylor, 1973). Among the Muslim community, with its tradition of study of the Koran, this emphasis seems only natural. Hence we might expect that the Muslim sample's view of television as a learning tool represents an extrapolation of this educational bias from the more traditional areas of written to visual media. In addition, the Muslim child is growing up in families which do use the medium for learning, particularly for learning English (Faulkner, 1975).

Having said this, however, we are now faced with a dilemma. It will be recalled that the Muslim and white samples, while evidencing

considerable overlap in the television programmes nominated as favourites, nonetheless showed marked differences in their 'top ten' favourites (see Table 16, p. 109). The Muslim nominations contain only four programmes originating in Britain, and half of their favourites could be characterized as science fiction. This would hardly seem the content suitable for learning functions. The whites on the other hand, with seven of their 'top ten' favourites originating in Britain and among these programmes of a news/information type (e.g. 'Blue Peter', 'Multi-coloured Swap Shop') and British situation comedy (e.g. 'Yes,My Dear', 'The Goodies'), are watching programmes which are much better suited for learning about life in Britain. How may we reconcile the contradiction then between the Muslim's conceptualization of television as best serving information seeking needs and the lack of information type programmes among their favourites?

One way of resolving this difficulty would be to call upon one of the basic tenets of uses and gratifications research, namely that the same content may serve any number of gratification areas; or, to modify an old adage, "Gratification is in the eyes of the beholder". For example, an earlier study of British adult media use (Blumler et al., 1970) found viewers of 'The Saint,' an early James Bond-type programme, claiming that it not only provided an outlet for "wish-fulfilling fantasies", but that it also helped them to better understand their own lives. So while we may not typically associate the programmes nominated by the Muslims as being information centred, the Muslims may still be learning from them.

It should be obvious though, that while the Muslims may be learning from these programmes, they cannot be gleaning very much information about Britain. Here one might conjecture as to why this may be the case. In the previous chapter we gained an insight into the kinds of

demands placed on the Muslim youths by the daily interface of British and Islamic culture. It may be that this interface, while contributing to or generating a need to know more about Britain and the life-style of 'native' Britons, is nevertheless generating a conflict which by its very intensity is forcing these youths to focus outside of the area of confrontation. Instead of learning about life in Britain, they focus on life outside of Britain, as it is a less emotionally charged arena for them.

There is another factor to substantiate this interpretation. As mentioned earlier, there are few programmes on British television which portray non-whites in major roles; and those programmes which do feature non-whites are mostly of United States origin (Greenberg and Dyckoff, 1972 ; Equity Coloured Artists Committee, 1974).

For the Asian youth who is either born in Britain or anticipates spending his forseeable future in Britain, witnessing programmes which purport to deal with life in Britain and yet which fail to depict life among Britons such as himself (namely non-whites), is likely to create a certain amount of dissonance. On the one hand he is British by birth-right and residence, and yet his experience as a Briton is being dismissed as not 'typical' or 'normal' or perhaps even 'valid', by media producers who fail to depict Asians in normal every day roles. As one Muslim youth replied when asked why he didn't view the situation comedy or drama series about 'native' Britons, "They just show other people what ordinary life is like, what an ordinary English family would do at home. We're not interested; we know what <u>we</u> do at home".

This interpretation could explain Carey's findings (1966) of a similar nature in the pre-Kerner Commission days demonstrating American blacks to be lower consumers than whites of programmes dealing with family situations. While Carey considered this difference as deriving from the

greater conflict and isolation of the individual in the Negro family, it may be more attributable to a dissonance type reaction. It would be interesting to see if this content preference were still the case given the increase in programmes depicting blacks in a wider variety of roles (including family settings) in the post-Kerner Commission era. Indeed two more recent (post-Kerner) research findings previously cited, indicated a preference among black American children for programmes featuring blacks (see p. 10). These results would seem to support a dissonance explanation.

Returning to the content that Muslims are nominating as their 'top ten' favourites, if we accept the foregoing hypothesis, then the fact that the majority of these programmes are American in origin and that half of them are of a science fiction nature may begin to make sense. On the one hand, the fact that the programmes are American means that the models and scenarios they are presenting, if about white people, may pose less of a threat to self-esteem; after all the United States is not their home. This same reasoning could be applied to science fiction content as it doesn't present a portrait of "the real world". On the other hand, though, given the recommendations of the Kerner Commission (1968), American broadcasters have become far more conscientious about including non-whites as main persons or supporting cast in the programmes, and this may be influencing the Muslim's selection. Indeed among the Muslim favourites are two programmes specifically featuring non-whites: 'Water Margin' (which also figures among the white favourites) is about a Chinese family; and 'The Quest' is about American Indians.

There is one additional element which may be affecting Muslim programme choice. Many of these youths may be experiencing difficulty in coping with the pressures of their dual cultural existence and are perhaps

frustrated either in their efforts to form stronger links with the predominant white culture, in seeking to draw away from their Asian background, or in striving to balance both cultures. Given this, they may be seeking media models who are efficacious in their medium milieu, hence programmes such as 'Batman', 'Bionic Woman', 'Gemini Man', 'Starsky and Hutch', 'Sweeney', 'The Avengers' and 'Six Million Dollar Man'. All of the forementioned provide prototypes of successful individuals who are effective and controlling in their environs. In addition some of these also depict models of ideal human relationships, as in the symbiotic relationship between Starsky and Hutch or the mutually supportive Avengers.

All of the foregoing represent hypotheses about possible explanations for the apparently contradictory evidence between content choice and gratification patterns. It remains for other researchers to substantiate these interpretations by examining these interrelationships more closely. It also remains to determine what are the intervening variables which influence the choice of content for a gratification area, and what influences the message that a particular programme conveys to its audience, or the meaning an audience member imputes to a programme.

Chapter 6: THE FOURFOLD CLASSIFICATION MODEL OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL AFFINITY: TESTING ITS ASSOCIATION WITH TELEVISION GRATIFICATIONS AND OTHER LIFE-STYLE VARIABLES

The aim of this chapter is to consider the discriminatory power of the fourfold classification model suggested during the piloting stages of the research, which uses orientation towards parents and peers as one dimension and evaluation of ethnic group as the second dimension. Before proceeding to discuss this, however, we will examine the relationship between gratifications associated with television viewing and demographic background more closely.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND TELEVISION GRATIFICATION

In the last chapter we noted that there were no overall differences between Muslim and white subjects in their gratification scores. This pattern was rather surprising as one might have expected the Muslim adolescent to demonstrate quite a unique profile of gratification endorsement if the experiences of the Muslim youths in general were so very different from those of the white youths. This would suggest that whereas there is a large disparity between the two groups apropos the social and psychological variables (as noted in Chapter 3), the differences within the Muslim and white groups respectively are as great as those between these groups as regards television gratification patterns. While we might have anticipated that race would be a major predictor here, this lack of differentiation is so far consistent with the findings of Williams and Lindsay (1971) which state that social stratification should provide greater insight into media behaviour than ethnicity. Given this one would wonder whether there are gross demographic categories

which could be influencing endorsements among these youths. Blumler (1976) notes that middle-class adult viewers tend to use television more for surveillance than viewers from other social classes, while using television for personal identity seems to be a compensatory activity related to low education, lack of telephone and car, and job insecurity. Greenberg (1974), however, in his survey of British school children found no consistent relationships between media function and social class.

While in the present study there was an attempt to ensure that all subjects were drawn from the so-called 'working class' sector, there was still some differentiation within the sample ranging from a few children whose fathers could be categorized as working in 'white collar' or upper middle-class employment through to a few children whose fathers were either unemployed or deceased[1]. It was hypothesized that, if we could consider social class to provide a rough measure of relative deprivation of a material rather than necessarily psychological kind, then, in keeping with Blumler's findings, we would expect individuals from lower social class categories to use television more for personal identity than those from higher categories, and less for surveillance.

In considering the data from each sample separately, there was a significant relationship found between social class as estimated by father's occupation and the use of television for personal identity seeking among the white sample ($F = 2.46$; 5, 80 d.f.; $P \leq .05$). In general, those youths from the higher social class categories were using the media less for personal identity seeking than those from lower class

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1. Categories were defined according to the Household Survey guidelines.

categories. None of the other relationships proved to be significant.

The lack of relationship among the Muslim sample here may be at least partly attributable to the difficulty of using father's occupation as a guide to social class among this group. Whereas occupational status among indigenous Britons is deemed to reflect educational as well as financial attainments given that many of the Asian credentials are not fully recognised in Britain, as well as the fact that some of the fathers will have retired prematurely in keeping with traditional practice allowing the elder sons to look after them, employment status may not be accurately linked to social status among the Asians.

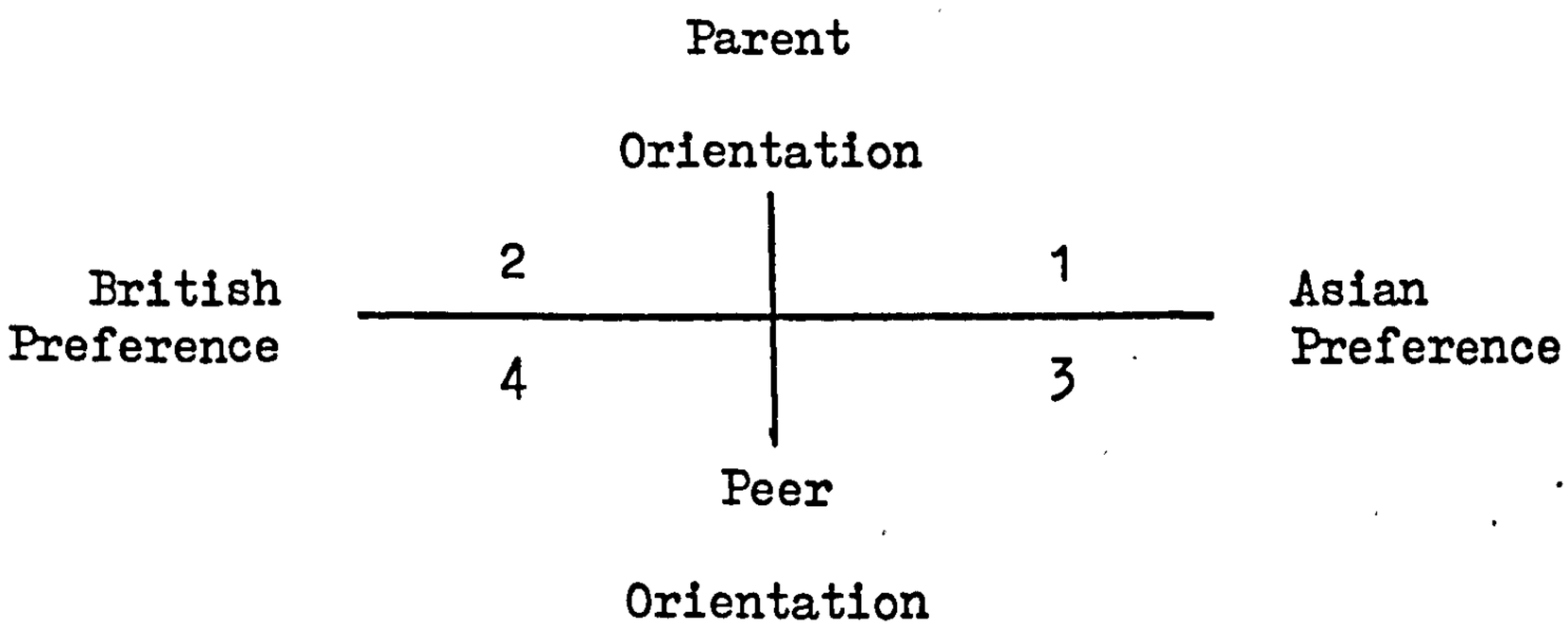
Age was another variable which it was thought might be related to television gratification. Greenberg (1974) had found younger children giving consistently higher endorsements across all media functions than older children. As Greenberg had sampled among both white and non-white children it was anticipated that similar relationships would be found in the current study. This was not the case. While age, could be generally linked to gratifications among the white respondents, there was no meaningful trend among the Muslim group. Among the white sample the younger boys were using the media more for social utility/family integration (Pearson $r = -.22$, 78 d.f., $p \leq .05$) and personal identity seeking (Pearson $r = -.19$, 78 d.f., $p \leq .05$) than were older white youths While a similar age-related pattern affected the use of television for learning about the world and life, this relationship was not significant (Pearson $r = -.13$, 78 d.f., p = n.s.).

In general, then, while social demographic particulars have some discriminatory potential among the white sample, there is no information gained by using these variables as predictors of Muslim media gratifications.

TELEVISION GRATIFICATION AND ETHNIC EVALUATION AND PARENT/PEER ORIENTATION

The Muslim Sample

Preliminary background research had suggested that among the Muslim youths relations with parents and attitudes towards the actual status group versus attitudes towards the host community group would have significant implications for the day to day patterns of living. Further, it was anticipated that if one could actually distinguish between those youths who on the one hand had favourable relations with parents, versus those who were more favourably disposed to peers, and on the other hand those youths who were sympathetic to an Asian ideal versus those favouring a British ideal, then it would be possible to make certain predictions about how these youths would respond in other areas. In general, it was envisaged that each youth could be located within the space defined by two bipolar dimensions, yielding a fourfold classification; viz:



Although these two axes might not be entirely unidimensional and oblique, given that a more traditional Asian orientation would probably entail greater respect for one's parents, they should represent sufficiently separate dimensions to enable positioning within one of the four general categories[2]. Position herein would be expected to relate to media

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2. The Pearson product-moment correlation between these two dimensions was .25 among the Muslim group.

consumption and gratification pattems, as well as to more general lifestyle. It was proposed that cultural orientation would account for the major share of variance resulting in the largest differences between groups one and three versus two and four, followed by differences between groups one and two versus three and four as varying along the parent/peer dimension. The specific hypotheses for each of the four groups are indicated below.

Those in position one (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation) would be expected to be the most traditional group. In general they would not only favour the Asian ideal, but would actually identify themselves more with that ideal and probably be more orthodox in their adherence to Muslim religious ritual and practice. As these youths would possess a strong sense of Muslim identity and culture, they would have little need to turn to the media for vicarious personal identity seeking. Their ideal would rest within the traditional Muslim family as exemplified by their own parents. Hence television would be used primarily as a source of family-centred entertainment and diversion seeking. One would expect cultural reference gratifications to centre primarily on cinema attendance (at the Asian cinema), radio and record listening, all of which would enable freedom of choice among Asian orientated content.

Group two subjects (British Preference/Parent Orientation) would be expected to provide a relatively problematic category. These youths would essentially be torn between maintaining traditional orientations stemming from their respect and adherence to parental values, while desiring a closer bond with British culture. In some respects their lifestyle would be a combination of groups four and one. Their allegiance to a British ideal could be expected to militate against strong peer contacts from among the Asian group, or if their peers did come from this

group, they would be expected to be less orthodox. Religious adherence among these youths would be less highly structured than among those in group one, reflected in a lower frequency of mosque attendance, and a general willingness to follow Islamic tradition (out of respect for parents presumably) but in a less rigorous fashion. While use of media could be expected to be high in the case of television and books, use of the more ethnically oriented media should be marginal. Their respect for their parents should indicate a general willingness to follow their example, hence one would not expect the use of the media for personal identity seeking. On the other hand, their favouring a British ideal should preclude the selection of content which would be amenable to family style consumption.

Looking to those in position three (Asian Preference/Peer Orientation) we would anticipate that, as cultural orientation would be primarily Asian, peers would mostly be Asian youths seeking a somewhat less traditional (orthodox) lifestyle than those in group one. While the Asian ideal would be upheld, identification with that ideal would be marginally less than among those in group one, hence religious adherence would be slightly lower, as would attendance at mosque. Media use would reflect these patterns with cultural reference coming primarily from the more Asian oriented media, e.g. cinema, records or cassettes and radio while television would serve predominantly as an entertainment medium. Given the tendency of these youths to be less committed to a traditional Asian lifetstyle as modelled by their parents, one could also expect some personal identity seeking to be associated with television viewing. The use of television as family-centred entertainment would not be expected.

The remaining subjects, those in group four (British Preference/Peer Orientation) would be expected to represent the most markedly different

pattern from groups one and three. Basically as the group would disdain the Muslim ideal, and conflict with the values of parents, they might be expected to be isolated from both Asian peers and their families. If this proved to be the case one would anticipate a compensatory reliance on media of a non-ethnic nature, primarily television. Gratifications would be primarily of a surveillance and personal identity nature, as this group would be interested not only in seeing "how the other half lives" but also in learning how to live like "the other half", namely non-Asians.

In order to test these hypotheses each Asian youth first had to be assigned to an appropriate quadrant. The Parent/Peer dimension was formed by combining the items from the scales measuring quality of relationship with parents and orientation to peers to form a single scale, with a high score indicating favourable relations with parents and a low score indicating conflicting relations with parents and an orientation towards peers. The scores herein were dichotomized and subjects scoring above the mean were deemed to be oriented more towards parents, while those scoring below the mean were assumed to be more oriented towards peers. The Asian/British dimension was derived from comparing the endorsements on the semantic differential scale ratings of the concepts 'British' and 'Asian'. Subjects rating 'British' more favourably than 'Asian' were allocated to the British pole and conversely those rating 'Asian' above 'British' were deemed to be more positively disposed towards the Asian end of the axis. On this basis 83 youths were assigned to particular quadrants: 37 youths to the first (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation); 10 youths to the second (British Preference/Parent Orientation); 27 youths to the third (Asian Preference/Peer Orientation); and 10 youths to the fourth position (British Preference/Peer Orientation). The remaining 7 members of the sample were not assigned to any quadrant as their endorsements

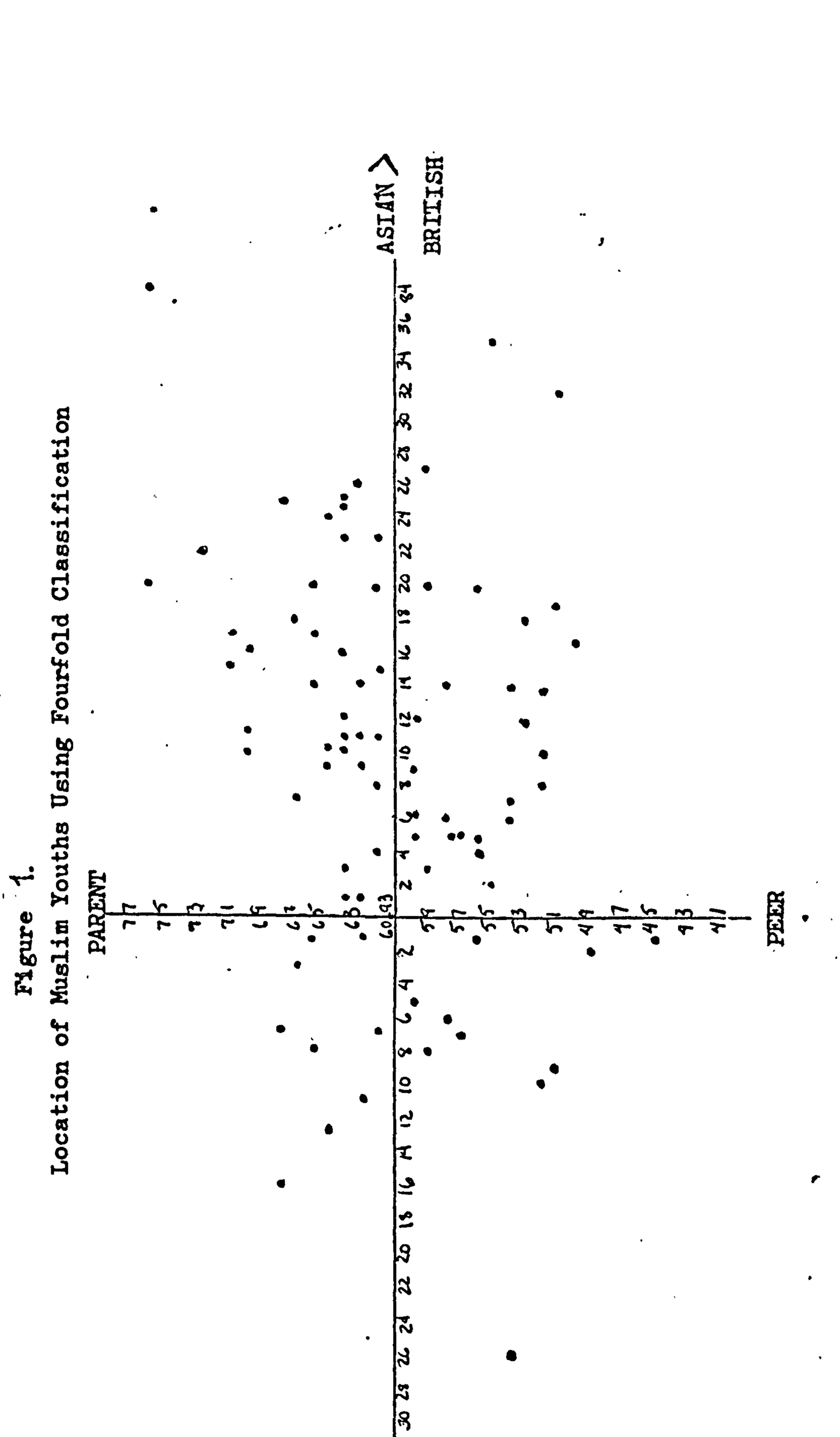
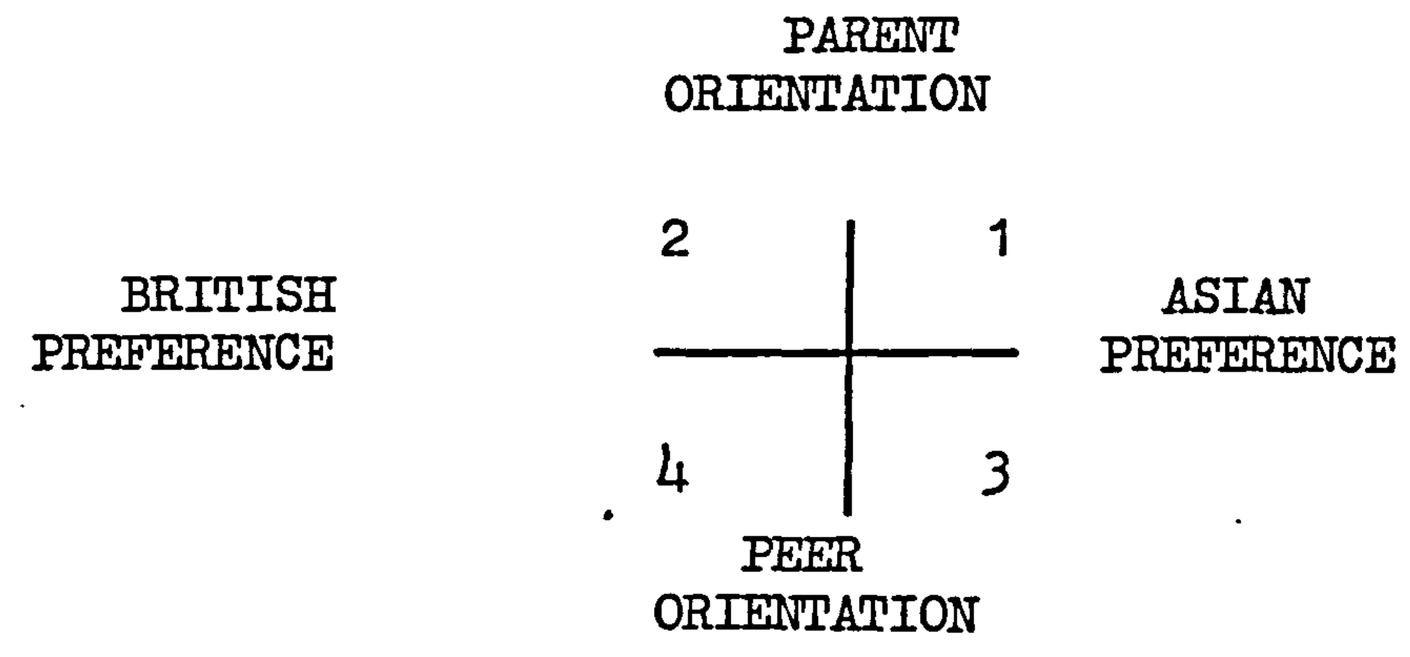


Figure 1. Location of Muslim Youths Using Fourfold Classification

Table 18

BACKGROUND AND MEDIA USE AS IT RELATES TO PARENT-PEER ORIENTATION AND ETHNIC PREFERENCE : MUSLIM SAMPLE



	Quadrant										
	1(N=37)		2(N=10)		3(N=26)		4(N=10)		Contrast	d.f.	P
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.			
Television Gratifications											
Personal Identity Seeking	-.11	(1.1)	-.29	(1.0)	.35	(.95)	.25	(.61)	t = 1.85 (1,2 v.3,4)	79	.06
Diversion	.11	(.82)	-.36	(1.1)	.22	(.68)	.04	(.94)	t = 1.51 (1,3 v.2,4)	79	.14
Social Utility/Family	.35	(.84)	-.65	(1.4)	.05	(.92)	-.31	(1.2)	F = 3.24	3,82	.03
Learning	.18	(.80)	-.32	(1.9)	-.04	(.92)	.18	(.98)	t = 1.30 (1,4 v.2,3)	79	.20
Time Spent in: (in hours)											
Play	8.77	(5.0)	6.25	(5.1)	9.71	(5.2)	7.42	(5.8)	t = 1.60 (1,3 v.2,4)	68	.11
TV (Weekdays)	9.42	(5.7)	9.00	(5.2)	9.50	(5.1)	7.29	(4.7)			n.s.
TV (Weekend)	7.09	(3.6)	8.50	(5.4)	8.21	(5.0)	8.57	(6.7)			n.s.

Table 18 (contd.)

Variable	Quadrant 1(N=37) $\bar{x}$	S.D.	2(N=10) $\bar{x}$	S.D.	3(N=26) $\bar{x}$	S.D.	4(N=10) $\bar{x}$	S.D.	Contrast	d.f.	P
Age	13.35	(1.4)	12.90	(1.3)	13.12	(1.2)	12.70	(1.3)	t = 1.3 (1,3 v.2,4)	79	.20
Willingness to Approach:											
Friends	.22	(.10)	.19	(.05)	.23	(.10)	.22	(.22)			n.s.
Parents	.36	(.07)	.37	(.08)	.36	(.08)	.33	(.17)			n.s.
Religious Leaders	.08	(.05)	.08	(.04)	.06	(.04)	.11	(.05)	F = 2.75		.05
Siblings	.20	(.09)	.22	(.07)	.22	(.10)	.15	(.08)	F = 1.71	3,82	1.7
Teachers	.14	(.08)	.14	(.07)	.13	(.08)	.19	(.10)			n.s.
Evaluation of:											
British	63.43	(13.7)	74.10	(9.2)	64.54	(9.7)	75.10	(12.5)	t = 3.45 (1,3 v.2,4)	79	.001
Asians	79.84	(10.49)	59.00	(23.0)	77.19	(11.7)	67.60	(16.2)	t = 4.36 (1,3 v.2,4)	79	.001
Identification with:											
British	2.86	(1.8)	3.10	(2.1)	2.19	(1.4)	2.20	(1.4)	t = 1.84 (1,2 v.3,4)	79	.07
Asians	5.76	(1.8)	4.20	(2.5)	5.27	(2.0)	4.70	(2.8)	t = 2.00 (1,3 v.2,4)	79	.05
Parents	24.41	(3.3)	24.60	(3.5)	20.62	(3.7)	22.20	(4.6)	t = 3.10 (1,2 v.3,4)	79	.001
Peers	15.35	(3.3)	16.50	(3.1)	20.69	(4.4)	23.00	(5.5)	F = 15.38	3,82	.001
Slang	11.16	(2.8)	10.70	(2.5)	10.54	(3.2)	9.80	(3.6)			n.s.
Mosque (hours)	9.24	(7.3)	9.13	(5.7)	7.74	(6.6)	9.00	(6.8)			n.s.
Religious Habits	1.84	(1.2)	2.10	(1.1)	1.42	(1.2)	1.38	(1.5)	t = 1.75 (1,2 v.3,4)	72	.09
Ethnic Isolation (Guttman Scale)	3.25	(1.5)	3.00	(1.5)	2.42	(1.5)	3.50	(1.34)	t = 2.08 (1,2,4 v.3)	72	.04

of 'Asian' and 'British' were equal. Figure 1 indicates the locations of these youths along these two dimensions. These four groups were then compared across indices of media use and gratification as well as measures of social and religious attitudes. The results of these comparisons are indicated in Table 18.

Let us begin by examining the results of the comparisons on television gratifications. We find differences between these groups which are either significant or tending towards significance on the four gratification areas. The use of television for personal identity seeking is tending to be higher among those groups who have more conflict between their parents and their peers than among those youths with more harmonious relations with their parents. This would suggest that respect for one's parents also implies a more ready acceptance of the model they are depicting, whereas conflicting relations with parents perhaps serves as a motivator to look beyond the family setting for identification models. It will be recalled that during the pilot study we had found that quality of relationship with parents was inversely related to using television for both personal identity and personal reference seeking. In the case of television's use for family viewing and social utility, one finds the subjects diverging on the basis of Asian vs. British preference. Those youths with an Asian Preference/Parent Orientation (Quadrant 1) are using the media most for family viewing and social utility, followed by those with an Asian Preference/Peer Orientation (Quadrant 3). Those groups with a British Preference and either a Parent or Peer Orientation (Quadrants 2, 4) are using the media least in this respect. One would expect this to be the case as those with a more traditional Asian orientation could be expected to demonstrate content preferences which would be more conducive to family style consumption.

Looking at the use of television for diversion and escape we can note a trend among members of quadrants one and three (those with an Asian Preference) to use the medium more in this area than subjects preferring a British model (Quadrants 2 and 4). This finding is contrary to expectations. We had anticipated that groups with high conflict, in either cultural modes or social relationships (probably those in Quadrants 2, 3 and 4) might be relying on television as a means of escaping from this conflict. Instead it appears that cultural orientation is accounting for the largest differences herein, as in the case of family viewing and social utility. The reason behind this may be in the relative importance of the gratifications taken overall for each group; the diversion seeking category figures rather less prominently than the other gratification areas. Whereas each of the remaining gratification areas features as either the most or least highly endorsed category for at least one group, this is not the case for the diversion area. Hence, although those in group three (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation) are using the media in this regard, personal identity seeking represents a more salient use of television fare, as is the case for those in group four (British Preference/Peer Orientation).

Those groups using the television most for learning about the world and about life are subjects within group one (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation) and group four (British Preference/Peer Orientation). The remaining groups are using the medium very little in this regard. While it had been predicted that youths among the British Preference/Peer Orientation group (Quadrant 4) would use television most herein, it is not immediately clear why those in the Asian Preference/Parent Orientation group (Quadrant 1) would also use the media in this manner. By considering

the gratification patterns as a whole, however, an interpretation becomes more apparent. Among the Asian Preference/Parent Orientation group (Quadrant 1) we also find rather low endorsements for the personal identity seeking category, whereas there are rather high endorsements for this category among subjects in the British Preference/Parent Orientation group (Quadrant 2). One would expect that those using the media more for surveying their environment relative to personal identity seeking would be rather more secure in their own environment, and using the media to extend that environment rather than to seek to change it. On the other hand, those groups using the media both for personal identity seeking as well as learning about the world and about life, would be expected not only to be seeking ways of extending their own environment, but as they are rather uncertain or insecure about their role within their environment, they may also be seeking ways of perhaps changing it. If these hypotheses are correct, then we would expect those in group one to show a stronger sense of Muslim identity, by being more consistent in their religious adherence and the extent to which they identify with the Asian group, whereas those in group four might be less consistent in their following of Muslim custom and identify themselves less strongly with the Asian group. Looking at the strength of identification with the Asian group we do find significant differences between these groups with members of groups two and four (British Preference/Parent or Peer Orientation) showing a lower identification with Asians, while youths in groups one and three (Asian Preference/Parent or Peer Orientation) evidence a higher identification. Individuals in group one (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation) show the strongest identification with Asians, having a mean score of 5.76 (s.d. 1.79) out of a maximum of 6. Interestingly, those in groups one and two (Asian or British Preference/Parent Orientation) claim a slightly higher identification with the British than those in

groups three and four (Asian or British Preference/Peer Orientation), although none of these groups recognise that they are more like the British than the Asians.

Turning to the area of religious practice we find that there are no differences in mosque attendance between these groups. There are trends, however, indicating that both groups three and four (Asian or British Preference/Peer Orientation) are less orthodox in their keeping of dietary regulations than those professing a more parental orientation. Paradoxically, those subjects indicating a British preference (Quadrants 2,4) demonstrate a tendency to go to religious leaders more than those with an Asian preference (Quadrans 1,3). Earlier on (see Chapter 3) we had seen that age is related to both going to religious leaders as well as a higher evaluation of the British over Asians. The anomaly in seeking out religious leaders, as well as in frequency of mosque attendance may therefore be attributable to age. Looking at these groups there is indeed a tendency for members of groups two and four (British Preference/Parent or Peer Orientation) to be slightly younger than those in groups one and three (Asian Preference/Parent or Peer Orientation). So it would appear that group four is coping with its disenchantment with both the Asian ideal and parents within the constraints imposed by its age which may account for the fact that they are attending mosque as often as other groups as well as turning to religious leaders; however, in those areas in which they are freer from parental constraint, such as in violating dietary habits outside of the home, they are exercising their liberty.

Turning now to the leisure time activities of these groups we find the groups with a more British orientation are tending to spend less time in playing with their peers, than those with an Asian orientation. Presumably their preference for a British ideal is estranging them from Muslim

peers, while their Asian status is also alienating them from a British peer group. The only youths demonstrating a certain amount of interaction with whites outside of school are those in the Asian Preference/Peer Orientation group (Quadrant 3). While it had been hypothesised that identity conflict would lead to a heavier reliance on media, this does not appear to be the case. There are no consistent differences between these groups in their use of television. Both groups one and three (Asian Preference/Parent or Peer Orientation), however, are listening to records and cassettes more than groups two and four (British Preference/ Parent or Peer Orientation) ($x^2 \simeq 10$, 3 d.f., $p \leq .05$), while groups two and four appear to use radio more frequently than groups one and three ($x^2 \simeq 8$, 3 d.f., $p \leq 0.5$).

In general then, many of the hypothesized relationships between ethnic preference and parent/peer orientation, and media use and general lifestyle have been demonstrated. We have noted that youths with an Asian Preference/Parent Orientation (Quadrant 1) tend to identify themselves most with the Asian group, and are more faithful in the keeping of religious practices. We have seen their television viewing to be mainly associated with social utility and family integration followed by learning gratifications; we also noted low personal identity seeking. The hypothesized use of television for diversion purposes was not demonstrated, nor were the high dependencies on ethnic oriented media, although we did note a higher use of records and cassettes herein, and a lower use of radio.

Youths falling into the British Preference/Parent Orientation (Quadrant 2) position proved to be a difficult group. While they did demonstrate spending rather less time with peers than youths with an Asian preference, they did not show any greater interaction with white youths which might have been expected. Neither did they demonstrate less

attendance at mosque or less willingness to follow religious habits. While they showed a lower use of television for personal identity seeking and social utility and family integration, their gratification endorsements were low across all functions. The hypothesized high dependence on television and books failed to be substantiated.

Among the Muslims having an Asian Preference/Peer Orientation (Quadrant 3) we found a high identification with the Asian group, though marginally lower than the level of identification among the youths within the Asian Preference/Parent Orientation category. This had been expected. We also found the hypothesized lower adherence to religious ritual, although there were no differences between the groups in their attendance at mosque for religious instruction. Television is used primarily for diversion and personal identity seeking. Once again we failed to note a higher reliance on ethnic oriented media, although finding a slightly higher use of records and cassettes and less frequent radio listening, as we had previously noted among youths with an Asian Preference/Parent Orientation.

The Muslin youths with a British Preference/Peer Orientation evidenced the highest peer orientation/conflict between parents and peers, as well as low keeping of religious habits. Whereas we would have expected this group to show the most interaction with white youths, this was not the case. The expected high dependence on television did not materialize, but we did note that television gratifications lie mostly in the personal identity seeking and learning areas, as was hypothesized.

In summary, it would seem that television gratification patterns have been shown to be consistent with cultural and social orientation among the Muslim youths. Those youths with more stable relations apropos both their own culture and their family, use this security as a base from which

to expand that environment by using television to learn about life and the world, as well as to further draw the family together. At the other extreme, those who are experiencing conflict apropos relations with their parents, as well as their culture, are using the medium to seek out new role models as well as learn about life.

The White British Sample

Whereas among the Muslim sample particular variables had been proposed as accounting for major sources of variation in lifestyle, it was less likely for these same variables to be of similar significance among the white sample. While conflict with parents might have a considerable effect on any child's life, there was not expected to be the same kind of uniformity across the white children's parents to yield consistent differences between those youths who were experiencing conflict in parental relations versus those who were not. Similarly, whereas the British could be expected to represent an alternative reference group for Asian youths, and hence dichotomizing Asians in terms of their evaluation of 'Asian People' and 'British People' could be expected to allow for fruitful hypotheses, there was no reason to suppose that the British youths would have a coherent alternative reference group. Attempting to partition the British sample in an identical manner to the Muslim sample was therefore thought to be a fruitless venture. This left two possibilities for a comparative analysis: either one could attempt a partition along comparable dimensions, and examine the pattern of gratifications; or assuming that the motivations generating gratification seeking were similar among both groups, although stemming from different sources, one could try to analyse the patterns of gratification seeking and hypothesize about the conflicts likely to be related to each.

Let us look at this latter position first. Among the Muslims the gratification patterns rested predominantly on the differences between the use of television for personal identity seeking versus learning about the world and about life. In general, the more subjects used the medium for reality exploration relative to personal identity seeking:

1. the higher was their identification with the Asian Group ($t = 2.27$, 23 d.f., $p \leq .025$);
2. the better were their relations with their parents ($t = 1.22$; 23 d.f., $p \leq .10$); and
3. the higher 'Asian People' were evaluated relative to 'British People' ($t = 1.79$; 20 d.f., $p \leq .05$).

Conversely, the more Asians used television for personal identity seeking relative to learning about the world and life:

1. the more peer oriented they were ($t = 2.69$; 23 d.f., $p \leq .01$);
2. the lower were their evaluations of 'Asian' relative to 'British People' ($t = -1.79$; 20 d.f., $p \leq .05$); and
3. the less strongly they identified themselves with the actual group of membership ($t = -2.27$; 23 d.f., $p \leq .025$).

It would appear then that within the Muslim group using the medium for personal identity seeking is related to higher degrees of conflict in both psychological and social terms; whereas, using television for learning is related to greater stability in both one's own identity and in relations with others.

Using the same logic we would expect to find a similar pattern of conflict among those white subjects using the media more for personal identity seeking than learning functions, while greater stability among those using the medium more for the learning function relative to personal

identity seeking. Specifically, those white youths using television more for reality exploration relative to personal identity seeking could be expected:

1. to evaluate the British more favourably;
2. to identify themselves more closely with the British;
   (both 1 and 2 would indicate a stable self image);
3. to have better relations with their parents; and
4. to have less conflict between their parents and peers,

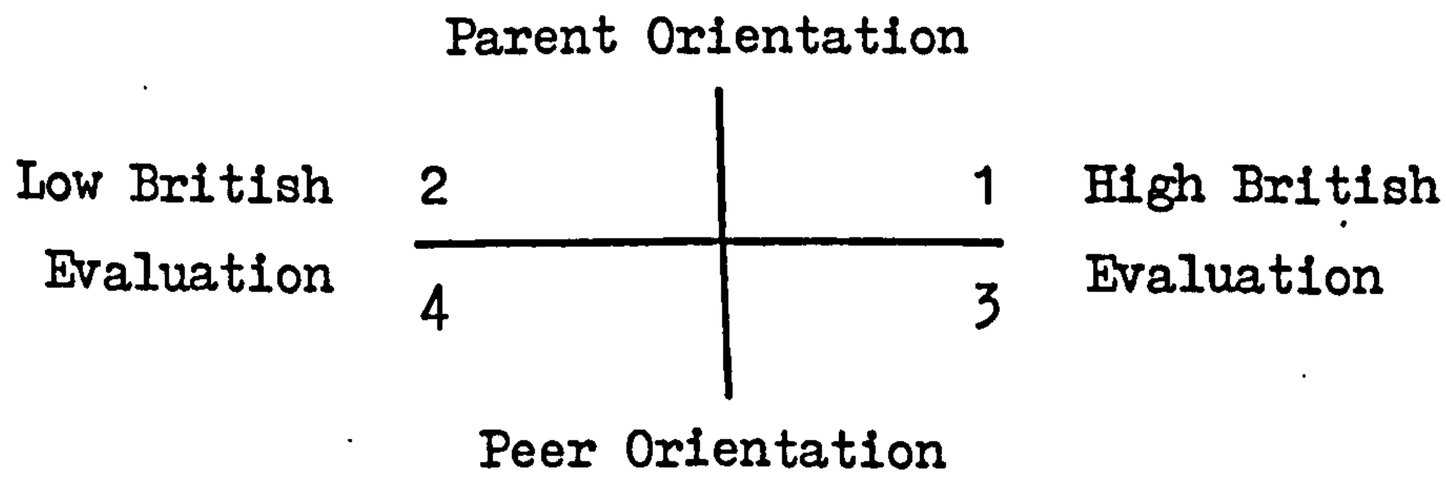
than those members of the white sample using the media more for the learning function relative to personal identity seeking.

The only hypothesis which is supported by the data is the last, namely, those white youths using the television more for personal identity seeking than for the learning function were experiencing more conflict in their parent and peer relations than were those youths using television more for the learning function ($t = 1.76$; 22 d.f., $p \leq .05$). Although this single significant relationship hardly provides conclusive evidence that there are similar motivations underlying the media use of the Muslim and white samples, one could argue that as ethnic identity would not be as salient or conflict-ridden among the whites as it is among the Muslim youths, the most comparable dimension of conflict among both groups would be the quality of parent-peer relation. If one accepts this view then this result provides at least some support for the role of conflict underlying the use of television.

Let us return now to the possibility of partitioning the white sample on dimensions allowing a comparison to be made with the Muslim sample. Whilst a parent versus peer orientation was not expected to have the same implications for the white sample as for the Muslims, it is reasonable to

assume that this is nonetheless an important discriminator among youths. Research by Bowerman and Kinch (1959), Coleman (1961), Douvan and Adelson (1966) among others, all attest to the growing importance of the peer group during adolescence in order to enable a smooth transition from the status of a dependent child to that of an independent adult. So division along a parent/peer axis would provide someguide as to the degree of dependence or independence of these youths. In a similar vein dichotomizing the white sample in terms of those evaluating the concept 'British People' above, versus those endorsing the concept below the mean would at least give some indication of those individuals who are more or less satisfied with their actual status group, and therefore perhaps more or less inclined to be receptive of information about alternative reference groups.

Using these dimensions we again arrive at a fourfold classification, viz:



According to this classification we find 22 youths falling within quadrant one, 17 in the second quadrant, 16 in the third,and 26 in the fourth quadrant. The Pearson correlation between the two dimensions is .11.

If the white sample were behaving in a manner consistent with the Muslim group, we would expect those in position one to use television most for social utility and family integration functions as well as for

Figure 2.

Location of White Youths Using Fourfold Classification

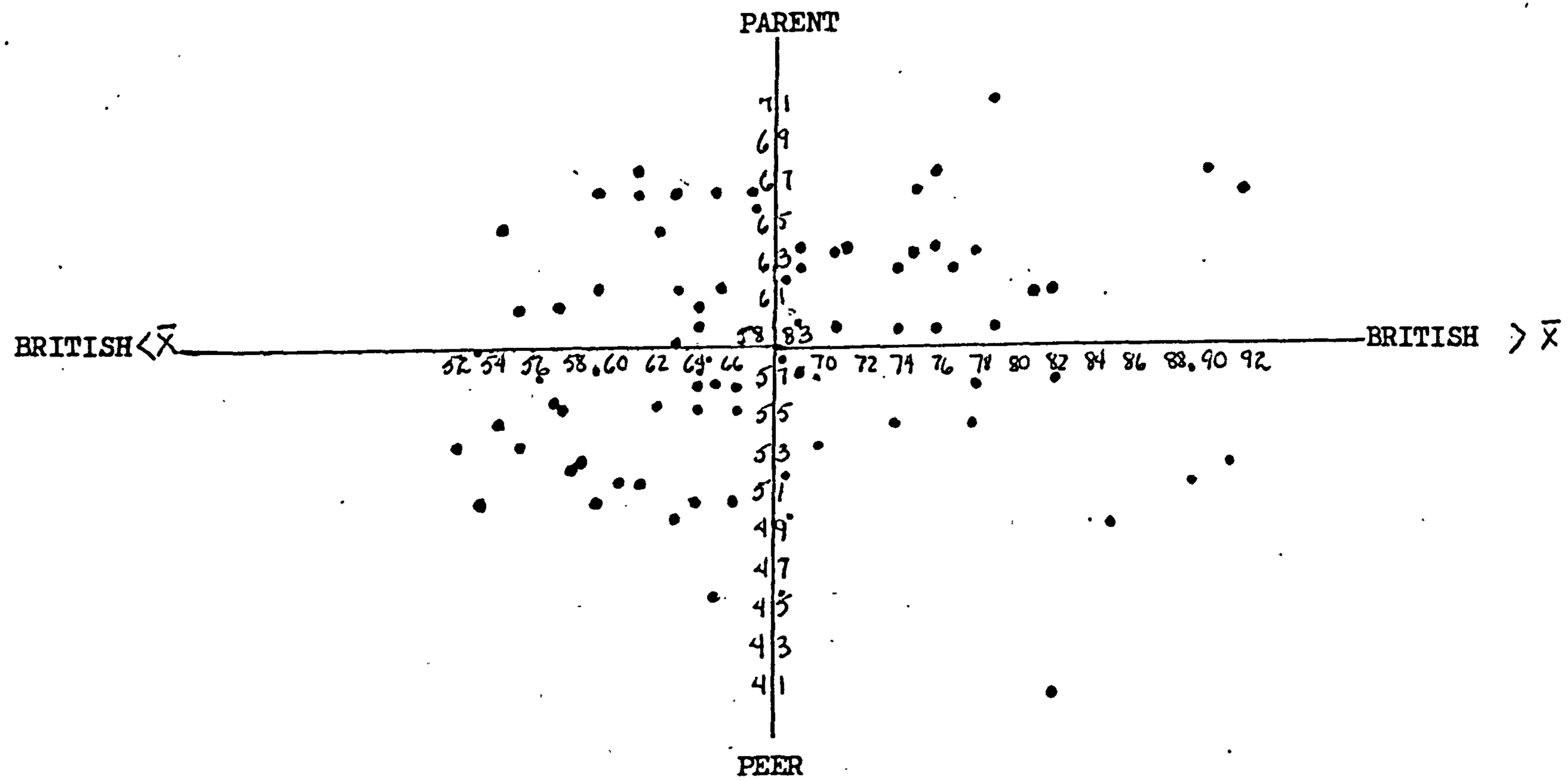
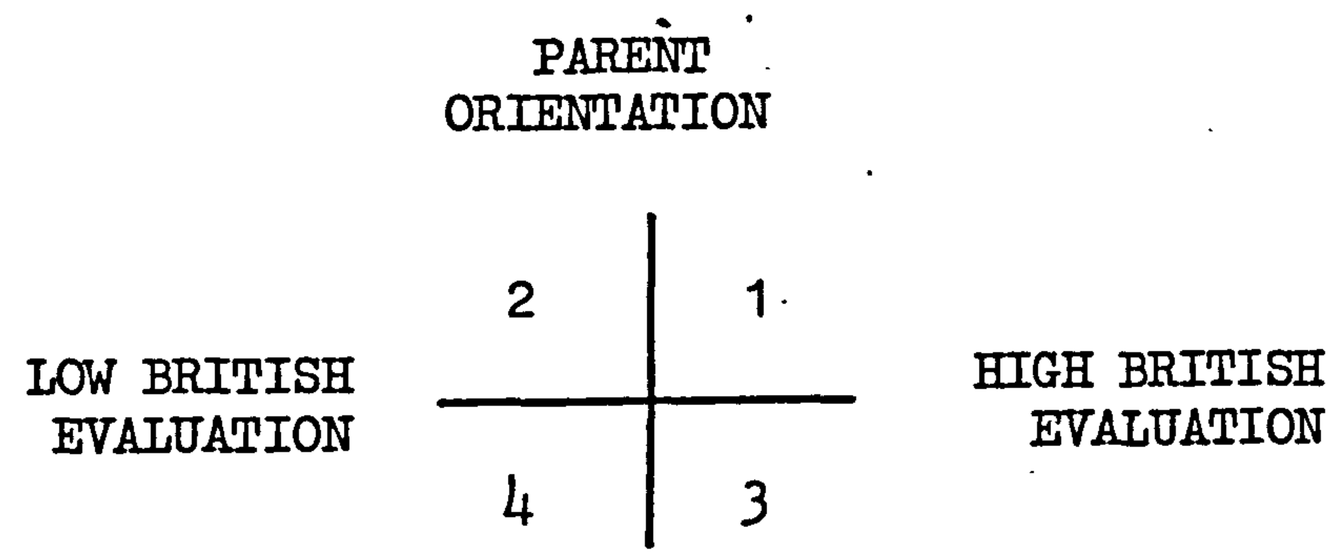


Table 19

BACKGROUND AND MEDIA USE AS IT RELATES TO PARENT-PEER ORIENTATION AND EVALUATION OF BRITISH : WHITE SAMPLE



	Quadrant										
	1(N=22)		2(N=17)		3(N=16)		4(N=26)		Contrast	d.f.	P
Variable	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.			
Television Gratifications									t = 1.55		
Personal Identity Seeking	-.28	(.94)	-.08	(1.1)	.26	(.88)	-.11	(.85)	(3 v.1,2,4)	77	.13
Diversion	-.44	(1.0)	-.05	(1.3)	.51	(1.2)	-.23	(1.2)	t = 2.17 (1,4 v 2,3)	77	.03
Family/Social Utility	-.14	(.86)	.06	(1.5)	.00	(1.1)	-.13	(.61)			n.s.
Learning	.05	(.81)	-.14	(1.2)	-.05	(1.2)	-.17	(.85)			n.s.
Time Spent In: (in hours)											
Play	13.65	(9.6)	16.07	(8.4)	19.40	(12.4)	16.57	(10.2)	t = 1.63 (3 v 1,2,4)	64	.11
TV (Weekdays)	11.43	(4.6)	10.50	(4.9)	8.00	(3.6)	8.59	(5.9)	t = 2.11 (1,2 v 3,4)	64	.04
TV (Weekend)	6.81	(5.3)	7.86	(4.1)	5.36	(3.6)	6.17	(4.6)			n.s.

Table 19 (contd.)

Variable	Quadrant 1(N=22)		2(N=17)		3(N=16)		4(N=26)		Contrast	d.f.	P
	x	S.D.	x	S.D.	x	S.D.	x	S.D.			
Age	12.77	(1.1)	12.35	(1.2)	12.81	(1.5)	13.31	(1.0)	F = 2.42	3,80	.07
Willingness to Approach:											
Friends	.17	(.10)	.16	(.09)	.23	(.10)	.24	(.12)	t = 3.18 (3,4 v. 1,2)	77	.001
Parents	.41	(.13)	.46	(.16)	.39	(.08)	.36	(.09)	t = 2.26) (1,2 v.3,4)	77	.03
Religious Leaders	.04	(.03)	.07	(.05)	.06	(.07)	.03	(.03)	F = 3.07	3,80	.03
Siblings	.22	(.11)	.17	(.12)	.14	(.11)	.23	(.13)	t = 2.68 (1,4 v.2,3)	77	.01
Teachers	.16	(.08)	.14	(.07)	.18	(.08)	.13	(.08)	t = -2.19 (1,2,4 v. 3)	77	.03
Evaluation of British	75.50	(6.5)	61.47	(3.9)	77.38	(8.4)	60.04	(4.7)	t = -11.67 (1,3 v.2,4)	77	.001
Identification with British	4.73	(1.7)	4.06	(1.6)	4.88	(2.0)	4.54	(1.9)	t = 1.78 (3 v.1,2,4)	77	.08
Parents	23.64	(2.7)	24.12	(2.7)	19.06	(3.6)	18.15	(3.1)	t = 7.70 (1,2 v.3,4)	77	.001
Peers	17.23	(3.8)	16.88	(2.6)	21.50	(5.3)	20.15	(3.5)	t = -4.31 (1,2 v.3,4)	77	.001
Slang	15.18	(1.0)	14.77	(1.9)	13.50	(3.0)	15.04	(1.5)	F = 3.02	3,80	.03

learning about the world, whereas those youths in position three would be using the medium most for personal identity seeking. Subjects falling within group four should use the medium for both personal identity seeking and learning about the world.

The results of the analyses of media use, social and psychological variables broken down by this fourfold classification are summarized in Table 19.

Let us examine the patterns that emerge according to group. Beginning with subjects in groups one and two (Parent Orientation/High and Low British Evaluation, respectively) we can note a greater willingness to approach parents and a lowered likelihood of approaching friends than among those youths in groups three and four (Peer Orientation/High and Low British Evaluation, respectively). As far as media usage is concerned, we tend to find the heaviest viewers of television among these youths, as well as those who are claiming to read the most books ($x^2 = 23.43$; 6 d.f., $p \leq .001$). This increased consumption of television has not, however, been coupled with any indication that these adolescents are seeking family oriented gratifications from television. We can only interpret this finding then to indicate that because these youths get on well with their parents they are willing to spend more time at home which will lead to participating in home-centred entertainment, namely television and books.

Group three members (Peer Orientation/High Evaluation of British) present the most distinct pattern both in their use of television and with regard to lifestyle. They are the only group whose gratification patterns are readily distinguished according to this fourfold classification, tending to use the medium slightly more for personal identity seeking and

for diversion and escape functions. They also tend to diverge most from other groups regarding general lifestyle. As previously noted they spend less time viewing television, along with members of group four (Peer Orientation/Low Evaluation of British), while spending rather more time playing with peers. Despite the fact that they are usually from larger families, they are more prone than members of other groups to approach individuals outside of their family, either teachers, friends, or religious leaders, while less likely to approach parents and siblings. They identify rather more strongly with the British ideal than do other groups but are slightly less knowledgeable about the local jargon than other groups. Against this background, the slightly higher use of television for personal identity seeking and diversion could be interpreted as indicating an effort to break away from the provincial working class culture (evidenced by a lowered proclivity towards family members and a higher emphasis on those outside, their strong identification with a British ideal, and yet relative lack of knowledge of local jargon) and perhaps an attempt to escape into the more glamorous, higher status media world.

Group four members (Peer Orientation/Low Evaluation of British) emerge as the oldest group (age = 13.31 (s.d. = .9 7)). They show a greater preference than members of other groups for approaching siblings and friends while demonstrating a lower reliance on parents, teachers, and religious leaders. They are also knowledgeable about the local slang. All of this would suggest an overall youth orientation. As far as media use, they are rather light television viewers, and spend the least time over all the groups in book reading.

We thus note the same trend as Johnstone (1974) namely, that while the parent oriented youths are heavy television consumers, the peer

oriented youths are rather lighter viewers. Johnstone had also noted a complementary reliance on radio, records and cinema among the peer oriented youths. While we might expect that the relatively light emphasis on television and books noted among groups three and four would lead to some compensatory involvement in other media, this does not emerge. None of the comparisons on radio, record or newspaper use or cinema attendance approaches significance.

These two dimensions (Parent/Peer Preference and Cultural Orientation) have provided discriminatory potential and insight in the examination of the Muslim sample, while providing much less insight among the white sample. Although enabling comparison with the results of the Muslim analysis, it does not provide much information about television gratification as seen in the context of lifestyle. Among the Muslin group we found relatively clear delineation of three gratification areas using this fourfold categorization; among the white sample only two gratification areas emerged as relevant. While we could reiterate the point raised earlier concerning the salience of these dimensions for one group versus the other, we will be in a better position to give a fuller account after examining the solutions provided by a multivariate analysis of the gratification areas for the white sample.

Chapter 7: TELEVISION GRATIFICATIONS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND: A MORE COMPLEX APPROACH

Whereas the previous chapter had sought to examine the gratifications associated with television viewing using orientation towards parents or peers and ethnic identity as the main discriminators, in the present chapter we will be taking the television gratifications separately and seeking to identify those traits which are most strongly associated with each area. To this end each gratification was entered as the dependent variable in a stepwise multiple regression analysis (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973) with all of the social, psychological and leisure time variables previously discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 entered as independent variables. The intention herein was to build up a portrait of the factors influencing each television gratification area and then to combine these portraits into a comprehensive model of media function as seen in the context of an individual's general lifestyle. We will begin by looking at the results of the Muslim sample, then move on to consider the white sample data, and, lastly, discuss the present findings in light of previous research.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

In the previous chapter we had used two main dimensions in order to attempt to predict patterns of television gratification. In the current section our aim is not so much prediction, but explanation. Whereas an explanation should allow for prediction, it is not necessarily the case that predictors will allow for explanation (Kaplan, 1964). To this end multiple regression was deemed an appropriate mode of analysis as it enables a selection to be made from a number of independent potential

predictor variables in terms of their ability to account for variation in the dependent variable. The main obstacle to using multiple regression analysis on the available data, however, was the relatively small sample size in relation to a large number of independent variables. In order to judge the validity of any solution, therefore, a double cross-validation technique adapted from Mosier (1951) was applied. Random independent sub-samples of approximately one-third the total sample size were drawn and a regression analysis was performed on each of these. The obtained solutions were then compared (see Tables 20 and 21). Mosier (1951) recommends that if the obtained solutions are reasonably close in their approximation of each other, one may combine the subsets and use the entire sample for obtaining a regression equation. As can be seen in Tables 20 and 21, the subsample solutions are generally consistent in the variables selected as predictors, as well as in the rank ordering of the significance of these variables, according to the proportion of variation accounted for in the dependent variables. It can be seen as well, that a comparison of the subsample solution with the total sample solution also shows good agreement, thereby ensuring confidence in the obtained final solutions.

Tables 20 and 21 provide a summary of the predictor variables, their beta weights (β) and contribution in explaining variance in the dependent variable (R^2) for the Muslim and white samples, respectively.

THE MUSLIM SAMPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Looking at the overall pattern of the solutions for the Muslim sample we find that a few variables are operating in a very consistent mode across a number of gratifcation areas, namely: the amount of television consumed during the week (TV WEEKDAYS), the esteem in which the British are held

Table 20

MUSLIM REGRESSION ANALYSES

(Sample Solutions and Final Solution)

A. SOCIAL UTILITY AND FAMILY INTEGRATION

Sample		Sample		Final Solution	
Variable	Beta Weight	Variable	Beta Weight	Variable	Beta Weight
TV Weekdays	.60	TV Weekend	.24	TV Weekdays	.21
Nuclear	.48	Parent	.18	Age	.19
Parent	.19	TG	.12	Parent	.17
Slang	-.17	Habit	-.16	Time U.K.	-.16
SG	-.19	Ethnic Isolation	-.17	Habit	-.24
Ethnic Isolation	-.27	RG	-.20	Slang	-.24
RG	-.34			Ethnic Isolation	-.40
				R^2	=.28

B. PERSONAL IDENTITY SEEKING

Brit S.D.	.51	FG	.32	Brit S.D.	.35
Peer	.26	Peer	.30	FG	.32
Nuclear	.21	Brit S.D.	.27	Peer	.29
Time U.K.	-.37	TV Weekends	.13	TV Weekdays	.22
SG	-.41	Ethnic Isolation	-.09	Nuclear	.18
Asia S.D.	-.43	Habit	-.16	Habit	-.17
RG	-.63			Time U.K.	-.23
				R^2	=.41

C. DIVERSION WITH PARA-SOCIAL INTERACTION AND MOOD CONTROL

Age	.51	Brit S.D.	.33	Brit S.D.	.47
Brit S.D.	.49	TV Weekend	.19	Age	.27
TG	.31	Peer	.18	Peer	.23
Peer	.22	Habit	-.08	Time U.K.	-.21
RG	-.04	Ethnic Isolation	-.16	Parent	-.22
Parent	-.25	Play	-.16	Play	-.26
Ethnic Isolation	-.52			Ethnic Isolation	-.34
Play	.57			R^2	=.49

D. LEARNING ABOUT LIFE AND THE WORLD

Parent	.24	Asia S.D.	.43	Asia S.D.	.28
Asia S.D.	.21	Nuclear	.18	TV Weekdays	.28
Brit S.D.	.14	Parent	.17	Parent	.21
Ethnic Isolation	-.18	Peer	.16	Habit	-.18
Habit	-.21	Asia Likeme	-.24	Play	-.18
Time U.K.	-.34	Play	-.25	Time U.K.	-.24
		Mosque	-.33	R^2	=.32

FG = Willingness to Approach Friends
PG = " " " Parents
RG = " " " Religious Leaders
SG = " " " Siblings
TG = " " " Teachers
Asia S.D. = Evaluation of 'Asian People'
Brit S.D. = " " 'British People'
Nuclear = Size of Nuclear Family

(BRIT S.D.), the proportion of one's life spent in the United Kingdom (TIME UK), the degree to which religious custom is followed (HABIT) and the extent of interaction with white youths (ETHNIC ISOLATION). In general, the more television is watched, the higher the British are regarded, the less time spent in the United Kingdom, the less orthodox one is in keeping Muslim tradition, and the more involvement one has with English youths, the more the Muslim adolescent will be turning to television for each of these functions. The remaining independent variables vary in both their ubiquity and the valence of their contribution. We will now proceed to examine the solutions obtained for each area.

Looking at the area of television for family viewing and social utility we find that, in a positive direction, the amount of television consumed, good relations with parents and an increase in age all contribute towards this function. Similarly, the more involvement with white youths, the less slang he knows, and the less time (in relation to age) spent in Britain, the more he will turn to the medium for familial gratification. It will be recalled that in Chapter 6, we noted that use of television for familial gratification was most closely associated with having an Asian preference and a parent orientation. While the parental orientation is preserved it would appear that the Asian preference has not figured directly. This does not necessary indicate that it may not be having an indirect effect. In Chapter 3 we had noted that an increase in age also correlated with a decrease in the favourable evaluation of the British (BRIT S.D.). So it would seem that an Asian orientation is at least indirectly implicated here via the age factor. The lower orthodoxy may perhaps imply something about the orthodoxy of the family, as well as the practice of the youth, especially as these youths are seen to have indicated a higher involvement with white youths. It will be recalled that within the Muslim faith the extremely orthodox would ban television on

religious grounds as contravening the ban on the depiction of animate objects[1]. So in order to condone television as family style entertainment, the family must at least be willing to accept it as a 'legitimate' medium which is suitable for consumption, not to mention a certain willingness to accept the non-Asian, pro-(indigenous)British-American bias which its content reflects.

The implication of the variables regarding the proportion of time spent in the United Kingdom (TIME U.K.) and the amount of slang known (SLANG), both perhaps signify a degree of unfamiliarity with indigenous British culture and hence the use of television as a social utility vehicle, facilitating entry into British society and allowing familiarization with the language as well as in providing background of a more generally cultural nature. As such, television is a medium which the Muslim children should possess greater competence in understanding than their parents (especially the mothers) given their daily commerce with British culture in schools. The children can therefore be expected to serve as moderators, commentators, or at the very least, interpreters of the programmes for their parents and younger siblings. Such an interpretation ties in with the appearance in this cluster of the item, "I sometimes have to explain T.V. programmes to my parents". We can now come to appreciate the role of television in this gratification area among the Muslim sample as allowing for both education and entertainment need fulfilment within the context of an activity which brings the family together.

We turn now to the area of television use for diversion seeking with associated elements of para-social interation and mood control. Once again we find that the amount of time spent in viewing television during the week (T.V. weekday) as well as the tendency to be less orthodox in

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1 One member of the Muslim Sample whose father was an imman in the Mosque did not have a television in his home for this reason. The youth, however, went down the road to his aunt's house in order to view television.

keeping of religious customs. (HABIT) and to mix more with white youths (ETHNIC ISOLATION), contribute to gratification in this area. The variable accounting for the greatest proportion of variance, however, is the orientation towards British (BRIT S.D.), with positive regard related to a higher use of television for diversion. Conflicting relations between parents and peer groups (PEER) as well as poor relations with parents (PARENTS) also contribute here. Similarly, the less time spent in playing with peers (PLAY), and an increase in age (AGE) would favour the use of the television for escape and para-social interaction. What this all adds up to is a portrait of a youth who is distanced from both his actual status group, that is fellow Muslims, as well as a British reference group. The conflict with parents, esteem in which British are held, and yet low time spent in interacting with peers would all imply a portrait of a youth who is distanced from both his actual status group, that is fellow Muslims, as well as a British reference group.

As previously indicated whereas we tend to note an increase in age to signify a decrease in evaluation of the British, this is not the case for this grouping: these youths would persist in their regard for the British. The model presented here is similar to the youths in position four (British Preference/Peer Orientation) discussed in the previous chapter, except that whereas members of that group had tended to be younger, those in the present category are tending to be older. This suggests that the use of television for diversion and para-social interaction among the Muslims is strongly associated with conflict in cultural, familial and peer spheres. Given this, television consumption may be seen as substituting for actual interaction as well as providing a fantasy world less fraught with problems typically encountered in the real world.

The area of personal identity seeking is examined next. Here, too, the amount of television consumed during weekdays loads positively (TV WEEKDAY), whereas the amount of time spent in Britain (TIME U.K.) and willingness to follow Muslim religious practice (HABIT) load negatively. The most significant items for prediction herein are a positive regard for the British (BRIT S.D.) and a predisposition to rely on peers in a variety of situations (FG) followed by a peer group orientation (PEER). This corresponds well with members of group four (British Preference/ Peer Orientation) whom, along with those in group three (Asian Preference/ Peer Orientation) we had seen to figure rather prominently in using television for personal identity seeking in the preceding chapter. The pattern of peer orientation, increased dependence on friends and British orientation all suggest a peer group culture which is seeking to forge an identity outside of the traditional Muslim pattern. Interestingly, size of one's family (NUCLEAR) also bears on this gratification area. It appears that the more nuclear family members there are living together, the more likely one is to use television for personal identity seeking. This might appear contraditory at first, given one could argue that the more family members there are, the more models there are for identifying with. Alternatively, it could be argued that the larger the size of the family, the more persons there are competing for parental attention; hence, the less likely that one is going to be successful in achieving sole parental attention.

There is a tendency for size of nuclear family to correlate with a predisposition to approach siblings more frequently, while approaching parents and friends less frequently [Pearson r (siblings: nuclear) = .22; Pearson r (parents: nuclear) = -.14; Pearson r (friends: nuclear) = -.21].
But it would seem then that individuals who are using television for

personal identity seeking are rejecting the models provided by their family, and are more inclined to seek advice outside of the family among their friends, who perhaps are more sympathetic to their own cultural view. In the pilot work there had been a tendency for those youths having poor relations with parents and demonstrating more of a willingness to approach those outside of the family (teachers and religious leaders) to use television for personal identity seeking. The current data demonstrates a similar pattern.

Lastly, we come to the area of learning about life and the world. Once again the proportion of one's life spent in Britain (TIME U.K.) and the tenacity with which one adheres to Muslim dietary habits (HABIT) both contribute negatively. The highest contributors here are the extent of positive evaluation of the Asian group (ASIA S.D.) followed by the amount of time television is viewed at weekends (TV WEEKEND) and the quality of the youth's relationship with his parents (PARENT). Also the less time spent playing with peers (PLAY) the more likely that the Muslim youth will use television for extending his knowledge of the world. The pattern that emerges here is not too dissimilar from that among the youths in group one (Asian Preference/Parent Orientation), one of the groups among whom we had noted a tendency to use the medium most for the learning function. The result of the regression analysis would lend some credibility to the interpretation we had suggested earlier that the more stable the adolescent is in his environment, as indicated by a positive regard for one's actual group of membership and good relations with one's parents, the more likely he is to use that stability as a base from which to explore other possibilities. The increased time spent in watching television at the weekend, coupled with the lowered time spent in playing with peers further suggests that this function is one which the youth may be engaged in in unison with his family.

Taking these solutions as a whole we can note that in the areas of personal identity seeking, social utility and family integration, and learning about life and the world, the solutions suggested by the regression analyses were somewhat consistent with the conclusions drawn from the analysis distinguishing the Muslim youths by quadrant according to their parent or peer orientation and Asian or British preference. In general, the Muslim youths having good relations with their parents and who are slightly older and therefore less inclined to have a preference for the British (Asian Preference/Peer Orientation), find television well-suited to family style consumption. Conversely, those with poor relations with parents, who are younger and therefore more prone to a positive regard for Britons, are less inclined to use television in this way [as exemplified by group four members (Peer Orientation/British Preference)], but more likely to use it for personal identity seeking. Those youths with an Asian preference and parent orientation are most likely to use the medium for learning about life and the world.

The two-dimensional model failed though in producing strong prototypes for the diversion and associated para-social interaction category. The main reason for this seems to be that the fourfold categorization precluded further delineation or cross-categorization on other significantly featuring variables. Both age and time spent with age mates are significant in explaining the use of television for diversion and para-social utility. So while we note that orientation towards parents and peers as well as cultural preference are important criteria in assessing the functions of television viewing during Asian adolescence, their significance is modified by other variables of a more demographic nature, such as age, proportion of life spent in the U.K., size of nuclear family, as well as by variables providing insight into time budgeting and inter-

personal lifestyle such as time spent in playing with peers and willingness to approach friends.

The present data have also highlighted an interesting anomaly between media use and gratification as they relate to background. It will be recalled that in Chapter 4 we had found that Muslim youths who were born overseas were approximating white British youths in their hours of television viewing. In the present section, however, we noted that the proportion of one's life spent in Britain is generally related to television gratification patterns, with less time generally linked to greater gratification seeking. Interestingly, one of the gratification areas where proportion of one's life spent in Britain does not figure prominently is the area of diversion seeking. This is the area which had accounted for the largest proportion of variance in explaining the white sample's gratification endorsements (see Chapter 5). These data, then, would further support the view that media use is distinct from media gratification.

THE WHITE SAMPLE

The same cross-validation technique using independent sub-samples as was applied to the Muslim sample data, was used with those of the white group. The independent sub-sample and final whole group regression solutions are given in Table 21.

Whereas among the Muslim sample a number of variables are operating in a rather consistent mode across the gratification categories, this is not the case among the white sample. Only one variable, the predisposition to approach parents (PG) appears in three of the four solutions. Willingness to approach parents (PG) correlates most highly in a negative direction with both willingness to approach siblings (Pearson r = -.58, p .01) and to approach friends (Pearson r = -.48, p .01). Given this, we may take this measure as indicative of a tendency towards seeking out advice from a

Table 21

WHITE SAMPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES

(Sample Solutions and Final Solutions)

A. SOCIAL UTILITY AND FAMILY INTEGRATION

Sample		Sample		Final Solution	
Variable	Beta Weight	Variable	Beta Weight	Variable	Beta Weight
TV Weekday	.25	TV Weekday	.47	Play	.33
Play	.22	Parent	.30	TV Weekend	.32
Brit Likeme	.19	Peer	.23	Parent	.19
Parent	.16	Church	.23	Church	.17
Age	-.14	Play	.20	Age	-.20
Slang	-.23	Slang	-.21	Slang	-.23
PG	-.56	PG	-.45	PG	-.38
				R^2 =.44	

B. PERSONAL IDENTITY SEEKING

TG	.35	TG	.35	TG	.39
Brit Likeme	.31	Brit Likeme	.31	Brit Likeme	.37
Church	.26	Church	.18	Brit SD	-.11
Slang	-.39	Slang	-.18	Parent	-.08
				R^2 =.23	

C. DIVERSION WITH PARA-SOCIAL INTERACTION AND MOOD CONTROL

Total TV	.31	Total TV	.40	Play	.29
Nuclear	.25	Play	.31	Total TV	.20
TG	-.19	Nuclear	.17	Slang	-.19
Slang	-.28	Slang	-.16	PG	-.19
PG	-.40	PG	-.27	Age	-.13
				R^2 =.20	

D. LEARNING ABOUT LIFE AND THE WORLD

Brit Likeme	.26	Brit Likeme	.33	TG	.42
TG	.21	Church	.22	Brit Likeme	.33
Parent	.18	Peer	-.24	SG	.18
FG	-.21	FG	-.42	Peer	-.21
Slang	-.22	PG	-.68	PG	-.25
PG	-.60			R^2 = .34	

FG = Willingness to Approach Friends
PG = " " " Parents
RG = " " " Religious Leaders
SG = " " " Siblings
TG = " " " Teachers

Brit Likeme = Identification with 'British People'
Brit S.D. = Evaluation of 'British People'

more age related group, in addition to a low proclivity towards seeking out parents.

Turning now to the individual gratification areas, we find that the use of television for social utility and family integration is best predicted by, in a positive direction, the amount of television consumed at weekends (TV WEEKEND), the amount of time spent in playing with peers (PLAY), the quality of relations with parents (PARENT), and frequency of church attendance (CHURCH). In a negative direction,willingness to approach parents (PG), familiarity with local jargon (SLANG), and age (AGE) all contribute. This suggests that the white adolescent who is using television in this way is younger, gets on well with his parents, in addition to being involved with his peers (as indicated directly by the amount of time spent with them, and indirectly, by a decreased willingness to approach parents). He is also, perhaps, more conventional than his age mates as demonstrated by his increased church attendance and, possibly, by his lower knowledge of local slang. As knowledge of local slang failed to correlate highly with any of the other social or psychological measures one must interpret its significance in its own right. The measure examined the youth's familiarity with words in everyday usage among both children and adults in the local community. It seems reasonable to assume that knoledge of the jargon provides a rough measure of participation in local culture. Taking the variables as a whole, the portrait emerging is one of a youth who is well integrated within his family and accepted by peers using television to further cement relations with his family. This picture is quite different from the one drawn of the Muslim youths using television herein in a more instrumental way in order to further acquaint themselves and their parents with British culture.

Turning now to the use of television for diversion with associated areas of escape and para-social interaction, we again find that willingness to approach parents (PG) and knowledge of slang (SLANG)load in a negative direction, as does age (AGE). The strongest predictors, both contributing positively, are the amount of time spent in play with peers (PLAY) and the total amount of time spent in television viewing (TOTAL TV). What is immediately apparent is the general similarity between the solution offered herein with that of the social utility and family integration area. With the exception of the variables concerning church attendance and relationships with parents, and by substituting total television consumption for consumption at weekends only, the two solutions very closely approximate each other. The effect of eliminating these variables however is to shift the emphasis from an adolescent who is well integrated with both parents and peers towards one who is oriented solely towards peers. Unlike the portrait that emerges of the Muslim adolescent turning towards television as an escape from cultural, familial, and peer group conflict, we have a portrait of a peer integrated youth who is using the medium more for its entertainment function, perhaps, than in order to escape from day-to-day conflicts. It is worth noting that this picture is very consistent with the white adolescent formerly identified as belonging within group three (High Evaluation of British/Peer Orientation) and who was also seen to use television most for diversion.

The solution for the area of personal identity seeking suggests that identity confusion, or status conflict, may be contributing most to use in this regard. The solution tends to preserve the flavour of the motivations leading the Muslim youths to use television for personal identity seeking, while altering the component ingredients. Among the

Muslim sample a positive regard for the British (BRIT S.D.), a peer group orientation (PEER) and willingness to approach friends (FG) were the strongest predictors. White youths indicating the highest endorsements for this function will tend to identify themselves with the British reference group, claiming themselves to be like the British (BRIT LIKEME), but at the same time hold rather low evaluations of the British (BRIT S.D.). These youths tend to have poorer relations with their parents (PARENT), and also to be more willing to approach their teachers (TG). Both of these variables were related to personal identity seeking in the pilot study. The quality of relations with parents coupled with the proclivity towards teachers implies a rejection of adult role models within the family and a preference for seeking such outside of it. In this respect television would appear to offer a choice among role models both within and outside of the traditional British culture, thus successfully coping with the youth's ambivalence towards the British, and movement away from his parents.

The last function to consider is that of television as a learning tool in order to gain information about the world and about life in general. Among the Muslim group we had tended to find that those youths having good relations with their parents (PARENT) as well as a high opinion of their actual group of membership (ASIA S.D.) were using television most for the learning function. We had interpreted this as indicating that those individuals with a secure background are using that security as a base from which to explore further possibilities in their environment. Within the white sample, however, the pattern that emerges is rather different. The highest positive predictors among the white sample are willingness to approach teachers (TG) followed by strength of identification with the British (BRIT LIKEME), and, lastly, willingness to approach siblings (SG).

Willingness to approach parents (PG) and the quality of relations with peers (PEER) both contribute in a negative direction. The picture that emerges hence, is not too dissimilar from that noted for the use of television for personal identity seeking, except that whereas those youths using the media for personal identity seeking were tending to have poorer relations with parents, the youths under consideration here, have poorer relations with peers. The interpretation suggested is similar, too. The willingness to approach siblings and teachers rather than parents, coupled with lack of integration with peers hints at a desire to seek beyond the example offered by one's parents and peers. The mass media would afford this opportunity, enabling the youth to vicariously seek out alternatives to the lifestyle presented by his parents and peers, while still recognising his identification with the British.

AN OVERVIEW OF BOTH SAMPLES

Comparing the solutions of both samples we find that the variables concerned with parent and peer relations as well as ethnic orientation are figuring more prominently among the Asian group than among the white group. The variables concerning quality of relations with parents or peers appear in each of the Muslim solutions, whereas these feature in three of the four white solutions. Similarly, the ethnic orientation variables appear in three of the Muslim sample solutions and only two of those for the white youths. In addition, whereas evaluation of the respective ethnic groups appears as the more salient variable among the Asian group, strength of identification figures more so among the whites. These differences should explain why the fourfold classification (Parent/Peer Orientation and Evaluation of Ethnic Groups) discussed in the preceding chapter had lower discriminatory power in predicting television

gratification among the white sample than similar partitioning enabled among the Muslim youths.

In the fourfold analysis among the white sample only one television function was predicted, the area of diversion seeking. There was a slight differentiation in the area of personal identity seeking, but no differences in the remaining two gratification areas emerged. The solutions offered by the regression analyses show that while attitudes towards parents and peers are useful criteria, much more important overall seem to be attitudes towards significant others, as demonstrated by the successive appearance and high loading of measures of willingness to approach parents, teachers, and siblings.

Returning now to a comparison of the solutions of both groups we find that personal identity seeking is associated with social or psychological conflict among both Muslims and whites. Among the Muslim group this is evidenced by the high loading of evaluation of 'British People' and of peer orientation; whereas, among the white group this is shown by a high identification with and yet low evaluation of 'British People', as well as poor relations with parents. It is worth noting that the white sample solution also confirms two of the three relationships proposed as a result of pilot work in this area, namely, poor relations with parents and willingness to approach teachers are both indicative of high personal identity seeking. The relationship between willingness to approach religious leaders and personal identity seeking shown in the pilot work was not substantiated.

In the area of television and learning about life and the world we find that the samples differ considerably. Herein Muslim use derives more from good relations with parents and acceptance of their ethnic

identity, which had been interpreted as indicative of a secure background, while among the white sample this area is related more to conflict along the lines which had been seen in the area of personal identity seeking.

Among the Muslim sample we again note that conflict in both ethnic identity and parent-peer relations is motivating youths towards using television for escape. This finding confirms the relationship shown during the pilot work between conflict in parent-peer relations and dependency on television. Among the white youths, however, a peer orientation is primarily seen as leading to use herein. We also note that the association between lowered willingness to approach parents and use of television for diversion among the white sample lends further support to the relationship between these variables highlighted in the pilot stages.

The social utility and family integration function is also shown to have different associations for each group. Here the emphasis among the Muslim sample falls on television as a medium enabling the Asian family to familiarize themselves with British culture. Among the white youths it appears that for those who are well-integrated among both parents and peers, television is a means of comfortably spending time with one's family.

CONCLUSIONS AND CONJECTURE

Greenberg (1974) in summing up the results of an earlier study of television gratification among British schoolchildren notes the following:

> In exploring the correlates of the identified functions[2], it is imperative to recall that only about one-fourth of the total

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2 Relaxation, Companionship, Learning about Myself and Learning about Things, to Pass Time, Arousal, To Forget, Habit

variance in these concepts were explained by the multiple sets of variables studied. Thus, one might begin to speculate on what accounts for the remainder. Few data were collected about the child's lifestyle, the nature of his interactions with peers and parents his psychological make-up or his intelligence and abilities. Perhaps, these, among others, might begin to explain further the gratifications sought and obtained from television. Perhaps one needs to know more fully what use the child makes of his leisure and non-leisure time and what alternatives to media usage are available to him. The psychological, cultural and social bases of any given class of function or gratification seem to provide, then, a major part of the agenda for future research in this field. (p.90)

In trying to explain variation in media gratifications, Greenberg measured variables concerning the child's media behaviours, i.e. number and nature of television programmes watched, frequency of radio, cinema, book, comic, record and newspaper consumption, both the child's perception and the child's perception of his parent's attitudes towards violence, the child's attitudes towards television, as well as the standard demographic variables of age, sex, race ('white' or 'non-white') and class ('working' or 'middle'). Using these as predictors, between 20%-27% of the variance in gratification categories was identified.

In the current study, we attempted to fill in some of the gaps in measurement of both psychological and social variables as well as of leisure time allocation. The result accounted for between 20%-49% of the variance in gratification categories. While there can be no doubt that this represents, at least in some cases, a considerable increase in predictive ability, we are still forced to concede that between 51%-80% of the variance in some gratification areas remain unexplained. It could be argued that tapping a wider range of variables, or perhaps a more thorough investigation of those already measured, would provide additional predictive ability. Alternatively, the argument could be advanced that examination of an even more homogeneous group than, in particular, the

Muslim sample, would ensure less inter-subject variability and hence increase predictability. While both of these positions are undoubtedly tenable, it is nonetheless the case that they could prove equally unprofitable, and, for the following reasons.

While we make the assumption that media behaviours represent purposeful activity and assume that they are motivated and goal-oriented as are any other behaviours, we perhaps tend to ignore the circumstantial, non-psychological, non-sociological, inexplicit factors which also influence our behaviour. Let us consider the now well-known example of Daryl Bem (1967) who, when asked whether he likes brown bread, replied, "I guess I do, I'm always eating it". If one were to ask a child, or indeed anyone, if he likes television, the reply might well be "I guess I do, I'm always watching it". When turning the sequence on its head though, and asking, "Why do you always eat brown bread?", one could expect a multitude of answers ranging from, "My wife (mother, etc.) always buys it", through "The nearest bake shop only sells brown bread", to "I like it", or "It's cheaper (tastier)(healthier) than white bread", among others. And when asking someone why he always watches television we indeed find that the list of replies is potentially unending, ranging from the situational, "Well it's always on", or "There's nothing else to do", through the sociological, "It keeps me informed", "Everyone else does", to the psychological, "I had a hard day and need to relax (unwind)". In explaining the variance accounting for the gratifications involved in any particular media behaviour we can only ever hope to account for that portion which is directly attributable to psychological, sociological, demographic, or time budgeting functions. In other words, we can only expect to account for that portion of variation which is susceptible to rule-governed relationships and quantifiable measurements

We must acknowledge a random component (and I do not mean by this random error in measurement) which is inevitably everpresent. While it can be argued that our goal is to maximize prediction, we must also be aware of the limits of our predictive potential, and recognize (with apologies to Heisenberg) "the uncertainty principle".

McGuire (1974) in a seminal article entitled "Psychological Motives and Communication Gratification", states:

> Where the uses-and-gratifications approach seems more powerful is when we turn to the question of maintaining continued exposure once one has found appropriate mass communication material. While the initial tuning in to a television programme (or newspaper column or magazine feature or whatever) may have been largely haphazard and unmotivated, behavioural theory's "law of effect" reminds us that such exposure would soon extinguish in the absence of reinforcement to maintain the habit. (p.170).

Although McGuire seems to be conceding too much in proposing that initial exposure is largely circumstantial or accidental in nature, he is, perhaps, not taking the behavioural model far enough. While we would expect gratification fulfilment (reinforcement) to maintain or, perhaps, increase gratification seeking in a particular area, we might also expect it to lead to increased gratification seeking in other areas, or to decrease future seeking in the original area. Shakespeare warns us that "The constant lover grows pale and wan", and learning theory similarly cautions that continual reinforcement will lead to early satiation and, during subsequent periods of non-reinforcement, rapid extinction of responding. A constant diet of escape-oriented content may not only satisfy gratification seeking in that area, but also emphasize unfulfilled motivations in other areas. This would especially be the case if we were to possess a hierarchy of needs similar in structure, but not necessarily content, to that proposed by Maslow (1971). Fulfilment of certain primary needs would lead to greater seeking in areas of formerly secondary, but, as yet,

unfulfilled need. All of this implies an interactive systems type of analysis of gratification seeking, allowing for feedback loops and external factors, such as chance or "uncertainty", but couched firmly in the individual's own terms of reference apropos social and psychological need as well as time and resource constraints.

This further implies that the distinction between gratifications sought versus gratifications derived, as proposed by some authors (Greenberg, 1974) is not only ephemeral, but, perhaps, artificial. Insofar as we accept that behaviour will only persist if it is reinforced, then we, too, must recognise that gratification seeking will only persist if it is achieved. (If we were to take Daryl Bem's self perception position we would perhaps take this view even further and claim that if a person identified with a media protagonist, he must have been seeking personal identity gratifications.) The consistency in gratification categories arising from studies conducted at different times, in distinct cultures, and with subjects of differing ages and backgrounds, suggests that all of these individuals are at least receiving some reinforcement of their need's seeking. As McGuire notes: "People are voting with their time massively in the media's favour" (p.169).

In the present study we were concerned with trying to maximise predictive ability by concentrating on a group with a particular unique and homogeneous background, as well as by maximising the amount of information we received from that group. Given the uniqueness of the subjects, the results derived from this study must be considered as having limited generality, especially those findings derived from the Muslim data. Having said this, though, the differences in the solutions offered by the separate Muslim and white analyses alert us to the importance of

cultural background in explaining media behaviour, while the prevalence of certain variables, such as relations with parents and peers, in the regression solutions among both samples reminds us that there are some influences which are operative irrespective of culture, and probably due to overriding considerations of age and maturity. In conclusion, we can state that the investigation of a comprehensive, though incomplete set of social, demographic, and psychological variables helps us to better understand and explain media behaviour.

Chapter 8: A SUMMING UP

At the outset of the present study it was suggested that a major gap within the research tradition which seeks to explore the relationship between mass media behaviours and background, was in examining the patterns of media use and gratification among a group which was culturally as well as ethnically distinct from the indigenous, majority culture. It was suggested that if such a group could be found, they would evince a pattern of media use which could be seen as consistent with their particular background, as well as distinct from that of the cultural majority group. Finding such a sample was one of the aims of the present research. Our efforts were rewarded in the selection of the Muslim adolescents of Batley as an appropriate focal group for study. In comparing their lifestyles and media behaviours to a matched sample of white British youths we have found specific differences which can be shown to relate to their unique cultural background.

Among the Muslim youths we have found a strong preference for media enabling an Asian cultural focus, namely cinema and print. This preference has been accompanied by a lower use of television than noted among the white youths. But cultural background was not having an isolated effect, for we observed systematic differences among the Muslims' media habits depending on both the proportion of their lives spent in Britain and place of birth. We noted that Muslim youths who were born in Britain were approximating the television consumption patterns of white British youths, that is, watching more television than their overseas born counterparts. Similarly we saw that the proportion of one's life spent in Britain was inversely related to frequency of cinema

attendance and radio listening. These differences in media use were accompanied by different emphases in the functions these fulfil among each sample. The Muslim youths were not only using the print media more than the white youths, but they also claimed that print fills a wider range of functions than among the white youths, especially the personal reference, personal identity ones. The white sample's dependence on television was further borne out in their nomination of television as filling more functions than noted among the Asian youths. An explanation resting on the British-American cultural bias of television fare was posited as accounting for this more limited range of functions among the Muslims.

All of the foregoing would suggest that some media have greater assimilatory potential than others. This potential may derive from a number of aspects relating both to the intrinsic qualities as well as incidental associations of the various media. Given the Asian immigrant's previous experience of radio and cinema in their homeland, as well as the availability of Asian cultural fare on these and in the print media in Britain, these media would seem to be particularly favoured by the more recent Asian arrival. Other media, such as television, would appear to be more limited in their integrative scope primarily owing to their depicted content which on the one hand may provide a useful means of communicating the indigenous cultures' values and customs to recent arrivals, but on the other, may preclude aspiration towards adopting these because the content generally fails to acknowledge the presence or problems of the minority group.

Despite the more limited appeal of television among the Muslim group we noted that it is a major time consuming activity among both sets of youths occupying on average between 17-21 hours of their leisure time.

Having seen the relative utility of television compared to both media and non-media alternatives we wanted to examine the particular functions of television. Four main gratification areas were highlighted in relation to televiewing: personal identity seeking, learning about life and the world; social utility and family integration, and diversion with associated areas of para-social interaction and mood control. Here, too, we noted the influence of culture, for while there were no differences in each samples' endorsements of these areas, they accounted for different proportions of variance in the separate sample analyses. In this respect diversion seeking was the most significant category for the white youths, whereas the learning function assumed greater significance among the Muslim group. The differential salience of these functions among each of the samples further confirmed one of the presuppositions to the present study, namely that media functions are consistent with background. The situation of cultural dualism which many of the Muslim youths are coping with in their day-to-day existence makes the learning area an obvious one for particular emphasis. Given the previously alluded to cultural bias in the content of television, it appears to be a particularly appropriate medium for this function. The white sample's emphasis on diversion seeking is consistent with the common image of television in Britain as an entertainment medium.

We next turned our attention to trying to determine the relationship within each of our samples, between background and particular television gratification seeking. We found that while social class was related to personal identity seeking among the white youths, with those from lower social classes using television more for personal identity seeking than those from higher classes, there were no such relationships among the Muslim group. Similarly, while age was negatively related to both

personal identity seeking and social utility and family integration among the white sample, there were no such relationships among the Muslim group. The social demographic variables, that is, race, social class, and age provided little discrimination in the patterns of television gratification in general, and none in the case of the Muslim sample. This led us to consider the predictive ability of the fourfold classification scheme proposed at the pilot stage.

Classifying youths according to their orientation towards parents or peers and their evaluation of the Asian and British groups enabled a greater delineation of both the television gratification patterns and lifestyle among the Muslims than among the white youths. The fact that the model served in predicting Muslim gratification seeking in the areas of personal identity, learning,and social utility and family integration best, once again demonstrates that the diversion function is somehow more alien to the Muslim group, or at least that it is prompted by a different type of underlying conflict than that generated by orientation towards parents or peers and ethnic identification. Among the white sample we noted that while the personal identity seeking and diversion functions could be linked to the fourfold model, the remaining gratification areas could not.

Examination of the results of the regression analyses provided an explanation for this failure in prediction. In general, the white sample's solutions emphasized the importance of variables indicative of a willingness to approach significant others and strength of identification with the British, in addition to the variables concerned with orientation towards parents or peers and evaluation of the British. The Muslim regression solutions, however, reiterated the significance of the variables measuring both interpersonal and identity conflict among this group.

These solutions further demonstrated the importance of the time spent in Britain as exerting a pervasive influence on media gratification.

In summary, we have found the uses and gratifications approach to be an effective means of examining cultural influences on media behaviours. While enabling a universal structure of media gratification among adolescents to emerge, it has also proved sensitive to the particular needs and problems of each of our samples, and has allowed for a systematic and in-depth analysis of the cultural, social, and psychological influences in media use and gratification.

Chapter 9: A METHODOLOGICAL CRITIQUE AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

> At the movies the common man can regularly participate in the glamour of the world of the stars and yet be aware that it is only a film and that there, too, there is splendor, bitterness, trouble, guilt, atonement, and the triumph of the good (H. Marcuse, 1968) (p.184).

Traditional sociological analysis of the function of art in contemporary society posits three potential roles:

1. to reflect or mirror contemporary society;
2. to reinforce the status quo through presenting an idealised vision of the current situation; or
3. to serve as an impetus for change through portraying the disparity between what is and what could be.

Marcuse rejects the catalytic role of the media and instead argues for its power to uphold the status quo. He sees the media's main function as serving as a diversionary tool which operates through the vicarious participation of the audience in the scenarios portrayed. One would assume that if the mass media, as art forms, potentially serve such roles for society, they could only achieve these ends through acting on the individual.

Analysis of the role of the media on this macro level, however, begs the question of how it is that the media can effect a particular outcome. It carries an implicit assumption that the powers of the media are such that they may exert an unidimensional influence on their audiences, pumping the consumer with fantasies, aspirations and attitudes. The so-called "effects" approach to the influence of the mass media is the logical extrapolation of such an ideology, perhaps best identified in the research

on the role of the media in influencing violence (see the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behaviour, 1972), or in effecting attitude change. As Schramm (1971) comments, "Communication was seen as a magic bullet that transferred ideas or feelings or knowledge or motivations almost automatically from one mind to another" (p.8). But as Schramm further notes, it wasn't long before the so-called "Bullet Theory" was "shot full of holes" (p.10). The main drawback of the "Bullet Theory" was its failure to conceive of the audience member as an active participant in the communication process, bringing his own expectations to the mediated setting. It now seems only natural to assume that the outcome of any media encounter would be intricately linked to the unique history that an individual brought to the communication situation. For example, a dissatisfied person may be further frustrated by a portrayal of a successful, happy world; whereas, a self-contented individual is likely to be further reinforced; or a Labour Party voter is likely to use a Labour Party political broadcast to strengthen his views; whereas, a Conservative Party voter would use that same broadcast to condemn the Labour Party and bolster his Conservative views. It took a series of findings along these lines (see, for example, Bauer, 1964; Cooper and Jahoda, 1971), however, for this view to gain currency. We have now arrived at a position almost diametrically opposed to where the early communications researchers began, arguing that communication is a two way street, depending on both the receiver and the transmitter, and that perhaps our earlier efforts in concentrating on the source of communication were rather misdirected.

McGuire (1974) urges, "Any inquiry into the gratifications that people derive from mass communications requires us to know something of the unfulfilled needs of the person and something of the potential rewards

offered by the media" (p. 167). While many researchers have heeded McGuire's advice, they have tended to operationalize the concept of need within a sociological framework. As such need has been considered to be best evaluated by social class indices, or sex, or measures of age, mobility, family size, religion, race, education, modernity, urbanization or opinion leadership, among others. Those exploring the relationship between media use and social background variables, have sometimes been forced into hypothesizing about intervening variables of a more psychological nature in order to explain that relationship. For example, Rosengren and Windahl (1972) in a paper entitled "Mass Media Consumption as a Functional Alternative" hypothesized that, "There is a positive relationship between degree of dependence or functional alternatives on the one hand, degree of involvement, amount of consumption and degree of reality proximity of media content consumed....Degree of dependency was theoretically defined as individual and environmental possibilities to interact face to face with real human beings. By individual possibilities we meant personality traits and/or types like empathy, extroversion, etc." (p. 183-184).

While all of this sounds very promising the actual operationalization of 'dependency' resulted from measuring a person's interaction potential by summing over a range of variables, i.e. 'men' or 'educated' subjects were taken to have a higher interaction potential than 'women' or 'uneducated' persons, as were 'car-owners' and 'married' persons. All of these would have high interaction potentials, and, therefore, low dependency ratings. Although the logic behind some of these translations may be compelling, it nonetheless appears to be a case of reductionism wherein the richness and complexity of personality traits and dispositions reduces to a checklist of social background variables. There are other

cases of oversimplification . Stephens (1972) in seeking to measure cosmopolitanism, which he defines as "an individual's orientation to the outside world" operationalizes this as number of trips taken to a city. Kim (1977) measures 'acculturation motivation' among Korean immigrants to the United States "by the three questions asking their level of interest and desire to learn the host norms and culture, in making friends with Americans, and in learning current events in the United States" (p. 72).

There are, of course, studies which have interpreted the concept of need in a more psychological manner, and have invoked psychological variables as either predictors or explanations of media use. Perlin (1959) found that viewers of escape programmes were more likely to have frustrated aspirations and to be more cautious of interpersonal involvement than non-viewers. In a similar vein Hazard (1965) noted that more anxious audience members tended to choose programmes with a high fantasy orientation or predictable stereotyped presentations. Findings from a study of audience uses and gratifications based at the Leeds University Centre for Television Research (Blumler, 1976) noted indices of job satisfaction relating significantly with the use of television for diversion.

The forementioned research along with other media studies using social and psychological starting points has given firm substantiation to the view that media consumption represents purposeful activity related to the needs of the audience member, and it is in the context of these forementioned studies that the present research must be placed.

The present study focussed on a highly cohesive community of Muslim adolescents and a matched sample of white adolescents inthe hope that concentrating on such a small and distinctive group would enable a more

rigorous examination of the role of the media as it relates to a person's cultural, social and psychological background. That concentration has had a number of consequences. On the one hand it has limited the scope of enquiry and in turn the generalizability of the current findings to a highly specific group of adolescents, namely those from a small, industrial community. On the other, it has necessitated the application of statistical procedures such as factor and regression analyses to a sample size which has often stretched the acceptable limits for such statistical analyses. Given this, wherever possible the insights offered by such procedures were validated by independent analysis employing a different statistical technique. In addition, the results of the present study have rested on a correlational approach to understanding media use and gratification. While such an approach cannot provide firm evidence on the direction of causality in the demonstrated relationships between variables, the general accordance of the findings with hypothesized relationships as well as the internal consistency of the results suggests that cultural, social and psychological background combine to serve as a set of motivations which when systematically examined will contribute to an explanation of a large portion of media use and associated gratifications. Furthermore, given this consistency in relationships the current inventories have also been shown to possess construct validity.

Of course it would be preferable to actually demonstrate the direction of causality or indeed to demonstrate that media use is specifically motivated. Percy Tannenbaum's work in this area is exemplary, literally translating motivation for consumption into the amount of physical work subjects are willing to do in order to watch a particular programme (Tannenbaum, 1978). But it is difficult to imagine how variables such as conflict in identity or in parent-peer relations could directly be given

operational definition except by perhaps deliberately engineering a situation in a laboratory setting designed to lead to, say, loss of self-esteem or conflict with parents, etc. Assuming it were possible to induce such a state, then subjects could be allowed a choice of media and non-media alternatives and the experimenter would be able to note which state is associated with what content. Under such conditions the state would be assumed to provide the motivation for a particular choice.

Such a method, however, would seem open to a number of criticisms; primarily, that it ignores the subject's ongoing life circumstances as well as the general pattern of media consumption. It also assumes a direct correspondence between motivation and content with the implicit assumption that motivation leads to consumption, and does not allow for the possibility of content kindling latent motivation or perhaps even stimulating new incentive.

We know that it is relatively easy to exact relationships in the laboratory setting which are then difficult to substantiate in the field, where intervening variables may assuage the impact of any given circumstance (Lipset et al., 1954; Rokeach, 1971; Kelman, 1974). It is a point of debate whether the greater consistency between attitudes and actions noted in surveys as compared to experimental studies arises because the effect of attitudes on actions is exaggerated given that one is concerned with correlation rather than causation in surveys, or because given that surveys are asking about free-choice behaviours, the high correspondence really exists. In the ideal case attitude measurement would be accompanied by both observations in the field as well as experimental observation.

In the present study we have only focussed on attitude measurement and subjects own observations of themselves in the field (i.e. diary data). As such it has sometimes been necessary to use inductive reasoning in order to provide an explanation for noted trends and inconsistencies in the data which would be best tested by experimental manipulation. One such case was the apparent inconsistency between the types of programmes nominated as favourites by the Muslim group and the solution offered by factor analysis of the Muslim television gratification endorsements. It will be recalled that while there were no specific differences between the Muslim and white sample in the strength of endorsement for each of the gratification areas, the proportion of variance which each of these areas accounted for in the respective sample's solutions did differ. These patterns showed that the learning function was accounting for the major proportion of variance among the Muslim solutions; whereas, among the white sample solutions the diversion area was taking the largest share of variance.

These findings seemed inconsistent with the favourite programmes nominated by the Muslim group, namely, science fiction programmes and many originating in the United States. This posed the problem of what the relationship is between specific content and media gratification. Although the relationship between content and gratification falls outside of the focus of the present study, it was suggested that the Muslim content preferences are the result of a dissonance type of reaction to the programmes of British origin which predominantly show mainstream white culture with little representation of minority group members. One way of ascertaining the relationship between content and gratification would be to merely ask each subject which programme he most associates with each function, or to present a list of functions and a list of programmes and ask subjects to match these. The emerging

patterns would then be analysed in relation to a series of independent variables (both social and psychological) in order to ascertain any meaningful trends. In the present study the youths were only asked to nominate their three favourite programmes.

The dissonance explanation for the Muslim's content preferences would be most appropriately examined in an experimental setting. If Muslim youths are turning to American content, or science fiction, because they feel alienated from British programmes through their failure to depict culturally relevant programmes, then there are two factors which may be seen as accounting for their professed preference for American materials: either the American material presents culturally neutral (i.e. less value-laden) content; or the American material is providing more of a non-white focus, primarily through casting more minority group members in equal status interactions with whites. An analysis of variance design using both country of origin, as noted by American or British actors, and race, either white or non-white actors, would test the forementioned hypotheses. Figure 3 illustrates the basic design.

Figure 3: Design for a Study to Assess Dissonance and Television Content Choice

ACTORS	U.S.A.	U.K.
White	U.S.A. White Actors	U.K. White Actors
Non-White	U.S.A. Non-White Actors	U.K. Non-White Actors.

U.S.A. U.K.
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

If dissonance is the explanation, we would expect a well-liked programme containing non-white, American actors to be most preferred followed by the same script acted out by non-white, British actors, and then white, American actors. The least liked portrayal would be that given by white, British actors.

Another way of exploring this dissonance explanation would be by presenting these four programmes to a non-white audience and examining their subsequent reactions. One would expect strength of reactance (Brehm, 1966) to follow the reversed pattern of content preferences formerly indicated. Reactance could be measured by using a Buss-type of displaced aggression paradigm (see, for example, Buss, 1966) or alternatively by willingness to cooperate/compete in a Prisoner's Dilemma Game when interacting with an unconditionally cooperative white opponent. One would expect aggression or cooperation to vary inversely with reactance.

Thus despite the forementioned criticisms of the current approach we have found specific differences in media use and gratification which can be shown to relate to cultural, social, and psychological background and support hypotheses which will hopefully be further validated in future research of a more experimental nature.

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Appendix A

FACTOR LOADINGS OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Dull - Bright	.43	.35	.31
Small - Big	.12	-.01	.17
Dry - Wet	-.14	-.10	-.11
Soft - Hard	-.04	.11	.57
Weak - Strong	.13	.21	.68
Slow - Fast	.13	.08	.62
Sad - Happy	.29	.12	.31
Dirty - Clean	.69	.24	.10
Blunt - Sharp	.18	.05	.20
Cold - Hot	.05	.17	.33
Sour - Sweet	.36	.32	.17
Empty - Full	.08	.05	.07
Young - Old	-.19	.00	-.10
Low - High	.03	.09	.18
Closed - Open	.05	.05	.10
Far - Near	.00	.04	.13
Strong Smell - Weak Smell	.42	.09	.19
Poor - Rich	.15	.19	.09
Unfriendly - Friendly	.38	.43	.09
Ugly - Beautiful	.48	.31	.09
Last - First	.11	.18	.16
Black - White	.22	-.05	-.18
Cowardly - Brave	.11	.15	.56
Dishonest - Honest	.06	.85	.06
Bad - Good	.18	.70	.01
Prejudiced - Unprejudiced	.15	.19	.13
Inferior - Superior	.08	.11	.04
Enemy - Friend	.05	.61	.24
Religious - Unreligious	-.16	.33	-.20
Lazy - Hardworking	-.05	.62	.13
Violet - Peaceful	.09	.63	-.11
Nasty - Nice	.41	.59	.17

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Selfish - Unselfish	.35	.48	.12
Hate - Love	.32	.44	.19
Along - Not Alone	.04	.02	.15
Childish - Adult-like	.03	.30	.10
Thick - Clever	.16	.46	.03
Harsh - Mild	.15	.05	-.02
Worst - Best	.33	.34	.16
Worthless - Valuable	.14	.41	.17

Appendix B Discriminant Analysis of Semantic Differential

VARIABLE ENTERED	VARIABLE REMOVED	F TO ENTER OR REMOVE	NUMBER INCLUDED	WILKS LAMBDA	SIG.	RAOS V	CHANGE IN RAOS V	SIG.
BLACK		48.69351	1	.18768	.000	389.54811	389.54811	0.000
WEAK		6.96591	2	.11541	.000	445.98711	56.43900	.000
STRSMELL		2.99483	3	.09071	.000	488.85421	42.86710	.000
UNRELIG		2.88202	4	.07171	.000	519.15492	30.30071	.000
SOFT		2.41738	5	.05854	.000	559.10887	39.95395	.000
UGLY		1.96031	6	.04943	.000	585.10949	26.00062	.001
INFERIOR		1.83565	7	.04207	.000	613.78731	28.67783	.000
HARSH		1.88739	8	.03560	.000	632.54559	18.75827	.016
DIRTY		1.62736	9	.03072	.000	657.71130	25.16571	.001
FAR		1.85289	10	.02597	.000	709.78150	52.07020	.000
SELFISH		1.62317	11	.02234	.000	773.78449	64.00300	.000
NASTY		1.46534	12	.01945	.000	789.57822	15.79373	.045
BAD		1.37228	13	.01705	.000	812.34227	22.76405	.004
DULL		1.33822	14	.01497	.000	837.06275	24.72048	.002
LAZY		1.20904	15	.01328	.000	853.65291	16.59016	.035
CLOSED		1.31627	16	.01165	.000	876.89169	23.23878	.003
VIOLENT		1.22393	17	.01029	.000	908.13140	31.23971	.000
THICK		1.47561	18	.00885	.000	970.70447	62.57306	.000
SLOW		1.35018	19	.00770	.000	1012.90689	42.20243	.000
PREJUD		1.11503	20	.00684	.000	1029.54188	16.63498	.034
YOUNG		1.00381	21	.00614	.000	1046.54377	17.00190	.030
HATE		.99523	22	.00550	.000	1062.30090	15.75713	.046
COWARDLY		1.26365	23	.00479	.000	1082.78318	20.48228	.009
LAST		1.03612	24	.00426	.000	1108.97970	26.19652	.001
COLD		.94938	25	.00382	.000	1127.41787	18.43817	.018
WORTHLSS		.96420	26	.00342	.000	1150.31807	22.90020	.003
WORST		.94093	27	.00306	.000	1170.00145	19.68339	.012
POOR		1.18717	28	.00266	.000	1193.52322	23.52176	.003
SAD		.78767	29	.00241	.000	1212.57190	19.04869	.015
CHILDISH		.62613	30	.00223	.000	1237.58495	25.01304	.002
DISHONST		.64658	31	.00205	.000	1258.20530	20.62036	.008
UNFRNDLY		.52465	32	.00192	.000	1269.29969	11.09439	.196
ALONE		.88680	33	.00171	.000	1295.76095	26.46126	.001
ENEMY		.59725	34	.00157	.000	1316.50932	20.74836	.008
RUGGED		.29589	35	.00151	.000	1330.41282	13.90350	.084
BLUNT		.25478	36	.00146	.000	1344.24549	13.83267	.086

Appendix C

SLANG TEST

Read each word and then choose the statement which you think best explains what that word means, write the letter of the statement in the space provided.

1. grass on someone, as in "You grassed on me".

a) to throw grass on another person.
b) to hurt another person.
c) to give someone a hard time.
d) to tell on someone, or tattle tale.
e) I don't know.

1.....D.....

2. jiggered, as in "I'm feeling jiggered".

a) I'm feeling tired.
b) I'm feeling hungry.
c) I'm feeling sick.
d) I'm feeling sad.
e) I don't know.

2.....A.....

3. Give over, or give up, as in "Come on, give over" or "Come on give up".

a) Come on over to my house.
b) Stop it, or leave me alone.
c) Come and walk with me.
d) Come and give it to me.
e) I don't know.

3.....B.....

4. braying, as in "If I do that, I'll get a braying".

a) I'll get a beating.
b) I'll get a reward.
c) I'll get a pound note.
d) I'll get hurt.
e) I don't know.

4.....A.....

5. moggy, as in "I have a little moggy".

a) I have a little sister.
b) I have a little cat.
c) I have a little brother.
d) I have some money.
e) I don't know.

5.....B.....

6. bovver boots.

a) slippers.
b) dressing up shoes.
c) plimsols, or soft soled shoes.
d) high laced boots, Doc Martins.
e) I don't know.

6.....D.....

7. aggro

a) aggression or violence.
b) agriculture or having to do with farming.
c) to grow.
d) to drive a fast car.
e) I don't know.

7.....A.....

8. to split on someone, in "Why did you split on me?"

a) Why did you leave me alone?
b) Why did you tell me a lie?
c) Why did you tell on me?
d) Why did you hit me?
e) I don't know.

8.....C.....

9. nicking off, as in "He was nicking off today".

a) He was angry.
b) He was playing truant.
c) He was sick.
d) He was playing football.
e) I don't know.

9.....B.....

10. jack it in, as in "Jack it in ow".

a) Throw it away.
b) Keep on going.
c) Pick it up.
d) Stop it.
e) I don't know.

10.....D.....

11. fuzz, as in "The fuzz are coming".

a) a rock band is coming.
b) The police are coming.
c) Bad weather is coming.
d) Some football team is coming.
e) I don't know.

11.....B.....

12. kegs or kecks, as in "I have some new kegs (kecks)".

a) I have some new trousers.
b) I have some new books.
c) I have some new shoes.
d) I have some new toys.
e) I don't know.

12.....A.....

13. bunkers, as in "Let's play bunders".

a) Let's play conkers.
b) Let's play go-carts or bogies.
c) Let's play darts.
d) Let's play football.
e) I don't know.

13.....B.....

14. beck, as in "Batley Beck".

a) Batley News.
b) Batley Boys' High.
c) Batley Town Hall.
d) Batley Stream.
e) I don't know.

14.....D.....

15. dosser, as in "He's a dosser".

a) He's a tramp.
b) He's a nice guy.
c) He's a policeman.
d) He's funny.
e) I don't know.

15.....A.....

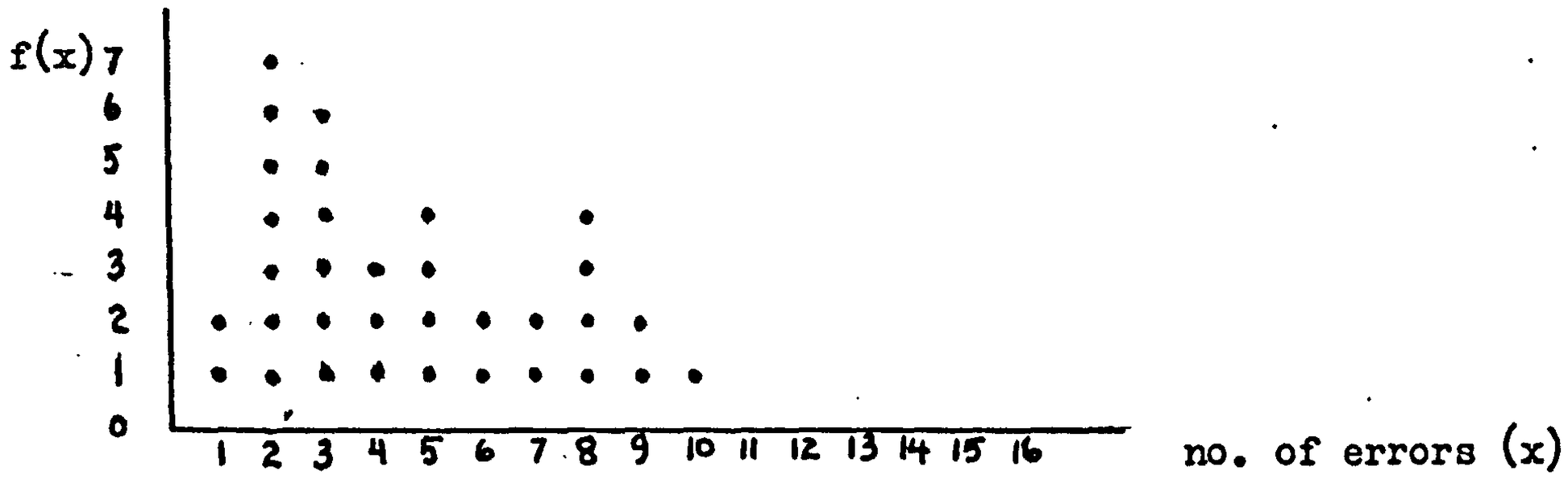
16. rasper, as in "I'm getting a rasper bike".

a) a new bike.
b) a motor bike.
c) a great bike.
d) a second-hand bike.
e) I don't know.

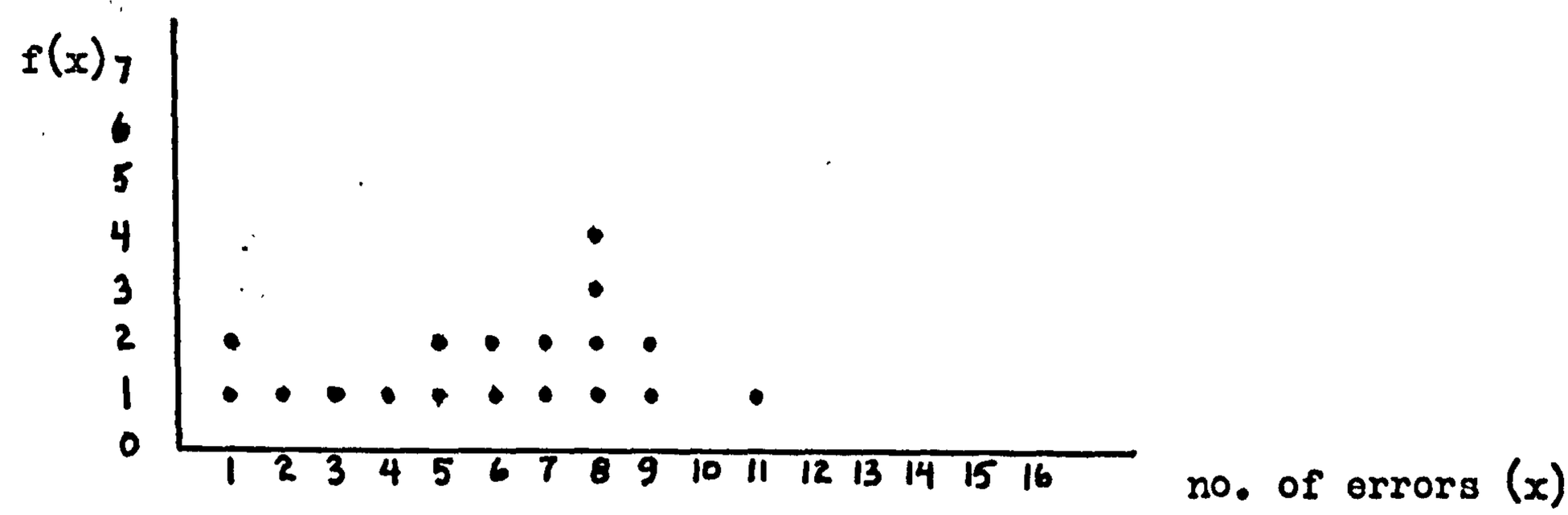
16.....C.....

Appendix D
DISTRIBUTION OF ERRORS ON SLANG TEST

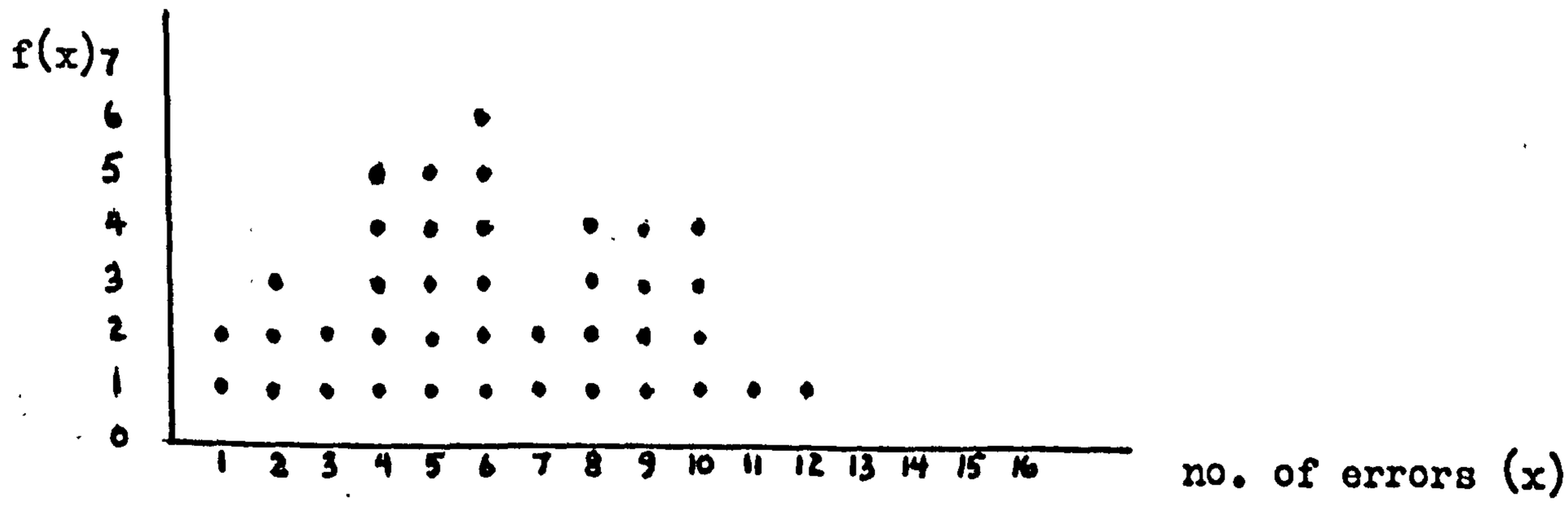
Muslim Sample



4th Year Youths (N=33)



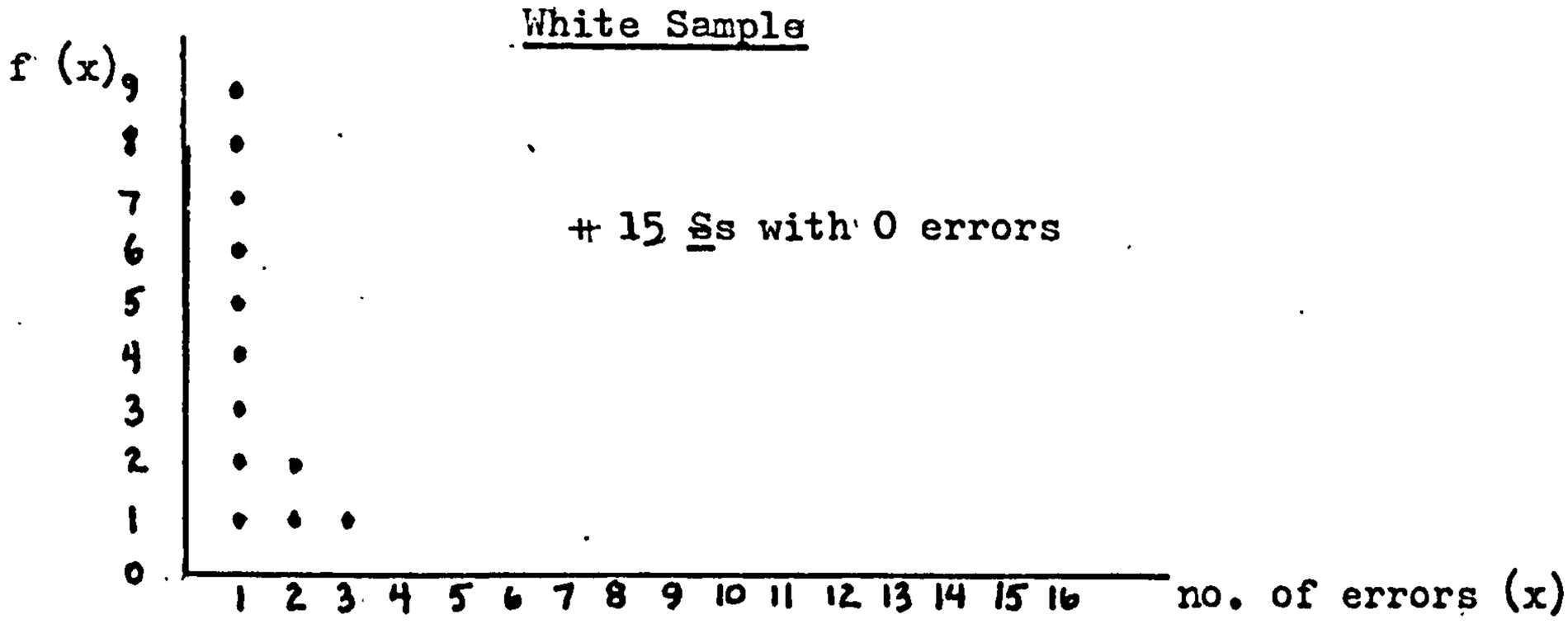
3rd Year Youths (N=18)



1st & 2nd Year Youths (N=39)

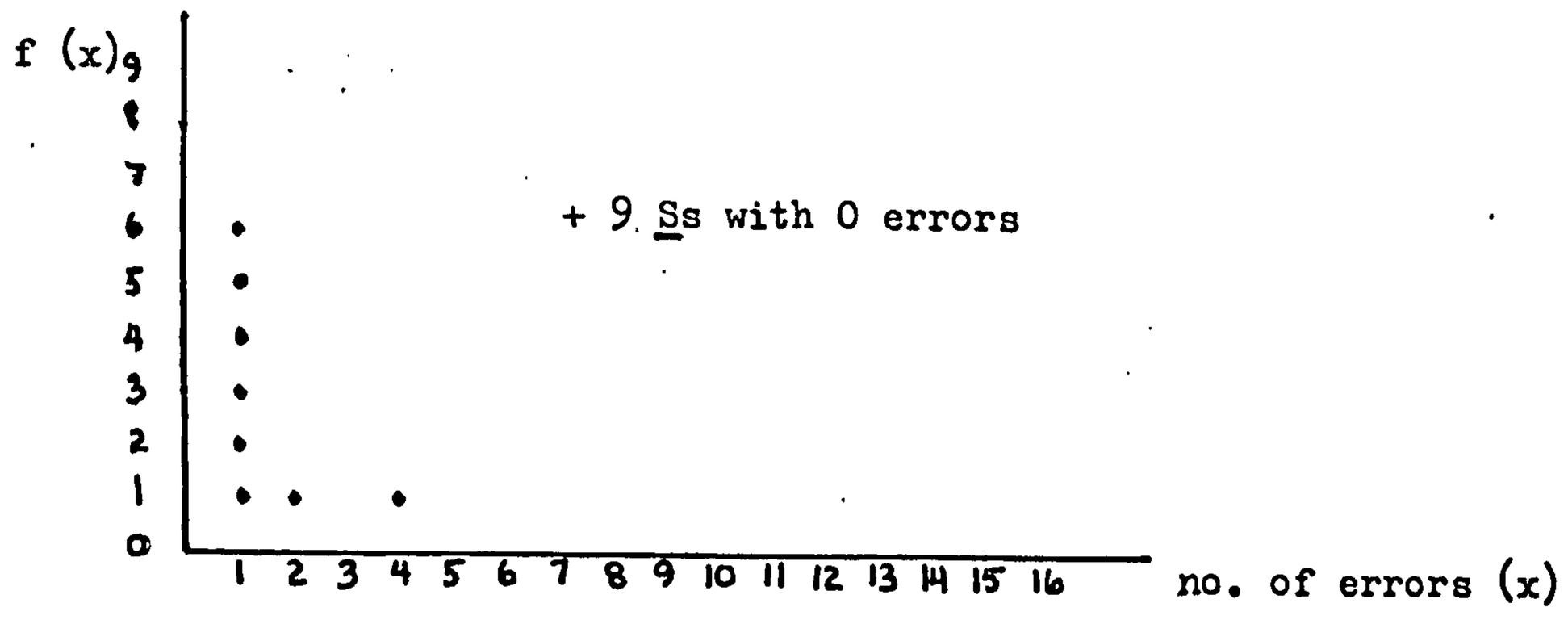
Appendix D (Cont.)
DISTRIBUTION OF ERRORS ON SLANG TEST

White Sample



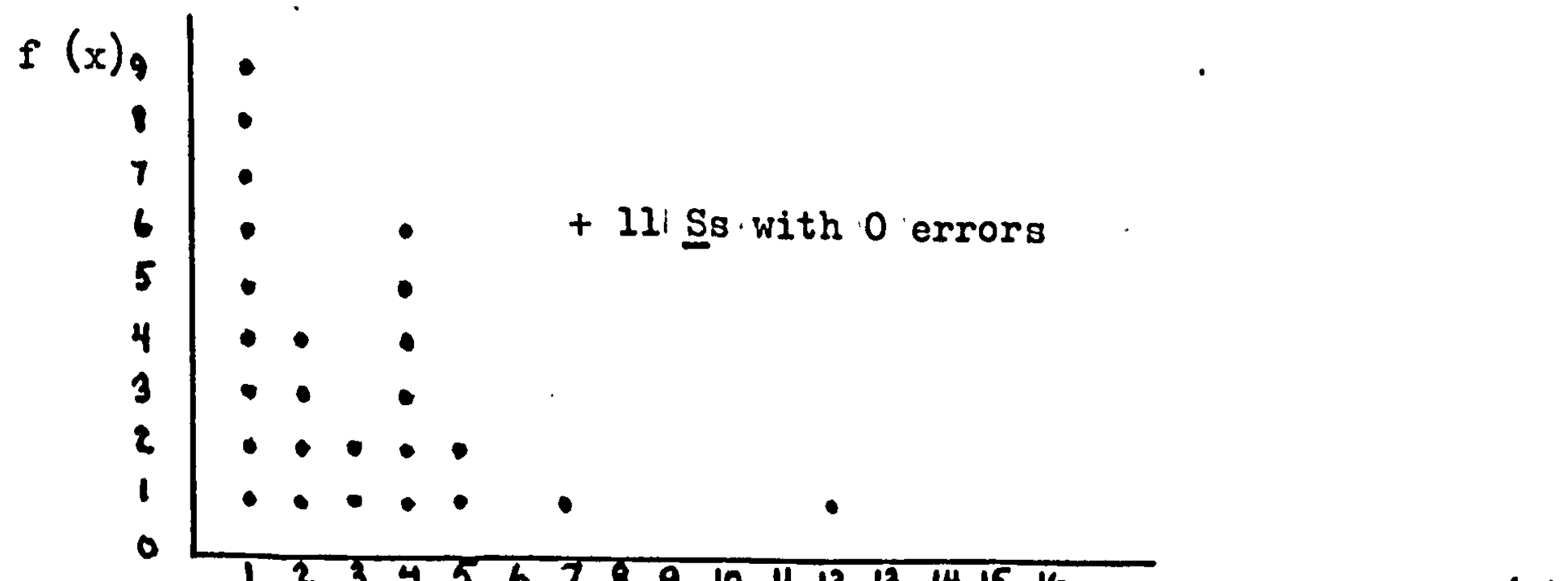
+ 15 Ss with 0 errors

4th Year Youths (N=28)



+ 9 Ss with 0 errors

3rd Year Youths (N=17)



+ 11 Ss with 0 errors

1st and 2nd Year Youths (N=36)

Appendix E.

CHECKLIST OF INFORMATION DERIVED FROM INTERVIEWS WITH MUSLIMS

(The figures indicate frequency of 'Yes' responses from 86 subjects.)

Dietary Habits

1. Eats meals only in school.	1. 46
2. Eats meals only in home.	2. 17
3. Favourite food is English.	3. 31
4. Favourite food is Asian.	4. 54
5. Sometimes eats haram outside of home. (i.e. fish and chips cooked in fat)	5. 30
6. Sometimes eats haram in house.	6. 1
7. Eats English and Asian food in home.	7. 61
8. Has tasted, or would like to taste, beer/spirits, etc.	8. 3
9. Fasted all days of Ramadan, or most excepting illness.	9. 35
10. Fasted only a few or no days giving age as an excuse.	10. 45

Attitude to Elders and Marriage

1. A boy's parents (elders) should be obeyed in all things, all the time (Yes) agrees or (No) disagrees	11. 62
2. Agrees strongly with parents about 'important' issues, i.e. friends, religion, etc. (Yes) agrees (No) disagrees	12. 70
3. Agrees that parents or relations will find him a wife, or expects to marry a relation.	13. 71
4. Would only consider marrying a Muslim woman.	14. 77
5. Would only consider marrying a Muslim woman from India/Pakistan. Not U.K.	15. 7
6. Would prefer to marry English Muslim rather than Asian due to language, custome, etc.	16. 7
7. Has gone out with girls.	17. 6
8. Would like to go out with girls.	18. 10
9. Would mind if sister went out with boys.	19. 69

Friends and Clothing

1. Sometimes wears Asian style clothing about the house or to mosque, etc. 20. 23
2. Parents restrict wearing of certain clothing, i.e. either for religious or style reasons. 21. 38
3. Friends (Best) are only Muslims. 22. 71
4. Is friendly with English boys in school. 23. 55
5. Is friendly with English boys outside of school. 24. 31
6. Visits, or is visited by, English boys at home. 25. 29
7. Speaks with friends in Asian and English (or only Asian) 26. 58
8. Speaks with friends in English only. 27. 27
9. Speaks with family (parents) in Asian only. 28. 74
10. Speaks with siblings in Asian mostly. 29. 32
11. Is a member of a youth club. 30. 8
12. Is a member of a team with Asian boys only. 31. 34
13. Is a member of a team with Asian and white boys. 32. 14

Miscellaneous

1. Expects to live in U.K. when older. 33. 57
2. Would prefer to live in Muslim country when older, i.e. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India. 34. 17

Media and Leisure

1. Attends Asian films, either with friends or family. 35. 57
2. Prefers Asian to English films. 36. 22
3. Listens to Asian broadcasts on radio, either with family or on own. 37. 49
4. Listens to Asian music on casette. 38. 39
5. Listens to pop music (radio cassette) 39. 63
6. Listens to sports on radio. 40. 26
7. Attends mosque every day after school, usually. 41. 52
8. Has stopped going to mosque, because he claims he is too old, too busy, etc. 42. 29
9. Goes to mosque for parents' sake, or because he has to, rather than because he wants to. 43. 8

Appendix F

RESPONSES TO 'WHO WOULD YOU GO TO IF?' SCALES*

1. Would would you go to if you needed money?

	WHITE						MUSLIM					
	First		Second		Not At All		First		Second		Not At All	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Parents	3	(3)	95	(77)	1	(1)	4	(4)	94	(84)	1	(1)
Teachers	1	(1)	-	-	99	(80)	4	(4)	1	(1)	84	(85)
Brothers	72	(58)	4	(3)	25	(20)	78	(70)	2	(2)	20	(18)
Friends	25	(20)	1	(1)	74	(60)	31	(28)	2	(2)	67	(60)
Religious Leaders	1	(1)	-	-	99	(80)	1	(1)	-	-	99	(89)

2. Who would you talk to about trouble you were having in school?

Parents	38	(31)	52	(42)	10	(8)	56	(50)	31	(28)	13	(12)
Teachers	35	(29)	33	(27)	31	(25)	20	(18)	53	(48)	27	(24)
Brothers	14	(11)	6	(5)	80	(65)	34	(31)	3	(3)	62	(56)
Friends	27	(22)	5	(4)	68	(55)	24	(22)	12	(11)	63	(57)
Religious Leaders	3	(2)	-	-	98	(79)	-	-	-	-	100	(90)

3. Who do you think understands you best?

Parents	11	(9)	80	(65)	9	(7)	22	(20)	69	(62)	9	(8)
Teachers	47	(38)	3	(2)	51	(41)	31	(28)	7	(6)	62	(56)
Brothers	40	(32)	6	(5)	54	(44)	48	(43)	9	(8)	43	(39)
Friends	32	(26)	9	(7)	59	(48)	41	(37)	10	(9)	49	(44)
Religious Leaders	6	(5)	-	-	94	(76)	7	(6)	3	(3)	90	(81)

*Percentages are given to the nearest whole number

4. Who would you talk to about doubts you may have about religion?

	WHITE						MUSLIM					
	First		Second		Not At All		First		Second		Not At All	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Parents	54	(44)	24	(19)	22	(18)	58	(52)	28	(25)	14	(13)
Teachers	26	(21)	11	(9)	63	(51)	19	(17)	1	(1)	80	(72)
Brothers or Sisters	15	(12)	3	(2)	83	(67)	19	(17)	-	-	81	(73)
Friends	10	(8)	4	(3)	86	(70)	13	(12)	1	(1)	86	(77)
Religious Leaders	10	(8)	58	(47)	32	(26)	19	(17)	69	(62)	12	(11)

5. Who would you most like to be like in, say, 10 years times?

Parents	17	(14)	59	(48)	24	(19)	24	(22)	50	(45)	26	(23)
Teachers	22	(18)	6	(5)	72	(58)	16	(14)	14	(13)	70	(63)
Brothers or Sisters	27	(22)	17	(14)	56	(45)	23	(21)	13	(12)	63	(57)
Friends	16	(21	6	(5)	68	(55)	23	(21)	8	(7)	69	(62)
Religious Leaders	5	(4)			95	(77)	14	(13)	14	(13)	71	(64)

6. Who would you talk to about choosing a job or career?

Parents	30	(24)	64	(52)	6	(5)	24	(22)	67	(60)	9	(8)
Teachers	49	(70)	27	(22)	24	(19)	38	(34)	30	(27)	32	(29)
Brothers or Sisters	12	(10)	3	(2)	85	(69)	33	(30)	1	(1)	66	(59)
Friends	14	(11)	4	(3)	83	(67)	31	(28)	2	(2)	67	(60)
Religious Leaders	4	(3)			96	(78)	5	(5)			94	(85)

7. Who would you talk to about girls?

	WHITE						MUSLIM					
	First		Second		Not At All		First		Second		Not At All	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Parents	31	(25)	27	(22)	42	(34)	9	(8)	22	(20)	69	(62)
Teachers	4	(3)	4	(2)	94	(76)	2	(2)	1	(1)	97	(87)
Brothers or Sisters	44	(36)	12	(10)	43	(35)	31	(28)	7	(6)	62	(56)
Friends	27	(22)	54	(44)	19	(15)	10	(9)	64	(58)	26	(23)
Religious Leader	3	(2)	3	(2)	95	(77)	1	(1)	2	(2)	97	(87)

8. If you were worried about something or feeling down in the dumps, who would you turn to?

Parents	15	(12)	78	(63)	7	(6)	16	(14)	74	(67)	10	(9)
Teachers	25	(20)	1	(1)	74	(60)	27	(24)	4	(4)	69	(62)
Brothers or Sisters	35	(28)	10	(8)	56	(45)	39	(35)	9	(8)	52	(47)
Friends	49	(40)	7	(6)	43	(35)	36	(32)	11	(10)	53	(48)
Religious Leaders	6	(5)	1	(1)	93	(75)	10	(9)			90	(81)

9. Who do you think you could depend on most to help you through difficult times?

Parents	16	(13)	79	(64)	5	(4)	26	(23)	64	(58)	10	(9)
Teachers	31	(25)	7	(6)	62	(50)	28	(25)	17	(15)	56	(50)
Brothers or Sisters	49	(40)	6	(5)	44	(36)	43	(39)	7	(6)	50	(45)
Friends	42	(34)	5	(4)	53	(43)	36	(32)	12	(11)	52	(47)
Religious Leaders	3	(2)	1	(1)	96	(78)	11	(10)	2	(2)	87	(78)

10. Who do you usually confide in or share your secrets with?

Parents	26	(23)	14	(11)	61	(49)	17	(15)	7	(6)	77	(69)
Teachers	-	-	1	(1)	99	(80)	3	(3)	-	-	97	(87)
Brothers or Sisters	44	(36)	17	(14)	38	(31)	51	(46)	12	(11)	37	(33)
Friends	21	(17)	65	(53)	14	(11)	18	(16)	79	(71)	3	(3)
Religious Leaders					100	(81)	1	(1)	1	(1)	98	(88)

Appendix G

FREQUENCY OF MEDIA BEHAVIOURS

WHITES

1. Frequency of Cinema Going.

Age	1x Week	2x Month	1x Month	1x 2Months	3x Year	Hardly Ever
11	1	2	1	1	2	6
12	0	0	1	2	5	12
13	0	2	3	2	1	8
14	1	0	2	5	5	14
15	0	0	1	0	1	2
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
$\Sigma \cdot \chi$	2 (2.5%)	4 (4.9%)	8 (9.9%)	10 (12.3%)	15 (18.5%)	42 (51.9%)

Spearman rho = -.02, p=n.s.

MUSLIMS

	1x week	2x Week	1x Month	1x 2Months	3x Year	Hardly Ever
	0	2	1	0	2	10
	1	2	3	3	5	7
	3	2	0	1	2	5
	1	8	8	4	4	10
	1	3	1	0	1	2
	0	1	0	0	0	0
	6 (6.7%)	18 (20.0%)	13 (14.4%)	8 (8.9%)	14 (15.6%)	34 (34.4%)

Spearman rho = .26 p=.007

Appendix G. (Contd)

WHITES			MUSLIMS	
2. Comic or Magazine Reading				
Age	Yes	No	Yes	No
11	7	6	9	6
12	15	4	16	2
13	9	8	9	4
14	16	11	26	9
15	2	2	5	3
15	-	-	0	1
$\Sigma \chi$	49 (60.5%)	31 (38.3%)	65(72.2%)	24 (26.7%)

Appendix G. (Contd).

WHITES

3. Frequency of Newspaper Reading

Age	Every Day	Almost Every day	2x week	1x Week	Never
11	1	2	2	2	6
12	4	6	3	4	3
13	6	4	4	0	3
14	13	5	5	2	2
15	2	0	0	2	0
16	-	-	-	-	-
	26	17	14	10	14
Σy	(32.1%)	(21%)	(17.3%)	(12.3%)	(17.3%)

Spearman rho = .35 $p \leq .001$

MUSLIMS

Every Day	Almost Every Day	2x Week	1 x Week	Never
3	6	4	1	1
3	1	5	6	3
6	2	2	2	1
6	11	11	7	0
6	0	2	0	0
1	0	0	0	0
25	20	24	15	5
(27.8%)	(22.2%)	(26.7%)	(17.8%)	(5.6%)

Spearman rho = .20 $p \leq .03$

Appendix G (Contd.)

WHITES

4. Frequency of Radio Listening

Age	2hr/day	2hr/day	1hr/day	½hr/day	few times week	hardly ever
11	2	0	3	2	6	0
12	1	5	3	9	2	0
13	1	0	6	5	2	3
14	2	0	7	9	4	5
15	0	0	2	0	2	0
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
Σχ	6	5	21	15	16	8
	(7.4%)	(6.2%)	(25.9%)	(30.9%)	(19.82%)	(9.9%)

Spearman rho = -.12 p= n.s.

MUSLIMS

	2hrs/day	2hrs/day	1hr/day	½hr/day	few times week	Hardly ever
	1	1	2	3	7	1
	1	0	1	2	12	2
	1	2	2	1	5	2
	0	1	5	6	19	4
	2	0	1	1	2	1
	0	0	1	0	0	0
	5	4	12	13	46	10
	(5.6%)	(4.4%)	(13.3%)	(14.4%)	(51.1%)	(11.1%)

Spearman rho = .03 p= .41

Appendix G (Contd.)

WHITES

MUSLIMS

5. Frequency of Record Listening

WHITES

Age	Everyday	few times/ week	Once/week	Hardly Ever	Every Day
11	5	2	4	2	7
12	4	10	3	3	2
13	7	8	0	2	3
14	6	13	6	2	8
15	0	3	0	1	4
16	-	-	-	-	1
ΣY	22	36	13	10	25
	(27.2%)	(44.4%)	(16%)	(12.3%)	(27.8%)

MUSLIMS

Few times/ week	Once/Week	Hardly Ever
3	3	2
7	5	4
7	2	1
13	5	9
2	1	1
0	0	0
32	16	17
(35.6%)	(17.8%)	(18.9%)

Spearman rho = -.01 p=n.s.

Spearman rho = .03 p= .40

Appendix G. (Contd.)

WHITES

6. Frequency of Book Reading

Age	1/wk	1/2 weeks	1/month	1/Few Months	Not Often
11	6	1	0	2	4
12	9	3	2	3	3
13	2	2	4	2	7
14	3	4	4	5	11
15	0	0	1	0	3
16	-	-	-	-	0
	20	10	11	12	28
	(24.7%)	(12.3%)	(13.6%)	(14.8%)	(34.6%)

Spearman rho = .32 p≤.002

MUSLIMS

1/wk	1/2wk.	1/month	1/few months	Not Often
10	1	2	1	1
9	2	3	4	0
4	0	5	1	9
6	10	6	4	9
3	4	0	0	1
0	0	1	0	0
32	17	17	10	14
(35.6%)	(18.9%)	(18.9%)	(11.1%)	(15.6%)

Spearman rho = - .24 p≤ .01

Appendix G (Contd.)

WHITES

7. Frequency of Television Viewing Yesterday

Age	0	½-1hr	1½-2hrs	2½-3hrs	3½-4hrs.	> 4hrs.
11	0	0	3	3	0	7
12	0	1	1	5	6	7
13	2	1	1	3	4	6
14	0	0	5	4	3	15
15	0	1	0	0	2	1
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	3	10	15	15	36
Σ%	(2.5%)	(3.7%)	(12.3%)	(18.5%)	(18.5%)	(44.4%)

Spearman rho =.03 p =n.s.

MUSLIMS

0	½-1hr	1½-2hrs	2½-3hrs	3½-hours	> 4hours
2	1	3	5	3	1
1	2	3	2	4	6
0	5	1	2	3	2
4	4	6	7	10	4
0	0	1	2	3	2
0	0	0	0	0	1
7	12	14	18	23	16
(7.7%)	(13.3%)	(15.6%)	(20%)	(25.6%)	(17.8%)

Spearman rho = .09 p=n.s.

Appendix G(Contd).

WHITES

MUSLIMS

8. Frequency of Television Viewing Weekly.

Age	<5hrs/wk	5-10hrs wk	10-15hrs/ wk.	15-20hrs wk	20-25 hrs/wk	>25hrs wk	<5hrs/ wk	5-10hrs/ wk	10/15 hrs/wk	15-20hrs/ wk	20-25 hrs/wk	>25 hrs/wk
11	0	0	3	2	3	5	1	1	4	5	2	2
12	0	2	3	0	11	4	0	2	5	2	7	2
13	1	0	1	1	7	6	1	1	4	2	2	3
14	0	2	2	7	5	11	3	6	3	8	10	5
15	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	3	2
16	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	1	0	0
1 S missing												
$\Sigma\chi$	1	5	10	10	27	27	5	12	17	18	24	14
	(1.2%)	(6.2%)	(12.3%)	(12.3%)	(33.3%)	(33.3%)	(5.6%)	(13.3%)	(18.9%)	(20.0%)	(26.7%)	(15.6%)

Spearman rho = -.002 p=n.s.

Spearman rho =.04 p=.35

Appendix H.

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

1. Which of these things do you so if you are feeling sad and want to be cheered up?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
Friends	27	22	T.V.	50	22	Friends	25	28	T.V.	74	29
T.V.	21	20	Friends	45	20	T.V.	19	21	Friends	38	15
Records	19	19	Records	42	19	Asian Cinema	10	11	Records	24	9
Cinema	6	9	Comic/Mags	21	9	Cinema	9	11	Radio	23	9
Family	5	9	Cinema	21	9	Records	8	8	Comic/Mags	22	8
Books	5	9	Radio	19	9	Books	6	6	Cinema	19	9
Radio	0	-	Family	18	8	Family	5	5	Asian Cinema	14	5
Newspaper	0	-	Books	6	3	Newspaper	4	4	Books	13	5
Comic/Mags	0	-	Newspaper	1	-	Comic/Mags	2	2	Family	13	5
						Radio	1	1	Newspaper	7	2
						Asian Newspaper	Ø	-	Asian Newspaper	3	1

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

2. Which of these things do you do when you want to find out about things that are happening in the world?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
Newspaper	46	56	Newspaper	68	30	Newspaper	42	46	Newspaper	73	30
T.V.	24	29	T.V.	63	28	T.V.	22	24	T.V.	59	29
Radio	4	4	Radio	52	23	Asian Newspaper	11	12	Asian Newspaper	37	15
Family	3	3	Family	13	5	Radio	8	8	Radio	36	15
Newspaper	2	2	Comic/Mags	11	4	Books	3	3	Books	14	5
Cinema	1	1	Books	10	4	Family	3	3	Family	8	3
T.V.	1	1	Cinema	2	-	Friends	1	1	Friends	4	1
Records	ø	-	Records	2	-	Cinema	ø	-	Cinema	3	1
Comic/Mags	ø	-	Friends	2	-	Records	ø	-	Comic/Mags	3	1
						Comic/Mags	ø	-	Asian Cinema	2	-
						Asian Cinema	ø	-	Records	1	-

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

3. Which of these things give you something to talk about with your friends?

Whites					Muslims				
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
T.V.	49	60	T.V.	71	35	T.V.	40	44	T.V.	56	25
Books	19	23	Cinema	49	24	Friends	12	13	Cinema	29	13
Friends	4	4	Comic/Mag	18	8	Cinema	12	13	Newspaper	26	11
Comic/Mags	3	3	Radio	17	8	Books	7	7	Asian Cinema	24	11
Books	2	2	Newspaper	16	7	Family	6	6	Friends	20	9
Radio	1	1	Friends	13	6	Newspaper	4	4	Books	16	7
Records	1	1	Records	8	3	Comic/Mags	3	3	Comic/Mags	14	6
Family	1	1	Books	7	3	Asian Cinema	2	2	Family	12	5
Newspaper	1	1	Family	3	1	Radio	2	2	Radio	9	4
						Asian newspaper	∅	-	Asian newspaper	7	3
									Records	5	6

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

4. Which of these things do you do if you want to forget about your problems?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preferred	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preferred	N	%
T.V.	19	23	T.V.	39	19	T.V.	16	17	Friends	32	15
Friends	15	18	Records	38	18	Friends	14	15	Books	25	11
Records	15	18	Friends	31	15	Books	13	14	T.V.	24	11
Cinema	12	15	Cinema	23	11	Family	11	12	Records	23	10
Family	9	11	Family	19	9	Asian Cinema	8	8	Family	22	10
Books	7	8	Books	17	8	Records	7	7	Comic/Mags	22	10
Newspaper	1	1	Comic/Mags	15	7	Comic/Mags	7	7	Radio	21	10
Comic/Mags	2	2	Radio	15	7	Cinema	7	7	Cinema	18	8
Radio	Ø		Newspaper	5	2	Radio	4	4	Asian Cinema	11	5
						Newspaper	2	2	Newspaper	7	3
						Asian newspaper	Ø		Asian newspaper	5	2

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

5. Which of these things do you do in order to learn about people who are different from yourself?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
T.V.	27	34	Newspaper	47	25	Newspaper	25	28	Newspaper	48	22
Books	19	24	T.V.	46	25	Books	16	17	Television	40	18
Newspaper	18	22	Books	29	16	T.V.	15	16	Books	30	14
Friends	6	7	Comic/Mags	18	9	Friends	13	14	Radio	22	10
Family	4	5	Radio	16	8	Asian news-paper	8	8	Asian news-paper	19	8
Mags/Comic	3	3	Friends	11	6	Asian Cinema	3	3	Friends	16	7
Cinema	1	1	Family	10	5	Records	3	3	Family	12	5
Radio	1	1	Cinema	4	2	Cinema	3	3	Cinema	11	5
Records	ø	-	Records	ø		Family	2	2	Asian Cinema	7	3
						Radio	1	1	Comic/Mags	5	2
						Friends	ø	-	Records	4	1

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

6. Which of these things helps to bring the family together?

Whites						Muslim					
First Preferred			Overall Preference			First Preferred			Overall Percentage		
	N	%		N	%		%	N		N	%
Family	52	64	Family	59	30	Family	66	60	Family	66	37
T.V.	16	19	T.V.	35	21	T.V.	11	10	T.V.	30	16
Cinema	9	11	Books	28	17	Asian Cinema	6	6	Asian Cinema	16	8
Books	1	1	Records	12	7	Asian Newspaper	4	4	Radio	16	8
Radio	1	1	Radio	11	6	Newspaper	3	3	Asian Newspaper	11	6
Records	1	1	Friends	6	3	Books	2	2	Friends	10	5
Newspaper	1	1	Newspaper	5	3	Radio	2	2	Cinema	8	4
Friends	Ø	-	Books	4	2	Friends	2	2	Books	7	3
Comic Mags	Ø	-	Comic Mags	2	1	Cinema	1	1	Records	7	3
						Records	-	Ø	Newspaper	7	3
						Comic Mags	-	Ø	Comic/Mags	Ø	-

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

7. Which of these things gives you something to think about?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	%	N	Overall Preference	N	%
Books	29	.35	Books	39	.20	Books	.38	33	Books	46	.21
T.V.	20	.24	T.V.	34	.17	Newspaper	.17	15	Newspaper	37	.17
Newspaper	15	.18	Newspaper	32	.16	T.V.	.15	13	T.V.	35	.16
Comic/Mags	5	.06	Radio	23	.11	Comic/Mags	.07	6	Radio	22	.10
Cinema	3	.03	Comic/Mags	17	.08	Family	.06	5	Asian Newspaper	18	.08
Radio	3	.03	Records	14	.07	Cinema	.04	4	Comic/Mags	16	.07
Family	3	.03	Cinema	13	.06	Newspaper	.04	4	Family	10	.05
Friends	2	.02	Family	10	.05	Radio	.04	4	Asian Cinema	8	.04
Records	1	.01	Friends	10	.05	Friends	.02	2	Cinema	8	.04
						Asian Cinema	.02	2	Friends	8	.04
						Records	.01	1	Records	6	.03

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

8. Which of these things do you do when you just want something to help you pass the time?

Whites						Muslim					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	%	N	Overall Preference	N	%
T.V.	32	.39	T.V.	56	.24	T.V.	.40	36	T.V.	63	.27
Records	15	.18	Records	45	.19	Books	.14	13	Books	32	.13
Friends	11	.13	Radio	32	.14	Friends	.14	13	Friends	21	.09
Books	9	.11	Friends	28	.12	Comic/Mags	.08	8	Radio	29	.12
Comic/Mags	5	.06	Comic/Mags	22	.10	Records	.08	8	Comic/Mags	25	.10
Radio	3	.03	Books	19	.08	Cinema	.06	6	Records	24	.10
Cinema	2	.02	Family	9	.03	Radio	.02	2	Cinema	13	.05
Family	2	.02	Newspaper	8	.03	Asian Newspaper	.02	2	Asian Cinema	8	.03
Newspaper	2	.02	Cinema	8	.03	Family	.01	1	Newspaper	7	.03
						Newspaper	.01	1	Asian Newspaper	5	.02
						Asian Cinema		ø	Family	3	.01

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

9. Which of these things teaches you about people like yourself?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
T.V.	27	.34	Newspaper	45	.24	Books	22	.24	Newspaper	34	.16
Newspaper	17	.21	T.V.	42	.22	Friends	15	.16	Books	29	.14
Books	16	.20	Books	29	.15	Newspaper	15	.16	T.V.	28	.13
Friends	9	.11	Friends	18	.09	T.V.	14	.15	Newspaper) (Asian))	26	.12
Radio	2	.02	Radio	17	.09	Newspaper	12	.13	Friends	25	.12
Records	2	.02	Comic/Mags	12	.06	Family	5	.05	Asian Cinema	18	.08
Family	2	.02	Family	11	.06	Asian Cinema	3	.03	Family	18	.03
Comic/Mags	2	.02	Cinema	6	.03	Cinema	2	.02	Radio	15	.07
Cinema	1	.01	Records	3	.01	Radio	1	.01	Comic/Mags	7	.03
						Records	ø	-	Cinema	4	.01
						Comic/Mags	ø	-	Records	1	-

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

10. Which of these things gives you something to talk about with your family?

Whites					Muslims				
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	% N	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N %
T.V.	26	.33	T.V.	.26 49	Comic/Mags	19	.21	T.V.	38 .18
Cinema	16	.20	Cinema	.16 31	T.V.	16	.17	Asian Newspaper	33 .16
Newspaper	13	.16	Newspaper	.15 28	Newspaper	15	.16	Newspaper	29 .14
Books	6	.07	Friends	.10 20	Asian Newspaper	10	.11	Family	23 .11
Radio	5	.06	Radio	.09 18	Asian Cinema	7	.07	Radio	22 .10
Family	5	.06	Comic/Mags	.07 14	Books	6	.06	Asian Cinema	15 .07
Friends	5	.06	Books	.06 11	Radio	6	.06	Books	11 .05
Comic/Mags	2	.02	Family	.03 7	Friends	5	.05	Friends	11 .05
Records	Ø	-	T.V.	.02 5	Cinema	3	.03	Cinema	10 .04
					Records	1	.01	Comic/Mags	7 .03
					Comic/Mags	1	.01	Records	2 -

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

11. Which of these things do you do in order to keep in touch with places and things you used to know?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%
Newspaper	28	.38	Newspaper	45	.26	Newspaper	16	.18	Newspaper	30	.16
T.V.	10	.13	T.V.	34	.19	T.V.	14	.16	T.V.	26	.13
Books	10	.13	Radio	33	.19	Friends	12	.13	Friends	24	.12
Radio	8	.10	Books	19	.11	Asian Newspaper	9	.10	Asian Newspaper	22	.11
Family	7	.09	Friends	15	.11	Books	9	.10	Books	19	.10
Friends	7	.09	Family	10	.05	Binema	7	.08	Radio	17	.09
Cinema	1	.01	Cinema	7	.04	Family	7	.08	Family	13	.06
Records	1	.01	Comic/Mags	1	.03	Asian Cinema	5	.05	Asian Cinema	12	.06
Comic/Mags	1	.01	Records	2	.01	Comic/Mags	4	.04	Books	11	.05
						Radio	3	.03	Comic/Mags	9	.04
						Records	Ø	-	Records	4	.02

FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES

12. Which of these things helps you to learn about the kind of person you would like to become?

Whites						Muslims					
First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	N	%	First Preferred	N	%	Overall Preference	%	N
T.V.	38	.48	T.V.	53	.30	Books	27	.30	Books	.19	39
Books	13	.16	Newspaper	25	.14	T.V.	22	.24	T.V.	.19	38
Family	7	.08	Books	25	.14	Newspaper	13	.14	Newspaper	.19	38
Newspaper	6	.07	Records	16	.09	Cinema	6	.06	Cinema	.09	15
Comic/Mags	5	.06	Family	16	.09	Friends	5	.05	Newspaper (Asian)	.07	15
Records	5	.06	Comic/Mags	13	.07	Asian Newspaper	5	.05	Asian Cinema	.06	13
Cinema	3	.03	Radio	11	.06	Comic/Mags	4	.04	Radio	.06	12
Radio	2	.02	Cinema	8	.04	Asian Cinema	3	.03	Friends	.05	11
Friends	Ø	-	Friends	5	.02	Radio	2	.02	Comic/Mags	.04	9
						Records	1	.01	Family	.03	7
						Family	1	.01	Records	.01	3

Appendix I.

FACTOR STRUCTURE: SUMMARY OF MAIN FACTORS

FOR GRATIFICATION ITEMS*

Muslim Sample

Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3	
Loading	Items	Loading	Items	Loading	Items
.74	94	.41	95	.55	162
.55	97	.76	98	.42	165
.37	100	.63	157	.65	186
.63	103	.33	158	.37	188
.44	156	.38	183	.84	193
.40	161	.36	194	.59	211
.69	167	.30	213		
.82	184	.69	218	4.3% variance	
.56	187	6.2% variance			
.36	191				
.43	195				
.39	211				
.68	212				
.33	213				
.67	216				
.47	217				
.31	218				
23.4% variance					

White Sample

Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4	
Loading	Items	Loading	Items	Loading	Items	Loading	Items
.71	95	.40	97	.35	101	.55	97
.70	102	.52	156	.35	157	.40	100
.69	155	.33	157	.77	159	.39	158
.43	160	.67	184	.50	162	.30	187
.58	164	.45	186	.32	195	.40	195
.66	183	.69	187	.40	218	.80	212
.74	185	.66	188	.61	219	4.4% variance	
.74	189	.73	193	5.3% variance			
.39	191	.70	211				
.31	192	.63	216				
.63	194	10.4% variance					
.70	213						
.62	215						
20.6% variance							

* Items are indicated on following pages.

(contd).

Total Sample

Factor 1 Loading	Items	Factor 2 Loading	Items	Factor 3 Loading	Items	Factor 4 Loading	Items
.68	94	.33	102	.49	156	.59	101
.73	97	.31	164	.48	159	.40	155
.62	103	.32	165	.55	162	.70	160
.35	167	.78	185	.36	193	.33	161
.70	184	.44	189	.32	211	.39	163
.43	187	.56	194	3.9% variance		3.5% variance	
.47	191	.73	215				
.34	212	7.0% variance					
.47	216						
21.4% variance							

Appendix (contd.)

Items for Final Cluster 1: Learning About Life and the World

94. T.V. helps me to keep in touch with things going on in the world.
97. T.V. shows what life used to be like.
103. T.V. shows me things I would normally never see.
167. T.V. teaches me about life.
184. T.V. shows you what the world is really like.
187. T.V. shows me what I want to know more about.
191. T.V. helps me to get on in the world.
212. Some things on T.V. help me to learn about the place I live in.
216. T.V. broadens my outlook on life.

Items for Final Cluster 2: Diversion with Escape and Para-social Interaction.

95. Watching T.V. is relaxing.
102. Tuning in to T.V. is like dropping in on a friend.
155. I watch T.V. because it helps me forget about my problems.
164. T.V. is the only entertainment there is.
183. I use T.V. to change my mood, like it cheers me up when I feel sad.
185. I do not think I could live without television.
189. Watching telly is like spending time with a friend.
194. I watch T.V. because I like an escape from reality.
213. Watching T.V. is a very good enjoyable way to spend time.
215. T.V. has become a necessity rather than an object of pleasure.

Items for Final Cluster 3: Personal Identity Seeking

162. Sometimes I wish my life could be more like the lives of people I see on T.V.
165. Lets me feel I am right there when things are happening.
186. Sometimes I wish my family could be more like the families I see on T.V.
188. Watching T.V. I can get a view of someone else leading my life.
193. Makes me think of how I would like to live.
211. Shows me the kind of person I could be.

Items for Final Cluster 4: Social Utility and Family Integration

101. I spend a lot of time talking to my family about things I see on T.V.

155. I watch T.V. because it helps me to forget about my problems.

160. T.V. helps to bring the family together.

163. I sometimes have to explain T.V. programmes to my parents.

161. T.V. shows me what the world will be like.