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THE USE OF DIGITAL MEDIA BY SERBIAN MIGRANTS

Upotreba digitalnih medija od strane srpskih migranata

Abstract

Modern society is characterized by large migration flows and vigorous technological development. In line with that, the aim of this study is to explore the role of digital media in the lives of Serbian migrants and their families in the home country. Building on the theory of uses and gratifications, two main applications of online media are analyzed: for the purpose of communication and information seeking. Given that this topic is rather understudied in the regional context, a qualitative approach was adopted. The sample included 21 participants, both from rural and urban areas, belonging to 16 households which have at least one family member working abroad. In-depth interviews were conducted in order to establish the type and extent of the communication media that they use, as well as the preferred news media and domestic topics that migrants are interested in. Results revealed that the most commonly used applications are Viber and Skype, while participants tend to communicate on a daily basis or several times a week. Online platforms that migrants use to follow news in Serbia correspond to the most popular news portals among domestic public. The topics that the migrants are mostly interested in are politics, economics and social themes. The implications of the study for academia, media practitioners and policymakers are discussed.

Keywords: *digital media, migrants, communication, information, theory of uses and gratifications*

Sažetak

Moderno društvo karakterišu veliki migracioni tokovi i snažan tehnološki razvoj. U skladu s tim, cilj ove studije je da istraži ulogu digitalnih medija u životima srpskih migranata i njihovih porodica u Srbiji. Polazeći od teorije koristi i zadovoljstva, dve glavne upotrebe onlajn medija su analizirane: komunikacija i informisanje. S obzirom na to da je ova tema još uvek u velikoj meri neistražena u regionalnom kontekstu, primenjen je kvalitativni pristup. Uzorak je činio 21 učesnik, iz urbanih i ruralnih područja, koji dolaze iz 16 domaćinstava koja imaju bar jednog člana porodice koji radi u inostranstvu. Putem dubinskih intervjuva ustanovljeno je koju vrstu komunikacionih medija koriste i u kom obimu, kao i koje informativne platforme i teme preferiraju. Rezultati su pokazali da se za komunikaciju najčešće koriste Vajber i Skajp, kao i da su u kontaktu na dnevnoj bazi ili nekoliko puta nedeljno. Od informativnih portala migranti prate iste kao i domaća publika. Teme za koje su migranti najviše zainteresovani su: politika, ekonomija i društvene teme. U radu su diskutovane i implikacije ove studije za akademiju, praktičare u medijima i donosiocje politika.

Cljučne reči: *digitalni mediji, migranti, komunikacije, informacije, teorija koristi i zadovoljstva*

Introduction

Migration issues are currently at the top of the agenda of policymakers, general public and academia. The fact is that 258 million people were in the position of international migrants in 2017, and this number continually grows [38]. There have been numerous studies on migration, which is mostly regarded as a process in human societies. A migrant is “a person who resides at a different place from where they were born, or who has moved from their habitual place of residence... people who may have migrated for a variety of purposes, voluntarily or perforce, including economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees... migrants can include those moving within a country (internal migrants); it (the term) can also be used to refer to international migrants, those who have travelled from other countries” [23, p. 6]. Two most common groups are war migrants (together with refugees) and labor migrants (e.g. due to EU enlargement). It is also important to note that, after a certain amount of time, migrants represent diaspora from the country of origin point of view.

Research about the role of media in migration issues is rather scarce. Scholars tried to discover the extent of representation of migrants in the mainstream media, e.g. newspapers, TV channels [10] and the role of journalists in that process [2]. It has been acknowledged in literature that media and journalists help in shaping stereotypes/prejudice and creating biased content when reporting about migrants [12]. When it comes to analysis of attitudes, mostly attitudes toward immigration and immigrants were measured [1], [26], [29], together with other related constructs, such as nationalism, sentiment toward immigrants and discrimination elements. However, the topic of the role of online media in the life of migrants has remained understudied. This research aims to address that gap and to help in better understanding of the types, quantity and relevance of the use of media by Serbian migrants.

Uses and gratifications theory has been widely employed in the research concerning why individuals use different kinds of media, from its formulation in the 1970s [19] till nowadays. This theory acknowledges psychological and social factors that affect individual's behavior in communication and consider audience to be active, i.e. individuals use media

to achieve some goals and gratifications. Gratifications that the audience can accomplish through media usage are numerous: usefulness (people use media to execute some tasks), intention (media content determines the usage – reading news to get informed, watching comedy to laugh, etc.), selectivity according to person's interests and resistance to influences (members of the audience value media content independently from media persuasion) [3]. Uses and gratifications studies have dealt with all kinds of communication formats, such as: television [16], [17], newspapers [39], video games [24] and the Internet [21], [30], to name some of them. It could be noted that numerous studies [9], [20] have examined the influence of different motives on individual's choice between the Internet and traditional media; however, the relevance of person's various motives for the usage of different Internet communication formats has remained rather uncovered by research.

Furthermore, during the past two decades, many studies have tried to reveal different aspects and motives of Internet usage. For example, Korgaonkar and Wolin [21] studied 41 various motives, classified in 7 groups, for the use of the Internet. Extensive research [6], [31] discovered that seeking information is the crucial motive for the use of this medium. Moreover, people also use the World Wide Web to establish social connections in virtual society and try new, different and improved versions of themselves [22]. Social context is often correlated to entertainment and this aspect of the Internet is usually highly appreciated by users. Chen and Wells [5] and others (e.g. [18]) assert that amusement affects a person's attitude toward a website and list entertainment as one of the three main motives for the usage of this medium. It can be concluded that Internet tools are mostly used for the purpose of obtaining information and socialization. Building on this notion, this study will try to shed some light on the exploration of the significance and extent of use of both communication and news online media.

Methodology

Research paradigm

The reason for conducting qualitative research is very well summarized by Sayer [32] who explains that, although

quantitative data deals with numbers, qualitative data deals with meanings, which are expressed through language and action which create perceptions. The benefit of such a research is that the data, length, detail, content and relevance of the data are not determined by the researcher, but recorded as spoken or as they happen, usually in the form of notes or tape recordings [8]. Guba and Lincoln [14] mention that “human behavior, unlike that of physical object, cannot be understood without reference to the meaning and purposes attached by human actors to their activities. Qualitative data, it is asserted, can provide rich insight into human behavior”.

They refer to the paradigm as a basic belief system or world view that is the investigator’s guide in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways. Strauss [36] states that the paradigm is a way for a researcher to analyze data, where the paradigm could inform the researcher about theoretical issues which could help in the analysis. The reason why paradigm is an important part of this study is, as Miles and Huberman [28] mention, that researchers must show their epistemological views since, in this way, preferences of the researcher would be clear and would help to assess how the data is collected and analyzed.

For the purpose of this study, we shall use an interpretivist research paradigm which is often regarded as constructionism. This interpretivist approach Schwandt [33] relates as the goal to understand the complex world through lived experiences from the position of those who live them. Sounders et al. [35] consider the interpretivist paradigm socially constructed and subjective with the aim of researching social phenomena and subjective meanings. They go on to explain that the concern of the researcher in such a paradigm would be to understand the fundamental meanings attached to organizational life. Guba and Lincoln [14] relate that constructionism is knowledge that consists of the construction where there is a relative consensus among the competent to interpret the substance of the construction. They clarify that social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, as well as gender factors differentiate the consensus from different constructions. The important observation of Guba and Lincoln [14] regards the way in which reality is perceived through this paradigm where it is seen as a form of

multiple, intangible, mental constructions, socially and experientially-based, local and specific in nature (although these elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures).

This paradigm is convenient and relevant for the research conducted in this study due to the fact that the study refers to researching the nature of a social phenomenon. The media and migrations, being the social phenomena, influence the view and experience of households affected by migrations. By analyzing social factors and behavior of these households in their natural setting, the research will provide us with an insight into the role of digital media in everyday life of migrants and their families.

Instrument

The qualitative research method used in the study is implemented through semi-structured interviews with participants. As Bryman [4] mentions, semi-structured interviews can also be used as a part of a mixed-methods approach. According to Sounders et al. [35], semi-structured interviews contain topics and questions that the researcher must cover, although they might vary from interview to interview. They further explain that the researcher can omit some particular questions, given a specific organizational context that is encountered in relation to the research topic. It is possible that additional questions may be required in order to explore the research question and objectives, bearing in mind the nature of events within a particular organization. Such interviews are typically conducted through audio recording of the conversation or perhaps note-taking [35]. Harrell and Bradley [15] mention that such a type of interview collects detailed information through a style that is conversational in nature. This type of interview is often used when the researcher wants to delve deeply into a topic and to understand thoroughly the answers provided. According to Thomas [37], such an interview method contains features of both structured and unstructured interviews and therefore uses both closed and open questions.

This benefit of a semi-structured interview allows the researcher to use both interview methods. The interviewer would have a set of pre-planned core questions

for guidance so that the same areas are covered with each interviewee. Thomas [37] further mentions that, as the interview develops, the interviewee has the chance to explain or offer more relevant information depending on the questions, if he/she chooses to do so. If questions are difficult to answer, the interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to delve deeper into the question. Probing, as Gray [13] defines it, is a way for the interviewer to explore new paths which were not initially considered. The interviewer is free to probe the interviewee to explain the original response or to follow a line of inquiry that has been presented by the interviewee [25]. As David and Sutton [7] mention, identifying key topics and questions in advance gives the interviewer a sense of order which helps them to draw questions from unplanned information presented by the interviewee.

One of few studies on the subject that can serve as a benchmark, the research conducted by Metykova [27] on the use of digital media by transnational workers coming from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia to United Kingdom, demonstrated that: “Migrants interviewed for this research have proved to be avid and highly skilled users of digital media in particular, they access newspapers, magazines and films online, use Skype to make calls, post photographs on social networking sites and even check

online images of their home towns in Eastern Europe on a daily basis.” Therefore, our study will explore these findings in the case of Serbia. Given the scarce evidence, both studies are exploratory by their character, using in-depth interviews as the research technique and the sample of similar size.

Sample

The sample included 21 persons appertaining to 16 households. Corresponding to the structure of the overall Serbian population, the sample structure according to gender was equally distributed. The same applies to the urban/rural sample division. Three different urban areas were considered (including the capital) and two rural regions were included. Detailed sociodemographic attributes of the interviewees are presented in Table 1.

The majority of the represented households receive remittances from parents (4 of them from father and 1 from both parents); followed by the spouse (3 from husband and 1 from wife); brother (1) or sister (2); while each household receives remittances from daughter, aunt, uncle, godparents and friends. Two households obtain funds from abroad through pension. Three out of sixteen households receive funds from two countries, while others obtain them from one source abroad.

Table 1: Sociodemographic characteristics of the sample

No. of hh*	Gender (F – female M – male)	U – urban R – rural	Age	Ethnicity	No. of hh members	No. of children in hh	Education (HS – high school)	Employment status
1	M	U	28	Serbian	2	0	Student	No
2	F	U	44	Serbian	1	0	HS	Yes (NF)*
3	F, M	U	33	Serbian	4	3	HS	Yes (NF)
4	M	U	25	Serbian	2	1	HS	Yes
5	F	U	24	Serbian	3	0	Student	No
6	F	U	38	Serbian	3	2	HS	Yes
7	F	R	58	Russian	3	1	HS	Yes (NF)
8	F	R	57	Romani	10	4	Primary school	Housewife Farmer
9	F, M	R	63	Serbian	2	0	HS	Yes (NF)
10	F	R	27	Serbian	3	0	Student	No
11	F, M	R	34	Serbian	4	1	HS	Yes (NF)
12	F	R	33	Serbian	6	3	HS	Yes
13	F	U	26	Serbian	2	0	BA	Yes
14	M	U	23	Serbian	4	1	Student	Yes
15	M	R	67	Serbian	1	0	HS	Retired
16	F, M, M	R	85	Croatian	3	0	Primary school	Farmer

Note: *NF signifies “informal”, which means that the person is employed, but not registered for social security contributions; hh stands for “household”.

All participants in the research reported that their remittance senders live in developed countries, namely: the USA, EU countries, Canada, Australia, Russia and Qatar. Even though some of them left for non-economic reasons, e.g. education, they opted for the countries characterized by higher income. However, it appears that besides the economic situation, proximity of the emigration country to Serbia also plays a significant role, considering that Italy, Austria and Germany are listed several times in the survey. There are two households in the sample which receive funds from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but that occurred due to specific social circumstances in recent history of the Western Balkans rather than because of geography.

The analysis of data was performed in a two-stage process: coding – conducted in the MAXQDA program, version 12.0.3, and content analysis and drawing up of conclusions.

Results and discussion

Communication media

The introduction of smartphones to the market and applications that can be used independently from time or space, i.e. which are omnipresent, tremendously affected the communication patterns of people in general. These tools have provided possibilities of long-distance communication at very low prices or even for free. Furthermore, they allowed communication in all formats, including: text, audio and video. Finally, these tools even expanded the spectrum of expressions, by inauguration of emoticons and other visuals that are primarily used in the instant messaging space.

In order to determine whether these tools proved to be significant in communication between a migrant and their family members, we asked participants in the survey to name the applications that they use to keep in contact with their family members. Respondents' typical answers are listed below:

- *We keep in touch via Skype, we talk a lot. I talk to his wife more often because she is a third or fourth grade teacher, each grade has a different teacher there, and*

she is much more of an extrovert and likes to talk. She even contacts me sometimes, I don't have to... but it's different with him, I have to chase him to get in touch.

- Interviewer: *How do you keep in touch? What means of communication do you use?*
- Respondent: *We use Viber.*
- Interviewer: *Viber. Do you use Skype, social networks, anything?*
- Respondent: *No, we don't.*
- *We use Viber. We usually talk and don't send messages. We did use Skype before, but now we only use Viber. It's easier because you have Viber on your phone... I usually stay with my mother while my husband is abroad, because she can help me with the kids. She lives 4 km from here. She or my grandmother can take care of my youngest daughter while I'm at work. So, it's much easier to use Viber while I'm there.*
- *Well, Skype, Viber, whatever. Generally we get in touch over these applications.*
- Respondent: *We communicate via cell phone or via that... What's it called? Skype!*
- Interviewer: *OK. So, you have the necessary equipment, right? The headset and stuff like that.*
- Respondent: *I don't have that, we use camera.*
- *Only Skype, yes. Well if Skype is giving us some trouble... Yes, Skype mostly. Because of the camera and everything, but as I said, if Skype is not working, then we use the phone, because camera is always on, ours and theirs.*

The respondents' answers indicate that they use either Skype or Viber. These findings are supported by the study conducted in 187 countries, which established that Viber is the most popular messaging application in Eastern Europe [34], while Skype was not included in the study. Given that many of the respondents' family members have lived and worked in the USA or Canada, mostly using Facebook Messenger according to the cited study, we also wanted to determine the extent of the use of this tool in our sample.

- *I haven't been using the Facebook Messenger much in the past two months. Before that, when there was that older one, I used it more often.*

- *He doesn't have Viber or Whatsapp. Sometimes we chat via Messenger on Facebook. He has a Facebook profile, disaster. And then we use Messenger.*
- *We are texting through this.*

The results demonstrate that users prefer to use applications specifically developed for online calls (such as Viber and Skype) to the ones that are part of more ample systems (such as Facebook Messenger). It can be related to the fact that Viber is used on the smartphone and consequently is more accessible place-independently than some other applications. However, in some cases, landline telephone still makes the first option:

- *He calls from mobile to landline. Because it's like, the cheapest way.*
- *I've never had a cell phone, even when I was in America and Canada. I never wanted to keep a phone in my pocket. Never. So...either they would call me, or I would buy a telephone card, that's much cheaper.*
- *With my parents I talk over the phone, because they don't have anything that works over the Internet. And with my sister, sometimes by phone, sometimes Skype, sometimes Viber.*

Lastly, in the domain of respondents' communication patterns, this study tried to reveal the frequency of contact that family members have with their member who works abroad. In order to address this question, the respondents were asked to estimate how often they text, talk or make video calls with their family members.

- *Well, sometimes when there is something to talk about, we contact each other every day, three or four days in a row. Otherwise, let's say, at least every other week.*
- *Every day, several times a day.*
- *We usually talk every day and we don't send messages. Sometimes we call each other three times a day.*
- *Well, with my aunt in Russia once a month. I call my aunt like that. She is an old woman. And with my cousins mostly texting. And we talk also like that, once a month.*
- *We call each other every four days.*
- *Once, twice a week, it depends, but mostly once a week. When she (daughter living abroad) has spare time.*
- *Usually on Sunday and Monday, that's when she's off work.*

- *We Skype every day. Nonstop. Several times a day. Because of their little girl too, she's very attached to everything here.*
- *We exchange messages, I don't know, about every two or three days and we speak once a week. It's because I work, I have awkward working hours, I'm at work from four in the afternoon to eleven. Yes, and he goes to bed by eleven in the evening, I think, because he works hard there and we only speak during the weekends because he doesn't work then and I take some time between messages.*

It can be observed that the majority of families talk on everyday or weekly basis. Only in the situation of more distant siblings does communication take place more rarely.

News media

In line with the uses and gratifications theory and most common motives for media usage, in the second part of the analysis, the study aimed to reveal which digital news media were mostly used by the migrants. The interviewees were asked to name the media that their family members use to be informed about domestic current affairs.

- *I think that he relies more on the US media. I know that he used to read... that we spoke about some articles published in the Danas. You know, I would mention something or he would. Those were the columns that he picked by the authors.*
- *I think that he reads the Kurir and Blic.*
- *She used to read the Kurir, but it started to annoy her, so she deleted that application.*
- *They read all of our online papers*
- *He usually reads the Kurir and Blic.*
- *She watches the news on the satellite TV. She is up-to-date with everything that's going on here.*
- *The Blic and the B92, maybe, online, but I'm not sure about B92. But the Blic definitely.*
- *I think he reads the newspapers on the Internet, the Blic for example or the Novosti, I'm not sure.*
- *He has a Telegraf app on his TV (it is assumed that the respondent is talking about teletext news on TV), I think, and similar news.*

These answers correspond to the use of digital media in Serbia, given that the Blic and Kurir have been constantly at the top of the list of the most used online news platforms in the country. Moreover, the Novosti and B92 were also ranked in the top ten online media by the number of users [11]. Besides the preferred platform, it is important also to establish which kind of information users looked for. Hence, the respondents were asked to cite which information their family members are mostly interested in:

- *They follow news on the situation in the country. They are interested in it very much.*
- *Yes, everything interests her. She likes to be up-to-date with everything that's going on here. She even calls me to tell me about the latest events here.*
- *Interviewer: OK. Tell me what interests them from here, from Serbia? For example, your sister in Canada, does she read any news from Serbia or is she only interested in the family when she talks to you?*
- *Respondent: Everything, everything.*
- *Interviewer: So she is interested in what is happening in our society.*
- *Respondent: Yes. Because they wanted to come back. So they were interested in the situation in the country...*
- *They also read our newspapers. They follow what's going on here. They are interested in everything that is happening. The situation in the country in general. I guess they are interested in what is happening and what the conditions are. To know how far they should run. But not sports. And certainly not entertainment.*
- *He's more up-to-date with what's happening here than I am. He is interested in everything, everything! Sports more or less, but the economy, politics and things that happen in society here.*
- *I know that whenever he calls me he says like, hey, I saw it, it's not that terrible outside, it's not cold, the temperature is such and such, I now read, in Belgrade it is that much. He's interested in politics, news, stuff like that.*

Majority of migrants express interest in everyday political and economic situation in the country. However, not surprisingly, there are also migrants who are interested only in some specific topics or not interested in their home country at all:

- *He usually reads articles about crime and accidents. Anyway, I mean, newspapers mostly deal with these subjects.*
- *He knows what's going on here in general, but politics and economy don't interest him much. He likes sports.*
- *It's more that if he likes the author, he follows his work, and if that writer has a column in some magazine, he reads it and then makes his own conclusions and forms opinion about the situation here. Well, he's been quite upset for a while. I mean, I usually meet him at large family gatherings.*
- *She usually asks about our son and me, and about her father and his health, you know, family stuff. Sometimes I tell her some news from the town, but she doesn't care much about that. And she doesn't care and doesn't know much about political events in Serbia. I don't think she knows the name of our Prime Minister.*

There are also a couple of answers when participants did not know whether their family member followed any domestic news, given that these topics had not ever been mentioned in their conversations.

Conclusions

In the domain of communication applications, the respondents' answers indicate that they use either Skype or Viber, while Whatsapp was not mentioned by any of them. According to the same study by Schwartz [34], in the USA or Canada, where some of the respondents have family members, the most popular communication tool is Facebook Messenger. Nevertheless, majority of respondents do not use Facebook Messenger because of new applications that are available for the same purpose (as previously stated: Viber and Skype). The other reason could be that Messenger primarily offers texting services, while almost all respondents stressed that they usually talk to their family member who lives abroad. Only two respondents mentioned the use of camera; therefore, technical requirements may also be limiting factors for the type of use of an application.

Participants living in rural area particularly emphasized that the quality of the Internet signal restricts

or negatively influences the possibility and quality of their communication. In these cases, like elders, participants generally opt for the calls using landline telephones. It is interesting to notice that some of them cited the low cost as the reason to use landline telephones, even though the use of digital communication tools is usually regarded to be free of charge. However, prerequisites for Internet communication are often overlooked, such as the possession of technology equipment (computer or cell phone) and paying the Internet subscription.

Most of migrants talk to their family members at home every day or several times a week. Limiting factors are mostly recognized in working hours (either of the member at home or abroad) or in other aspects specific for the respondent (e.g. age) or situation (e.g. time difference). The availability or the nature of communication tools do not appear to be the restriction, but rather the facilitator of their effective communication. Therefore, in future, stronger presence of digital media can be expected with regard to their usage for communication reasons.

Migrants mostly use the same media to obtain information as their family members in the home country (such as: Blic, Kurir, Novosti and B92, with a predominance of the two first-listed). These findings can indicate that family members in the home country influence the choice of and opinions on media of the members living abroad. However, this assumption needs to be tested in some of the future studies. It is interesting also to notice that it seems that females tend to use a larger number of news media than males. Similarly, this observation needs to be proved by a quantitative research. Finally, the conversation with the respondents showed that their family members do not use social media (e.g. Facebook or Twitter) to a great extent for the purpose of acquiring information, yet they principally rely on the traditional news media.

It can be discerned that many migrants are primarily interested in political and social questions. According to their family members, they exhibit very high concern for the situation in the country, presumably in order to assess whether conditions have changed (compared to the time when they left to work abroad) or because they feel homesick (even though this answer was not directly cited by any of the interviewees, it can be considered as

a valid premise due to the context and wording of their statements).

Finally, some limitations to this study need to be observed. Firstly, this study is qualitative by its nature and, therefore, the determined results cannot be applied to whole population. However, provided that this is one of the first studies in Serbia exploring the given subject matter, it justifies its explanatory approach. Building on its findings, further studies should be conducted on a larger sample and a quantitative methodology should be adopted. Secondly, the sample comprised only family members living in Serbia, who provided answers on the media usage of their members living abroad. While the answers collected in this manner regarding the usage of communication media can be considered to be comprehensive, the responses on the use of news media might be sometimes less precise. Further research could benefit from the incorporation of both groups in the sample – family members living in Serbia and the ones who work abroad.

In view of recent social and technological trends, which include both soaring of the number of migrants and great advance in the use of digital media, the investigated topic will become more relevant in the near future and should arouse more interest both among the local scholars and media practitioners.

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