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# Media Cultures of Young Turkish Migrants and German Resettlers in Germany

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**Abstract:** This article contributes to the understanding of young people's media cultures by addressing the question whether and to what extent young people with different cultural backgrounds differ in their exposure to and usage of traditional mass media and new digital media as well as in their engagement in various online activities. It presents empirical data of a German survey about the social environment, media use and Internet behaviour among 605 German resettlers and people with a Turkish migration background aged between 12 and 29 years living in North Rhine-Westphalia and compares the results of the 12- to 19-year old youth with data of the same age group within the German general population. To further assess how cultural and social factors might explain the variation within the youth and young adults with migration background, similarities and differences in their media use patterns are traced with respect to their cultural contexts as well as the factors education, age and gender. The findings are discussed in the context of societal integration of young people with migration background, the homogeneity of mediatised youth cultures and the thesis of the digital divide.

**Keywords:** Media culture, media use, online activities, social integration, digital media, migration, youth, representative survey, Turkish, resettlers

### Introduction

In modern societies, everyday life is increasingly saturated by processes of media communication. Concepts like media society, mediatization and media cultures highlight the ever increasing relevance of media for communication and societal integration in general (Krotz 2010: 93, Hepp 2009). Media cultures, understood "[...] as any culture whose primary resources of meaning are mediated or provided by technologies of media communication" (Couldry/Hepp 2012: 253), are characterized with high importance of old and new, individual and mass media. Young people's lives in particular are increasingly mediated by individual and mass media. How they approach traditional and new digital media in particular, how they utilize and integrate them in their everyday life as resources for

communication, information and entertainment and also for identification, identity-building and meaning production reveals aspects of their media cultures. The appropriation of digital media such as Internet therefore goes beyond mere media use, but it indicates social and cultural practices structured by and dependent on the media environment available and the particular societal and cultural context. The comparative perspective on media uses and practices in different cultural settings thus offers important insights in similarities and differences in the role of the media in varying contexts.

The comparative approach on the role of mass media in the context of migration and integration gained considerable importance, on the one hand, since migration flows and transnational mobility increase. In Germany, for example, almost every fifth inhabitant has a migration background.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, satellite television, and especially new digital technologies such as Internet or mobile phones, attract attention due to their new communication and integration potentials as well as fears regarding an uneven spread of these potentials – captured in the concepts of the first- and second-level "digital divide" (Kubicek/Welling 2000, Korupp/Szydlik 2005, van Dijk 2005, Zillien 2006).

Although there exists a research tradition regarding media use of migrants in Germany since the 1980s, representative data that might be used to shed light on the media use and competences of *young* migrants with respect to traditional mass media and new digital media in Germany is rare. Stepping into this gap, we focus on younger people with a migration background and a representative and differentiated compilation of their exposure to traditional mass media and new digital media. We ask whether young people with different cultural backgrounds and with or without migration experience actually differ in their media cultures and, if so, to what extent. In the first step, we look at the exposure to and the use of traditional mass media and new digital media by young people with Turkish migration background or a status as ethnic German resettler. German resettlers<sup>3</sup>, who mostly immigrate to Germany from the succession countries of the former Soviet Union and come with a unique legal status and migration history, as well as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We refer to the concept of 'media cultures' in order to highlight that we understand practices of mass media use and especially digital uses and practices such as the online activities analyzed in this paper in a broader context of meaning production. While focusing on use patterns and practises we acknowledge, however, the complexity and broader understanding of the concept in media and communication studies (Thomas/Krotz 2008, Krotz 2010, Hepp 2009, Couldry/Hepp 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Of roughly 82 million residents in Germany in the year 2010, 15.7 million persons have a migration background. Following the definition of the German Federal Office of Statistics, the population group with a migration background consists of all people who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all those born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011: 6). We use the term 'migrants' interchangeably to the correct formulation 'people with migration background' for reasons of simplicity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> According to Article 116 (1) of Germany's constitution, German resettlers from the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries as well as their spouses and descendants are considered as ethnic Germans (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2011: 138-147).

people of Turkish ancestry, are the two biggest groups of migrants in Germany. The results of the 12- to 19-year-old youth are then compared to data of the same age group within the general German population. Regarding Internet, we deepen our investigation with a specific focus on selected online activities. In the second step, we concentrate on young people with migrant background and trace similarities and differences in their use of traditional and new media and the selected online activities with regards to their cultural contexts and the following social factors: education, age and gender. To start with, we give a short overview on the research tradition concerning the media use of migrants in Germany and beyond and illustrate the empirical basis, method and design of the study our findings are based on.

### Research on the media use of migrants in Germany and in Europe

The media use of people with migration background and the connection between media use and social integration is gaining increasing political and academic attention. In theorizing the role of mass media in the context of migration and integration, communication scholars draw on different theoretical concepts (for an overview of the models and the research tradition see Trebbe 2009, Bonfadelli et al. 2007). One approach to assess similarities and differences in the media use of certain sub-populations is the *uses and gratifications perspective* (Rubin 2000).

Following this model, the status of social integration (visible by language use or citizenship, for example) can be seen as an independent variable that, next to socio-economic and socio-demographic factors, might explain why certain gratifications are sought. Therefore, the status of social integration can be seen as an explanatory variable for the selection of media and the habits of media use of people with migration background.<sup>4</sup> New digital media such as Internet or mobile phones are often singled out for their potential educational, communicative or participatory advantages. The thesis of a digital divide between those who have access to digital media and those who do not (Kubicek/Welling 2000, Korupp/Szydlik 2005) claims that gaps and inequalities within societies might increase. Even more striking, the thesis of a second-level digital divide assumes that differences in the 'quality' of the use of digital media, i. e. the ability to benefit from them and the skills needed to use digital media in a meaningful way intensify (Hargittai 2002, van Dijk 2005, Zillien 2006). Furthermore, it is argued that people who already have advantages might gain more from the new technology, for example, by "capital-enhancing" uses of Internet that may contribute to improving their life chances while others stay behind (Hargittai/Hinnant 2008). People with migration background are among the groups expected to be disadvantaged with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Within the media effects paradigm, on the other hand, the use of majority host country media as opposed to media from the homeland and in the language of origin is perceived as the explaining variable for the status of social integration. Both models are plausible and empirically valid (Bonfadelli et al. 2007; Trebbe 2009).

regard to the new digital opportunities.

Research on the media use of migrants in Germany has its roots in the early 1980s (Darkow et al. 1985, Eckhardt 2000, Weiß/Trebbe 2001, Hafez 2002). This research was not conducted on a regular basis and focused mainly on people with Turkish ancestry (Trebbe 2009: 60f.). The focus on Turkish migrants is due to their significance in the German society; in 2010, persons of Turkish ancestry accounted, as in the years before, as the biggest group within the population with migration background in Germany. With around 2.5 million people, this accounts for a fraction of 15.8 percent of all persons with a migration history (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011: 8). Immigration from Turkey to West Germany started after Germany signed a recruitment agreement with the Turkish government in 1961 in order to deal with a growing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Labour migration from Turkey decreased with the 1973 ban on recruitment; subsequent immigration to West Germany is mainly due to family reunification (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2005: 17-18; Federal Ministry of the Interior 2011: 13-15; Gräf 2008: 83-84; Geißler 2005: 16-23).

This paper addresses a second significant group of immigrants: the ethnic German resettlers and their families account, taken as a whole, for even 20.7 percent of the total population with a migration background in Germany (3.2 million in 2010). Most of them originate from the succession countries of the former Soviet Union (1.4 million in 2010, Statistisches Bundesamt 2011: 7f.), especially from the Russian Federation and from Kazakhstan. Immigration of German resettlers to Germany started in the early 1950s and increased considerably after 1989 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2005: 18-19, Bundesministerium des Innern 2013: 59-62). Following the Second World War, the ethnic Germans in these areas faced serious discrimination due to their German ethnicity. The democratic changes of the 1980s facilitated their emigration to Germany; and the Resettler Admission Act of 1990 provided a formal procedure for their admission (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2011: 138-142). Before their immigration into Germany, ethnic German resettlers and their spouses and descendants have the legal status of a 'German without citizenship'. If they are accepted as ethnic German resettlers, they gain the German citizenship automatically with their entry to Germany. At the beginning of the 1990s, the majority of the resettlers immigrated with their own status as ethnic Germans. They expressed strong ties to German culture and history through German language skills, their education and traditions. Since the end of the 1990s, considerably more spouses and descendants came to Germany (Bundesministerium des Innern 2008: 49f.), often with less developed German language skills and deeper roots in the Russian culture (Vogelgesang 2008, Strobl 2006). Thus, irrespective of the special status of resettlers vis-à-vis other migrant populations (like those with Turkish ancestry), they are confronted with challenges similarly shared among people with migration

### background.5

With the increasing relevance of migration and societal integration in general, research on the media use of people with migration background in Germany intensified considerably. A couple of representative studies shed light on the media use of migrants in Germany. In this respect, the studies of the WDR6 media research department on the media use of Turkish migrants aged between 14 and 49 are particularly astonishing (Simon/Kloppenburg 2007, Walter/ Schlinker/ Fischer 2007, Windgasse 2007, Trebbe/Weiß 2006, 2007; Trebbe 2009); there are also studies of public service broadcasters ARD and ZDF7 (ARD/ZDF 2007, 2011; Simon 2007, Simon/Neuwöhner 2011, Müller/Beisch 2011) which include four additional population groups with migration background besides Turkish migrants and German resettlers from 14 years on.8 A further representative study which focuses on the media use of German resettlers from 18 years on living in Lower Saxony was conducted in 1999 (Pfetsch/Weiß 2000, Pfetsch/Trebbe 2003, Ivanova 2009). The research perspective of these studies centers predominantly on access to and use of classical mass media like newspapers, journals, radio and especially TV. With regard to the new digital media, respectively, only the Internet is accounted for and often only with a focus on duration and frequency of use. Online skills or differentiated use patterns in terms of digital competencies are catched seldom in this research. Furthermore, young people with migration background are not the focus.

The use of the Internet by migrants moved into the focus of recent research. The special analysis of the (N)Onliner Atlas 2008, for example, addresses basic values of the use or non-use respectively of the Internet by six population groups with migration background, including people from the area of the former Soviet Union (Initiative D21 e.V. 2008). Moreover, the research of Kissau (2008) and Kissau/Hunger (2009), exploring the integration and participation potentials of the Internet for Post-soviet and Jewish migrants, as well as a research project of Weber-Menges considering German resettlers (see Geißler/Weber-Menges 2009), offer new findings for Internet usage of migrants. Yet, these studies similarly do not focus on *young people* with migration background in Germany.

Research carried out throughout Europe offers valuable insights in the media access and media use patterns of young people with migration background

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 $<sup>^5</sup>$  More details on the migration history of ethnic German resettlers are provided in Heft et al. 2010 and Federal Ministry of the Interior 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR), a German public-service broadcasting station based in North Rhine-Westphalia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ARD), consortium of German public-service broadcasting institutions. Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), public-service German television broadcaster based in Mainz (Rhineland-Palatinate).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The ARD/ZDF study includes persons with Turkish, Polish, Yugoslavian, Italian and Greek migration background as well as resettlers. A comparative problem, however, is different definitions of the sample groups: the study of 2007 researched resettlers, the study in 2011 used the definition "people from the former Soviet Union" for the sampling (ARD/ZDF 2007, 2011).

compared to the majority of youth in a country. *Media access* is a necessary precondition for media use. Various studies consistently reveal differences in the media access between youth with migration background and native youth: research on the media access by 12- to 16-year-old ethnic minority youth in Switzerland compared to adolescents with Swiss background shows that the access at home to print media, satellite television, and new media is more dependent on the migration background than on social background (Bonfadelli et al. 2007: 160f., Bucher/Bonfadelli 2006). Swiss families are better equipped with print media, computers, and Internet in the living room. The adolescents' own access to new media in their bedroom, on the other hand, is higher among the youth with migration background (Bucher/Bonfadelli 2006: 329).

These findings on Internet access in the household confirm earlier results of a study on the media ownership among Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and indigenous Dutch youth aged between 12 and 19 in the Netherlands (d'Haenens et al. 2002). The results of this study indicate that the respondents from the ethnic minority families scored lower on Internet access in the household than the indigenous Dutch families. A further Belgian survey compared the ownership of digital technologies among ethnic minority youth (Turkish, Moroccan and other non-natives) and native Belgian youth in Brussels. Again, youth of Turkish and Moroccan origin turned out to have more computers in their bedrooms while the native Belgian youth has more Internet access in the families. Yet, in this latest study, the socio-economic status proved to be the most powerful social variable in the logistic regression analysis, while the effect of ethnicity on the Internet and computer possession disappeared. Irrespective of the migration background, gender and education proved to be important predictors for the personal computer and Internet ownership of the youth. For example, the youth aiming for professional education<sup>9</sup> were more likely to have computer and Internet access in their own bedroom than the youth studying in the general education system; additionally, girls have less access to computers and the Internet in their bedrooms than boys (Mertens/d'Haenens 2010: 195-199).

Looking more closely at the *media use patterns*, the Dutch study on the use of old and new media among Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and indigenous Dutch youth (d'Haenens et al. 2002) shows differences between the groups, for example, with regard to the importance of radio listening. The ethnic minorities listened less regularly to the radio than the indigenous Dutch youth. Television, on the other hand, dominated the media use patterns of all respondents similarly. The indigenous Dutch youth made the most use of computers at home. Further differences could be shown concerning the media use in the language of origin. The authors conclude that the ethno-cultural position<sup>10</sup> of the youth with migration

<sup>9</sup> In the Belgian educational system, professional education prepares students for direct entry into the labour market. This type of education generally leads to less lucrative employments. General education prepares students for further studies (Mertens/d' Haenens 2010: 189, 193).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The ethno-cultural position is a theoretical construct composed of two theoretical dimensions. The dimension of position acquisition determines the extent to which somebody regards oneself as

background does influence their use of different media. However, the standard socio-demographic variables are highlighted as the most influential ones (d'Haenens et al. 2002: 391). With respect to new media, differences in the use patterns between the three ethnic groups analysed were attributed to differences in the home and school situation like computer access in the home (d'Haenens et al. 2002).

Regarding traditional mass media, the Swiss study also shows that Swiss adolescents stand out by listening to the radio more often than adolescents with migrant background. The latter, on the other hand, spend more hours watching TV (Bonfadelli et al. 2007: 161). The patterns of television use for entertainment purposes are very similar among the pupils studied. Yet, the groups differ more in the channels and formats used for informational purposes (Bucher/Bonfadelli 2006). Regarding Internet use, the authors find a bigger gap between users and non-users among the youth with migration background. But when only the users are considered, the authors do not find significant differences in the use patterns of computers and Internet of Swiss adolescents as compared to others with migration background. The authors state that in this respect education explains the biggest part of variance (Bonfadelli et al. 2007: 162). Overall, the study comes to the conclusion that "[y]oung people with Swiss as well as migrant backgrounds share many age-typical media and cultural preferences" (ibid.: 165). Still, differences and hints for exclusion are found, for example, with respect to the language specific media use.

A recent study on Belgian ethnic minority youth and native Belgian youth, in contrast, claims that after looking at the overall computer and Internet use, the migration background is the most important variable in explaining differences between youth from the ethnic majority and ethnic minority youth. Especially Turks and Moroccans turned out to use computer and the Internet significantly less than the native Belgian youth (Mertens/d'Haenens 2010: 199f.). With respect to particular Internet applications, the study shows that the youth with immigrant background used Internet less to search for information about homework, but they also reported less time spent playing games online. Surprisingly, the ethnic minority youth showed more usage of the web for employment information and news about politics. Even so, in the regression analysis, this effect of the ethnicity variable on the more information oriented usage pattern disappeared. While gender did not affect the overall use of computers and Internet, boys and girls differed, for example, in their use of Internet games and in their surfing about politics. In contrary to the expectations, the authors did not find ethnic minority girls to be disadvantaged in their Internet use patterns (Mertens/d'Haenens 2010: 200-203). Language ability again appeared to be a decisive factor for Internet access and use (Mertens/d'Haenens 2010: 205).

member of a specific group and/or behavior. The dimension of position allocation catches the extent to which a person is regarded or treated as representative of a specific group. See d'Haenens et al. (2002: 369) for the exact definition and measurement.

The European research hereby reveals both differences and similarities in the media use patterns and practices of young people with and without migration background and offers insights in the social and cultural context variables which explain differences within and between groups. In Germany, however, no research has been done that provides representative and differentiated information on the use patterns of traditional and especially new digital media of young migrants and offers at the same time a comparison to young people without migration background so far. This paper aims at reducing this gap. The research project presented analyzes the broad media environment and the media use patterns of young migrants in Germany in a profound way and takes a comparative perspective by contrasting its results with data on non-migrant youth. The first research question to be answered in this paper is therefore whether and to what extent young people from different cultural backgrounds, as well as with or without migration background, differ in their media use patterns of traditional mass media and new digital media and in their engagement in selected online practises. The second research question takes the cultural and social context of the young migrants into account and asks how differences in their media cultures can be explained by their formal education, age and gender.

The comparative design of the study reflects three main considerations: the two migrant groups chosen constitute the quantitatively most significant groups of people with migration background in Germany. While people with Turkish ancestry and ethnic German resettlers in general share a migration background, their migration histories and experiences as well as other social context variables, such as their legal status or the closeness to German culture as expressed by their language use, reveal considerably differences. Finally, the research overview indicates differences not only between young people with and without migration background but also hints at peculiarities between different groups of migrants. Moreover, the study takes advantage of a twofold intergroup comparison; however, with the second research question's focus on education, age and gender as independent variables, it should become clear that the study pursues an open and differentiated approach without understanding either the two groups with migration background or the youth of the German general population as homogeneous groups. Instead, it considers both intergroup and intragroup differentiations as promising approaches to address the diversity of young people's individual backgrounds and their media cultures.

# **Method and Sample**

This paper presents empirical data on the social environment, media use and Internet behaviour of 605 German resettlers and people with a Turkish migration background aged between 12 and 29 years living in North Rhine-Westphalia. As has been shown, these two groups constitute the quantitatively biggest share of migrants living in Germany. The data was gathered in a broad, multi-method

design combining qualitative and quantitative methods focussing especially on media competence and social integration of young migrants (Trebbe et al. 2010).<sup>11</sup> Within the quantitative part of the research, two representative standardized telephone surveys, each with about 300 respondents, were conducted between October and November 2008. The population of these telephone surveys were (1) people with Turkish migration background and (2) people with a status of a German resettler aged between 12 and 29 years in private households with telephone entry (landline/mobile) in North Rhine-Westphalia.<sup>12</sup> The sampling procedure consisted of two steps: the first was a regional step (households with telephone) according to the "Onomastic process"<sup>13</sup> (Humpert/Schneiderheinze 2000); the second level (target persons) was according to the Last-Birthdaymethod. The sample was weighted according to age and gender on the basis of data of the microcensus of 2007 for North Rhine-Westphalia.

The CATI-interviews were conducted exclusively by bi-lingual interviewers and on the basis of bi-lingual questionnaires. However, the language used for both inquiries was German in 80 percent of cases. Our analysis presented here is based on questions regarding a) the access to and the use of classical and newer digital media, b) different online activities as evidence of the users' online skills and c) indicators of social integration and the social background of the respondents. The study took a comparative perspective, not only with regards to our two surveyed populations with Turkish and resettler background, but also in relation to relevant representative studies within the German total population. This means for the group of 12- to 19-year-olds the results are compared to results representative for the German total population within this age bracket. In applied German media research since the 1990s a representative survey is conducted every year by the Media Education Research Association Southwest (mpfs), concerned with questions about the use of new digital media such as the Internet, computers, mobile phones and digital games by young people. The so-called JIM study<sup>14</sup> deals in detail with the use and assessment of new digital media in the age bracket of 12to 19-year-old people in Germany (recently: mpfs 2011). Part of the questions used by the JIM study was adopted by the LfM study reported here. The data generated for the 12- to 19-year-old young people with migration background is compared, as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The study was conducted by the GöfaK Medienforschung GmbH, Potsdam, and financed by the Media Authority in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia (LfM). In the following, we refer to our study with the abbreviation 'LfM study'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The surveys were conducted by ENIGMA GfK Medien- und Marketingforschung GmbH, Wiesbaden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The "Onomastic Process" is a method of linguistic analysis based on a specific combination of first names and family names. With this method it is estimated whether and, if so, which probable migration background a person with a specific combination of first name and family name might have (Humpert/Schneiderheinze 2000). The method is widely used within German research on migrants for the *first* sampling step in CATI surveys. At the beginning of the interviews, the respondents were asked whether and how many people with a) a Turkish migration background or b) a background as German resettler live in the household. In only 12 percent of the sampled households for the population of the German resettler no person with this migration background was found. Within the Turkish sample only 9 percent of households did not fulfill the criteria of the Turkish migration background.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> JIM is the German abbreviation for 'Youth, Information, (Multi-)Media'.

far as possible and reasonable, with the data of the JIM study 2008 (mpfs 2008), which investigated the whole age group of 12- to 19-year-olds living in Germany. This comparison involves some constraints: the comparative perspective is only possible for the 12- to 19-year-olds. While the JIM study is representative for the whole German population our study has a regional focus. The JIM study does not exclude people with migration background systematically from their sample<sup>15</sup>. Finally, a specific comparative problem within this research results from the different definitions, measures and declarations of 'media use'. To be comparable with the more recent representative studies on the media use of migrants, the category of the 'regular user' was applied in our study. Regular users are people who use a specific medium or practise a specific online activity at a minimum of four days per week. The JIM study distinguishes between 'daily', 'several times a week', 'once a week' and so on. In publications, 'daily' and 'several times a week' are merged. In this regard, the comparison of the results of both studies might be problematic. The category of the JIM study is certainly broader than that of the LfM study. Consequently, the results of these comparative tables on similarities and differences between people with a migration background and the total population have to be interpreted with caution. However, in our view, the benefit of being able to assess similarities and differences between the three groups balances the methodological constraints.

# Media cultures of minority and majority youth and young adults in Germany

# Socio-demographics and social integration/ethnic identity

As mentioned in the literature review, it can be argued that the social context plays a role in questions of media use and media literacy. To begin, some key results regarding the social environment of the respondents will be discussed. Table 1 shows the *formal secondary school education* of the respondents of the LfM study and the respondents of the JIM study 2008. It reveals one important difference between the total population of the 12- to 19-year-olds (JIM) and the respondents with a migration background: whereas 40 percent of the respondents in the JIM study aim for a higher secondary school qualification, only about one-fifth of the Turkish immigrants resp. the German resettlers in the younger age group (12 to 19 years) do. This means the percentage of school students aiming for the lowest formal school education is substantially bigger in both younger subgroups of the LfM study than in the JIM study. This finding accords with earlier observations

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> As the JIM study addresses the whole group of 12- to 19-year-olds in Germany, we will refer to it as the 'total population' most of the time. However, as the JIM questionnaire is in German language only, it can be hypothesised that young respondents with a migration background are underrepresented in the sample (some descriptive statistics of the JIM sample support this assumption, e.g. the question regarding the place of birth of the respondents) (Trebbe et al. 2010:175-176). Hence, the JIM sample can, with some constraints, be regarded as an approximation of the population without a migration background, as well.

which indicated that children with a migration background in Germany are disadvantaged regarding their formal school education (Geißler/Weber-Menges 2008).

Comparing the two migrant groups, only few differences can be identified regarding the formal education of the 12- to 19-year-olds. On the other hand, the percentage of Turkish migrants with the highest formal school education in the group of the 20- to 29-year-olds is remarkably higher (46 percent) than the correspondent percentage in the group of the German resettlers (32 percent). This result is surprising, as several official statistics indicate a substantially lower degree of formal education in the total population of persons with a Turkish migration background in Germany. In other words, the data discussed in this paper might surestimate the level of formal education in the group of the Turkish migrants (a detailed discussion of the representativeness of the LfM study regarding formal education of Turkish migrants is provided in Paasch-Colberg/Trebbe 2010: 374-375).

Table 1: Formal secondary school education in percent

Formal education	Turkish r	nigration b	ackground	Ger	man reset	Total population (JIM 2008)	
	12-19 years	20-29 years	Total	12-19 years	20-29 years	Total	12-19 years
	n <sub>w</sub> =156	$n_w = 146$	$n_w = 302$	n <sub>w</sub> =132	$n_w = 171$	$n_w = 303$	n <sub>w</sub> =1.208
School student, aiming for	88	6	49	84	8	41	88
lowest formal qualification intermediate	26	1	14	21	1	10	10
secondary qualification	27	2	15	28	1	13	23
higher qualification, entitling for university studies	20	1	11	22	3	11	40
other	15	2	9	13	3	7	4
No more school student, with	12	94	51	16	93	59	12
no formal school qualification	1	6	4	1	3	2	
lowest formal qualification	2	25	13	5	25	16	
intermediate secondary qualification	3	17	10	10	33	23	
higher qualification, entitling for university studies	6	46	25	1	32	18	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The weighted sample of the Turkish respondents is balanced regarding the groups of 12- to 19-year-olds and 20- to 29-year-olds (52% versus 48%). The share of young respondents in the sample of German resettlers, on the other hand, is smaller (44%) in comparison to the 20- to 29-year-olds (56%). Both samples are well balanced regarding gender.

As already implied in the previous chapter, the two migrant groups under study differ significantly with regard to their *migration history and legal status*. Whereas the majority of the Turkish respondents are born in Germany (82 percent) and therefore have no migration experience, the interviewed German resettlers mostly migrated to Germany themselves (88 percent). If age is taken into consideration it becomes evident, though, that the percentage of respondents with own migration experience is substantially higher for the 20- to 29-year-old Turkish respondents than for the 12- to 19-year-olds. In contrast with the older age group, the 12- to 19-year-old German resettlers are more likely to be born in Germany. Our study also revealed the *special legal situation* of the German resettlers that was already mentioned above: while 92 percent of the respondents with a status as German resettler have the German citizenship, only 37 percent of the respondents with a Turkish migration background, who are mainly born in Germany, have a German passport.

Being an indicator for social identity, the respondents were also asked about their language use in different social situations. The data reveals an interesting difference regarding the language use in the family context between the two migrant groups under study: the percentage of respondents that speak only or mostly German in their family is higher in the group of the German resettlers, even though they belong mainly to the first generation. This seems to be an expression of the German tradition in the resettlers' families. Regarding the use of Turkish resp. Russian language, the same effect of age can be observed in the two migrant groups: the share of respondents that communicate only or mostly in their first language at home is in each case lower in the younger than in the older age group. Comparing the language use in leisure time, it becomes evident how important it is to respect the context of language use; moreover, in both migrant groups the use of German language is higher than in the family context, whereas the percentage of respondents that uses first language exclusively is low in both groups (11 resp. 15 percent). Again, in both migrant groups the use of German language is higher in the younger age group than in the older age group.

### Individual and Mass Media Use

The first research question addressed in this paper is whether and to what extent the media use of migrant populations differs from the media use in the total population of children and young adults. For that purpose the data of the 12- to 19-year-old migrant respondents is compared with the JIM data. Table 2 indicates the percentage of regular users of the classical mass media television, newspaper, and

radio as well as newer digital or functional media (Internet, computer, mobile phone and game consoles).

From the data in table 2, it is apparent that there are some distinct differences between the groups as well as some interesting similarities. Evidently, television is the mass medium frequently used by a large percentage in all three groups. The same holds true for the use of mobile phones. Game consoles are used less frequently in all groups, with the highest share of regular use for the respondents of the JIM study. These results can be interpreted as hints toward age-typical media preferences.

However, the two migrant groups under study seem to differ from the total population in some important ways: in contrast to the respondents without a migration history (JIM study), the regular use of newspaper and radio is remarkably lower in the two groups of respondents with a migration background. Thus, these findings are consistent with those of d'Haenens et al. 2002 and Bonfadelli et al. 2007 who found differences between minority and majority youth regarding their radio use patterns but a similar television use pattern in the two groups (see chapter 2). Regarding the use of the new media, the Internet and computer, the percentage of regular use is high in all three groups. But again the share of regular use is lower in the two migrant groups in comparison to the total population, even though this difference is not as striking as the difference in newspaper and radio use. This result accords with the study of Mertens/d'Haenens (2010) (see chapter 2). The fact that differences emerge between the minority groups and the total population in particular, in regards to the use of newspaper and radio, may indicate the impact of the family context for the media use of young people.

Table 2: Media Use of 12- to 19-Year	Olds, multiple answers, in percer	at
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Media	Turkish migration	German resettlers <sup>1</sup>	Total population
	background¹		(JIM 2008) <sup>2</sup>
	12-19 years	12-19 years	12-19 years
	$n_{\rm w} = 156$	$n_{w}=132$	$n_{\rm w}$ =1.208
Television	92	86	89
Radio	16	34	72
Newspaper	18	12	43
Internet	69	73	84
Computer	60	71	89
Mobile Phone	79	75	84
Game consoles	21	16	26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reported percentages refer to respondents who use the respective media at least 4 days per week.

Turning now to the question whether differences in the media cultures of the two migrant groups can be observed, table 2 reveals some interesting but rather little differences. First, the percentage of regular radio use is nearly twice as high for the German resettlers than for the Turkish migrants (34 resp. 16 percent). Regular newspaper use, in contrast, is reported by a higher percentage of the Turkish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reported percentages refer to respondents who use the respective media daily or several times per week.

respondents. Regarding the regular use of the computer though, the respondents with a Turkish migration background fall behind the total population stronger than the respondents with a status as German resettler.

Furthermore, this paper aims to analyse the media use of the migrant respondents with regards to their social environments and approaches the research question how different media cultures can be explained. Tables 3 and 4 examine the extent to which age, education and gender have an influence on the regular media use of the two migrant groups. All respondents of the LfM study are included in this analysis.

Among the respondents with Turkish migration background, an impact of education levels on the use of newspapers and radio can be observed (Table 3): in the subgroup of respondents with the highest secondary school education the percentage of regular newspaper and radio users is substantially higher than in the subgroups with lowest or intermediate education (the values of the highest education group are about 20 percentage points higher than the values of the group with the lowest formal education). Surprisingly, the data in table 4 does not indicate such an impact of education levels for the group of the German resettlers. Rather, the share for the use of newspapers is highest in the group with the lowest formal education. Regarding the use of radio, only a very slight impact of education is observable for the German resettlers (Table 4).

Table 3: Media use and socio-demographics of Turkish migrants, multiple answers, in percent

Media	Turkish migration background									
	Age		Fo	Formal education <sup>1</sup>			Sex			
	12-19	20-29	lowest	inter- mediate	higher	male	female			
	n <sub>w</sub> =156	$n_w = 146$	n <sub>w</sub> =80	n <sub>w</sub> =101	n <sub>w</sub> =110	n <sub>w</sub> =157	$n_{w} = 145$	n <sub>w</sub> =302		
Television	92	85	94	91	83	83	95	88		
Radio	16	35	17	22	36	23	28	25		
Newspaper	18	39	21	26	39	33	24	28		
Internet	69	66	54	67	81	72	62	67		
Computer	60	62	41	64	76	68	54	61		
Mobile phone	79	84	73	82	91	80	83	81		
Game consoles	30	8	29	20	12	27	10	19		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Missing values: n=11 (People who did not officially graduate or finish school).

For the use of the Internet, the computer and the mobile phone, the data of the LfM study indicates an impact of education levels for both migrant groups under study (Tables 3 and 4): as the formal level of education increases an increase in Internet, computer and mobile phone use becomes apparent in each case. Whereas formal education does not seem to have an impact on television use of the German resettlers (Table 4), data in Table 3 shows that television use decreases when the formal education in the group of Turkish migrants increases.

Table 4: Media use and socio-demographics of German resettlers, multiple answers, in percent

Media	German resettlers									
	Age		Fo	Formal education <sup>1</sup>			Sex			
	12-19	20-29	lowest	inter- mediate	higher	male	female			
	n <sub>w</sub> =132	$n_{w}=171$	n <sub>w</sub> =77	$n_w = 131$	$n_w=89$	n <sub>w</sub> =152	$n_w = 151$	n <sub>w</sub> =303		
Television	86	84	87	84	83	86	84	85		
Radio	34	51	44	42	47	44	44	44		
Newspaper	12	27	27	18	19	24	16	20		
Internet	73	68	58	67	83	72	69	70		
Computer	71	66	56	68	80	69	66	68		
Mobile phone	75	75	67	72	87	74	76	75		
Game consoles	28	9	18	17	17	28	7	17		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Missing values: n=6 (People who did not officially graduate or finish school).

Regarding the question of gender influences, the data shows some interesting impacts of gender on media use for the group of the young people with a Turkish migration background. The values of regular computer and Internet use, as well as newspaper and game consoles use, are considerably higher for the male respondents in that group than for the female respondents (Table 3). In the group of German resettlers, a distinction concerning gender was only evident for the use of game consoles, though (Table 4). Finally, the significance of age for media use is apparent in both migrant groups: the use of radio and newspapers increased with an increase in age for the respondents of both groups. On the other hand, the use of game consoles is considerably higher in the group of 12- to 19-year-olds than in the group of 20- to 29-year-olds. Again, this holds true for both of the migrant groups under study (Table 3 and 4). Taken together, intragroup differences in both migrant populations seem to trace back to education, in particular.

# Online Communication and Information Activities

The Internet can be considered a multifunctional medium allowing for a variety of communicative, informatory, producing and entertaining activities. As a result, from the pure analysis of the frequency of its overall use, we cannot draw conclusions on the quality of the Internet use of the respondents. Recent research shows that differences in "capital-enhancing" online activities, such as searching for political or job-related information, that may increase people's educational gains or improve their financial, social or cultural capital, can be explained by social background characteristics (Hargittai/Hinant 2008).

To shed light on the 'quality' of Internet use in different cultural contexts, the respondents of the LfM study were asked about their activities on the Internet. Table 5 compares the percentage of regular practise of some online information and communication activities for the two groups of minority youth and the total

population (JIM study).

Regarding the information activities, the data in table 5 shows how the percentages of regular use are higher in the total population than in the two migrant groups. Using search machines, searching information for school, one's job or private life, as well as visiting news sites, are activities that the total population seems to practise more often than minority youth. After comparing the two migrant groups, we find their engagement in information activities is similar. This means the intergroup comparisons indicate how "capital-enhancing" online information activities seem to be less important for the media culture in the every day life of young people with a migration background in Germany.

Table 5: Online communication and information activities, multiple answers, in percent

Online activities:	Turkish migration	German resettlers <sup>1</sup>	Total population	
Regular users	background¹		(JIM 2008) <sup>2</sup>	
	12-19 years	12-19 years	12-19 years	
	$n_{\rm w} = 156$	n <sub>w</sub> =132	$n_{\rm w}$ =1208	
Information				
Search machines	60	57	71	
Information: school/job	24	22	38	
Information: private	22	21	38	
News	20	23	32	
Communication				
Messenger	66	61	71	
Internet Communities	39	46	55	
E-Mail	45	33	47	
Chat	35	41	28	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reported percentages refer to respondents who use the respective media at least 4 days per week.

Furthermore, table 5 shows some interesting differences with respect to the use patterns of online communication activities between the total population and the two migrant groups. Online messengers and E-Mail are regular activities in all three groups. However, the percentage of regular use of these two communication tools is lower among the German resettlers than among Turkish migrants and the total population. Both migrant groups, in contrast, stand out by using online chats more frequently than the German youth without migration background. On the other hand, respondents of the total population use the Internet more often to engage in Internet communities than the minority youth. The results can be interpreted as an implication of different (online) communication needs and practices of young people with a migration background. This aspect will be further considered in the conclusion.

Finally, the question is addressed whether differences in the use patterns of Internet activities can be explained by socio-demographic background and if so, to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reported percentages refer to respondents who use the respective media daily or several times per week.

what extent. For this analysis, data of all respondents of the LfM study is included. It is apparent from tables 6 and 7 that formal education, again, has a remarkable impact on information activities in the two migrant groups: percentages of regular practise of all four information activities increase especially with the highest level of formal education, among the group of Turkish migrants as well as the group of German resettlers.

Table 6: Online activities and socio-demographics of Turkish migrants, multiple answers, in percent

Online activities	Turkish migration background							
Regular users	Age		Formal eduction <sup>1</sup>			Sex		Total
	12-19	20-29	lowest	inter- mediate	higher	male	female	
	n <sub>w</sub> =156	$n_w = 146$	n <sub>w</sub> =80	n <sub>w</sub> =101	n <sub>w</sub> =110	n <sub>w</sub> =157	n <sub>w</sub> =145	n <sub>w</sub> =302
Information								
Search ma- chines	60	55	43	55	75	62	52	57
Information: school/job	25	24	14	23	35	24	25	24
Information: private	22	20	19	19	27	24	18	21
News	20	43	22	23	47	37	25	31
Communica- tion								
Messenger	66	49	60	58	60	62	54	58
Internet Com- munities	39	21	25	29	36	62	52	57
E-Mail	45	47	33	40	64	48	43	46
Chat	35	15	29	28	24	25	26	26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Missing values: n=11 (People who did not officially graduate or finish school).

Table 7: Online activities and socio-demographics of German resettlers, multiple answers, in percent

Online activities	German resettlers							
Regular users	Aş	ge	Formal education <sup>1</sup>			Sex		Total
	12-19	20-29	lowest	inter- mediate	higher	male	female	
	n <sub>w</sub> =132	n <sub>w</sub> =171	n <sub>w</sub> =77	n <sub>w</sub> =131	n <sub>w</sub> =89	n <sub>w</sub> =152	n <sub>w</sub> =151	n <sub>w</sub> =303
Information								
Search machines	57	52	49	48	69	55	53	54
Information: school/job	22	18	5	17	37	15	25	20
Information: private	21	21	12	21	29	23	19	21
News	23	21	12	19	36	21	22	22
Communica- tion								
Messenger	61	27	29	47	47	43	41	42
Internet Com- munities	46	24	26	37	39	28	40	34
E-Mail	33	34	25	29	49	30	38	34
Chat	41	16	25	31	24	25	29	27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Missing values: n=6 (People who did not officially graduate or finish school).

Whereas age has no influence on the engagement in information activities among the German resettlers, the use of news sites is substantially higher for the older respondents among the Turkish migrants. Gender is found to influence the use of search machines and news sites among the Turkish group only. These activities are practised more frequently among the male respondents with a Turkish migration background. The search of information for school or job needs, on the other hand, differs between female and male respondents among the German resettlers: the girls and women in this group use the Internet more often to search for information for their education or work.

Regarding the communication activities, formal education is found to have an influence on the engagement in Internet communities and the use of E-Mail in both migrant groups. The proportion of regular users of these activities is in each case higher among the respondents with a higher education compared to those with the lowest formal education. Furthermore, the share of regular users of Internet messengers, Internet communities and chats is considerably higher among the younger respondents (12 to 19 years) in both migrant groups. Finally, tables 6 and 7 show a different gender impact in the two migrant groups. Whereas

male respondents in the Turkish group use messengers and Internet communities more often than the female respondents, girls and women in the group of German resettlers engage in Internet communities more often than the male respondents in this group.

### Conclusion

The first purpose of this paper was to investigate and compare the media cultures of young people with a different cultural background as well as with and without migration experience. We examined the exposure to the traditional mass media television, radio and newspapers as well as to the new digital media Internet, computer, mobile phones and game consoles among young people with a Turkish migration background, a status as ethnic German resettler and the total population of youth in Germany. With regards to the discussion of a second level digital divide we were especially interested in how different youth groups practice a range of online activities.

One important finding to emerge firstly from this study is that the overall frequency of new digital media and television use are similar in all groups of youth studied. Television, mobile phones and game consoles pertain similarly to today's youth, irrespective of the group studied. The same holds true, to a lower extent though, and only taking the pure frequency into account, for the overall use of the Internet. In this regard, the results presented here accord with the conclusion of Bonfadelli et al. (2007) that majority and minority youth have predominantly identical media preferences that are age-typical.

However, besides these similarities, some interesting differences regarding the media use patterns of minority and majority youth emerged from this study. To begin with, the media use of young people with and without a migration background in the family differs especially with respect to the traditional media newspaper and radio: regular newspaper and radio use is substantially lower among the youth with Turkish ancestry and the German resettlers than in the total population. This finding is plausible as it might be argued that the use of these traditional mass media is more influenced by family context than the use of new individual media, such as the Internet and computers.

Taking the notion of a second level digital divide seriously, the study proceeded by comparing how often the youth of the three groups under study practised selected online information and communication activities that might be conducive to strengthening various kinds of capital. The data of the LfM study suggests that the minority youth practise less often "capital-enhancing" online activities like searching school- or job-related information and visiting news sites than the majority youth. Thus, with respect to the literature on the second-level digital divide, this paper indicates that minority youth in Germany is not only

disadvantaged in their educational advancement but also in their Internet competencies.

In contrast, online communication via chat was shown to be an activity that is practised more often by respondents of the migrant groups than by the total population. This finding can be interpreted in respect of the uses and gratification approach. Being a part of their identity-building, communication with family members and friends in the country of the family's origin can be understood as a special need of migrant youth and therefore an independent variable, explaining, among other variables, their media use pattern.<sup>16</sup>

A second aim of this study was to analyze the media use patterns of the young people with Turkish migration background and the German resettlers more profoundly, with respect to their cultural contexts and the social factors education, age and gender. Again, the results of this paper point at both considerable similarities but also interesting differences. Irrespective of their different cultural contexts, Turkish youth and resettlers integrate new media in equal measure in their lives. Regarding the use of Internet and mobile phones as well as the online information activities and some online communication activities, like chat and messengers, no substantial difference between the two groups of migrants emerged. The same holds true for television use. On the other hand, Turkish migrants and German resettlers differ not only in their formal status and social identity but also in some of their media use patterns; regular newspaper use was higher among the Turkish respondents than among the German resettlers, whereas radio and computer use was higher among the German resettlers.

With regard to the social factors this paper has shown that differences in the patterns of media use and engagement in Internet activities among the minority youth can be explained by education in particular. The higher the education level, the higher the overall frequency of computer and Internet use and the more often "capital-enhancing" online activities are practised. Age has been proven to influence the media use patterns of both minority groups while the effect of gender appeared to be higher among the young people with a Turkish migration background.

Brought together, the findings of this paper make several noteworthy contributions to the understanding of media cultures among majority and minority youth in Germany. The results support the relevance of the cultural background and the migration history for the media use patterns, but they also highlight the importance of social factors, first of all the influence of education. Given that the migrant respondents in this study are disadvantaged in their education, a further investigation should assess whether education and other social factors (such as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> This interpretation of the data is supported by the fact that 25 percent of the 12- to 19-year-old youth with Turkish ancestry and 17 percent of the German resettlers use Internet regularly in Turkish/ Russian language (Trebbe et al. 2010: 90). The results of the qualitative group discussions conducted within the framework of the LfM study add further evidence.

family income or class) or the cultural background explain more variance in the media use of migrants. Furthermore, the results call for more differentiation in media use research. An important issue in this regard is the role of language skills for media use and the language of media use. As mentioned in the literature review, language skills can have a significant influence on media use. The LfM study provides detailed information on the media use in German, Turkish and Russian language; even so, it was not possible to address this aspect within the limits of this paper. Additionally, our understanding of the media use, the social context and the social integration of children, youth and young adults with migration history could gain further advancement if further research on media use and media literacy include questions regarding a possible migration background and take influences of a migration history and specific cultures into account.

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