



New media use among youth in migration:

A survey-based account

Short version of the technical research report

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Introduction

This text summarizes the findings of a survey that was conducted within the framework of the Wired Up project. A supplementary research report, serving as the appendix of this white paper and available at <http://www.uu.nl/wiredup>, provides a more extensive and detailed picture of our analyses and findings.

In this introductory section, we will briefly discuss:

- the general aims and scope of the Wired Up project,
- the characteristics of the survey that was conducted within the Wired Up research framework,
- the sample and sampling procedure of this survey, and,
- the research questions that guided our analyses.

Wired Up

Wired Up is a multi-method and multi-disciplinary research program that focuses on how young people in the Netherlands and the US with a migrant background use new media and specifically internet venues. Migrancy, central to this program, embeds many of the local and global paradoxes that also pertain to digital media with their compression of space and time. However, the link between the two fields is still under-theorised and is in need of more situated and comparative research. Bridging approaches from the humanities and social science, the primary aim of the project is to develop new conceptual tools and an innovative methodological approach that will allow us to monitor, evaluate and assess the socio-cultural specificities of the interaction between youth and digital media in a comparative perspective (migrants versus native Dutch, Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands versus Mexican migrants in the USA, females versus males, et cetera).

Our research focuses on a) identity construction and global representations, b) development of new learning strategies and socialization patterns, c) new forms of digital literacy

and youth networks, and d) differences and similarities of these dynamics in a cross-national comparison. Our multi-method approach will enable to gain insights into the dynamics between these global digital spaces and traditional contexts of socialization. Moreover, it will locate the study of the effects of digital media in relation to socio-cultural configurations mediated by nationality, gender and ethnicity, which will be a significant contribution to the debate on digital media.

The project consists of 3 separate but reciprocal empirical research phases that are primarily conducted in the Netherlands in 2010 and 2011. The first research phase is based on a survey aimed at collecting data that can be used to identify and explain trends in the use of (mainly internet-based) media among young people with a migrant background (often called 'migrants' here, including youth born in the Netherlands but with parents born elsewhere), also in comparison with media use among young people with a native background (often called 'natives' here). We have also surveyed the media use of youth with a migrant background in the US, but this summary is based only on the results of the data about the Dutch context. The survey-based results are further scrutinized and complemented with two qualitative research rounds consisting of, amongst others, in-depth interviews and ethnographic research. These later rounds are based on data collected in the Netherlands.

This paper provides an overview of some of the results of the first, survey-based research phase. The theoretical implications of these and other analyses of the survey, also in combination with the findings from the two subsequent research phases, will be addressed more extensively in other publications that will appear in and after 2012.

Our approach in designing the survey and research questions

In designing the survey we had both in mind to make the connection with earlier survey-based research on media use of youth so that our research could build upon and extend earlier findings *and* to design alternative ways to survey media use of youth. Our challenge was to do this from the multi-disciplinary conceptual perspective of the Wired Up program, while also working in line with methodological traditions of survey-based research. As earlier and more traditional survey-based research primarily focused on patterns of media use (what applications are used and how often), we extended this approach in the following ways:

- **Media use of migrant youth as related to non-migrant youth**

We have designed the survey such that it could capture some of what we assumed could show particular characteristics of the media use of migrant youth as related to that of non-migrant youth. In doing so, we paid attention to, for instance, particular patterns of access among young people, their supervision at home, the kind of online communities they establish in terms of with whom they connect up online, but also the nature of the resources they use for online profiling or digital learning (e.g., whether these were borrowed from or associated with migrant related categories or not).

- **Internet use as practices of learning and identity**

Instead of searching out how youth are consumers of particular media applications, our goal was to gain insight into the wide variety of ways in which the internet is used by youth to continue their offline life, including socializing, seeking out and profiling their identities, finding information, building online networks, and learning from others, among other things. The survey was in particular designed to address issues around *online learning* and *online identity profiling*. For instance, while tuning in to popular functions of the internet for youth, we designed questions that ask young people to reflect on what and how often they do certain activities online that can be considered relevant for their learning, such as exchanging links and texts with each other, and giving each other feedback on their online

productions. Or, to give an example on identification, questions were designed that ask young people what resources and categories they prefer to use to profile their identities online.

- **How online practices relate to offline practices**

As one of the goals of the Wired Up project is to study online activities as related to offline ones, the survey takes into consideration how young people's internet use is related to similar activities or functions in the offline world. For instance, the survey asks respondents if their online contacts are also contacted offline, and it asks them to evaluate how they look up information online as compared to asking for or looking up information offline (e.g., consulting friends or books).

- **Global versus local orientations**

Furthermore, we were interested in to what extent the media use of youth reflects a global orientation or access to global networks of people or texts as compared to local orientation or networks. This global/local orientation was examined in particular with regard to identity profiling activities online, the geographical dispersion of their social networks, and the 'location' of the resources they consult online.

- **Networked learning ecologies**

Finally, the survey was designed to capture the networked nature of young people's internet use. Their online social networks as well as the online activities with their contacts were both surveyed. We were interested in the size and the composition of their networks with respect to the ethnicity, age, gender and social relationship of their contacts. But we also were interested in the online activities youth develop with their contacts and we designed these such that they represented possible networked learning ecologies.

Our sample

The survey was carried out in the course of 2010 among 1408 students (aged 12 to 18) in 7 secondary schools in the Netherlands. Our stratified sampling procedure yielded data distributions that are largely congruent with census data with respect to age, gender and education level.

Given our specific research interests, our aim was to form a sample with substantial groups of respondents with a native and migrant background. To this end, we randomly selected schools in regions where most migrant young people live, creating a dataset with 31.8% native Dutch young people and the remainder of migrant origin. We diversified the sample with regard to age, gender and education level. The average age of our respondents was 14.5 years (SD=1.7), and about half of them (47%) is male. Some 52% of the respondents was following a lower preparatory school for secondary vocational training (called VMBO: *Vorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs*); 17% of the respondents was attending higher preparatory school for secondary vocational training (VMBO-T: *Vorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs – Theoretisch*); 16% was attending general secondary education, preparing for vocational university (HAVO: *Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs*); and 13% of the respondents was following academic secondary school, preparing for academic learning (VWO or Gymnasium: *Vorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*), which matches by and large the distribution of school tracks in the country.

The research questions

The following interests and research questions motivated the design of the survey:

1 The user context

How is internet use shaped by the social environment? What are limiting and stimulating factors that influence internet access, and how do these factors define the intensity of internet use? What role do young people's attitudes towards the internet play? What did our

findings tell us about how migrant youth are differently shaped by these factors and how they impact upon their internet use?

2 Media user profiles

What are specific patterns of media use and attachment among young people? Is it possible to deduce particular media user profiles for migrant youth?

3 Online identity profiling and learning

How do youth use media for their identity practices? What do they (prefer to) reveal? What resources do they use for identity profiling online? How do youth use media for their learning practices? What resources do they use for online learning? And, what can be said about how youth's use of online resources relates to their use of offline ones? How do migrant youth differ in these respects from non-migrant youth?

4 Global versus local orientations

To what extent does the media use of youth reflect a global orientation or access to global networks of people or texts as compared to local orientation? This global/local orientation was examined in particular when asking for their identity profiling activities online, the geographical dispersion of their social networks and the 'location' of the resources they consulted online. How do migrant youth differ in these respects from non-migrant youth?

5 Online networks as networked communities and learning ecologies

How do the online communities that youth develop online look like? What is the size of their online social networks and the intensity and the nature of the activities that youth develop through these online social networks? What is the composition of these networks in terms of ethnicity, gender, age and social relationships? What is the extensibility of these networks? Do their networks reach out to transnational contacts or are these networks primarily locally oriented? What is the density of their networks and how homogeneous are they in terms of age, gender and ethnicity? Can the online activities youth develop through their online networks be considered learning ecologies? How do the activities they develop online relate to other network characteristics, such as the geographical location of their contacts?

How does migrant youth differ in the nature and the use of their networks from non-migrant youth?

The next sections will discuss some of the core findings pertaining to these five research themes. We will draw some lines between the different findings focusing on the specific interests and questions we have presented. We will not be able to do justice to the many different aspects of our findings which can, as discussed, be found in the research report. Instead, we will especially focus on how media use of migrant youth can be described as different from that of non-migrant youth in regard to a number of different themes related to the questions mentioned.

1 The user context

How is internet use shaped by the social environment? What are limiting and stimulating factors that influence internet access, and how do these factors define the intensity of internet use? What role do young people's attitudes towards the internet play? What did our findings tell us about how migrant youth are differently shaped by these factors and how they impact upon their internet use?

How often and where do youth use the internet?

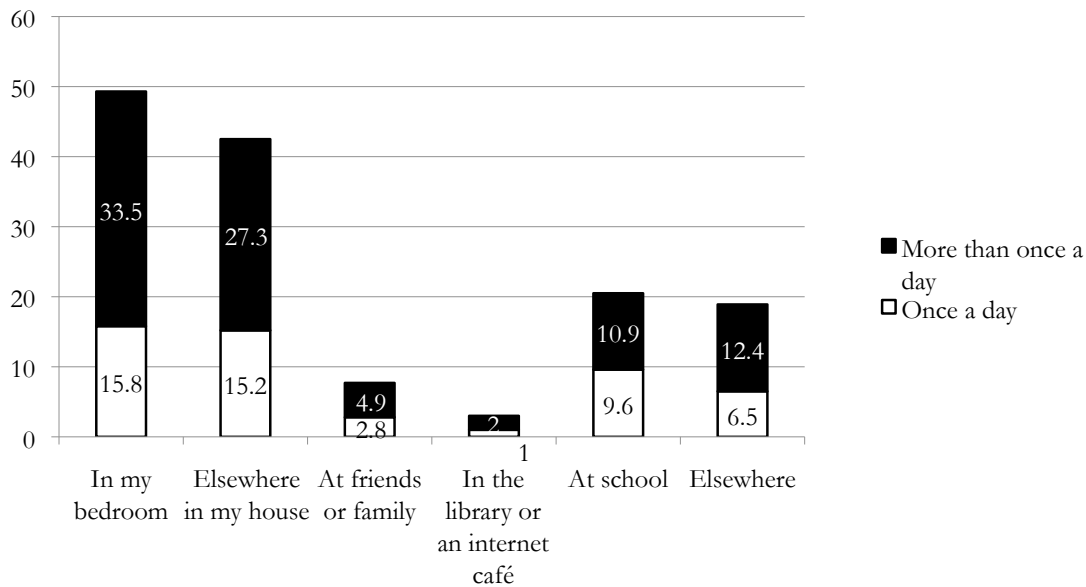
We found that youth access the internet most often on a daily basis in their own house (in their bedrooms and elsewhere in their house), as can be seen in table 1 and figure 1.

The balance between private use versus public use seems to be more uneven with age as older youth are more private internet users. With age youth start to use the internet more in their own bedrooms, and less in other places in the house (where the access is not exclusive). Although this pattern also holds for migrant youth, they are more 'public' users of the internet as compared to native youth. Migrant youth use the internet significantly more than natives in the house of their friends or family, in a library or internet cafe or still other places, but significantly less at school.

Table 1: Extent of internet use at different locations

	Never	A day per week	2 or 3 days per week	4 or 5 days per week	Once a day	More than once a day
In my bedroom	28.3	6.0	8.2	8.2	15.8	33.5
Elsewhere in my house	18.8	14.8	13.4	10.4	15.2	27.3
At friends or family	34.3	39.5	14.8	3.7	2.8	4.9
In library or an internet café	76.1	14.1	4.5	2.4	1.0	2.0
At school	7.6	28.3	27.1	16.5	9.6	10.9
Elsewhere	44.8	18.7	11.4	6.2	6.5	12.4

Figure 1: Extent of internet use at different locations



Freedom and supervision of internet use

Overall, youth report that they feel free to do what they want on the internet, as can be seen from figure 2. This perceived freedom augments with age, and is higher for the higher educational tracks and for boys. For migrant youth, we also found this pattern for age, but not for educational level and gender.

The overall perceived freedom to do what they want on the internet is consistent with our finding that most youth report not to be supervised by the potential supervisors we distinguished, as shown in figure 3.

Supervision patterns of internet use in the home are specific to migrant youth, however, in the sense that they report to be more supervised by siblings as compared to their mother, which is reported to be the main supervisor by Dutch youth.

Figure 2: Extent of internet freedom

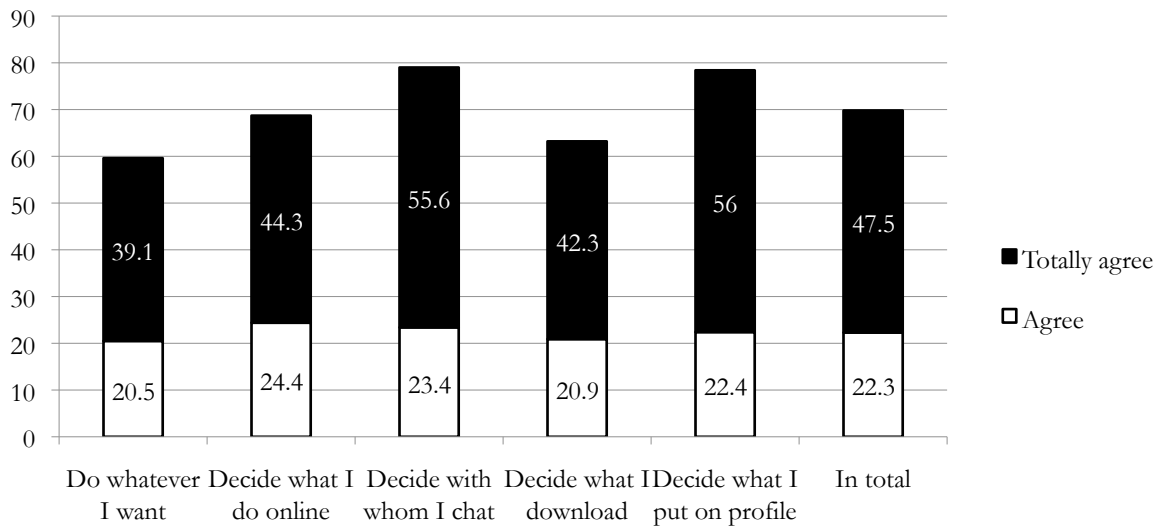
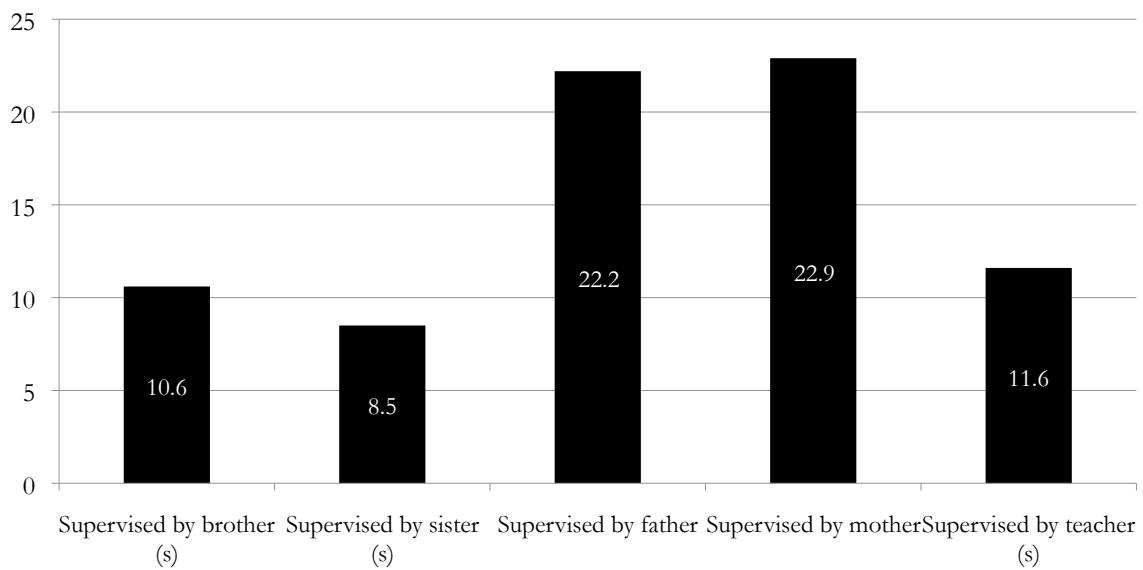


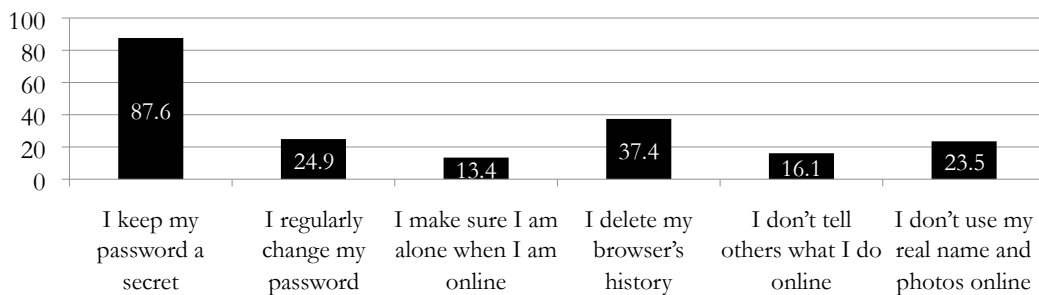
Figure 3: Extent of internet supervision



Protecting privacy online

One privacy measure is really popular among youth: ‘keeping passwords a secret’. ‘Deleting browser history’ is also a popular measure, as can be seen from figure 4. Further, migrant youth protect their privacy more than non-immigrant youth by ‘not using real names and photos online’, while native Dutch youth more often do not tell others what they do online.

Figure 4: Extent of use of internet privacy measures



Perceptions of what the internet is for

Youth think that the web can be best used for ‘looking up information’ and least for ‘contacting people for help’, as figure 5 shows. Migrants do not differ in these respects from Dutch youth, but they find that the internet is less useful for ‘buying things’. Further, with age more functions of the internet are valued, and higher educated youth value the internet more for its possibility to search for information and contact organizations. Girls value the internet more than boys for ‘looking up information’ and less for ‘discussing personal issues’.

However, when youth are asked what themes they prefer to discuss online rather than offline, the results, shown in figure 6, indicate that friendship (named by 38% of respondents),

love (38%), romance (38%) and particularly homework (44%) are most often preferred to discuss online, and that religion, art, literature and theatre (all 7%) are least often preferred.

Figure 5: Extent of usability of the internet

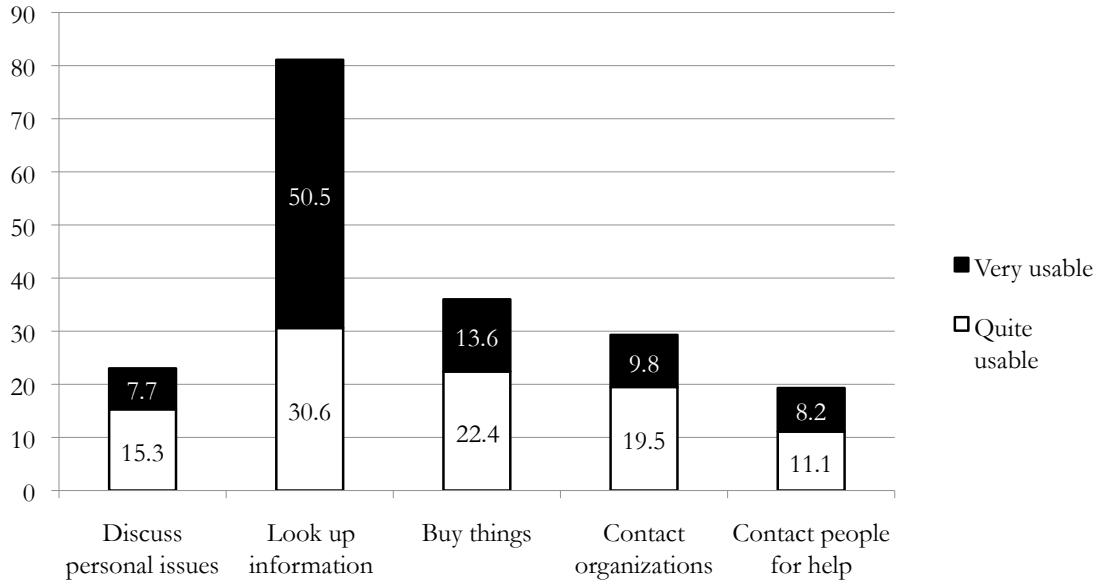
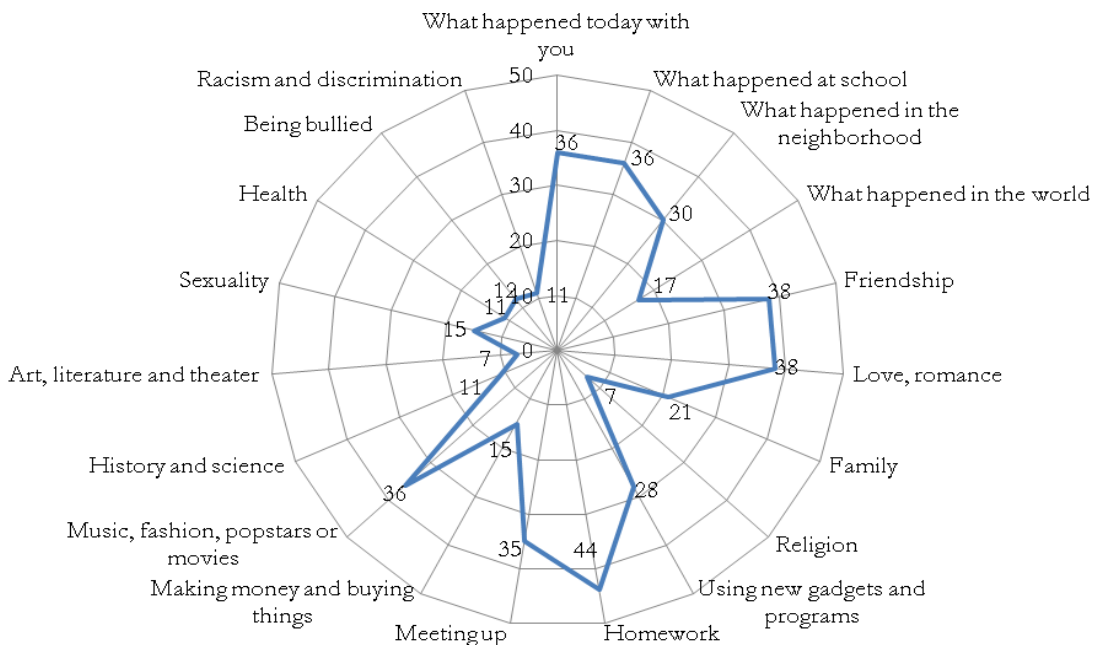


Figure 6: Preference to discuss particular topics on the internet rather than offline



Showing percentages of respondents who prefer to discuss the different topics online.

Access, freedom and location versus internet use intensity

To what extent do these circumstances (supervision at home, place of access) and attitudes (the way they perceive their freedom to do what they want online) also define the intensity of their internet use? And is this relationship the same for natives and migrants? Although the analyses in this report cannot give a final answer to how each of the factors distinguished contributes to the intensity of their internet use, we found a set of patterns that, when taken together, provide the following picture. As expected, with age, less supervision occurs, more freedom is experienced, internet use becomes more private and the internet is used more intensively. Migrant youth differ from native youth in a number of ways regarding these general patterns. Where more supervision by siblings leads to less internet freedom for migrant youth, no similar pattern was found for native youth. And, whereas older migrants use the internet more intensively than younger migrants, there is no such difference for native youth. Furthermore, while access at home does not seem to define the internet use of Dutch youth, it does define the internet intensity of migrant youth.

All in all, our data suggest that although there were differences in access and perceived freedom, the majority does not feel restricted by their social environment to access the internet. It seems that for migrant youth internet use and perceived freedom to use the internet in the way they want are more critically impacted by their social environment, such as by the supervision of siblings and internet access at home.

2 Media user profiles

What are specific patterns of media use and attachment among young people? Is it possible to deduce particular media user profiles for migrant youth?

Attachment to media

With respect to specific media profiles, we have distinguished between patterns based on youth's *attachment* with these media and patterns based on their *actual media use*. With respect to their attachment to media, we found that, overall, youth are attached to media that they frequently use. For instance, twitter and weblogs, less frequently used at the time this survey was taken, will be missed least among our participants, while MSN Messengers and watching videos online, activities they frequently do, will be missed most.

Based on attachment we found four clear media components, called here 'networking', 'informing', 'public discussion', and 'gaming'. 'Watching videos online' and 'downloading' were frequent media applications that did not cluster into one of these four (they were 'a-typical' for these 4 components). Migrant youth differed from native youth in their attachment to only one of these clusters, namely '(public) discussion', plus they are more attached to one of the a-typical media, namely, watching video's as compared to Dutch youth.

Use of media

In regard to actual use, and while also taking into account 'non-internet' related media, we found that using 'instant messenger', 'watching TV or DVDs', 'watching videos online', and 'using MP3/Ipod' were the 4 most popular activities among young people generally. See for a detailed overview figure 7.

When looking at certain clusters of actual media use, we found six dimensions. These were ‘gaming’ (1), ‘discussion online’ (2), ‘networking online’ (3), ‘mobile phoning’ (4), ‘reading offline’ (5), and ‘music and movies’ (6). We found that migrant youth are remarkably active in terms of most of these factors and that they participate more than native Dutch respondents in ‘discussion online’, ‘reading offline’, ‘music and movies’, ‘watching TV/DVDs’, ‘watching videos online’, ‘searching for information online’, and e-mail. Native Dutch respondents are only more active with ‘phoning via a landline’ than non-native Dutch respondents, although other demographic factors such as gender and educational level had more impact on how these media dimensions were divided over the population. For instance, girls were less active with ‘gaming’ than boys and more active with ‘networking online’ and ‘reading offline’, and higher educated youth was less active with ‘networking online’ than lower educated youth and more active with ‘reading offline’ and e-mailing.

Figure 7: Extent of media use

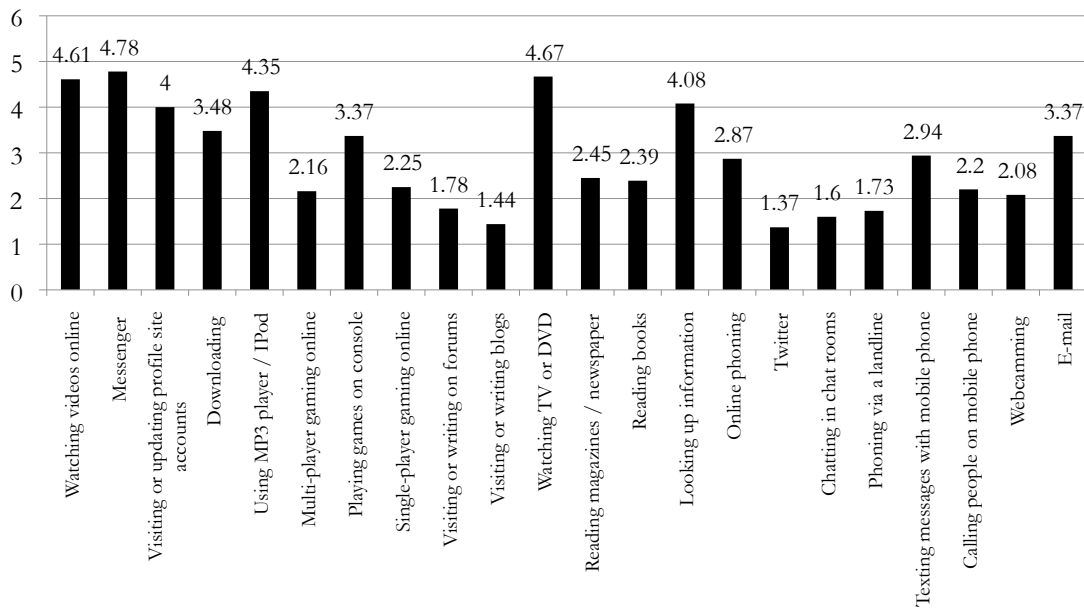


Figure shows means on a 6-points scale.

3 Online identity profiling and learning

How do youth use media for their identity practices? What do they (prefer to) reveal? What resources do they use for identity profiling online? How do youth use media for their learning practices? What resources do they use for online learning? And, what can be said about how youth's use of online resources relates to their use of offline ones? How do migrant youth differ in these respects from non-migrant youth?

Identity practices online

With respect to media use for identity practices, we first looked at what identity markers youth show online, asking them what they would reveal on their profile pages from a given set of options. The result can be found in table 2. Gender, photos and nicknames are the three most popular attributes used for online self-profiling, while income, school class, and religion are the three least popular ones.

Table 2: Extent of different forms of self-profiling

	No	Yes
Photos of yourself or others	27.5	72.5
Status updates	71.3	28.7
Nickname	28.6	72.4
First name	31.7	68.3
Family name	63.9	36.1
Age	33.5	66.5
Date of birth	55.8	44.2
The city where you live	38.6	61.4
Your neighborhood	79.5	20.5
The name of your school	58.3	41.7
The class of your school	87.7	12.3
Gender	23.4	76.6
Sexual orientation	80.9	19.1
Nationality	58.7	41.3
Ethnicity	73.5	26.5
Country of birth	63.3	36.4
Income	96.9	3.1
Religion	84.4	15.6
The languages you speak	66.4	33.6

Overall, we found that migrant youth reveal less on their profile pages of the attributes we distinguished as compared to Dutch youth. This seems to reflect an attitude among migrant youth to protect their online identity more compared to Dutch youth. This is partly confirmed when considering the kind of attributes they reveal as compared to Dutch youth. While Dutch youth reveal, for instance, more pictures, first names, family names, and birth dates, migrant youth reveal more often their nickname. In addition to this, the profiling of migrant youth seems formed more by a need for an ‘ethnic’ shaping of their online identity, given that they show more often their ethnicity (and their religion).

As we were interested in the kind of identity resources youth would reveal online, we asked them for 3 different identity categories (cookery, celebrities and music) if they would use items associated with migrant cultures, items associated with the Dutch culture or items that could be called more ‘international’. The result is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Extent of self-profiling according to affiliation

		All respondents	Native Dutch	Migrants
Dutch	Cookery	20.1	36.8	12.6
	Celebrities	13.4	22.1	9.2
	Music	9.8	19.4	5.3
Migrant	Cookery	33.6	17.2	41.1
	Celebrities	28.6	9.4	37.4
	Music	39.8	20.5	48.7
International	Cookery	35.4	33.3	36.4
	Celebrities	37.3	37.5	37.0
	Music	66.9	77.5	61.7

These results show that, although 1) both natives and migrant youth use international resources for self-profiling, and 2) for both groups self-profiling on ‘own’ or ‘original’ cultures is more popular than self-profiling in ‘other’ cultures, 3) the groups differ in that migrant youth self-profile less in ‘other’ cultures as compared to Dutch youth. Thus, while Dutch youth are more ‘eclectic’ in the kind of resources they use in this respect, migrant youth show a stronger preference for profiling in resources associated with their ‘own’ culture.

Learning about activities

We were interested in how the respondents search for information and resources both when they search for information on certain themes in general (such as health, religion and music) and when they learn to build certain ‘internet competencies’ (such as texting with a mobile phone and downloading things from the internet). Learning things online and searching for information online were compared with learning things or searching for information offline, making it possible to reveal how youth value the online as a place where they can learn and find out things as compared to how they value more traditional resources and means for learning (books, teachers, et cetera). Furthermore, we assessed whether respondents were inclined to use more social resources, both online and offline, as compared to searches in databases or texts.

When we focused on the learning of internet-related skills, such as learning to make a website or setting up a profile page, we found that most youth indicate that they have learned this more through ‘trial and error’ than through consulting specific texts or other people. However, as a next popular strategy, youth consult others such as friends, family or teachers offline instead of reaching out for others online, as can be seen in table 4.

Table 4: Means of learning per activity

	Have not done this	Instruction on paper	A ‘help’ application	I tried it myself without help	Offline, with the help of friends, family or a teacher	Online, with the help of friends, family or a teacher
Downloading or uploading music	16.6	2.3 (2.8)	4.5 (5.4)	46.6 (55.6)	25.4 (30.5)	13.6 (16.4)
Making a personal blog or website	29.0	3.3 (4.6)	4.7 (6.6)	42.5 (59.9)	16.9 (23.8)	9.2 (13.0)
Playing a computer game	13.4	2.5 (2.9)	4.8 (5.5)	64.6 (74.7)	11.1 (12.8)	9.1 (10.5)
Making a ‘puppet’ in a game	32.2	2.6	5.3	46.7	10.0	7.7

		(3.9)	(7.9)	(68.9)	(14.8)	(11.3)
Texting with a mobile phone	7.0	2.3 (2.4)	3.0 (3.2)	74.1 (79.7)	11.1 (11.9)	7.7 (8.3)
Making an account on a profile sites	13.2	1.2 (1.4)	5.0 (5.7)	55.6 (64.1)	21.3 (24.5)	9.7 (11.2)
Making or uploading photos	15.1	1.9 (2.3)	4.5 (5.4)	59.6 (70.2)	15.9 (18.7)	7.8 (9.2)
Making or uploading videos	25.4	1.8 (2.4)	4.8 (6.5)	52.2 (70.0)	12.4 (16.7)	8.2 (11.0)
Total	19.0	2.2	4.6	55.2	15.5	9.1

The respondents were enabled to indicate multiple means of learning per activity. Most of the row sums of percentages, therefore, exceed 100.

The last row with the totals indicates the relationship between the aggregated 'presence' responses and all the responses in total.

The respondents' learning histories vary along socio-demographic lines. For instance, younger people learn mostly through social channels (through online or offline help of friends and family), and migrant youth learn relatively more often individually through paper instructions.

Learning about topics

If we focus on how youth search for information in general (leaving it open whether they would prefer the internet or more traditional (social) resources), we found that most respondents prefer to search for information about the different topics either by self searches online (35.8%) or by contacting friends or older people offline (together 30.6%). Less popular are traditional media, such as books, or contacting friends online. See table 5 for a more detailed overview of the findings.

Further, our data indicate that migrant youth use individual online searches less compared to native youth, and that they rely relatively more on social resources (both online and offline) and on traditional media when they look for information.

Table 5: Means of learning per topic

	I don't look for information about this	Book, newspaper, or a magazine	My parents or teachers	Offline, among friends	Online, among friends	I search for this information myself, on the internet
Homework	10.5	10.7 (12.0)	38.8 (43.4)	12.4 (13.8)	17.0 (19.0)	41.8 (46.7)
Things that happen in your neighborhood	22.1	16.3 (20.9)	13.8 (17.8)	29.8 (38.2)	15.8 (20.3)	23.4 (30.1)
Music, celebrities, and movie stars	14.6	18.0 (21.1)	3.8 (4.5)	13.7 (16.1)	15.6 (18.3)	54.2 (63.2)
Literature, art, theatre and science	43.6	14.9 (26.4)	10.2 (18.1)	6.5 (11.6)	6.7 (12.0)	30.3 (53.8)
Religion	38.4	11.1 (18.0)	25.8 (41.8)	6.8 (11.1)	6.3 (10.1)	28.2 (45.7)
Buying things	27.6	11.6 (16.0)	12.4 (17.2)	13.1 (18.1)	9.0 (12.5)	41.3 (57.0)
Making money	38.3	8.7 (14.0)	13.4 (21.6)	11.2 (18.2)	8.2 (13.2)	32.1 (52.0)
Health	33.0	11.8 (17.6)	25.2 (37.6)	7.9 (11.8)	6.3 (9.3)	34.8 (52.0)
Total	28.5	12.9	17.9	12.7	10.6	35.8

The respondents were enabled to indicate multiple means of learning per topic. Most of the row sums of percentages, therefore, exceed 100.

The last row with the totals indicates the relationship between the aggregated 'presence' responses and all the responses in total.

4 Global versus local orientations

To what extent does the media use of youth reflect a global orientation or access to global networks of people or texts as compared to a local orientation? This global/local orientation was examined in particular when asking for their identity profiling activities online, the geographical dispersion of their social networks and the 'location' of the resources they consulted online. How do migrant youth differ in these respects from non-migrant youth?

Comparing the different aspects in which the global/local dimension was surveyed, the following patterns arise. With respect to their resources for self-profiling both immigrant youth and native youth mostly use cultural resources which can be labeled 'international' or 'global' roughly to the same extent. This was especially the case for when they self-profiled on music, as mentioned in the previous chapter. However, also 'local' resources and resources from the culture of 'origin' (for migrants) or other cultural resources (for natives) were popular, also depending on the specific theme. Youth can be called 'eclectic' in their resourcing in the sense that they use multiple resources coming from or associated with a variety of geographical scales or cultural origins, even though especially migrant youth were more systematic in using their 'own' cultural resources.

When we look at the geographical dispersion of their online networks, we must conclude that both migrant youth and native youth are primarily locally oriented in how they build their online networks, even if migrant youth have slightly more transnational contacts in their networks as compared to native youth and native youth more contacts at the national scale.

Looking at the content of the topics discussed in these networks, we roughly found that global and interest driven topics were more discussed with transnational connections as compared to with local contacts (i.e., at home, or within one's neighborhood or city) while with local contacts a wide variety of topics was discussed, also including more local topics. This finding seems to suggest that larger geographical distances induce a more topic-

specific orientation, although further and different techniques of analyses would be needed to confirm this.

If we look at the 'origin' of the websites they consult, we can conclude that, based on the languages in which these websites are conceived, youth do move out of their local communities to search for information online. Like native youth, however, migrant youth most often consult websites for information in the language of the 'host' country. Some 65.6% of our respondents with a migrant background show a strong tendency to search for photos, pictures, videos, stories, music and other items on websites that are written in Dutch. Other migrant respondents either search for these items only on websites that are written in the language of the country of 'origin' (8.6%) or don't have a strong tendency to search for these items (25.8%).

In conclusion, the data seem to suggest that both migrant and native youth are primarily locally oriented when it concerns the communities they build online, but that in the resources for information and identity, they are much more globally oriented. What globally or non-locally oriented mean seems to differ for both groups. Migrant youth combine a relatively transnational network with relatively more specific 'own' cultural resources, while native youth combine a relatively more national network with a more varied resource style, borrowing from resources with multiple origins. These differences between migrant and non-migrant respondents, then, are gradual rather than absolute and clear-cut.

5 Networked communities and learning ecologies

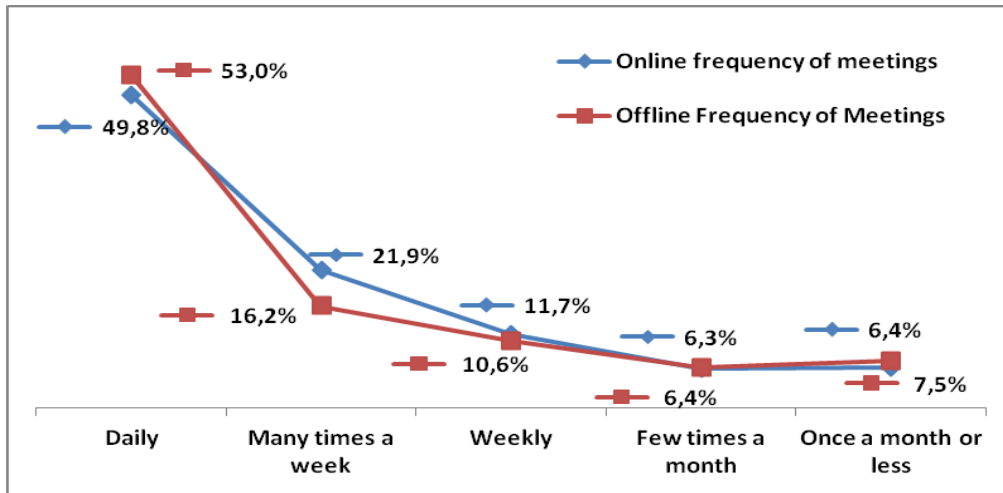
What is the size of the online social networks youth develop and the intensity and the nature of the activities that youth develop through their online social networks? What is the composition of these networks in terms of ethnicity, gender, age and social relationship? What is the extensibility of these networks? Do their networks reach out to transnational contacts or are these networks primarily locally oriented? What is the density of their networks and how homogeneous are they in terms of age, gender and ethnicity? Can the online activities youth develop through their online networks be considered learning ecologies? How do the activities they develop online hang together with other characteristics of the network such as the geographical location of their contacts? How does migrant youth differ in the nature and the use of their networks from non-migrant youth?

Size and intensity of networking

Youth report to maintain contact with a large group of people through their profile pages or instant messenger accounts (on average around 100 contacts). Migrant youth have larger active online networks as compared to native youth. The same is true for youth from the lower educational tracks.

Further, respondents were asked to mention the 5 most frequently contacted people online and asked to answer a couple of questions about each of these contacts. It turned out that most contacts were contacted on a daily base, and there was a strong relationship between how often they had contact with these people online and offline, as shown in figure figure 8. Youth listed only a few contact (3.4% of all the contacts) whom they had never met offline.

Figure 8: Online and offline meetings between egos and their alters



Homogeneity of online networks

The table below shows the composition of the networks in terms of the age, gender and ethnicity of the online contacts of our respondents. As can be seen, most people that are contacted online are peers, with only a limited number of people who are younger or older.

Table 6: Demographic characteristics of alters

	Percentages
Female	55.8
Male	44.2
Younger than 12	2.1
Between 12-18	88.2
Older than 18	9.7
Dutch	44.7
Moroccan Background	12.5
Turkish Background	14.1
Other ethnic Background	28.7

The online networks of youth were rather homogeneous: youth connect online mostly with people who 'are the same' in terms of age, gender and ethnicity. Most contacts are friends of the respondents (78.6%) and only a smaller percentage is family or an acquaintance. Interestingly, older youth connect up more online with people beyond their own age, and Dutch

youth connect relatively more often with people from their own background as compared to migrant youth.

Density and dispersion

It turned out that, according to the youth themselves, 37.4% of alters 'knew each other well', and 31.9% 'knew each other'; the remainder, 30.7% of the alters, 'did not know each other'. On average, the online network density of migrant youth was higher, but this was also the case for younger and less educated youth.

Furthermore, our data seem to suggest that youth connect up online with people that are primarily locally based, with whom they experience a close emotional bond, who also know each other for a substantial part, and with whom they also meet offline frequently. However, although most online contacts live close by (77% lives in the city of our respondents), youth also connect up online with people who live beyond their city (18%) or abroad (5%). And a small percentage (3.4%) was contacted online without offline contact.

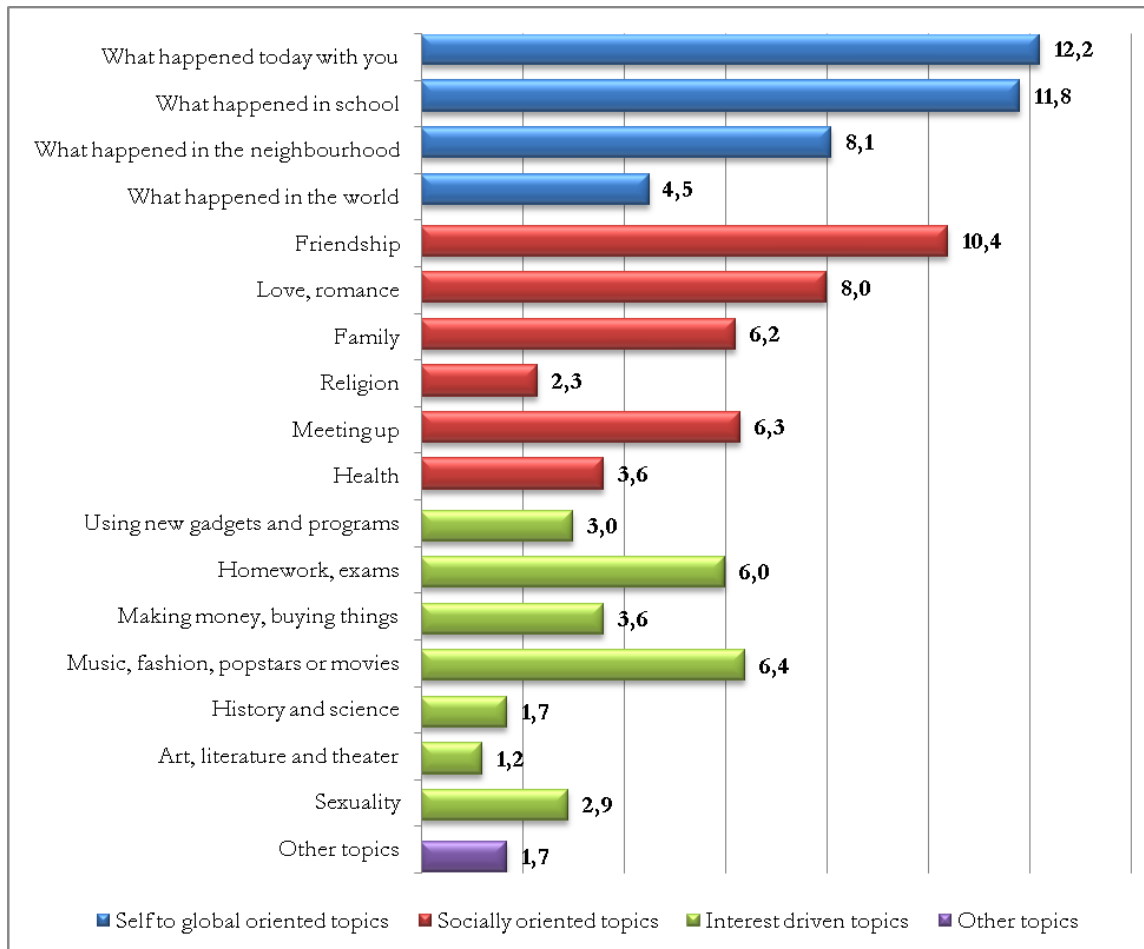
Topical orientation

We asked our respondents if the topics they discussed with their online contacts were self-oriented (what happened with you), oriented towards local settings (what happened in the neighbourhood or at school), or oriented towards global issues (what happened in the world). Self-oriented topics were most popular (33.4% of the network talked about these topics in our sample), followed by 32.2% for talk about school issues, 22.2% for talk about neighbourhood issues, and finally only by 12.3% for talk about global issues.

In addition we asked our participants what was the content of the talk with their online contacts, presenting them with a list of 13 concrete topic categories, including items such as health, friendships, and family but also arts, literature, theatre and religion. This list was tested in our pilot for themes that according to our respondents occurred in their daily on-

line practices. For statistical purposes and data reduction the 13-items were separated in two groups: socially-oriented and interest-driven.

Figure 9: Topics discussed in the networks (in %)



We have checked if the geographical location of alters was related to the kinds of topics youth talk about. We roughly found that global and interest driven topics were more discussed with transnational connections as compared to with local contacts (i.e., contacts living at their home or within their neighborhood or city) while with local contacts a wide variety of topics was discussed, also including more local topics.

Online networks as learning ecologies

Despite what was said before on the preference youth seem to have to search for information individually through internet searches, youth report to be actively engaged with their online alters for various learning activities. They are involved with their online contacts in activities such as sharing links, ‘checking each other out’, and producing together online on a regular basis. We found that these activities also correlate strongly and positively with whether or not youth experience these activities as leading to new information or the discovery of new things, as shown in table 7.

Table 7: Pearson correlations between network activities

	Checking each other's profile pages	Sharing texts and links'	Asking for advice	Editing or making new things	Giving feedback	Discovering new information
Checking each other's profile pages	1					
Sharing texts and links'	.764*	1				
Asking for advice	.710*	.752*	1			
Editing or making new things	.750*	.869*	.762*	1		
Giving feedback	.627*	.726*	.678*	.787*	1	
Discovering new information	.677*	.827*	.771*	.811*	.792*	1

*p<.001

Our results therefore indicate that these online networks are experienced as a resource for youth's learning and thus function as networked learning ecologies next to other means youth have developed for their learning online.

Conclusions

In conclusion, through this survey research we were able to report on the media use of youth both through 1) paying attention to particular profiles or user patterns as related to demographic background characteristics, as is done in most 'traditional' media research, as well as to 2) particular issues and questions related to how migrant youth use the internet. However, rather than focussing on media use as an activity in itself, our survey was aimed at unravelling 3) how youth use the internet as a resource for their learning and the construction of their online identities.

The results therefore speak not only to issues and themes around how migrant youth are particular media users, but more specifically show how they construct and resource their online identities, form their online networks and use online resources for their learning as compared to non-immigrant youth. Although it has not been our ambition here to interpret these results with a particular theoretical perspectives in mind, the findings of this report do provide insights into how youth use resources for their learning and identity formation online, as well as how they build their online networks, and how these processes can be framed in a local-global dynamic for migrant youth as distinguished from native youth.