

# **From Socialization to Self-Socialization? Exploring the Role of Digital Media in the Religious Lives of Young Adults in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru**

Marcus Moberg

*Department of the Study of Religion, University of Turku, Turku, Finland*

marcus.moberg@utu.fi

Sofia Sjö

*Comparative Religion, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland*

Ben-Willie Kwaku Golo

*Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana*

Habibe Erdis Gökce

*Comparative Religion, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland*

*Department of Psychology, Cag University, Mersin, Turkey*

Rafael Fernández Hart

*Facultad de Filosofía, Educación y Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Lima, Peru*

Sidney Castillo Cardenas

*Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Lima, Peru*

# **From Socialization to Self-Socialization? Exploring the Role of Digital Media in the Religious Lives of Young Adults in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru**

Previous research has pointed to the central role of media for the current young adult generation when it comes to finding information about religion, exploring beliefs, and developing a religious identity. This article explores how young adult university students in three different contexts – Ghana, Turkey, and Peru – report using digital media for religious purposes. The article builds on previous research on the role of media in religious socialization and explores the usefulness of the notion of self-socialization in a transnational study. The studied contexts are all shown to differ when it comes to levels of self-reported religiosity and use of media for religious purposes. The article illustrates the independent use of digital media in all contexts and self-socialization taking place on a general level, but also highlights the continuous importance of traditional socialization agents, thus questioning simplistic understandings of the role of media in religious socialization.

Keywords: religious socialization; self-socialization; media; religion; young adults; emerging adulthood; Ghana; Turkey; Peru

## **Introduction**

‘Digital natives’, the ‘net generation’, the ‘media generation’ – the present young adult generation (born 1990–) has been given many names and epithets. These labels typically highlight the special circumstances, compared to earlier generations, under which today’s young adults have grown up. The labels listed above all underscore the increasingly pervasive role of media and communication technologies in the lives of young adults. This is the first generation to grow up in a world in which a large variety of mobile digital media and communication technologies have come to constitute taken

for granted parts of everyday life (e.g. Vittadini et al. 2013; Bobkowski 2014). However, access to digital media remains unevenly distributed throughout different parts of the world, and significant differences in young peoples' digital media use can also be observed across many highly technologically advanced societies (Bolton et al. 2013; Jones et al. 2010). Referring to the present young adult generation as a whole in terms of 'digital natives' is therefore somewhat problematic. In spite of this, few would question the centrality of digital media to contemporary youth culture and young peoples' preferred modes of mediated communication and interaction with their peers. Continuing developments in digital media technologies and the more recent proliferation of social media has therefore served to spark renewed scholarly interest in the present-day media environment as an arena of socialization, including religious socialization.

Studying media and socialization presents scholars with a range of challenges (see e.g. Arnett 1995; Dubow, Huesmann and Greenwood 2007; Davignon 2013). When compared to other socialization agents, media tends to work in its own peculiar ways. For one thing, media messages do not affect individuals in straightforward and pre-determined ways. While there is no doubt that audiences are affected by the media they consume and engage with, compared to other socialization agents, media use nevertheless tends to be something over which individuals are often able to exercise a relatively high degree of control. Moreover, as previous studies have shown, parents have become increasingly inclined to encourage their children to make independent choices and to exercise independent judgement as far their own media use is concerned (e.g. Hoover 2006). As individuals get older, moving through adolescence into young adulthood, they are increasingly both allowed and expected to more actively and independently control their own media use. This has led scholars to address media as an environment that is particularly conducive of 'self-socialization' (e.g. Arnett 1995; Knobloch et al. 2005; Anderson and McCabe 2012).

As we will discuss in more detail below, self-socialization has been presented as a phenomenon that is typical of Western societies characterized by 'broad' forms of socialization and where individual freedom, independence, and self-determination are highly valued (Arnett 2007). In essence, the notion of self-socialization proposes that individuals play a much more active role in many aspects of their own socialization than earlier socialization theories have been able to adequately acknowledge or account for.

For this reason, it becomes worthwhile to explore how the notion of self-socialization might serve to advance our understanding of the role of media in the socialization and religious socialization of young adults today while simultaneously taking the particularities of different social, cultural, religious, and media contexts into account.

To date, studies of media and religious socialization have mostly focused on Western contexts. The need for a broader and more international focus is not only clearly called for but also increasingly openly acknowledged (e.g. Campbell 2010). Aiming to offer precisely such a broader focus, this article presents three case studies on young adults' digital media use and religion in three different national, social, cultural, and religious contexts: in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru. Our exploration is based on data gathered in the international research project Young Adults and Religion in a Global Perspective (YARG 2015–2018), which explores the religiosities, values, and world-views among young adult university students in thirteen different countries around the world (the YARG-project is accounted for in more detail in Klingenberg and Sjö, this issue).

The article is divided into two main parts. The first part provides a critical discussion of prevalent perspectives on socialization and how these relate to the notion of self-socialization. Drawing on current research on emerging adulthood and the religiosity of youth, this is followed by a discussion of the role of the present-day media environment in the religious socialization of young adults in critical dialogue with previous research in the area. The second part moves to consider the degrees to which the notion of self-socialization could serve to advance our understanding of the role of media in the religious socialization of young adults in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru. The particular set of cases explored in this article display both notable differences and similarities when it comes to their respective social, cultural, and religious contexts and media-landscapes. As will be explored in greater detail below, not only do these cases display notable differences when it comes to the extent and frequency by which young adults use digital media for religious and religion-related purposes. They each also constitute cases where young adults report very different levels of personal religiosity and engagement. The mixed-method approach employed in the YARG-project allows us to correlate survey responses on religious self-identification and media use with the views of individual respondents themselves as expressed in in-depth interviews. In what is intended to provide a complementary perspective to previous research, the following

discussion and analysis will therefore focus on how young adult university students in three different locations around the world describe their own media use and how it relates to their own religious lives and beliefs. The discussion in this article mainly draws on the YARG survey data (N=4964) and the national survey samples (N=300 per country) and interviews (N=45) from Ghana, Turkey, and Peru respectively. The article closes with a critical discussion and assessment of the usefulness and analytic utility of the notion of self-socialization for making sense of our chosen cases.

### **Socialization, self-socialization, and emerging adulthood**

As is discussed in more detail in the Introduction (Klingenberg and Sjö, this issue) to this special issue, the term ‘socialization’ is most commonly used to denote the process whereby individuals are taught the competences, behaviours, and values needed for them to function in certain social contexts (e.g. Maccoby 2014, 14). As explained by Maccoby (2014, 13), socialization thus refers to the process whereby individuals are taught and gradually acquire ‘the social skills, social understandings, and emotional maturity needed for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the functioning of social dyads and larger groups’. Although the ‘primary’ and generally most enduring socialization occurs in childhood and early adolescence, socialization needs to be understood as a process that continues throughout the life-span and that takes different and new forms as individuals enter into new social and interactional settings (Maccoby 2014, 14; Heinz 2002b).

The main ideas that have underpinned various theories of socialization have changed and diversified considerably over time. Theoretical perspectives on socialization have basically developed from an understanding of socialization as a straightforward process according to which individuals become shaped along certain pre-defined trajectories towards an understanding that views socialization as a complex process that requires the active involvement of both the subjects being socialized and the agents doing the socializing (e.g. Maccoby 2007). Facile understandings of socialization have long been the subject of critique (e.g. Wrong 1961). Current theorizing instead tends to put more emphasis on the agency of the subject being socialized and how socialization needs to be understood as a time- and context dependent process that varies depending on a range of factors such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status, minority/majority position etc. (cf. Klingenberg and Sjö, this

issue). These questions have also been central to many studies of media and socialization (e.g. Arnett 1995; Anderson and McCabe 2012; Kühle 2012).

Current theories of socialization make a general distinction between ‘narrow’ and ‘broad’ forms of socialization. According to Arnett and Taber:

Cultures characterized by broad socialization encourage independence, individualism, and self-expression. In contrast, cultures characterized by narrow socialization hold obedience and conformity as the highest values, and deviation from cultural expectations for behavior is condemned and punished (Arnett and Taber 1993, 519).

The broadness and narrowness of socialization also varies depending on the particular aspect or dimension of socialization under consideration. As Maccoby (2014, 13) points out, although it is generally more likely that the importance of broad forms of socialization grows ‘in times of rapid cultural change’, we should also recognize that ‘individuals can be socialized to adapt to changing social circumstances’. Indeed, the contemporary social and cultural environment is an increasingly diverse, pluralistic, and fast-changing one. Although it remains a development most characteristic of western contexts, the gradual transition from traditional to post-traditional societies throughout many parts of the world has typically resulted in a general erosion of previous moral frameworks and authority structures coupled with an increasing elevation of the individual and personal autonomy (e.g. Adams 2007, 7). As argued by Vermeer (2012, 107), in such a situation it becomes more useful to regard *individuation*, understood as the ‘tension between the development of a unique personality on the one hand and social integration on the other’, as the ‘core of socialization’. This should not, however, be taken to suggest that the basic function of socialization – i.e. the transmission of core social values and the instilment of a ‘minimum level of cultural-normative integration’ – would not persist, but only that socialization in contemporary times needs to be understood as ‘an active, simultaneous process of both personality development and the acquisition of core values’ (Vermeer 2010, 107; cf. Kühle 2012; Lövheim 2012, 151). It is under such social and cultural circumstances – often understood to be more prominent in the west – that the notion of self-socialization takes on increased currency.

As outlined by Newman and Newman, building on Arnett (2007) and Heinz (2002a), ‘The process of self-socialization suggests that individuals draw on their own sense of agency to select the best social contexts to support their development, and that this process is both a product of and contributor to individual development and individualization’ (Newman and Newman 2009, 524). Self-socialization thus generally refers to types or modes of socialization that are marked by high degrees of agency on the part of the individual concerned and the absence of both clearly identifiable socialization agents and specific ‘socialization goals’ (Arnett 1995, 521; cf. Kühle 2012, 119). In the understanding advanced here, the notion of self-socialization does not, therefore, propose the *disappearance* of ‘traditional’ or ‘conventional’ modes of socialization and types of socialization agents (e.g. family, school, religious communities). Nor does it abandon a view of socialization as a fundamentally *social* process – i.e. as a process that always occurs in social, relational, and interactional contexts and environments. The notion of self-socialization is more adequately understood as a heuristic device that invites us to consider the role of individual agency and self-determination in social and cultural contexts where traditional modes of socialization and socialization agents remain present, but where their influence has been progressively *waning*, and/or where individual autonomy and self-determination has become increasingly widespread or even *encouraged*.

The notion of self-socialization is therefore closely related to a more general and increasingly widespread social and cultural emphasis on individual choice and self-determination – a phenomenon particularly characteristic of western contexts, but increasingly observable on a worldwide scale (e.g. Facio et al. 2007). The pressure on individuals to choose and determine the direction of their lives is perhaps never as great as during the transitional phase of ‘emerging adulthood’ (Arnett 2000, 2007). As outlined by Arnett (2000), emerging adulthood denotes a specific developmental stage or life-phase situated ‘in-between’ adolescence and adulthood. It is a phase marked by identity exploration, instability, self-focus, and new possibilities that has principally emerged as a consequence of a particular set of post-World War II social and cultural changes, such as extended periods of education before entering work-life and the increasingly common postponing of marriage, settling down, or establishing a family or a career (Arnett 2004; see also Smith and Snell 2009; Barry and Abo-Zena 2014).

From the perspective of socialization theory, emerging adulthood is marked by the gradual transition from socialization directed mainly by external agents to various forms of self-socialization. This is a time when individuals are increasingly granted the freedom to decide and determine, and are indeed increasingly expected to decide and determine, their own values and outlooks on life (Arnett 2007). Though emerging adulthood is particularly associated with the period of time spent taking part in higher education (Arnett 2016), there are considerable differences to be observed in the lives of university students both in and across different social and cultural contexts.

From the perspective of the scholarship on religion and youth, emerging adulthood constitutes a time in life that tends to be marked by an abandonment of certain aspects of religiousness, and especially various types of religious behaviors (e.g. Voas and Crockett 2005; Uecker, Regnerus and Vaaler 2007; Koenig 2015). Reflecting a more general and increasingly widespread social and cultural celebration of individual self-determination and personal autonomy as noted above, emerging adults typically consider religion and religiosity as something personal that it is up to the individual to decide on and shape (Arnett and Jensen 2002; Smith and Snell 2009; Dandelion 2010).

Although the impact of higher education has been shown to have less of an influence on personal religiosity than was previously assumed (Hill 2011), it remains the case that taking part in higher education tends to provoke new forms of reflection and deliberation on religion-related issues (Bryant 2007; Mayrl and Ouer 2009; Small and Bowman 2011). It is important, therefore, to underline the fact that all YARG project respondents were university students and that university in and of itself constitutes a very particular type of cultural context and socialization environment. It is, moreover, one that is intimately associated with values such as independent thought, intellectual inquiry, and informed criticism. Notwithstanding significant differences across different countries and socio-cultural contexts, university students tend to inhabit a cultural world that differs considerably from their non-university student peers. The university context should therefore be considered one that is further conducive of self-socialization.

The above observations – on the rise of individualism and the elevation of personal autonomy, the emergence of emerging adulthood as an increasingly common phase in life, and university as a particular type of socialization environment – have important implications for how we choose to approach and understand contemporary



modes and mechanisms of religious socialization throughout different national, and social, cultural, and religious contexts.

### **Religious socialization and self-socialization in the present-day media environment**

Socialization has traditionally constituted a central theme in sociological theorizing on religious change. As a particular aspect or dimension of processes of socialization more broadly, religious socialization generally refers to the process whereby religious beliefs, values, sensibilities, behaviours, etc. are transmitted from one generation to the next (for an overview of contemporary theorizing, see Klingenberg and Sjö, this issue). While early scholarship in the area mainly tended to focus on the local religious community (e.g. Roof 1978) and the family (e.g. Hunsberger and Brown 1984) as primary loci of religious socialization, recent research has been decidedly more focused on the impact of secondary socialization agents such as peers and the present-day media environment (e.g. Moberg and Sjö 2015).

In societies generally characterized by broad forms of socialization, the media sphere has developed into an increasingly central environment for the expression and dissemination of diverse sets of values, behaviors, and outlooks on life. When it comes to research on the impact of the present-day media environment on contemporary modes of religious socialization, the scholarship to date has mainly focused on how the media environment has developed into an increasingly central source of information about religion-related issues (e.g. Jansen, Tapia and Spink 2010; Lövheim 2012; Arweck and Penny 2015), how media can be used to express and explore religious identities (Brouwer 2006; Ahmed 2006; Taylor, Falconer and Snowdon 2014), and how certain forms of media use and religiousness correlate (Smith and Snell 2009; Miller, Munday and Hill 2013).

There are no simple explanations for how religion, media, and socialization interrelate. As already indicated, as a particular type of socialization agent and socialization environment, media works in its own peculiar ways. When it comes to media's effect on peoples' religious beliefs and values, the direction of determination is often difficult to ascertain. At a more general level, previous studies have nevertheless convincingly shown that the present-day media environment has developed into an increasingly central arena for young people to encounter and come into contact with different types of religion-related content. This is especially the case for the growing

numbers of young people who lack firmer connections to traditional socialization agents (e.g. Bromander 2012; Lövheim 2012). Again, it is in relation to these developments that scholars have approached the present-day media environment in terms of an environment that is particularly conducive of self-socialization (Kühle 2012).

### **Media and religious socialization among young adults in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru**

In the following we move to discuss and analyze our cases. Our aim is to bring the discussion on the impact of the present-day media environment on contemporary modes of religious socialization beyond its previous focus on media as an information source for religion and religion-related issues. In relation to each case, we will highlight the degrees of independent agency that our respondents reported exercising in their engagements with different types of media, and especially digital media, for religion-related purposes. A certain level of independence and ability to exercise agency in general, but in relation to media in particular, needs be regarded as a key pre-requisite for processes of self-socialization to become possible in the first place.

#### ***Notes on method and data***

The discussion and analysis of this article is based on the YARG survey data (N=300 per country) and interview data (N=45 per country) for Ghana, Turkey, and Peru respectively. The survey was distributed among young adult university students in all thirteen locations included in the YARG project in 2016. In each location, the survey results provided the basis for the selection of an as heterogeneous as possible smaller sample of respondents to partake in the FQS sorting (for further details see Klingenberg and Sjö, this issue) and in-depth interviews. Only respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in an interview in their survey responses were contacted. The Ghanaian sample had an almost perfect balance of male and female respondents with a mean age of 22.9. The Turkish sample was more strongly skewed towards females, who made up 70 percent of the sample. The mean age of the Turkish sample was 21.8. The Peruvian sample was quite balanced in terms of gender, with 58 percent of respondents being female. The mean age of the Peruvian sample was 21.1.

The following discussion is based on the results of the YARG-survey blocs on *social life* and *sources of news and information* as well as the interviews for each of the cases explored: Ghana, Turkey, and Peru. The *social life*-bloc included altogether six

items on religious self-identification, self-assessment of personal degree of religiosity as well as that of the parental home on a 10-point degree scale, and frequency of different types of both public and private religious observance and practice on an 8-point degree scale. In relation to each of the three cases explored, our discussion below focuses on a) the survey results on whether respondents consider themselves ‘as belonging to one or more religious groups, communities, or traditions’, and b) the results on self-assessed degrees of personal religiosity as well as that of the parental home. 34.5 percent of the entire YARG survey sample considered themselves ‘as belonging to one or more religious groups, communities, or traditions’. The entire sample mean on self-assessed degree of personal religiosity was 3.9 followed by a mean of 5.0 for that of self-assessed religiosity of the parental home.

The *sources of news and information*-bloc contained four items on types and frequency of media use, one of which specifically focused on Internet-use. The results reveal high levels and frequency of Internet use across the entire sample (N=4964), with an average of 85.1 percent of all respondents reporting using the Internet ‘every day’ (as compared to 32.4 percent for television, 12.5 percent for newspapers/magazines, and 11 percent for radio). The *sources of news and information*-bloc also included the multi-option question ‘If you ever use the Internet, for which of the following activities do you use it?’. The question was answered on a five-point frequency scale (ranging from ‘every-day’ to ‘almost daily’ to ‘every week’ to ‘occasionally’ to ‘never’). The entire sample results for ‘every day’ usage for all ten options included were as follows: ‘communication’ (72.1 percent), ‘developing social networks’ (33.3 percent), ‘finding information’ (62.9 percent), ‘entertainment’ (53.2 percent), ‘buying things or services’ (3.8 percent), ‘selling things or services’ (1.5 percent), ‘uploading self-created content’ (3.8 percent), ‘health or wellbeing related issues’ (4.1 percent), ‘religious or spiritual services and issues’ (2.4 percent), and ‘political issues’ (8.3 percent). The option ‘religious or spiritual services and issues’ was thus the second least commonly selected option across the entire sample, with 54.3 percent reporting ‘never’ using the Internet for such purposes.

Turning now to our case studies, we will see that these numbers based on the total YARG-sample hide a great deal of local variations.

### ***The case of Ghana: Young adults, religion, and media in a context of high religious vitality***

The Republic of Ghana, established in 1960, can generally be regarded a highly and actively religious country. Based on data gathered by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in 2012, Christianity constitutes the most prominent of all religions with approximately 71.2 percent of the Ghanaian population self-identifying as some type of (usually Protestant) Christian, followed by 17.6 percent who self-identify as Muslim. The Ghanaian YARG sample also reveals high degrees of religious self-identification, with 65.2 percent of all respondents considering themselves ‘as belonging to one or more religious groups, communities, or traditions’. The Ghanaian sample also displays the highest levels of self-assessed degrees of religiosity among all samples included in the YARG-project: a mean of 6.78 on self-assessed degree of personal religiosity and a mean of 7.81 on self-assessed degrees of religiosity of the parental home, both well above the entire sample means. Although based on a relatively small sample (N=300), these figured nonetheless suggest a strong transmission of religious beliefs, values, and mores between generations.

The media-landscape of Ghana can generally be described as an open, independent, and relatively less strictly regulated one that encompasses a rich diversity of print, broadcasting, and Internet and mobile news outlets, especially in urban areas (African Media Barometer: Ghana 2017). While radio remains the most popular and widely used media outlet among the Ghanaian population in general, the past two decades have witnessed considerable expansions in digital media infrastructures and provisions (UKEssays 2013; Degadjor 2010; African Media Barometer: Ghana 2017). The Ghanaian media landscape has also been experiencing an accelerating process of digitalization and convergence as ‘traditional’ print, radio, and television outlets are branching out into the online social media sphere (Degadjor 2010).

Regarding frequency of media use, 69.1 percent of the Ghanaian respondents report using the Internet ‘every day’, followed by television (22.9 percent), radio (18.9 percent), and newspapers/magazines (3.3 percent). The Internet thus clearly emerged as the most frequently used and preferred form of media for the Ghanaian respondents. Out of all of the alternatives provided for the *sources of news and information*-bloc question ‘‘If you ever use the Internet, for which of the following activities do you use it?’, ‘religious or spiritual services and issues’ emerged as the fifth most commonly

selected type of Internet usage on a daily basis in the Ghanaian sample, with 11.2 percent of respondents reporting using the Internet for such purposes ‘every day’, followed by 19.2 percent reporting using it ‘almost daily’, 11.9 percent reporting using it ‘every week’, and 47.5 percent reporting using it ‘occasionally’. In stark contrast to all other national samples, only 10.1 percent of the Ghanaian sample reported ‘never’ using the Internet for religious or spiritual purposes or issues. This comparatively high level of Internet-use for religious or spiritual services and issues, which is way above the entire sample average, needs to be understood in relation to the generally strong online and social media presence of religious communities in Ghana, including the more recent proliferation and growing popularity of a variety of religion-focused social media provisions and smartphone applications. Another factor is the strong presence of religious communities and the prevalence of various types of religious activities on the University of Ghana campus in Accra where the sample was gathered.

The survey findings were also corroborated by the in-depth interviews where several respondents elaborated further on how their Internet use for religious or spiritual purposes or issues related to their ‘offline’ religious lives and commitments. However, the interviews also revealed that the Ghanaian respondents generally maintain a certain degree of critical distance towards the content that they come across on various online platforms. For example, some respondents stated that they viewed the scriptures, literature, and messages that they received directly from their religious communities as being more ‘authentic’ and trustworthy compared to similar content communicated through the Internet or social media.

Although the Ghanaian context is clearly characterized by the enduring influence of ‘traditional’ religious socialization agents such as family and religious communities, several respondents also report independently drawing on a range of other media sources when it comes to the development of their own religious outlooks, values, and beliefs. For example, one respondent who self-identified as Muslim stated that he repeatedly uses other sources besides his family and mosque to find information about and to inquire into faith-related issues:

Yes, now I have other sources. I have my own Quran. I learn on myself. The Internet is there. There are website you can go in. There are books I read to get

information about the religion and sometimes you go to other mosques (FGHFB320P).

This excerpt provides an illustration of the ways in which the Internet constitutes an integral part of the religious life of this respondent, although mainly as an environment or reservoir of information that this respondent uses to confirm and authenticate already held religious beliefs. Another respondent who self-identified as Christian stated:

Yeah, I learnt them from the Bible and also when I go to church um, when the pastors preach I learn from them. Friends also and sometimes you get some of the things too from the media thus the radio, the television and I read them from other sources like other books and other publication (FGHFB078P).

This respondent reports engaging with several different types of media, including books and radio, but also pastors and peers, for instruction and guidance on religious matters. This excerpt thus provides an apt illustration of how the media-environment has developed into an increasingly widely tapped source of information about religion-related issues that works to supplement rather than to supplant other sources such as religious communities and peers as part of an ongoing process of personal religious learning.

Overall, the Ghanaian young adults interviewed most commonly reported using various types of media to affirm, corroborate, or confirm already held religious convictions or beliefs. This is particularly the case when respondents talked about situations when they felt confused about and needed more clarity with regard to certain religious beliefs or practices. As the Muslim respondent cited above went on to say:

Well, sometimes you will come across something and you will be contemplating as to whether [...] the religion accepts this or the religion reject that. So when you are faced with that you have to go to the Internet [...] So sometimes when you are faced with those things the easiest way is just to Google and you'll get Islamic lens and you go there, and even Google play we have other Islamic books you can download on your tablet or your phone for reference (FGHFB320P).

This respondent expressly affirms using the Internet as a primary information-source on all kinds of issues relating to his everyday religious life. Indeed, the Internet is described as the ‘easiest’ way to obtain an ‘Islamic lens’ to help this respondent navigate between all the different religious perspectives available online.

A similar approach can be found in the account of a self-identified and actively practicing Christian respondent who stressed the importance of being able to independently develop and grow in his own faith. For this purpose, he reported using several different forms of media as sources of information, including television and radio. Regarding his use of the Internet and social media, he stated:

Yeah, I use the Internet. I really, really use the Internet. In fact I even use the Internet more than watching television and radio when it comes to listening to men of God because there I can get like -- very bulk materials on preaching and stuffs compared to the TV’s and -- because for them I can’t actually tell their program outline or something like that so you can’t predict and say okay maybe we have this time because most of the time you know I am not at home so I don’t have access to television and stuffs. And sometimes too when I get home it will be very late. So, most of the time it’s the Internet (FGHFB043P).

Here we see an explicit and expressed affirmation of the central role of digital online media in the religious life of this respondent. In addition, the account of this respondent also indirectly illustrates how ongoing advances in digital media technologies such as smartphones have greatly increased both the mobility and minute-by-minute accessibility of the Internet and various social media platforms.

As indicated above, the majority of the Ghanaian young adults included in the study report using a wide range of different types of media for religious or spiritual services and issues. These include both ‘traditional’ print media such as books and publications by congregations or religious leaders as well as their associated radio and television programs and social media platforms. The Internet and social media are primarily used for seeking further information and confirmation about already held religious beliefs. As such, rather than using media to communicate and disseminate their religious beliefs and values to others, the Ghanaian young adults interviewed

instead primarily use media to verify the authenticity of previously held convictions and to confirm and complement certain religious teachings and beliefs that they have already been socialized into and already ascribe to. Their media use in this regard is, however, marked by a high degree of independence. The YARG data clearly reveals that primary religious socialization by both family (especially parents) and religious communities have been central for Ghanaian young adults' understanding of religion and that their religious views remain largely based on and informed by the religious teachings that they have received through various forms of religious education: the study of scripture, the reading of literature published by leaders of congregations and churches, and from parental instruction and direction. Media, although widely used for religious purposes, is primarily used to confirm and supplement already held religious convictions and beliefs. But Ghanaian respondents independently draw on a wide range of media sources to supplement and deepen their religious learning, and this could be viewed in terms of a self-socializing practice.

***The case of Turkey: young adults, religion, and media in a context marked by rapid sociocultural change and the persistence of traditional religion***

The Republic of Turkey was established in 1923 as a secular democratic state with a predominantly Muslim population (e.g. Inglehart et al. 2014). Although a predominantly Sunni Muslim country, the religious landscape of Turkey encompasses a diversity of different religious traditions and communities. According to the 2011 World Values Survey data set (Inglehart et al. 2014), the Turkish population displays high levels of religiosity and religious practice. The country also remains generally traditional and conservative when it comes to social and cultural values. In past decades, however, Turkey has witnessed rapid socioeconomic and structural changes coupled with accelerating processes of urbanization. Growing levels of literacy, changing income and consumption patterns, and decreasing numbers of children in urban families have significantly altered traditional socialization patterns (Kagitcibasi 2017). Compared to the rural population, urban and socially upward moving groups have become progressively more likely to value personal autonomy and individual self-determination (Kagitcibasi and Ataca 2005). Although the Turkish context has become marked by the simultaneous existence of traditional and collectivistic rural, and individualistic urban values, a general sensitivity to the needs of family members still



persists among both rural and urban populations. This has led some scholars to characterize the Turkish context as ‘a culture of relatedness’ (e.g. Kagitcibasi 2005, 417).

The Turkish YARG sample reveals relatively moderate degrees of both self-assessed personal and parental family religiosity. The sample displays a mean of 4.3 on self-assessed degree of personal religiosity and a mean of 5.6 on self-assessed degree of religiosity of the parental family, both slightly above the entire sample means. Again, although based on a relatively small sample (N=300), these figures suggest only a moderate degree of perceived difference in degrees of religiosity between respondents and that of their parents. When compared to the Ghanaian sample, the Turkish figures thus align more closely with the results of the entire sample. However, only 35.6 percent of the Turkish respondents considered themselves ‘as belonging to one or more religious groups, communities, or traditions’.

The Turkish media landscape is extensive and diverse, encompassing hundreds of television channels, radio stations, newspapers, and a rapidly growing infrastructure for broadband Internet (TUIK 2017). The Turkish YARG sample reveals that 89.7 percent of respondents use the Internet ‘every day’, followed by television (32.5 percent), newspapers/magazines (13.8 percent), and radio (8.4 percent). As these figures show, the Internet clearly constitutes the most frequently used and preferred media among the Turkish respondents. When it comes to the Turkish respondents’ use of the Internet for ‘religious or spiritual services or issues’, however, only 3.1 percent report using it for such purposes ‘every day’, followed by 5.3 percent reporting using it ‘almost daily’, 12.5 percent reporting using it ‘every week’, 52.5 percent reporting using it ‘occasionally’, and 26.6 percent reporting ‘never’ using the Internet for such purposes. Among all ten options provided, this option emerged as the *least* commonly cited one for every-day use. The figures in all, however, clearly exceed the entire sample average.

When we look to the interviews, we find that the Turkish respondents who do use the Internet for religious or spiritual services and issues tend to do so in a particular set of distinct ways. One characteristic way of doing so is to follow the web pages of/about an admired religious persona, usually an Islamic scholar. For example, as this respondent stated commenting on a set of webpages of a well-known Islamic scholar:

there are certain things I like, certain people. [...] For instance, I always follow his page on the Internet. Ali, the sharia of Ali [...] There are pages formed by his fans right now. They share his sayings and so on (YTRHE124).

Commenting further on how he engages with other people through various sites dedicated to the teachings of Ali, the respondent went on to say:

when I read the comments, seriously, if I believe that the people who make the comments have an accumulation of knowledge, then, surely, I say the things in my opinion, too. [...]: I do it both to share my knowledge and to receive the things they know because there are millions of things I do not know. I always consider my knowledge like this: More accurately, it was my grandma's wording and I applied it to myself: Um, well. "What exists in the world constitutes an ocean. What we know is just a drop in that ocean. [...] Other people's too, each is a drop. Let us try to bring those drops together. This is what my grandma used to say. So, I am trying to bring the other people's drops together, I mean, to bring them together in myself (YTRHE124).

This way of using media for personal religious learning is creating a basis for further discussion outside the online context. This respondent collects information online that he then continues to discuss with his grandmother, who plays a significant role in his personal religious life. His engagement in religion-related discussions online could therefore be viewed in terms of a self-socializing type of activity that he then further supplements through further face-to-face discussions with a trusted person, in this case the grandmother: 'I mean, by following those pages... I also like; it is being shared, but it does not end with sharing. What I do with my grandma is being carried out: exchange of ideas' (YTRHE124). As such, this respondent's religious activities online have a direct and expressed connection to his 'offline' religious life.

Another way of using media for religious purposes that is characteristic for the Turkish sample is by engaging in discussions on religious and existential topics on online social media platforms. One respondent reported regularly engaging in such discussions with people that she called 'friends' but whom she had never actually met in person. This respondent described her everyday surroundings as close-minded and

uncompromising with regard to beliefs and values. Afraid of being condemned, she refrains from talking to other people about religion-related or value-laden topics. But the online chat forums that she regularly participates in provides her with an environment where she can express herself in ways that she feels are not possible with other friends and family. This respondent also reports that the online world has taken on particular importance for her because of the restrictions that her own parents have put on her possibilities to independently inquire into Islam. For this respondent, the Internet therefore provides an environment where she feels that she can exercise a higher degree of personal autonomy and control over her own religious learning:

I mean, to research constantly. I mean, I am curious. No matter how much my mom and others try to obstruct... I mean, even when I take the Qur'an in my hands, I mean, its Turkish version, they tell me "Do not read! Leave it!" They say "Oh, well, do not confuse yourself". They make me leave it aside, but, I go on the Internet secretly... See, the Turkish version exists at home, but, they did not allow me to read it. They literally took it out of my hands. I read its English -- I mean, Turkish version on the Internet gradually. Oh, well, I like discovering like this, to do novel things. I feel happier. I mean, it is as if it is the very thing that makes me cling to life (YTRHE232).

The Internet offers this respondent a crucial platform for self-expression, information searching, and religious learning. This excerpt provides a curious example of parents trying to maintain strict control over the religious learning of their children through actively obstructing and discouraging independent engagement with central religious texts. Because of this, this respondent secretly turns to the Internet and uses it as a central source of personal religious learning. In this case, the agency exercised by this respondent is not geared towards supplementing the religious socialization received through her parents, but rather towards circumventing or sidestepping it.

Overall, actively seeking information, supplementing prior knowledge, and trying to find further support for already held views emerged as the most common ways in which the Turkish young adults interviewed used media for religious or spiritual services and issues. Some also singled out the Internet and online discussion forums as providing them with valuable environments for self-expression and personal autonomy.

A trait shared by most respondents who reported using media for religious purposes is to understand their engagement in mediated environments in terms of a learning process about both self and others that requires active participation and openness to dialogue. This, then, could also be viewed as a type of self-socializing practice, whereby respondents independently engage with a range of religious content online, sometimes to supplement the religious beliefs and values received through conventional primary socialization agents, and sometimes to form their own religious outlooks through discussions with others.

***The case of Peru: young adults, religion, and media in a strongly traditional and predominantly Catholic social and cultural context***

The Republic of Peru was established in 1823. The amended Peruvian constitution of 1993 expressly recognizes the historical role of the Catholic Church (Compendio normativo 2015, art. 50). The vast majority of all Peruvians (above 88 percent) self-identify as Christian (INEI 2008; IOP 2017). According to the Peruvian Institute of Public Opinion of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (IOP), among people between the age of 18–29, 71 percent self-identify as Catholic, followed by 15.3 percent who self-identify as Protestant, 7 percent who cite other religions, and 5.7 percent who cite no religious affiliation (IOP 2017). Although public opinion has gradually become increasingly critical of the social status and enduring public presence of the Catholic Church, it still enjoys widespread support and credibility among the population at large, including among young people (El Comercio 2017).

Peruvian society and culture remains firmly attached to its traditions, especially those that have to do with food, folklore, and received cultural and religious mores. The continuing influence of the latter can, for example, be seen in widespread and enduring resistance towards the legalization of abortion and same-sex marriage. Peruvian society is, however, becoming increasingly pluralistic and diverse. Following the politically turbulent Fujimori-era (1990–2001), the country has experienced a steady increase in political stability, economic growth, and notable improvements in infrastructures for services, including broadband Internet (ODS 2017, 27).

In contrast to the strong public presence of Catholicism and relatively high figures of religious self-identification among the Peruvian population more generally, only 28.7 percent of the Peruvian YARG respondents considered themselves ‘as belonging to one

or more religious groups, communities, or traditions'. The Peruvian sample mean for self-assessed degree of personal religiosity was 3.9, followed by a mean of 6.0 for self-assessed degree of religiosity of the parental home; the former corresponding exactly to the entire sample mean, and the latter clearly exceeding it. The Peruvian respondents thus report a sharper difference between self-assessed degrees of personal religiosity and that of the parental home as compared to the Ghanaian and Turkish samples. These results thus suggest a weaker transmission of religious beliefs and values between respondents and their parents. Peru nevertheless remains a country where many traditional modes of religious socialization still persist (IOP 2017, 13). As noted, higher education has been shown to have a clearly observable impact on the religiosity of young adults. In particular, socialization into the university tends to result in an increasing questioning and relativization of received religious values and mores. This is illustrated by the account of one Peruvian respondent who describes her relationship with Catholicism as follows:

Although the university, well... I wouldn't say is the greatest source of Christianity in the world [talking about her own university], but, eh, yes, partly it is [...] [I]n fact, more I learnt about it, more details I discovered from it. (Interviewer: And what has been decisive to influence you when changing from one point of view to another?) Questioning; knowing and asking. [...] one example is the Bible which now I consider should be read in a critical way, I mean like not taking it in a literal way. Ask, know, respond are frequently used instruments in the university and they are becoming an essential tool to take distance or to become more critical in relation to the received faith (YPEMV050).

As is clearly expressed by this respondent, taking part in higher education has involved a more fundamental change in her entire approach to received religious tradition and sacred texts. Indeed, for this respondent, the principles of critical thinking taught at the university provide an 'essential tool' for taking a critical distance to dominant and received religious tradition.

The media-landscape in Peru is fairly diverse. The most commonly used media are radio and television (Consumo televisivo y radial 2017). Internet use is becoming increasingly widespread, with the most widely used social media platforms being

Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp (GfK 2017, 8; 17). As household Internet connections remain quite rare, most Peruvians still access the Internet through public so-called Internet-booths (rental spaces for the use of computers, Internet, printing and other services attached to computers).

Regarding frequency of media-use, 72.6 percent of the Peruvian respondents report using the Internet 'every day', followed by television (24.9 percent), radio (14.6 percent), and newspapers/magazines (9.4 percent). The Internet is mainly used for 'communication' (64.8 percent) and 'finding information' (55.8 percent). Wikipedia and YouTube stand out as the most frequently mentioned sites in the interviews. Although radio and television remain the most frequently utilized media among the Peruvian population as a whole, Internet use clearly proved to be the most frequently used and preferred media on a daily basis among the Peruvian young adults interviewed for the study. However, when it comes to the Peruvian respondents' use of the Internet for 'religious or spiritual services and issues', only 0.6 percent reported using it for such purposes 'every day', followed by 5.3 percent reporting using it 'almost daily', 5.9 percent reporting using it on a 'weekly basis', 24.9 percent reporting using it 'occasionally', and 62.3 percent reporting 'never' using the Internet for such purposes. These results are clearly below the entire sample average. They also provide a stark contrast to both the Ghanaian and Turkish samples.

Given these results, only a handful of the Peruvian young adults interviewed related their media use to their religious views or engagements. For some respondents, this mainly took the form of satisfying a general curiosity by seeking out information on religious traditions that are generally quite unfamiliar to the Peruvian context. Examples from the interviews include respondents talking about using the Internet to search for information about the Quakers and the Church of Latter-Day Saints. But similar to both the Ghanaian and Turkish cases, most of the Peruvian respondents who talked about their media use in connection with religion-related matters primarily talked about using media, and especially the Internet, as a means to fact-check and acquire quick information about various types of religious beliefs, ideas, practices, etc. For example, one respondent recounted downloading books on religion in order to deepen his understanding of the phenomenon of religion in general. As he stated:

I found some books like, a well-known book. I read it a while ago. I explored what the gospel texts are. They did not coincide with the Bible (YPESC0124).

This somewhat curious excerpt provides an example of a respondent using the Internet as a reservoir of sources for critically inquiring into religion-related issues. In this case, the respondent evidently found a book that made him question the validity and character of the Biblical gospel texts. Another respondent recounted how he had started to discover contradictions in both the Bible and the Qur'an already at the age of 13–14. As he went on to say:

When you have the Internet, you can look there, in effect, and see there are contradictions and it tells you the verse, the chapter and you look and see that these and those are not valid or that such an idea of the Old Testament contradicts the New Testament (YPESC120).

The Internet provides this respondent with the opportunity to directly and independently engage with sacred texts first hand. In a way that reflects Peruvian respondents' use of media in connection with religion-related issues more generally, the engagement of this respondent primarily reflects a critical curiosity towards religion-related issues, and in this case the consistency of Biblical texts.

While the Peruvian sample generally reveals a preponderance to use various forms of media to inquire into religion-related issues in a critical spirit, we also find a few cases where respondents' engagements with media for religious purposes have had life-changing effects. One respondent talked about experiencing a 'religious breakthrough' while surfing the web, which led him to search out videos on YouTube about the requirements for becoming a Catholic priest. As he recounted:

Approximately in the beginning of the month of October, I was on the Internet and out of nowhere, I started to search on YouTube, as it is called, the topic "why not be a priest" ... and that's where everything was born, from there until now (YPESC122).

Here we see an example of a respondent who talks about the Internet having played a central role in igniting his interest in religion in the first place. It also provides an example of how the vast amounts of religious content available online can inspire people to more actively and consciously seek out much more particular types of religious content, in this case relating to Catholic priesthood.

Overall, the Peruvian sample provides a clear contrast to both the Ghanaian and Turkish samples regarding both degrees of religious self-identification as well as media use for religion-related purposes. As noted, most Peruvian respondents do not report using media for religious or spiritual services and issues. The ones who do mainly use media to inquire into religion-related issues in a critical spirit. In contrast to both the Ghanaian and Turkish cases where respondents primarily use media to supplement and develop already held religious beliefs and convictions, the Peruvian respondents instead primarily use media to independently fact-check religious claims and propositions as part of a more general effort to distance themselves from received religious tradition. The type of self-socializing practice exercised by some of the Peruvian respondents is thus more adequately characterized as a type of independent and self-directed *disengagement* from received religious beliefs and mores.

### **Concluding discussion**

This article has aimed to explore the usefulness of the notion of self-socialization for making sense of the ways in which young adult university students in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru use media, and especially digital media, for various types of religious purposes.

The YARG data does not suggest any notable retreat of traditional or conventional religious socialization agents in Ghana, as respondents clearly underline the enduring influence of family and religious communities for their own religious learning. Ongoing developments in the Ghanaian media landscape and the proliferation of digital technologies and social media has, however, clearly brought about a situation that both makes possible and serves to encourage independent and self-directed religious learning. In the Turkish case too, traditional socialization agents remain essential and media primarily functions as a source of knowledge that supplements previous understandings. For some, though, media also provides a crucial environment for discussions about religion and as a source of essential knowledge when other sources



are not available. The Peruvian case stands out as being the least religious and consequently also the setting where media use for religious purposes is most uncommon. However, here too, media is widely used as a knowledge source, but a source more clearly related to taking a critical stance towards received religious tradition, or religion in general.

As indicated in the presentations of our chosen cases above, it is possible to apply the notion of self-socialization on some of the behaviors discussed and expressed by some of the participants in our study. With regard to only media use as such, it is quite evident that the young adults interviewed – in line with previous research on young adulthood, media use, and self-socialization – are independent and active (digital) media users. They rarely report experiencing any restrictions when it comes to their own media use. While many of them express critical views on for example social media, they nevertheless remain generally comfortable with living in a media saturated world where daily Internet- and social media use constitutes a natural and taken for granted part of their daily lives. While the three cases do reveal some contextual differences, our respondents can nonetheless generally be characterized as active and independent media users.

Turning to the specific focus of this article, it seems clear that the notion of self-socialization does possess some degree of both explanatory and analytic utility. This is, however, provided that processes of self-socialization are explored and understood in close relation to the enduring influence of ‘conventional’ or ‘traditional’ primary socialization environments and agents such as the family and religious communities and leaders. While our data clearly reveals that media provide young adults with a central resource of information, knowledge, and new perspectives on religion-related issues, many of our respondents expressly viewed the information they encountered through different types of media against the background of the religious knowledge that they had already received through traditional socialization agents such as family or religious communities. This is not surprising considering that media tend to lack clearly identifiable socialization goals, although the types of content provided by media outlets in particular social and cultural contexts may align quite closely with those of traditional socialization agents. This is perhaps most evident in the case of Ghana where religious communities occupy highly visible positions across the Ghanaian media-sphere, as they also do in Ghanaian society and culture more generally. At the same time, the young

adults interviewed also no doubt exercised a large degree of independent agency when it came to their engagements with media in religion-related matters.

While young adults in Ghana, Turkey, and Peru are clearly actively involved in their own religious socialization, and although media often plays a clearly observable part in this process, it remains clear that these factors need to be understood as part of a wider web of socialization agents. The YARG project findings presented in this article raise new questions about the extent to which the enduring centrality of traditional socialization agents might have been overlooked in previous research on young adults, religion, and media. While we are by no means suggesting that previous research in the area would have completely ignored the interconnection of multiple socialization agents, our aim has nevertheless been to provide a more detailed account of such interconnections through combining survey data with the actual views of young adults themselves as expressed in in-depth interviews. We also hope to have been able to show the value of exploring contemporary modes of religious socialization through transnational comparisons of non-western contexts.

### **Acknowledgements**

Significant parts of the fieldwork for the YARG project was conducted by Francis Benyah (Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana) in Ghana, and Mauricio Villacrez (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru) in Peru.

### **References:**

- African Media Barometer: Ghana 2017. 2017. Windhoek, Namibia: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.  
Accessed 5 January 2019.  
[http://www.fesmedia-africa.org/uploads/media/AMB\\_Ghana\\_2017\\_Online.pdf](http://www.fesmedia-africa.org/uploads/media/AMB_Ghana_2017_Online.pdf)
- Ahmed, Sameera. 2006. "The Media Consumption of Young British Muslims." In *Muslims and the News Media*, edited by Elizabeth Poole and John E. Richardson. 167–175. London: I.B. Tauris.

- Anderson, Laurel and Deborah Brown McCabe. 2012. "A Cocunstructed World: Adolescent Self-Socialization on the Internet." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 31 (2): 240–253. doi: 10.1509/jppm.08.043.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen and Lene Arnett Jensen. 2002. "A Congregation of One: Individualized Religious Beliefs Among Emerging Adults." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 17 (5): 451–467. doi: 10.1177/0743558402175002.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen, and Nancy L. Galambos. 2003. "Culture and Conceptions of Adulthood." *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 100, summer: 91–98. doi: 10.1002/cd.77.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen, and Susan Taber. 1993. "Adolescence Terminable and Interminable: When Does Adolescence End?" *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 23 (5): 517–537. doi: 10.1007/BF01537734.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen. 1995. "Adolescents' Uses of Media for Self-Socialization." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 24 (5): 519–533. doi: 10.1007/BF01537054.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen. 2000. "Emerging Adulthood: A Theory of Development from the Late Teens through the Twenties." *American Psychologist* 55 (5): 469–480. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.55.5.469.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen. 2004. *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen. 2007. "Socialization in Emerging Adulthood: From the Family to the Wider World, from Socialization to Self-Socialization." In *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by Joan E. Crusec and Paul D. Hastings, 208–230. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Arweck, Elisabeth, and Gemma Penny. 2015. "Young People's Attitudes to Religious Diversity: Socilising Agents and Factors Emerging from Qualitative and Quantitative Data of a Nation-Wide Project in the UK." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 36 (3): 255–273. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2015.1029890.
- Barry, Carolyn McNamara, and Mona M. Abo Zena. 2014. "Seeing the Forest and the Trees: How Emerging Adults Navigate Meaning-Making." In *Emerging Adults' Religiousness and Spirituality*, edited by Carolyn McNamara Barry and Mona M. Abo-Zena, 3–18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bobkowski, Piotr S. 2014. "Faith in the Digital Age: Emerging Adults' Religious Mosaics and Media Practices." In *Emerging Adults' Religiousness and*

- Spirituality*, edited by Carolyn McNamara Barry and Mona M. Abo-Zena, 93–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bolton, Ruth N., A. Parasuraman, Ankie Hoefnagels, Nanne Migshels, Sertan Kabadayi, Thorsten Gruber, Yuliya Komariva loureiro, and David Solnet. 2013. “Understanding Generation Y and Their Use of Social Media: A Review and Research Agenda.” *Journal of Service Management* 24 (3): 245–267. doi: 10.1108/09564231311326987.
- Bromander, Jonas. 2012. ”Religion som resurs: en översikt över enkätmaterialen.” In *Religion som resurs? Existentiella frågor och värderingar i unga svenskar liv*, edited by Mia Lövheim and Jonas Bromander, 43–76. Skellefteå: Argos.
- Brouwer, Lenie. 2006. “Giving Voice to Dutch Moroccan Girls on the Internet.” *Global Media Journal* 5 (9): 1–10. doi: 10.1177/1206331218794603.
- Bryant, Alyssa N. 2007. “Gender Differences in Spiritual Development during the College Years.” *Sex Roles* 56 (11): 835–846. doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9240-2.
- Campbell, Heidi. 2010. *When Religion Meets New Media*. London: Routledge.
- Compendio normativo 2015. Tercera edición. Lima: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales.  
 Accessed 6 January 2018.  
<https://www.tc.gob.pe/tc/private/adjuntos/cec/publicaciones/publicacion/Compendio%20Normativo%202018.pdf>
- Consejo consultivo y de radio y televisión (CONCORTV). 2017. “Consumo televisivo y radial 2017.” Lima: CONCORTV  
 Accessed 6 January.  
<http://www.concortv.gob.pe/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/NACIONAL.pdf>
- Dandelion, Pink. 2010. “Conclusion.” In *Religion and Youth*, edited by Sylvia Collins-Mayo and Pink Dandelion, 233–238. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Davignon, Phil. 2013. “The Effect of R-Rated Movies on Adolescent and Young Adult Religiosity: Media and Self-Socialization.” *Review of Religious Research* 55 (4): 615–628. doi: 10.1007/s13644-013-0124-3.
- Degadjor, Mac-Jordan. 2010. “Social Media and Internet Use in Ghana.”  
 Accessed 6 January 2019.  
<https://www.slideshare.net/macjordangh/social-media-internet-use-in-ghana>
- Dubow, Eric F., L. Rowell Huesmann, and Dara Greenwood. 2007. “Media and Youth

- Socialization: Underlying Processes and Moderators of Effects.” In *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by Joan E. Crusec and Paul D. Hastings, 404–430. New York: The Guilford Press.
- El Comercio, 2017. “En qué instituciones confían los peruanos”. El Comercio 1.10. 2017.  
 Accessed 5 January 2019.  
<https://elcomercio.pe/politica/encuesta-instituciones-confian-peruanos-noticia-462214>.
- Facio, Alicia, Santiago Resett, Fabiana Micocci, and Clara Mistrorigo. 2007. “Emerging Adulthood in Argentina: An Age of Diversity and Possibilities.” *Child Development Perspectives* 1 (2): 115–118. doi: 10.1111/j.1750-8606.2007.00025.x.
- GfK. 2017. “Kit de planeamiento digital Perú 2017”. Lima: GfK.  
 Accessed 5 January 2019.  
[https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/2405078/Landing\\_Pages\\_PDF/Peru/GfK%20Uso%20de%20Internet%202016%20-%20Short\\_old.pdf](https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/2405078/Landing_Pages_PDF/Peru/GfK%20Uso%20de%20Internet%202016%20-%20Short_old.pdf)
- Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). 2012. *2010 Population and Housing Census: Summary Report of Final Results*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Heinz, Walter R. 2002a. “Transition Discontinuities and the Biographical Shaping of Early Work Careers.” *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 60 (2): 220–240.
- Heinz, Walter R. 2002b. “Self-Socialization and Post-Traditional Society.” *Advances in Life Course Research* 7: 41–64. doi: 10.1006/jvbe.2001.1865.
- Hill, Jonathan P. 2011. “Faith and Understanding: Specifying the Impact of Higher Education on Religious Belief.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (3): 533–551. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5906.2011.01587.x.
- Hoover, Stewart M. 2006. *Religion in the Media Age*. London: Routledge.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI). 2017. “Línea de base de los principales indicadores disponibles de los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible (ODS).” Lima: INEI.  
 Accessed 6 January 2019.  
[https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones\\_digitales/Est/Lib1429/libro.pdf](https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1429/libro.pdf)

- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI). 2008. "Perfil sociodemográfico del Perú." Lima: INEI.  
Accessed 5 January 2019.  
[https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones\\_digitaes/Est/Lib1136/libro.pdf](https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitaes/Est/Lib1136/libro.pdf)
- Inglehart, Ronald, Christian W. Haerpfer, Alejandro Moreno, Christian Welzel, Kseniya Kizilova, Jaime Diez-Medrano, Marta Lagos, Pippa Norris, Eduard Ponarin, and Bi Puranen, et al., eds. 2014. "World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version."  
Accessed 5 January 2019.  
[www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp).  
Madrid: JD Systems Institute
- Instituto de Opinión Pública (IOP). 2017. "Religiones y religiosidad en el Perú de hoy."  
Lima: PUCP. Accessed 6 January 2019.  
<http://www.iop.pucp.edu.pe>
- Jansen, Bernard J., Andrea Tapia, and Amanda Spink. 2010. "Searching for Salvation: An analysis of US Religious Searching on the World Wide Web." *Religion* 40 (1): 39–52. doi: 10.1016/j.religion.2009.07.002.
- Jones, Chris, Ruslan Ramanau, Simon Cross, and Graham Healing. 2010. "Net Generation or Digital Natives: Is There a Distinct New Generation Entering University?," *Computers and Education* 54 (3): 722–732. doi: 10.1016/j.compedu.2009.09.022.
- Kagitcibasi, Cigdem. 2005. "Autonomy and Relatedness in Cultural Context: Implications for Self and Family." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 36 (4): 403–422. doi: 10.1177/0022022105275959.
- Kagitcibasi, Cigdem. 2017. *Family, Self, and Human Development across Cultures*. New York: Routledge.
- Kagitcibasi, Cigdem, and Bilge Ataca. 2005. "Value of Children and Family Change: A Three-Decade Portrait from Turkey." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 54 (3): 317–338. doi: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2005.00213.x.
- Knobloch, Sylvia, Coy Callison, Lei Chen, Annett Frizsche, and Dolf Zillmann. 2005. "Children's Sex-Stereotyped Self-Socialization through Selective Exposure to Entertainment: Cross-Cultural Experiments in Germany, China, and the United

- States.” *Journal of Communication*, March: 122–138. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2005.tb02662.x.
- Koenig, Laura B. 2015. “Change and Stability in Religiousness and Spirituality in Emerging Adulthood.” *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 176 (6): 369–385. doi: 10.1080/00221325.2015.1082458.
- Kühle, Lene. 2012. “In the Faith of our Fathers? Religious Minority Socialization in Pluralistic Societies.” *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 25 (2): 113–130.
- Lövheim, Mia. 2012. “Religious Socialization in a Media Age.” *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 25 (2): 151–168.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. 2007. “Historical Overview of Socialization Research and Theory.” In *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by Joan E. Crusec and Paul D. Hastings, 13–41. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Mayrl, Damon and Freedom Ouer. 2009. “Religion and Higher Education: Current Knowledge and Directions for Future Research.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48 (2): 260–275. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5906.2009.01446.x.
- Miller, Brian J, Peter Munday and Jonathan P. Hill. 2013. “Faith in the Age of Facebook: Exploring the Links Between Religion and Social Networking Site Membership and Use.” *Sociology of Religion* 74 (2): 227–253. doi: 10.1093/socrel/srs073.
- Moberg, Marcus, and Sofia Sjö. 2015. “Mass-Mediated Popular Culture and Religious Socialisation.” In *Religion, Media, and Social Change*, edited by Kennet Granholm, Marcus Moberg and Sofia Sjö, 91–109. New York: Routledge.
- Newman, Philip R. and Barbara M. Newman. 2009. “Self-Socialization: A Case of a Parachute Child.” *Adolescence*, autumn 44 (175): 523–537.
- Small, Jenny L. and Nicholas A. Bowman. 2011. “Religious Commitment, Skepticism, and Struggle Among U.S. College Students: The Impact of Majority/Minority Religious Affiliation and Institutional Type.” *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (1): 154–174. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5906.2010.01557.x.
- Smith, Christian, with Patricia Snell. 2009. *Souls in Transition: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Emerging Adults*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turkish Statistical Institute. 2017. “Survey on Information and Communication Technology (ICT): Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Enterprises.” Accessed 21 August 2017.

[www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr)

Uecker, Jeremy E., Mark D. Regnerus, and Margaret L. Vaaler. 2007. "Losing My Religion: The Social Sources of Religious Decline in Early Adulthood." *Social Forces* 85 (4): 1667–1692. doi: 10.1353/sof.2007.0083.

UKEssays. 2013. "Social Media and New Media in Ghana Media Essay."  
Accessed 6 January 2019.

<https://www.ukessays.com/essays/media/social-media-and-new-media-in-ghana-media-essay.php?vref=1>

Vittadini, Nicoletta, Andra Siibak, Ierna Reifova, and Helena Bilandzic. 2013.

"Generations and Media: The Social Construction of Generational Identity and Differences." In *Audience Transformations. Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity*, edited by Nico Carpentier, Kim Christian Schrøder and Lawrie Hallett, 65–81. New York: Routledge.

Voas, David, and Alasdair Crockett. 2005. "Religion in Britain: Neither Believing nor Belonging." *Sociology* 39 (1): 11–28. doi: 10.1177/0038038505048998.

Wrong, Dennis H. 1961. "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology." *American Sociological Review*, 26 (2): 183–193. doi: 10.2307/2089854.

## **Interviews**

FGHFB320P

FGHFB078P

FGHFB043P

YTRHE232

YTRHE124

YPESC0124

YPESC122

YPESC120

YPEMV050