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GERMAN TURKS AND THEIR MEDIA CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

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GERMAN TURKS AND THEIR MEDIA CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

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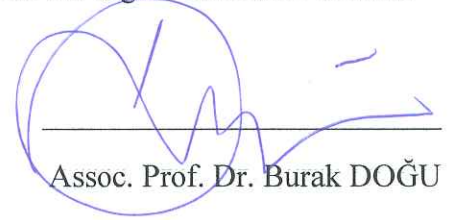MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

GERMAN TURKS AND THEIR MEDIA CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

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The thesis, examines the media of German Turkish people and their media usage. In the study, the method of in-depth interviews was used in order to understand and to reveal the habits of the German Turks concerning media usage. These participants in the aforementioned interviews consist of 18 people. While some of the interviews work in newspapers or are students and magazine owners; few people work in different areas of expertise. Furthermore, the participants in the interviews are migrants or have some ties with migration. As a result of in-depth interviews, it was observed that the media of the German Turks have started to change and becoming hybridized. With the advancement of technology and the increase in the use of internet technologies, the migrant media have started to be transformed.

Keywords: Migration, hybrid media, immigrants

ÖZET

ALMANYALI TÜRKLER VE MEDYA KULLANIM PRATİKLERİ

Kaleli, Nilüfer

Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

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Çalışmada Almanyalı Türklerin medyası ve medya kullanım alışkanlıkları incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın uygulama kısmında Almanyalı Türklerin medya kullanım alışkanlıklarını ve medyalarını anlamak ve ortaya çıkartmak için derinlemesine görüşme tekniği kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılar 18 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcıların bir kısmı gazeteci, öğrenci ve dergi sahibi olmasına karşın, bir kısmı bu meslek grupları haricindedir. Öte yandan, mülakata katılanlar arasında Türkiyeli göçmenler ve göçle ilişkisi olan kişiler yer almaktadır. Derinlemesine mülakat sonucunda Türkiyeli göçmenlerin medya kullanım alışkanlıklarının değişmeye başladığı ve melezleşmeye başladığı gözlemlenmiştir. Teknolojinin gelişmesi ve internet kullanımının artmasıyla birlikte Almanya'daki göçmen medyası da bir dönüşüm içerisine girmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Melez Medya, Göçmenler

Bu ve bundan sonraki sayfalara teşekkür ve ithaf sayfaları eklenecektir.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Technology has a dominant effect in our lives because we can easily reach all the information we want with the help of information technologies. People who live in different countries are able to get the news, information, and trends just like the rest of the world.

A common assumption is that we live in a new world order. With the advancement of communication technologies, countries are connected to each other; without time and space limitations or boundaries etc...With a single click, people are able to get informed on any subject they want and to reach with ease what happened on the other side of the planet. Technology has opened a new door for us and people are no longer limited by space and time. Especially, new technologies satisfy the imagination of the migrants. Unlike the past, migrants can get informed on what happened in their homeland with one click. Furthermore, they do not depend solely on the homeland and host land media anymore. They also use global media.

> Today, several communication devices such as telegraph, post, phone, which are all communication tools as well as newspaper, radio, television, which are the mass communication tools and computer (internet and e-mail) and satellites have become the indispensable pieces of contemporary communication (Çoban, 2013).

With the communication technologies getting improved, migrants' communication problems were solved. In contrast with the first generation, their problems concerning communication and information have decreased. In addition, the new generation of migrants has adopted the new technological developments into their culture. This thesis will explore the hybrid culture and a new language developed among migrants. As the result of the adaptation of new technological development, media has become bilingual. This thesis will explore migrant communities and their media usage. The main question of the thesis is how migrant' communities have been affected by the hybrid culture represented in the bilingual media in Nuremberg and Regensburg.

After the Second World War, the process of industrialization in Eastern Europe began rapidly. Even though the production rate was, increased, these countries did not have enough

labour force. This has sparked a process of international migration. Germany, where the industrialization process was at its peak, the rate of immigration to this country increased.

> The Turks' adventure of immigration began in 1957with the departure of 12 artisans for Germany. As this group was followed by many other works, a labour recruitment agreement was followed by many other works; a labor recruitment agreement was signed on 31 October 1961 in order to officially organize the influx. The immigration wave from Turkey to Germany lasted until 1973 when the applications were suspended after the 500,000th was sent off to Germany with a ceremony in 1972. (Turan, 1997).

According to statistics from the year 2016, the number of Turkish inhabitants in Germany was determined as 1, 5 million (Destatis, Statisches Bundesamt, 2016). Most of the immigrants either returned to Turkey or obtained German citizenship.

1.1 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of five chapters;

Introduction part explains the purpose of the thesis, gives information about the used methodology. It is my Introduction chapters. I talk about structure of the thesis. Give some brief about the thesis. And deal with methodology.

In the second chapter, the theories of migration, globalization, and identity are explained. Also, I talk about types of media. Deal with Global media order. In second part ı talk about Turkish media history and channels. Then ı give information about Turkish media in Germany. Then Internet media was explained. Also, local media and German media were explained.

In the third chapter is my case study. In this part focused my subject and research part. I deal with in-depth interview. It is tool of qualitative research. I show my data, observers and gathering information. It is my research part and I explained there what I found during the thesis and research time.

In the last chapter, I will end my thesis with a conclusion. I explained my data and give all information about all theses. In the conclusion part, I will present and discuss my findings.

1.2 Research Questions:

- What is the importance of national media among the Turkish diaspora in Germany?

- What is the importance of understanding and representation on German media for the Turkish diaspora in Germany?

- What are the main media channels used by the Turkish diaspora in Germany?

- Do new forms of media have an effect on the younger generations of the Turkish diaspora's language and culture?

- How do the new media help them overcome the problems of representation?

- Does the Turkish population in Germany get information about their homeland through the Turkish media or the new media?

- What are the main channels of communication during the migration process and the present day?

1.3 The Purpose of the Thesis

The communication technologies have changed the media of the diaspora. The concepts of time and place have lost their meanings.

Distance is not as important as it was in the past. With new technologies, immigrants can reach any information and news quickly. They are no longer dependent solely on the national media or the media of the hosting country. They can also take part in the global media thanks to internet, they can shape their own media as in the example of "Almanya Bülteni" (http://www.almanyabulteni.de).

Upon looking at the Turkish media in Germany, it can be seen that they started publishing news both in German and Turkish last year. Some German newspapers also began publishing bilingual news stories. We cannot say for sure that the Turkish and German media is able to satisfy immigrants' expectations. With the advancement of communication technologies, internet pages or local magazines have found a solution to this problem.

The main objective of this thesis is to examine the bilingual media system in Germany in order to determine the reasons why immigrants prefer local magazines or internet pages.

1.4 Methodology

First of all, I would like to give some information about the research methods. I preferred qualitative research methods because they are suitable for my subject and the questions. "Qualitative research is one of the processes aiming to produce information in order to comprehend people's lifestyles, histories, behaviours, organizational structures, and the social change (Strauss and Corbin, 1990)".

Although quantitative researches are based on statistical data, they seek answers about people's behaviour, the reasons why, and how they attach meanings to different situations. Qualitative research method offers the opportunity of explaining culture, issues, people etc. The subject of this thesis is the Turkish immigrants in Germany also their media usage. As far as the subject is concerned, this approach is convenient for my thesis.

> Qualitative data are any information which is gathered through techniques such as observation in a given natural environment and interviews and which consist of the perceptions and thought of people on certain (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007).

The qualitative method is also suitable for the aim of this thesis. I worked with several participants and their own ideas and arguments are important to me. "Qualitative methods are typically more flexible – that is, they allow greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participant. For example, qualitative methods ask mostly "open-ended" questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex than simply "yes" or "no" (Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide, (n.d), overwiev,p:4)".

I used the observation method on several occasions. While visiting certain places for observations, I participated in different organizations and ceremonies such as wedding ceremonies, hospital visits, university events, and so on. I used this method on 20 people as well, and on approximately 100 people during my visit. I took notes and I summarized my expressions.

Observation methods are useful for researchers in a variety of ways. They provide researchers with ways to check for non-verbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participant communicate with each other, and check for how much time is spent on various activities (Schmuck, 1997).

I used the methods of snow-ball sampling and random sampling for in-depth interview. According to Mack et al; (2005) "the in-depth interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective on the research topic" .

I have used the method of open ended interviews because participants feel more flexible while responding to the questions. For in-depth interviews, I used a voice recorder and took notes. And I used in-depth interview to 20 people. The interviews lasted 30 minutes. The participants in the research are from different age groups, genders and social groups. They are from the cities of Regensburg and Nuremberg. Some participants in the in-depth interviews were students at Regensburg University. 10 of which participating directly in the interviews. I met them at Regensburg University.

The questions I asked the participants are as follows;

- What do nation and Turkey mean to you?

- What do Germany and being an immigrant mean to you?

- What is home for you and how you feel about migration?

- Do you feel like a German, a Turk, or something else?

- Which nation media do you use? Turkish or German?

- What does the both Turkish and German mainstream media satisfy your desire?

- Do you use local internet pages? Which one?

- Do you like local newspapers and magazines?

- Do you know Regensburg Haber, Ses Dergisi or another local magazines?

A focus group was one of the tools of qualitative research I have used in the research. In Regensburg University, I met with Turkish students. I noted down some of the details and I spoke with them about migration, culture and media usage for 1,5 hours.

1.5 Limitations

During the research process, I faced some problems. One problem is that my thesis subject is about Germany and I need to be in Germany in order to make observation. The distance was a problem for me, and the visits were not frequent. Another problem was meeting with the participants. People are so busy in Germany and you should make an early appointment. Gathering everyone in one place proved to be difficult for me. For that reason, the group meetings took a long time. A given time was suitable for one person but for someone else, it was not. Turkish people are diverse in Germany, coming from different ethnic and regional background. They do not come together with each other, therefore I met them separately. The language barrier was another difficulty as some young people   do not understand and speak Turkish very well, and my knowledge of German was not sufficient to explain some of the terms. When this was the case my friend helped me to translate the terms. I visited Regensburg University for some time and observed Turkish students. For analysing the gathered data, I used the qualitative analysis method. I transcribed and analysed my notes and interviews documents gathered by using computers, mobile phones, a voice recorder, a camera, and so on.

Participants of the thesis become of 20 people. There are different age, education and different work area. Like, two of them students and they are 8- 15 years old. Two of them old people, they are 65-78 years old. Two of them magazine directors and they are different ages. I selected my participants' different age level and education, work areas. I used their name and ages in the research parts.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF MIGRATION

2.1 Migration

The history of migration is as old as the human history itself. After adopting a sedentary life, societies left their settlements for various reasons and sought new places to settle. Holy scriptures, narratives, and legends abound with stories of migration. This proves that the concept of migration has existed and been shaping human life since ancient times. The old stories of migrations caused by factors like wars, famine, and banishment are now replaced by economy-based migrations with the improving socio-economic factors, new employment opportunities, and the international spread of employment opportunities and fields with globalisation. While environmental conditions and wars influenced migrations in the past, economic and sociological factors such as employment resources and the expectation of better

living standards affect migrations in the contemporary world. Thus emerged the concept of labour migration, which affects millions of people's lives.

Intranational and international migrations have been discussed in many articles, academic studies, and resources. Even though there are many definitions of migration, the focus of this article will be on a few of these definitions.

> According to the International Organization for Migration's (IOM, OIM) definition:The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification (IOM, OIM, 2011).

Another definition made by the Turkish Language Institution (TDK) is as follows: n. The act of persons or communities relocating from a country to another, from a settlement to another, for economic, social, and political reasons; relocation; emigration; immigration.

> The most comprehensive definition of migration may be made as "all of the relocations taking place within a significant distance and in a time period sufficient to produce an effect" (Erder, 1988, 9 cited by Yılmaz, 2014) .

By looking at the definitions of migration, it can be observed that the employment opportunities in industry, the expansion of communications and transportation networks, and the international circulation of employment opportunities bring about the economic reasons behind migrations and the labour migration becoming the focal category of migration. Upon observing the reasons behind migrations, it is visible that migrations were somewhat mandatory due to factors such as natural disasters, devastations, wars, climate conditions, and banishments up until the 20th century; and that this was supplanted by voluntary migration movements caused by motives like better employment opportunities, the desire for a prosperous life, and education with the advancement of industry and globalisation. As a matter of fact, a similar interpretation was made in the article written by Zeynep Aksoy:

> Migrations occur either voluntarily or compulsorily. Upon looking at history, it can be seen that mass migrations are principally caused by a certain obligation (293)... European countries struggling to recover after the Second World War started to accept immigrants from underdeveloped and developing countries in order to meet their labour demands. Germany, the leading state among the aforementioned countries,

imported labour from countries like Greece, Spain, and Turkey between 1954 and the 1970s Inasmuch as it developed due to the wills of the people included, it is possible to evaluate this relationship of migration created by economic factors as voluntary. (Aksoy, 2012)

Along with economic reasons, different factors like the outcomes of globalisation, family reunification, and education contributed to international migration. It can be stated that the fundamental reason behind international migration is the desire for a higher income and better living standards. In fact, the labour migration to European countries starting from the 1950s can be counted as an evidence of this point of view. The lack of sufficient employment opportunities in the home country, natural disasters, and the expectation for higher incomes was the driving force behind the labour migration to Germany. The labour demand of the host country and the economic and social needs of the migrants are the fundamental reasons for the migration.

2.1.1 Types of International Migration

At this point, Castles discusses three types of migration in his article. "three types of primary migration have been most common: permanent settlement migration, temporary labour migration and refugee movement" (Castles, 2012).

Koser's definition of highly-skilled migrants (Koser, 2007) is as follows: "A growing proportion of people who move for largely economic reasons are now classified as highly skilled migrants. Often their movement is facilitated by selective visa systems that allocate points according to the education and qualifications of the applicant (p.14)".

Low-skilled migration "was crucial to post-1945 industrial growth in most rich countries but is now generally rejected on the grounds that is economically unnecessary and socially harmful" (Castles, 2016).

According to Castles , forced migration is a border term which fits better with current realities than the old notion of the individually-persecuted refugee as laid down in the 1951 Geneva Convention" (Castles, 2016).

2.1.2 Theories of International Migration

Ravenstein's Theories of Migration

According to the articles titled "The Laws of Migration" published between 1885 and 1889, seven laws of migration put forward by Ravenstein (2008) are as follows:

- Migration and Distance: For Ravenstein, the abundance of employment opportunities and the ratio of the inhabitants of that given city to the overall population determine the extent of the migration.

- Migration and Its Steps: According to this law, the gaps in the sending cities are filled by the people immediately surrounding them, and the gaps in these cities will be filled by another sending region.

- The Process of Dispersion and Absorption: The process of meeting expectations reciprocally as the main purpose. While it is a process of dispersion for the migrant moving to the city for a better life and with economic expectations, it is a process of absorption for businesses in the receiving city.

- Series of Migration: He indicated that migration occurs continuously with the receiving regions being sending regions as well. Each migration movement determined the next one as its trigger.

- Direct Migration According to this, people directly migrate to cities and industrial centres directly, without any steps.

- The difference between rural and urban settlers.

- The difference between men and women.

Theory of Pushing & Pulling

In the theory put forward by Lee, he focuses on migration rather than migrants but states that migrants must not be disregarded (Çağlayan, 2006) . In the article written by Everett Lee titled "A Theory of Migration", he underscores the fundamental characteristics of migrations. For this theory, there are positive and negative factors in both the sending region and the receiving region. The four factors he determined in his analysis are as follows:

- Factors associated with the area of origin.

- Factors associated with the area of destination.

- Intervening obstacles.

- Personal factors.

Petersen's Five Types of Migration

- Primitive Migration: These migrations are caused by the natural environment. It signifies mass migrations due to reasons like drought.

- Forced and Impelled Migrations: Migrations due to the pressure created by the social status.

- Free Migration: There are no forcing or impelling reasons for the migrants in this type of migration. The migrant decides and acts on their own will.

- Mass Migration: Peterson associates this status with technological advancement. With the advancement of transportation networks and opportunities, he states that migration became a mass notion. The collective state of migration separates this type from others.

Theory of Intervening Opportunities

Another theory to be discussed related to the sociology of migration is the theory of intervening opportunities. In an overview of this theory, it can be observed that it a micro-oriented theory focusing on the individuals' decisions and the reasons which lead to these decisions and foregrounding the immigrant as the social agent. In 1940's first time Stouffer talked about Theory of Intervening Opportunities. According the approaches important points,

farness of the migration road and opportunities of which immigrant place and account of the opportunities.

Centre-Periphery Theory

According to this theory, the world is divided into two, one being the centre and the second being the periphery. These two worlds are interconnected in an economic sense. This theory developed by Samir Amin (1981), Immanuel Wallerstein (2010), Andre Gunder Frank (2016) etc.

Migration Systems Theory

In this theory, two or more countries are in a migration system with a reciprocal exchange of migrants. According to Migration Systems Theory, immigration movement based on immigration related relations. Generally, between the two countries that receive and migrate, there is a relation between. These relations based on colonial times and colonial relations, commercial and financial relation, political population and cultural depended. Also, these relations based on military relations.

Network Theory

The network theory differs from other theories and models since it tries to make a meaning of migration through the migrant. The fundamental reason behind this difference is the emphasis on the migrant, i.e. the individual, who gets lost and left out in other theories and models. (Çağlayan,.2017).

2.2. Labour Migration and Turkish Migration To Germany

2.2.1 Labour Migration

One of the major factors triggering migration is the desire for relocating to a region with more employment opportunities and better welfare in order to find a job, to work in better conditions and to provide better living standards for the migrant itself and their families.

Within this context, the movement within or between borders with the aim of employment can be defined as "labour migration" (Nakhoul, 2014). International labour

migration is defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as the movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment.

Another aspect within the framework of labour migration is migrant workers. Article 11 of the ILO Convention Concerning Migration for Employment of 1949 No.97 (1949) defines the term migrant for employment as "a person who migrates from one country to another with a view to being employed otherwise than on his own account and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment".

The first instance coming to mind upon the mention of labour migration is the exodus to Western Europe. Millions of people launched forth on a journey for new employment opportunities and started their professional lives in different businesses. These migrations started in the 1960s. Upon looking at the history of labour migrations, it can be seen that Europe is the initial destination. Following the Industrial Revolution in England, industrial centres emerged and labour became a necessity in these centres. Subsequently, migrations from rural regions to these industrial centres took place. Agricultural machines were the catalyst for these migrations. The advancement of agricultural machinery decreased the demand for human labour, thus leading to the rural population's exodus to cities. Ultimately, industrialisation underlies labour migration. The emergence of new employment opportunities with the advent of industrialisation brought about the migration from rural and poor regions where the demand for labour became lower. Industrialisation is also the reason behind the increase in migrations from underdeveloped countries to developed ones. In fact, upon looking at the countries and cities with the highest populations, intense industrialisation can be observed.

In the history of Turkey, great waves of labour migration were present from rural areas to cities. Metropolises, in particular, receive labour migration each year with new hopes. However, the biggest wave of labour migration in the history of Turkey is the labour migration to Western Europe. The Turkish labour migration, one of the largest mass movements in history, profoundly affected millions of people's lives.

2.2.2 Turkish Migration to Germany

The technological advancements towards the late 20th century brought about a process changing our social lives. The global economy and societal structure became intertwined with the globalisation of the economy. Following two great wars, Western Europe, rising from its ashes, carried out a rapid technological and economic revolution and entered a brand new competition: Technological advancement. The labour force, especially in the case of male manual labour, diminished due to the wars. Initially, there was a recruitment of East German population in order to fill this gap. With the construction of the Berlin Wall, labour was imported from Southern Europe. Developing countries were tackling with the post-war economic problems, the increase in the labour force, the issues brought about post-colonialism, the dissolution of former empires, and the formation of new states. With the influence of state policies, Western Europe started to host this increasing labour force in their countries as workers. The labour force, described by Marx as "the light infantry of capital", departed for Europe with new hopes.

Upon looking at the atmosphere in the receiving countries, the other party of these migrations, it can be seen that the Second World War followed by the Cold War shook the foundations of Europe and that Europe recovered from the damages and swiftly went through a technological and computational revolution. The labour demand of Europe engendered new migrations and after the Migration Period during the decline of the Roman Empire, a new mass wave of migration to Europe took place. All these migrations brought about a brand new identity to Europe's social structure. Thus, the world entered a new era. The mass labour migration would affect identities and cultures; it would mark a brand new era in Europe. In contemporary Europe, one can observe an entanglement of identities and a multicultural structure. This structure shapes present-day Europe.

The Turkish labour migration, which has started in the 1950s and affected a large segment of the society in Turkey, is of social and economic importance. The labour migration initiated by Western Europe, seeking to restructure itself economically and socially in the post-war atmosphere of the 1950s, has changed the fates of millions of people. Initially importing labour from Southern European countries (Portugal, Spain, Italy), Western Europe turned to countries like Yugoslavia and Turkey as its demand for labour increased. This was followed by large waves of migrations to these countries with a high demand for labour.

While the first workers were sent from Turkey for vocational education and internship purposes, the second wave was initiated by private entrepreneurs. As the first group of migrants, a group of 12 interns left for Germany in 1959. As of 1960, the migrations continued rapidly. The Turkish labour migration to Germany has been influential for many years. It has inspired many movies; its effects are visible to this day. Today, millions of migrants from Turkey still live in Germany. They still contribute to the labour force in the regions they reside in. The Turkish labour migration is valid to this day with the trials and tribulations brought about by it.

As far as the subject of this thesis goes, the Turkish migration to Germany and the migrants from Turkey will be analysed. Upon thinking of the migration of people from Turkey, Germany is the first country to come to one's mind. The labour migration and Germany was the main topic of the Turkish media, literature, and cinema for many years. In Germany, the greatest wave of migration until recent times (the rate of immigrants from Syria and the Middle east increases each day) is that of Turkish citizens. Şahin (2010) indicates that Germany is the symbol country of external migration, underscoring the inseparable unity of Germany and the migrations from Turkey. The reason behind the focus of my study being Germany is that my own family migrated to Germany for the purpose of employment.

2.2.3 The reasons behind the migration to Germany

> ...The migration activity whose strength is made visible each day through international relations and organizations emerged as a 'demographic solution' to eliminate factors such as the economic problems arising after the military intervention of 1960, unemployment, and foreign-exchange stringency..." (ÇSGB Report for 2005 (2007)).

As for the reasons concerning Turkey for the migration to Europe; factors like the lack of employment opportunities for the increasing labour force, political reasons, and the expectation of higher wages led to the changing of state policies as well as the labour migration.

The political problems of the time, unemployment issues, and the five-year development plan influenced the start of the migration. The rapid population growth, the lack of sufficient labour resources, the irregularity in the distribution of income, and the employment issues dominated the atmosphere of Turkey at the time of the migrations.

European countries turned to developing countries to replenish their labour forces following the Second World War in whose aftermath labour resources increased while the rate of working population decreased. They ignited a large wave of migration which would shape the current structure of Europe in order to revive their economies and to be able to compete in the race for technological and scientific development. Europe's economy was severely damaged. Therefore, European countries needed more labour force to do something about this and to reconstruct themselves.

> Following the Second World War, European countries were severely damaged in terms of economy and infrastructure. These countries wanted to repair the great damages caused by the war, to pursue their economic growth, and to strengthen themselves economically, therefore, they required a substantial amount of labour force. In order to meet the demand for labour, they employed temporary workers with various agreements made with developing countries. (Şahin, 2010)

"The labour migration from Turkey to foreign countries occurred due to the labour shortage in several European countries caused by the disparity between the population growth and the economic development along with the unemployment issued in developing countries brought about by the excessive population growth" (Dejon, Türkbilig, Novels about the Turkish workers in Germany, 2003/6- 56,58). Economic reasons underlie the labour migration. The lack of labour force in the host country, the decreasing amount of labour areas due to the agricultural mechanisation in the countryside, and the labour force moving from their own countries with the expectation of higher living standards filled the gap in terms of the demand for labour in the host country.

This process going through based on mutual need developed through state policies and became a mass movement of change. The economically-motivated migration influenced social, economic, and political procedures, changing the aspects of the migration.

2.2.4 The Processes of the Turkish External Migration

Europe imported temporary labour from Southern European countries in order to meet its own demand for labour. Thus, Turkey evacuated its unskilled labour force and integrated this process of migration with its five-year development plan in order to stabilise its population and economy. Going through a phase of reconstruction after the Second World War, Europe had recourse to importing labour through migrations. This process took place at different

paces. Initially importing labour from neighbouring countries, in the following years, Europe sought to meet its labour demands through countries like Turkey and Greece. Nermin Abadan Unat (2017) recounts this process in its entirety. She discusses the process in six stages. I would like to contribute to the evaluation of the process from the 1950s to the 2000s made by Unat based on my observations concerning the process taking place after the 2000s.

The 1950s: Individual Enterprises and Private Intermediaries

At the initial stage, Germany tried to meet its labour demands through the German citizens fleeing from East Germany. With the construction of the Berlin Wall, it turned to the common market countries. It imported skilled and unskilled labour from countries like Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey, respectively. At first, the migrants mainly constituted of men aged 20-40. In the following years, mass migrations occurred with the employment of women workers and family reunification.

> Contracts were signed with the incoming workers; they were admitted to the country with the thought that they would return to their countries. In the employment contracts they signed, the principle of 'Rotation' was agreed upon and the term 'guest worker' (Gastarbeiter) was adopted. In accordance with these contracts, it was envisioned that these workers would return to Turkey after working for 1-2 years (Yıldırımoğlu, 2005).

However, this plan of rotation would not be implemented. In the beginning, the labour migration took place through bilateral agreements or private intermediaries. 2.700 workers migrated from Turkey to Germany in 1960; this number rose to 27.500 in 1963.

> In this period, while migrations to Europe from other countries occurred mainly through bilateral agreements, migrants from Turkey went to Europe via individual enterprises and private intermediaries (Koçak, 2016).

The first group which consisted of art student went to Europe to undertake internships (Praktikum). At the same time, artisans were also sent to Europe to accelerate industrialisation in Turkey.

The 1960s: Bilateral Agreements and the State-Promoted Export of Labour

Gaining the right to travel with the 1961 Constitution, Turkish citizens applied to work abroad through translators and private job placement agencies. With the effects of the unemployment issue in Turkey, they applied with the hopes of working in the German Federal

Republic. A labour exchange agreement to take effect on 1 April 1961 was signed. (Abadan Unat, 2002 p.11) As of 1962, the nature of this small-scale and individual migration movement started to change. With the Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1967), the state proposed a plan of "increased labour export". Sending unskilled labour abroad in order to stabilise the population aimed to provide the necessary labour who would contribute to the industrialisation of the country. The labour migration thus started with the reciprocal policies of the governments. The famous term "Gastarbeiter" (guest worker) was coined in this period. Because these workers were considered to be guest, to be temporary workers; they were quartered in lodgings called "Heim". For the first time, the German Organisation for Radio and Television started to broadcast short programs in Turkish for the workers from Turkey.

TABLE 1 The Foreign and Turkish Population in Germany Source: Migretionsbericht

Year	Foreign Population	%	Turkish Population	%
1961	686.200	1.2	6.700	1.0
1970	2.600.600	4.3	249.400	16.5

The 1970s

Realising that these "guest workers" were not "guests" but were permanent, Germany made some changes in its policies in this period. Social security agreements were reached and family reunifications started to take place. The global energy crisis led to the decision of admitting a new wave of workers from Turkey (Anwerbestop). In this period, the migrations were in the forms of political asylum and family reunification. Permanence was established and family reunifications took place.

And after 1973, the migration from Turkey to Germany occurred in the forms of the reunification of workers' families and political asylum instead of an import of labour force" (Kaya, 2000).

The 1980s

The problems of the migrant workers in this period were the lack of knowledge of the host country's language, education, and adaptation. These issues became more visible following the family reunifications of 1975; it was felt in the political scene as well with the integration of the younger generation into education. The second generation started school in Germany either because they were born there or they came to the country at a young age, leading to problems in education and the issue of the language barrier becoming evident. The children who could not adapt to the German education system or had problems due to their incompetence in German were directed to educational institutions called "Sonderschule", intended for children with learning disabilities. The complex education system in Germany put a pressure on the young children coming from Turkey, resulting in differences in the levels of education. In the 1980s, the German state enacted laws which would encourage the migrants to return to their countries. According to these laws, each worker to return to their countries would be given DM 10.000 and would receive an additional payment of DM 1.500 for every child. 374.000 Turkish migrants returned to Turkey in this period. Even though some immigrants benefited from these laws, they did not produce the desired effect. In this period, laws encouraging the return of the migrants were enacted for the first time.

According to these laws, the workers and families returning to Turkey between 1 November 1983 and 30 June 1984 would receive a payment DM 10.500 and an additional DM 1.500 for each child. Furthermore, the charges for retirement insurances taken from these workers would be returned (Labor Migration to Germany) .

The factors behind the settlement of Turks in Europe include economic reasons, the level of education of children, and a slight alienation from the host country. However, in addition to these factors, there are some other which are generally disregarded: The technological advancement which eliminates the spatial distance from Turkey and, in particular, the developments in telecommunications. This, particularly, created the chance of following the Turkish agenda which had been arriving in Germany with delays in the initial years of migration (Kızılocak,58).

The 1990s

In this period, obtaining German citizenship was made easier for migrants coming from Turkey. The "Law of Foreigners" taking effect on 10 January 1991 would make it easier for the new generation of immigrants to become German citizens. Obtaining German citizenship thanks to these opportunities provided by the aforementioned law, the Turkish youth became the most significant proof of the permanence of the guest workers in Germany. This "foreigners policy" was supplemented by an "adaptation policy" with an official statement made by the German government in 1998 underlining that Germany is a country of migration. This period marks the beginning of both legal implementations and identity issues.

The 2000s and Later

The permanence of the migrants become certain in the 2000s; the adaptation processes taking place since the 1980s formed the agenda for various academic and political platforms. The children of the first generation of immigrants who had come to Germany as blue-collar workers settled in and adapted to the country, integrating themselves in the society in various ways. The doctors, teachers, academicians, and politicians of Turkish origin whose presence is not uncommon in the present time, unlike the first and second generations, integrated with the society they live among, created dual identities, and rendered their status advantageous. The biggest issue in this period were the matters of identity. Based on my impressions during the research process, one could categorise the new generation into three sub-groups.

The first group is the Turkish youth living in ghettos with an environment limited with their families, schools, and jobs. These people were not able to adapt to the society and the language, therefore facing problems in their professional and educational lives and having a somewhat hostile attitude towards the society. Their contact with the German people is limited to daily shopping routines, work (they usually work in the service sector), domestic life, and their interactions with relatives. This youth cannot speak German fluently and speak Turkish with a broken accent.

The second group is the children of working middle-class families, generally with a medium level of education. They learned German both at home and school, therefore having a good command of it. Thus, they were able to experience university life. They speak both languages fluently. They have the advantage of a higher level of awareness due to having a strong command of both cultures and both languages. Lately, these individuals have been

providing services in the fields like healthcare, education, and legal affairs for citizens of Turkish origin who have a hard time speaking German.

The third group limits its contact with the Turkish culture to family gatherings and has an excellent command of the German language. The members of this group usually experience the social life in Germany while their ties with the Turkish culture remain weak.

I will discuss these processes in detail in the following chapters. Consequently, the new generation of the Turkish youth in Germany feel themselves closer to Germany; at the same time, they position themselves as German Turks. They regard themselves to be the citizens of both countries, the people of both cultures. Sibel (28), one of the participants in the study, answers my question as follows:

Question: How would you describe yourself in terms of identity and belonging? Would you identify as Turkish or German?

Sibel: When someone asks me that, I answer their question like this: I am both German and Turkish. I love that country, too, but I feel more comfortable here. I was born and raised here. I am accustomed to the lifestyle and values of this country. But I am also from Turkey. I combine my favourite aspects of both cultures within my personality and live as a German Turk, feeling like a German Turk.

The latest political and economic disturbances distress the citizen of Turkish origin living in Germany as well. Much as the new generation has a rational attitude towards these events, the previous generations feel offended and rejected against the aforementioned disturbances. The discriminatory discourses against immigrants and Muslim citizens create tension; the migrants who have spent years in Germany feel resentment against the government and German citizens.

The new generation of migrants change the general profile of migrants each day with their hybrid identities and adapt more to the society when compared with the first generations. Their newly-formed identities differ themselves despite the new generations and the dissociation fades with each passing day.

Nilüfer: What comes to your mind upon mentioning Turkey? Do you miss it?

> Fikriye (81): We used to miss Turkey a lot. After all, we went there once a year. There were no televisionsnor the internet. We longed for our family. I used to miss Turkey back then. I missed the adhan the most. Now it is nothing like that. You can call anyone anytime. The television has Turkish programs. But I still it. After all, it is my homeland. But I now visit there for six months each year.

> Volkan (15): I miss Turkey. I enjoy our family vacations in Turkey. But all my friends are here. Everything is here. This is my country, too. But I also love Germany. I love both countries.

The new generation entered a new era in the migration process; the effect of being born and raised in Germany becomes more visible. They do not see themselves as strangers, perceiving Germany as their home country, as well.

2.3 Globalisation and Identity

1.3.1 Globalisation

The concept of globalisation is influential in many areas, from daily life to social, political, and economic fields. The social phenomena brought about by globalisation is as crucial as the concept of globalisation itself. Even though the scope of the definition of globalisation is wide, one aspect of it is the integration of all identities in a single entity, another is the process of fragmentation in identities. At one side is the abolition of national borders and on the other side the structuring of indigenisation. In this context, identity is of vital importance in the process of globalisation.

Aslanoğlu defines globalisation as the world getting smaller and the popularisation of the perception of the world as a single place (Aslanoğlu, 1998). MacLuhan, in a similar statement, discusses the existence of a "Global Village". According to this definition, an atmosphere in which the world would become a smaller place with the technological advancement and national borders would be no more. The technological and scientific revolution that shaped the 20th century has profoundly influenced the world and become a greater phenomenon. One can trace the footsteps of globalisation in every aspect of life, from economy to society. Every person in the world is able to wear the same thing, to sing the same songs from memory, and to follow the same news stories. So, what is globalisation? It has

been the subject of many types of research in various fields of science; it has many definitions. Some definitions are given below:

David Harvey defines globalisation as a time-space compression (David Harvey,1999, p. 334). Stuart Hall argues that globalisation refers to those processes, operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in new space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected (Hall et al, 1992).

The expansion and influence of the West in the entire world with its substructure (international capitalism) and superstructure (culture) (Oran, 2009).

The distant gets closer and the world becomes a smaller place with the effects of globalisation. For Giddens, globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many thousands of miles away and vice versa (Akkaş, p. 70). Upon looking at globalisation with regards to migration, one cannot talk of distances as much as in the past state. Many features like television broadcasts, wireless broadcasting, and transnational publishing are the advantages of globalisation in terms of migrants and migration. The concepts of time and space were has been eliminated between the homeland and the host country; a connection to the homeland is possible by a single click. Thanks to globalisation, identities and cultures have become intertwined and the past differences have faded. A television channel in the homeland is now available for migrants living in the host country and the notion of distance is no longer valid. Globalisation has brought about many significant novelties in different fields varying from technology to communication. As for in every aspect of life, the influence of globalisation on culture is an inevitable one.

2.3.2 Identity

The term "identity" is defined in the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution as "every condition making a certain person who they are along with the indications, qualities, and features unique to the human being as a social entity". In short, identity is "a sum of features determining our stances in life" (Akkaş, 2013, p. 71). For Eroğlu, identity "includes

all the features concerning the answer to the question regarding who a given human being is. Furthermore, identity is a sense of belonging which demonstrates to whom, either a person or a group of persons, a given individual belongs" (Eroğlu, 1999).

Erikson defines identity as "the individual's identification of themselves ontologically with a meaningful integrity in their inner world and their connection with the outside world accordingly" (Erikson, 1965; p. 17). Identity can be defined as a lifestyle, a definition of who an individual is, and their making sense of themselves along with the outside world.

The issue of identity is a prominent matter in the cultural aspect of globalisation. Because, in the present day, "people all around the world are getting more and more aware of their ethnic, religious, and national identities, they become more insistent on their identities, and they make various demands for the sake of their identities". The advancements in the field of communication within the scope of the globalisation process made the issue of identity more evident. It is not possible to exclude identities from the influence of the globalisation process of the world. One must discuss two phenomena within the scope of the globalisation process. These are the cultural homogeneity revealing the principle of universality and cultural heterogeneity.

As far as the cultural levelling or homogeneity is concerned, culture has been influenced by globalisation. Identity has become the driving force behind culture. The existence of an interaction between these entities is inevitable. Concerning the influence of culture on life, the existence of a levelling or homogeneity can be observed. This process, also known as Americanisation, can be defined as a blending, or a levelling of cultures. Now, everybody is able to get a shoe model designed by the same brand. Anyone can listen to Madonna or enjoy the menu served by fast-food chains easily in their own countries. Entering the third-world countries through colonisation in the past, European states have chosen to follow an easier path in the present day. They have created a universal culture by putting their own cultures at the centre and marketed it to (other) third-world countries. Economic reasons underlie globalisation. By symbolising their countries as the ideal goal, the most modern, and the best, they have encouraged non-Western societies to achieve the same level of their cultures, creating such a perception. In fact, this way of thinking manifests itself in international migration. The first generation of migrants was drawn to the West, which they

saw as a source for better living standards, higher wages, and advancement. There, they sought for a future for themselves. Upon returning to their countries with cars, technological products, and clothes, they felt alienated, perceiving themselves as a part of this European ideal for they had been in Europe. In the movie named "Dönüş" (The Return) starring Kadir İnanır and TürkanŞoray, the man is seen to feeling alienation, displeasure, and an urge to compare upon returning temporarily to his own country from Germany. For him; life, technology and advancement is in Germany. By this means, the West markets its own culture as the best in the world, making masses consume its culture.

Much as the thought of a homogeneous culture in which a single culture is dominant is being discussed, there is also a loyalty to the local culture and a resistance against the universal culture in non-Western societies. At this point, interacting with the codes of the dominant culture, the local cultural codes produce unprecedented, new cultural codes. One can discuss this phenomenon under the title of hybrid cultures or "third space" as put forward by Homi Bhabha(1994). Ulf Hannerz (2007) proposes the term "creolisation" for this situation. This is the emergence of new cultural entities without any historical origins but created through global contacts. In indigenisation or cultural difference, there is variety. The differences in identity, in particular, have become more apparent. Notwithstanding, societies become similar to each other with the influence of globalisation. It can be observed that societies are more interconnected when compared with the past. Factors like international migrations, the increase of interaction in the world with the advent of globalisation lead to the emergence of new identities. One of the major entities brought about by globalisation is a different homogeneous culture different from the traditional understanding of culture. To review Appadurai's evaluations is necessary in order to understand this global culture. According to Appadurai, global culture is realised in five different "scapes": Ethnoscapes are the movements of guest workers, migrants, and refugees. Technoscape is the mobility of machines, technology, and companies. Monetary movements are handled under the title of finanscapes. Ideoscapes refer to the diffusion of ideas pertaining to ideologies. And the diffusion of knowledge and ideas is referred to as mediascapes.

The notion of the global culture sketched out by Appadurai is a cultural form allowing the use of different cultural colours together. Different terms are used by

researchers in order to explain this form. Some of these include 'syncretic', 'hybrid', 'Creole', and 'melange' (Kaya, 2000).

Today, cultures become intertwined and hybridised. This process is accelerated by globalisation, blending cultures together. As far as Germany is concerned, one can observe that migrants living there have more conservative and nationalist attitudes when compared with the citizens living in Turkey. Initially, the migrants under the influence of German culture and language resisted to this language and culture; living their own cultures in an exaggerated manner. In the younger generation, however, it is possible to see the impact of the hybrid culture.The cultural baggage gained through family practices and the culture of the host country interacted with one another, creating a dual identity similar to the hybridisation of the language. "Knacke-Sprache", common among immigrants, is an example for this synthesis. This aforementioned young generation alternates between two languages and may add words from the other language to the one they speak. In fact, like their identities, their languages are blended with the synthesis of two cultures, forming a brand new language unique to these individuals.

CHAPTER 3

THE TYPES OF MEDIA

3.1 Global Media Order

It is possible to talk about a brand new, rapidly-changing era of communication. The new media order shaping and transforming our world is an outcome of the new world, which becomes a global village. All one needs to reach the other end of the globe is a single click; access to information has never been so easy. This globalising world signifies a new order in which informationspreads quickly, cultures are intertwined, and advancement in economy and technology occurs in a parallel manner. As for the global media order, it is an entity created by these different kinds of intertwinement. Much as the interaction between societies dates back to a long time, the speed of this interaction augmented towards the late 20th century. Thanks to satellite broadcasting, people around the world are able to watch the same television programme. The advancement of the speed of communication has become unstoppable with the use of computers and the Internet alongside the aforementioned technologies. Same programmes, information, and news have become available for every household and country; accessing information have been rendered easy and fast. The developments in transportation technologies have turned the world into a "global village", got people closer to each other, and abolished borders. The concept of a global village put forward by MacLuhan has become a reality; the advancements in technology and communications have shaped the contemporary world. MacLuhan's concept is useful while discussing the emergence of globalisation with the development of global technological and communicative channels. Societies in the world have got closer to each other, international borders have rendered obsolete, and the access to information has been facilitated so that one can reach any information with a single click. All these developments have been made possible with the advancements in informatics and technology.

The opportunities created by electronic communication technologies have made the societies of the world become closer and brought about an economic, political, and cultural intertwinement by increasing the interaction among these societies. On the other hand, at the same time, the change in the ownership structure of the media has caused a few giant media corporations to seize the global control of the entire media sector (Varol, 2017).

As a result of these developments, the media have created corporate giants, causing the emergence of a monopolisation. The giant international corporations to be discussed in the following sections now control the global media order. Before discussing this global media order, we need to understand the historical framework of the creation of the transnational media order put forward by Jean Chalaby, which mentions three stages. The first stage is the internationalisation of the media flows. This is followed by the second stage, which is the globalisation of the media flows, and the third stage, the transnationalisation of the media.

3.1.1 International Media

According to Chalaby, the invention of the telegraph in the early 1900s brought about the significance of communication technologies. The second industrial revolution that developed during the second half of the 19th century (Caron, 1997), and the new technologies associated with it, spurred the first big bang in international communication. In the 1850s, the application of electricity to the telegraph facilitated the transfer of information over long distances. In the ensuing decade, progress in steamship and cable technology enabled telegraph companies to begin laying down submarine cables. By the end of the century, telegraph communications connected the world's main cities, reducing from weeks to hours the transmission time of information (Kieve, 1973; Standage, 1998 (Chalaby), p. 28).New agencies were founded and the international media market were developed for the first time. With these developments, information was spread more rapidly. Thus, the governments' consideration of communication technologies has gained significance. Governments played a crucial role because they considered the progress of international communication a strategic priority (Chalaby, 1998).

Alongside the emergence of the first corporations with an international scope, such as telegraph companies and news agencies (Rantanen, 1997), the first international media markets developed. In technology, firms with cutting-edge expertise (e.g. Marconi), rapidly expanded their activities in several territories (Hills, 2002). In entertainment, the fledgeling international film trade was first dominated by

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the French studios, and later overtaken by a Hollywood-based US film industry during the interwar period (Trumpbour, 2002).

Recognising the strategic significance of international communication, the governments started to take steps in this respect. Thus, they were able to address to their citizens in their colonies and within the country borders. Through these technologies, they could also communicate their ideologies and policies to its citizens living far. Therefore, international communication technologies have become vital. BBC may be counted among the examples of international communication. Reaching beyond the national borders of the country in which it is based, BBC has viewers in many countries.

3.1.2 Globalisation

Communication and publishing technologies advanced throughout the 20th century. However, in the 1960s, the advancements in telecommunications and space technologies experienced its second golden age. Satellite broadcasting enabled the instantaneous and global circulation of audio and video. Events like sports competitions and conflicts started to have their mass audiences. Television channels have now started to broadcast on an international scale. In August 1989, CNN emerged as the world's first global channel when it became available worldwide 24 hours a day with the transmission on a Soviet satellite to Africa, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and Southeast Asia (Chalaby,2005). Any given television channel can be broadcasted and watched in any part of the globe. This was an important step. Because, by creating a transnational audience of viewers, television channels gained new markets, thus enabling the access to the same information by anyone in the world. From a technological perspective, the world became a global village indeed, satellite broadcasting and the electronic media transforming the planet into a 'single constricted space resonant with tribal drums' (MacLuhan, 1962: 31). The world has become a smaller place, like a global village as put forward by MacLuhan. Any given person in the world has access to the news and videos about an event in America with a single click. These developments are revolutionary as far as technology and telecommunications are concerned. They have also attracted the attention of large companies in this respect. Many great corporations started to found new companies. The trailblazing of the United States in this respect led to its dominant and monopolist structure in the sector. In fact, American authority was striking. Companies like Time-Warner, Viacom and News Corporation spread to the world's most significant

markets, spanning all key media sectors from film production to TV distribution (Chalaby, 2005). This has also influenced the advertising sector.

The critical role of the media in the globalisation process is generally acknowledged. Even though the influence of globalisation had been apparent in areas like economics, politics, and trade; the process started to accelerate in the 20th century. Along with globalisation, the ownership structure in the media started to change. The former media moguls were replaced by giant corporations, marking the start of the diagonal integration in the media.

According to Kadıoğlu (2001: p. 28), "the media, which was able to operate only within the regional border until the 20th century, had a national quality. With the emergence of capitalism after the 20th century, the profitability of the media sector has increased and drawn the attention of entrepreneurs. The media getting rid of this shell of nationality happens after this period. The advancement of technological conditions and the use of new transport networks have been influential in this respect".

With the development of satellite technologies in the 20th century, the international media sector has also developed in a parallel manner. This process brought about an acceleration in the speed of globalisation. With the collaboration of globalisation and the media, liberal and capitalist ideas have widened their area of influence, seizing a chance to be spread across the globe. In fact, by looking at the giant media conglomerates, it can be seen that they have seized control of every media outlet from television broadcasting to advertising and become influential in the global economy and culture. The American and Western ideology is everywhere around the world, going through a process of monopolisation. For that reason, the global media serves the interests of this ideology in order to expand the areas of influence of major corporations.

With globalisation, multinational companies have become more influential. As far as the general state goes, the global media is under the domination of American companies. Some companies that can be given as examples for this are, as mentioned before, Walt Disney Company and AOL Time Warner. Despite these dominant conglomerates, there are also many foreign international companies. Some examples include News Cooperation, an Australian company, and Japanese companies like Sony. As they are the giant companies in their countries, they also have high domestic revenues. At the same time, they are able to enter the

international market with ease. The inclusion of giant corporations in the international market also affects the growth of small-scale companies and national media organisations.

> Driven now by the logic of profit and competition, the overriding objective of the new media corporations is to get their product to the largest number of consumers. There is, then, an expansionist tendency at work, pushing ceaselessly towards the construction of enlarged audiovisual spaces and markets. The imperative is to break down the old boundaries and frontiers of national communities, which now present themselves as arbitrary and irrational obstacles to this reorganisation of business strategies. Audiovisual geographies are thus becoming detached from the symbolic spaces of national culture and realigned on the basis of the more 'universal' principles of international consumer culture. The free and unimpeded circulation of programmes —television without frontiers—is the great ideal in the new order. It is an ideal whose logic is driving ultimately towards the creation of global programming and global markets—and already we are seeing the rise to power of global corporations intent on turning ideal into reality. The new media order is set to become a global order" (David Morley, Kevin Robins, 1997).

The dominance of giant corporation of American and European origins is prominent in the globalisation process. According to Tokgöz (p:245) , while the major companies grow and develop as a result of industrialisation, technological advancements, the extent of input costs, and the increasing demand for capital, small-scale companies have started to disappear from the market, leading to the increase in the capital accumulation for large companies and the emergence of monopolisation tendencies. This situation started in the last quarter of the 19th century primarily in the United States, however, the commercial media monopolies common in England, France, Germany, and Italy have spread to the entire world (Bayram, 2013). It is strenuous for local companies to compete with multinational corporations. Ultimately, these companies are monopolies in their home countries as well. For that reason, globalisation is an obstacle for small businesses and it contributes to the might of the giant corporations.

3.1.3 Transnationalisation

Outcomes of this process include the digitization of broadcasting systems – making communication networks more powerful and flexible – and the emergence of new digital media (Chalaby). A new era has begun with the development of communication technologies, the start of the digital age, and the Internet. A stronger, more flexible media structuring has emerged. More specialised local channels have started to be established. The opportunity of founding a channel with a limited budget has laid the foundation for the emergence of many

transnational networks. With the transnational media, channels tailored for religious groups, different senses of belonging, and personal issues have emerged. Local channels with lower budgets have been able to enter into circulation. More people have had the chance to follow the channels about their areas of interest from anywhere in the world. Some examples include TRT ŞEŞ and TRT Avrasya (Eurasia). Kurdish viewers are now able to watch TRT ŞEŞ anywhere in the world. Similarly, people in Turkic states and Asia can watch TRT Avrasya Transnationalisation thus allowed small-scale channels to reach worldwide audiences. This is related to communication technologies and the Internet. For instance, MTV, also available from Turkey, have had the chance to broadcast to the global audience interested in Music. In the past, when activities concerning communication and technology were conducted in limited conditions, broadcasting which is under the monopoly of major corporations created opportunities for small businesses as well thanks to the Internet. Another example in this respect is EuroSport. Viewers around the world who are interested in sports and competitions are able to watch this channel in alignment with their interests. As it is indicated in the theory of imagined communities put forward by Benedict Anderson, certain groups have a sense of belonging even if they have never met an individual having similar opinions and ideologies; they gather around a common purpose. Similarly, people who have no relations whatsoever with one another, i.e. groups, like watching EuroSport, gathering around this common area of interest. The emergence of many movements of local origins created a wide range of choices for individuals. Channels can now be founded in Asia or Africa, appealing to audiences with similar opinions. An example would be Roj TV. Having started broadcasting with a small budget, Roj TV appeals to the Kurdish community. Much as all these developments occurred after satellite broadcasting, new channels are founded with an astonishing speed each day. In a short time, it is possible for transnational viewers, particularly migrants in Europe, to come up with brand new channels broadcasting in their own hybrid language. What these individuals need is a channel tailored for them which would be their voice and willing to address their demand, similar to online newspapers and magazines. This medium is neither dependent on national channels, nor it is solely a channel of the country in which they live; it is, like these individuals, bilingual, thus being close to both cultures. In my opinion, this concept of a hybrid television is something which Turkish people in Germany lack. There are many examples of these hybrid channels in the world. A hybrid television channel composed of both

cultures, broadcasting in both Turkish and German for Turks in Germany channel, appealing to their daily lives. Western and American countries have lost the monopoly over broadcasting sector. Thus, many small-scale television networks have had the chance to enter the market. An international reach is no longer the preserve of Western-based conglomerates, as an increasing number of smaller media companies from the developing world is expanding overseas, from Multichoice in South Africa to Zee Network in India (e.g. Thussu, 2005). Small channels from different countries have emerged. At the same time, the new media are opening up public access to international communication. The web gives instant access to international content and emails facilitate interpersonal communication across borders (Chalaby). With the emergence of Internet technologies, viewers have been rendered capable of intervening in the channels they had previously watched from a distance. Therefore, government intervention has reduced. Digitization and the new media have led to an unprecedented democratization of international communication and the empowerment of the growing number of people who have access to them (Chalaby,2005). This also proves that the world has become a global village. National borders are not as binding as they used to be; with the help of communication technologies, more choices were made available to viewers. Transnational media have created an opportunity for small-scale media to have its voice, thus weakening the influence of monopolisation brought about by globalisation. The media sector controlled by giant conglomerates has also opened new doors for small businesses as it no longer requires large amounts of financial investment. Likewise, as far as the media scene in Turkey is concerned, local networks or channels like Roj TV are able to address to their audiences with a small budget, without being dependent to large sums of investments. For Chalaby, the distinctive feature of the ongoing era is cosmopolitanisation. He indicates that international communication has strengthened and unified nation-states. As for globalisation, it has internalised these processes in its advancement. The order of transnational media pushes limits, challenges the principle of territorialisation, and aiming to get out of the boundaries of national media. Now, borders have been abolished, regionalism has started to be questioned, and a more independent and autonomous order has become prominent.

3.1.4 The Projection of the Global Media in Turkey

As far as the globalisation of the media and the transnationalisation processes in Turkey are concerned, 1980 and the years following this date are of importance. Because up until 1980, the influences of the monopoly of TRT and state control are profound. After 1980, TRT loses the monopoly. With the emergence of the privatisation movement in Turkey, the number of new channels increased each day and these channels also started broadcasting abroad.   While this process was taking place rapidly, media corporations started to see viewers living abroad, a result of globalisation, as a new market.Up until 1980, the monopoly of TRT in the Turkish media scene is significant. In the media, particularly in television, the strict control of the state was influential. Up until the aforementioned period, TRT maintained its status as the sole provider of broadcasting, either within Turkey or abroad. By the late 1980s, this monopolisation has come to an end. The 1990s brought about profound changes in the communication networks of Turkey. This period witnessed the emergence of the first private networks along with diagonal integration. Investors with a background in journalism were replaced by business executives. The media started to conglomerate in the 1980s and these conglomerations started to invest in non-media sectors in the 1990s. The economic crisis and high inflation rates of the 1990s influenced the media sector. The purchasing power decreased, so did the sales of newspapers. Turkish media has experienced a serious depression in this period. Traditional media invested in advanced technology, however, the struggling media were on the brink of bankruptcy. In this period, there was a shift in the ownerships of newspapers. This period also marks the entrance of business executives into the media sector.

> Several business executives having close ties with the political power entered the sector in the aforementioned period. Behind the entrance of business executives into this non-profitable sector, there is the intention of using the media as a tool for political and social oppression and to provide themselves with some conveniences in the commercial affairs with the state with this medium of oppression (Bayram, 2013).

By the 1990s, being replaced by business executives outside the media, traditional media moguls have completely abandoned the media sector. Now, journalist moguls have been supplanted by non-media business executives due to economic reasons.

Powerful business magnates were able to survive the economic crisis and thus continued to do business by merging with different sectors. The new period was an era of conglomeration. The most significant effect of globalisation is the status of the conglomerates as the ultimate power. This era is marked by the influence of conglomerating investors who made themselves

stronger in the course of the crisis. While the monopolisation process took place as the ownership of media sectors and side companies in the rest of the world, this process brought about diagonal integration in Turkey. Conglomerates owning media companies invested in other sectors as well, or business executives already active in other sectors purchased media companies. The trio consisting of a media organisation, a bank, and a conglomerate is a concrete example of the diagonal integration process in Turkey. While horizontal integration was taking place in the West, the monopolisation was through diagonal integration as far as Turkey is concerned. At the same time, TRT lost the monopoly and private networks started broadcasting. Starting from the early 1990s, Turkey had its first experiences with private television broadcasting as Star TV started broadcasting in Turkey through Germany via satellite in late 1989. As the law prohibited private broadcasting based in Turkey, Star TV started its activities in Germany, but with the later amendments to the law, it continued its broadcasting activities in Turkey (Bayram, 2013, p. 252). These private networks, seeing a sudden increase in their numbers, started looking for new markets abroad. With the abolition of the borders of nation-states, media networks one-by-one started broadcasting abroad. Star 1 was the trailblazer in this respect, followed by many channels afterwards. Then, Show TV started broadcasting in 1991. This may be considered as a reflection of the globalisation process in the world. Besides private networks with commercial concerns, TRT, as a public network, also went through a process of transnationalisation, founding its first sub-channel broadcasting abroad. This sub-channel, TRT-INT, was founded in 1990. While laying the ground for the identity construction of the audiences living outside their home countries, these channels broadcasting abroad also express their own broadcasting policies. The number of transnational networks has increased and the aim of gaining profits has become prominent since the advent of globalisation. As far as private television networks are concerned, rather than the demands of transnational audiences, being popular and ratings are of importance. As for public channels, imposing the state policy and propagating Turkish customs and traditions have been even more vital. In the 2000s, the economic crisis affected Turkish media.

Media moguls experiencing economic difficulties, TMSF (Savings Deposit Insurance Fund) seized media organisations as of 2003 and appointed new managers to these companies. Thus, the state was obliged to start initiatives for private television broadcasting after TRT (Bayram, 2013, p. 253). The economic crisis led to a change in the ownership structure in the Turkish

media sector. In these years, foreign partners and purchase of the media by foreigners were also observed in the Turkish media. These foreign partners became global media giants. The era of "glocalisation" thus started; many international companies either sought partners or purchased companies in Turkey. The best example of this process would be the merger of Doğan Media Group and Time Warner Group in 2000 and the creation of CNN Türk. Again within the scope of glocal partnerships, Doğan Broadcasting Holding and Turner Broadcasting System started the broadcasting of the entertainment network TNT and children's channel Cartoon Networktogether. Another example would be the purchase of TGRT in 2006 by Rupert Murdoch, a media mogul owning the News Cooperation group, and its subsequent renaming as FOX TV. In addition, Canadian Canwest media group entered the Turkish media sector by buying Super FM, Metro FM, Joy FM, and JOY Türk. Similarly, CNBC and KanalE merged under the title of CNBC-e. Globalisation brought about profound changes in both global and the Turkish media. In this process, competition has intensified, the speed of technological advancements has increased, and the moguls able to survive these changes have become giants in the sector, leading to their dominance in the sector. Some information concerning several private networks and TRT is given below.

3.1.5 Transnational Broadcasting

TRT; "The first television network in Turkey to embark upon transnational broadcasting is TRT-INT, which has started broadcasting as a sub-branch of the public network TRT" (Karanfil, 2009). Much as its content was tailored for Western Europe in its initial years, it has widened its scope since 1999 as they have also started broadcasting content for Turkish immigrants in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. TRT-INT's activities were terminated in 2009. As of 1992, TRT-Avrasya has become TRT's second transnational sub-channel. Later, its name was changed to TRT Türk.

It broadcasts mostly for audiences in Turkic countries. In 2009, TRT Türk transferred all of its activities to TRT Avaz, continuing broadcastingas a news and culture channel. "Starting broadcasting on 21 March 2009, TRT Avaz perpetuates the broadcasting habits of TRT Avrasya and TRT Türk, including in its broadcasting network Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Bulgaria,

Greece, Balkan countries and all of Eastern European countries" (Karanfil,2009). In brief, broadcasting in a large area ranging from the Balkans to Central Asia, TRT also broadcasts to its cognates as well. With this project, TRT appeals to imaginary societies in a way, contributing to the identity construction of Turks living abroad and the abovementioned cognates.   When the role of the media in the construction of perception is concerned, this project seems to be an effective step.

> TRT-INT is preferred more particularly by the first generation of migrants when compared to other channels broadcasting abroad from Turkey; it has a special place among these individuals (Karanfil, 2009).

Again, according to Gökçen Karanfil, there are two reasons for this. The first reason is, unlike commercial networks, TRT-INT considers transnational viewers as citizens and not as customers. Secondly, as an another characteristic different from private channels, a considerable amount of its broadcasts are exclusively tailored for migrants.   This second reason, in particular, is the reason why commercial channels are not popular among Turkish migrants as much as it is a significant finding. By determining the needs of migrants in this respect, TRT tailors its broadcasting content and runs specific programmes accordingly. As far as commercial networks are concerned, these are repetitions of national broadcasts and are not able to appeal to the migrant audiences. For that reason, TRT-INT is popular among these individuals, differentiating itself from other networks.

TRT 1 HD AVRUPA (EUROPE); The television network founded on 27 February 2016 for Turks living in Europe by TRT in substitution for TRT-INT. The broadcast is usually the same as its counterpart in Turkey. In this channel, broadcasts are made in alignment with the government policy. It appeals to the Turkish migrants in Europe in this manner.

In accordance with its broadcasting policy, it regards Turks living in Germany as citizens abroad. Apart from a few programmes, its broadcasts are similar to its counterpart in Turkey. In fact, it appeals more to the transnational viewership when compared with commercial networks. The programmes it airs are tailored mostly for migrants.   Travel programmes like "Gezelim Görelim" (Let's Travel and See) and shows about the life in Europe and the legal complaints and rights of the Turkish migrants in Europe proves that TRT

today aims to address to Turkish migrants as its target audience as a separate group. Extended commercial breaks are also seen in this network.

Private Networks: "Having started as a cablecasting network and continued broadcasting via satellite, TRT-INT was a Turkish channel popular among Turkish-speaking migrants for a long time" (Karanfil, 2009). Due to the reasons mentioned before, TRT-INT remained as the most popular channel among transnational audiences. In fact, the studies conducted within the scope of this thesis have proved this popularity. TRT and its sub-channels maintain their popularity as the most watched transnational networks. However, in contrast with the first generation, the second generation tends to watch private networks rather than public ones. When these private networks are analysed, it can be seen that their broadcasts do not meet the demands of transnational viewership.

The first private network to broadcast for Turkish migrants living in Europe is Euroshow, founded in 1995 as a sub-channel of Show TV (Later, its name was changed to Show Türk) (Karanfil,2009). In 1996 and 1997, respectively, Kanal D's sub-channel Euro D and ATV's transnational network ATV Avrupa started broadcasting. All the above mentioned channels have commercial concerns. Even though their broadcasts were not tailored for the transnational viewership and they were the repetitions of their public counterparts in the initial years, this perception has changed recently. Their broadcasts appeal mainly to migrants taking their needs in consideration. However, the number of channels broadcasting with a transnational approach is not sufficient. Migrants in Europe are still being considered as Turkish citizens and networks tailor their broadcasts in this respect. In fact, news programmes do not sufficiently cover news concerning migrants.   The ideological structures of some television networks are given below.

Samanyolu TV; the channel was known for its ties with the Gülen group. It broadcasted in Turkish. Religious elements were not uncommon, while there was no emphasis of the notion of being "Turkish". The broadcasting policy was based on the ideas of Fethullah Gülen. It had a transnational broadcasting policy. "In my opinion, even though the channel was available to all Turkish-speaking diasporic groups living in different parts of the world, more specifically, Samanyolu TV was a transnational network aiming to create a transnational public space and communality among the followers of the Gülen group" (Karanfil, 2009). It appeals to the

members of this group; in this framework, it is a good example of denationalisation. Its activities were ceased in 2016.

Euro D ; the transnational sub-network of Kanal D, Euro D started broadcasting in 2001 for the Turkish viewership in Europe. Having commercial concerns, the network airs local and Turkish advertisements to the transnational audience with extended advertisement breaks. Many businesses and companies from both Turkey and Germany are advertised. Even though it has started airing programmes tailored for migrants in the recent years, it broadcasts the same content with its national counterpart in Turkey. The advertisements promote the themes of "homesickness, homeland, and hometown". The longing for the homeland and traditionalism is visible in the themes of these advertisements.

ATV Avrupa; the transnational sub-branch of ATV, ATV Avrupa started broadcasting in **(?)**. Its broadcasts have had a transnational quality in the recent years. Once again, extended advertisement breaks are visible in this channel. However, the programmes aired in this channel are mainly the same with its national counterpart. Some adjustments were made in the broadcasting content in order to reach the transnational viewership. ATV Avrupa is one of the channels with the most apparent transnational quality.

Show Türk; a transnational sub-network of Show TV, Show Türk started broadcasting in 2000. As in other networks, Show Türk also has commercial concerns. The extensive advertising is sometimes tiring for the viewership. It reruns the programmes and series aired in Turkey. There is no additional content, neither does the channel broadcasts different programmes.

Kanal 7 Avrupa: This transnational sub-branch of Kanal 7 was found in 2004. Its former name was Kanal 7 Int. Similar to Samanyolu TV, it broadcasted religious content. In addition, it also aired religion-oriented soap operas. Unlike Samanyolu, it also included national elements in its broadcasts. It had a significant amount of viewers among the first generation of migrants. Once again, it is possible to see extended commercial breaks in this network as well. Unlike other commercial networks, it appealed to Turkic and religious audiences. It had a rather transnational approach.

Euro Star: The television network was founded on 1 March 2006 in order to broadcast content for citizens of Turkish origin living in Europe. It airs daily newscasts, game shows, its own productions and entertainment programmes. Its content is similar to its Turkish counterpart.Once again, it is possible to see extended commercial breaks in Euro Star as well. Except for the national airtime, there are no traces of transnational broadcasting in its programmes. Generally having started broadcasting with the notions of state and nation in their initial years, Turkish television networks have not been able to disregard commercial concerns with the rise of the globalised world order. With the emergence of private networks in Turkey, the investors of the globalised world order turned to transnational Turkish migrants, Turkic states and their own ideologies. Even though there are examples of the transnational media in the rest of the world, it is hard to find a similar example in Turkey. The decrease in the numbers of transnational networks brought about an insufficiency in transnational broadcasting. Not being able to meet the expectations of the transnational viewership, Turkish channels are now being superceded by German channels or online platforms.

Within the scope of the research conducted in Germany within the scope of the thesis, it was revealed that channels broadcasting from Turkey do not appeal to Turks living in Germany. In this respect, TRT networks have the most diverse content range. In these programmes, mainly national and traditional values are fore grounded and religious elements are also prominent. Long documentaries about mosques and programmes promoting places to see in Turkey compose the majority of the content with the shows about Turkey covering 60% of its broadcasting schedule. As for private networks, their television broadcasting is tailored for Europe as seen in the advertisements aired. Meanwhile, the themes of religion, nationality, and homesickness are handled in the programmes and thus presented to the audience. As for programmes and series, while travel programmes focus on Germany, other programmes are about Turkey. However, these channels are not able to meet the demands of the Turks living in Germany. Transnational audiences want to watch more local and up-to-date news and to get informed about their current environment. This need is satisfied by local media channels, magazines, and newspapers with the advent of transnational publishing and broadcasting. Furthermore, new small businesses and media channels are found each day, appealing to the transnational viewership. For example, similar to TRT Şeş producing content tailored for its

target audience, what Turkish migrants in Europe need is a media organ exclusively tailored for their needs. While globalisation abolished the monopoly of media giants with the fall of the costs of communication technologies, brand new media organs appealing to their own small communities also emerges each day. Samanyolu TV can be considered as an example. Without appealing to any senses of nationality or belonging, it broadcasted content tailored only for the Gülen group. The main deficiency of national television networks broadcasting from Turkey is that they broadcast content similar to the programmes in Turkey seeing Turkish migrants living in Europe as their satellites whereas more specialised and community-oriented broadcasting is among the main expectations in this respect. While this gap is filled by local media channels and publications, national television channels become more aware each day of their deficiencies, developing and managing their content in this respect.

3.2. The History of the Turkish Media in Germany

The history of the Turkish press in Europe dates back to the final years of the Ottoman Empire. In that period, first publications were made and the traces of the Turkish press in Germany became visible.

> The history of publications in Western Europe in Turkish dates back to the final stages of the Ottoman Empire. Newspapers and magazines in Turkish published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in several European capitals, mainly in Paris and Geneva, were generally published by Ottoman intellectuals who either left their countries or were banished due to political reasons (Yücel, 2015).

"The 'Die Neue Türkei' magazine published from 1917 in Berlin in both Turkish and German was a media organ aiming to develop the relations between two countries and their peoples without voicing opposition against the political power in these countries" (Köksal, 2011). It is thus possible to claim that the Turkish-German press in Germany dates back to a long time. Nowadays, in addition to the written and visual press, online portals and radio channels in Turkish are also active in Germany.

With the labour migration from Turkey to European countries, newspapers published in Turkey were also started to be sold in Germany as of the late 1960s. The 1960s mark the intense activity of the Turkish press in Germany following the Turkish migration. This was

made official with an agreement between Federal Germany and Turkey in 1961. Much as the Turkish publication history in Germany dates back to the 19th century, the focus of this study will be the Turkish media history emerging in Germany after the Turkish labour migration to the German Federal Republic. Migrants from Turkey experienced some problems in getting news from their homeland following the migration to Germany. Radio broadcasts were not sufficient for the guest workers who had the thought of returning to Turkey. Furthermore, communication by mail was an arduous process. There was no Turkish television broadcasting in Germany from Turkey. In addition to all these problems mentioned above, their lack of knowledge of German made it even more difficult for them to get daily news. In that period, newspapers in Turkish started to emerge from this profile of migrants. Newspapers in Turkish started to be published abroad as of 1969 in order to provide solutions to the problems faced by immigrants in Western Europe, particularly in Germany, to provide them news from Turkey, and to guide them. Yet the first step was taken by the German Federal Republic. In 1964, WDR (Western German Institution for Radio and Television) started to broadcast 45-minute programmes each day in Turkish. Then, Turkish broadcasts called "Köln Radyosu" (Radio Cologne) are still known among Turkish migrants.

The development of the Turkish migrants in Germany had a significant influence on their social lives. To this day, if one asks a Turkish immigrant of "Köln Radyosu", they would immediately recognise it and talk about its schedule and programmes. It is still actively broadcasting, even though it has lost its former popularity. The monthly newspaper named "Anadolu" (Anatolia) was started to be published with the support of the German Federal Republic. The newspaper continued to be published for a long time under the supervision of Erdoğan Olcayto, a Turkish journalist. Many radio channels like WDR in different states had their one-hour special periods reserved for Turkish broadcasting. As of 1965, daily newspapers were brought to Germany from Turkey by plane. This was also an arduous process. At best, the newspapers reached Turkish readers in two days. For that reason, the newspapers decided to print the issues in printing houses based in Germany as shipping printed issues from Turkey had been proven to be difficult. With this development, the newspapers would be printed and distributed in Germany. The newspaper named "Akşam" was the trailblazer in this respect.

> The first newspaper to be typeset in Turkey and published abroad is Akşam. "The printing of Akşam, which had started in the printing house of a German newspaper in Hannover with the initiatives of two Turkish businessmen living in Germany, was terminated due to various reasons (Köksal, 2009).

In the initial years, newspapers did not arrive in Europe from Turkey fast enough. The newspapers Tercüman and Hürriyet, which were started to be sold in the Netherlands in 1966 and 1969, respectively, reached their readers with a one-day delay (Ünye, 2006; p. 25). At first, the newspapers printed in Istanbul used to be carried to Europe via plane. In 1969, however, Akşam was started to be printed in Munich. This was followed by Hürriyet in a few months. The publishing years of the newspapers in Turkish within the German Federal Republic is as follows: Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet (1971), Milliyet (1972), Türkiye (1987) Zaman (1990) MilliGazete (1973), ÖzgürPolitika (1995), Sabah, Emek, Ortadoğu (1996), Posta, Fanatik (2001), Günaydın, Akşam, Tercüman, Star (2006) (Güntürk, 1999; p. 194; Genel, 2012; p. 48). All these newspapers were Turkish and provided news for immigrants with an approach placing Turkey in the central position. They usually got their news from Turkey. Apart from a few pages devoted to Europe-related content, the focus of the news stories was Turkey. By the 1990s, the number of newspapers printed near Frankfurt had increased.

These were Hürriyet, Milliyet, Türkiye, Günaydın, Sabah, Zaman, Star, ÖzgürPolitika, Evrensel, MilliGazete, Fanatik, Dünya, Cumhuriyet, and Haftasonu. Their circulation was approximately 200 thousand issues per day. It was a dynamic period for the Turkish media in Germany. It influenced political and social life. As far as the political atmosphere of the time goes, Turkish migrants realised that they were permanent and not temporary residents. Media organs in their own languages were established. They were able to get news both from Turkey and Germany. The amount of content in Turkish about the life in Germany increased. Newspapers became aware of the social transformation. They increased the number of the published content accordingly. Publishing centres were increased in quantity and grew. The number of journalists did not only increase, but also grew significantly with the new generation of migrants joining the profession. Even though the content was in Turkish, the main subject of the news stories was Germany and the people living in Germany. The transformation of the migration brought about a change in the content of the newspapers. They published more news focusing on Europe and expressing the problems of the migrants. In the 2000s, however, the Turkish media went into a stage of decline. The number of

newspapers printed in Germany to be distributed in Western Europe fell to six: Zaman, Hürriyet, Sabah, Türkiye, Politika, and MillîGazete (Alev, 2015). Most recently, the publication of the newspapers Fanatik and Milliyet was ceased in 2015. Cumhuriyet and Evrensel stopped their publishing activities in 2008 and 2009, respectively. The previous circulation numbers were nowhere to be found. The new generations do not need to get news from Turkey as much as the older generations do. Besides the fact that they need to get news about the country in which they live more than about Turkey, they may not have the necessary command of Turkish to follow the Turkish media. Furthermore, even if they think that the German media do not appeal to them either, following the local media and to get informed about the environment and the country in which they live become more necessary. Along with all these developments, the digital media emerge as a different alternative. With its rapid and up-to-date structure, it is on the rise among the readership of the media. The number of social unique to almost every region and city increases with each passing day. The residents of the region are able to reach the information and news flow they need through these sites. The use of these websites independent from institutions or the state which publish content without any filters rises among immigrants each day.

After this period, the newspapers printed in Germany started to make publications aiming to inform migrants. They appealed to large masses with content related to different areas such as arts and sports. Today, the readership of the newspapers is on the fall. Newspapers focusing mainly on Turkey are no longer able to meet the expectations of migrants. The use of the Internet and the online publication of daily newspapers have reduced the demand for printed newspapers. In addition, the decreasing competence of Turkish of the new generations has manifested itself in the loss of interest in the printed press. The older generations, in contrast, follow daily newspapers in Turkish from their websites and get the news they want via television, the local media, and the Internet.

Today, the number of printed issues of the newspapers in Germany is quite low when compared with 1989 and the 1990s. The lack of command of the Turkish language among the new generation and the use of the Internet have decreased the circulations of newspapers. The printed press, which had its golden age in the past and had prominent brands for the old generation, has now lost its former popularity in Germany. Within the scope of the study, it

was observed that the majority of the Turkish migrants living in Germany follow daily newspapers online. The new generation has no interest in newspapers in general, reading either local newspapers and online news. The existing readership consists of older generations subscribing to newspapers or buying them each day from newsstands.

3.3. Turkish Media in Germany

One must analyse newspapers, the online media, and television channels as far as the Turkish media in Germany is concerned. Even though the Internet media is the most popular among migrants in Germany, television broadcasts remain as valid media. Among these media, however, newspapers have lost their former significance, and their circulations get lower with each passing day. The printed press, longing for its former days of glory, is now being replaced by the television and the Internet media. Local media outlets emerged as a result of the globalised media order and online platforms supplanted newspapers, offering their readers an easier way of getting news free of charge. Instead of buying printed newspapers from newsstands as it was done in the past, migrants now have free and fast access to online newspapers. Not being able to meet the migrants' expectations, newspapers are replaced by the local media and magazines. Some examples of newspapers in Turkish published in Germany are as follows:

3.3.1 Newspapers

Akşam, the first Turkish newspaper to be typeset in Turkey and printed in Germany. The printing of Akşam, which had started in the printing house of a German newspaper in Hannover with the initiatives of two Turkish businessmen living in Germany, was terminated due to various reasons (Köksal, 2009). As transportation via plane was difficult and the distribution of the newspaper to the entire country would be problematic, it was obvious that Hannover would not be the centre of printing houses. The newspaper was supervised by Altan Öymen. Its publication was ceased after a short time, never to be published again in Europe.

Sabah is the other one, the issues of Sabah were started to be transported to Germany via plane starting from 1980. As the demand for the newspaper increased, it was decided to print it in Germany in the early 1990s. The sales of its European edition is lower in recent years.

Today, in facilities near the German city of Frankfurt, besides Sabah, newspapers like YeniAsır, Takvim, Fotomaç, and other group newspapers are being printed (Wikipedia).

Hürriyet, the second newspaper to be printed abroad following Akşam, Hürriyet was started to be published in Munich on 17 April 1969, a few months after its predecessor. It was printed with a one-day delay as the typeset was shipped to a German printing house from Turkey. After a while, it became obvious that neither Munich would be an ideal centre for the printing and the distribution of newspapers (Köksal, 2009). Following Hannover and Munich, Frankfurt became the centre of the media and printing. Thus, Hürriyet was moved to Frankfurt. It is still among the top Turkish newspapers with the high numbers of its readers. It is known to be a liberal-conservative newspaper having the characteristics of a tabloid Zaman is the other, even though it was among the best newspapers providing migrants from Turkey living in Europe news stories, its publication was ceased as of 2016. The newspaper was bought in many households in Germany through a subscription system, preserving the old habit of buying newspapers on a daily basis.

Figure 1 Newspapers

Almanya'da basılıp, çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerinde dağıtıma çıkan ilk Türk gazetesi Akşam oldu.
Akşam'ın 3 Şubat 1969 tarihli ilk nüshası Hannover'de basılmıştı. Hürriyet de bundan iki ay sonra
Avrupa baskısını başlattı. 17 Nisan 1969 tarihli ilk Hürriyet de Münih'te basıldı.

Tercüman is last one, it was started to be published in Europe on 13 January 1970.

It was followed by Sözcü and Sabah. The newspapers Türkiye and Politikahave lower
readership rates. Until recent years, Zaman was among the most-read newspapers.

3.3.2 Television Channels

There are not many problems regarding the number of viewers of the Turkish television
channels in Germany. It can be observed that a majority of the Turkish migrants living in
Germany watch channels in Turkish at home with the help of satellite dishes. Thus, it can be
claimed that the most popular medium for mass communication among these individuals is
television through satellite channels. Television is popular for various reasons. The most
prominent reason is the series and movies broadcasted on television. Even the new generation
watches one or two series in Turkish. At the initial stages, the only television channel
available was TRT.

However, with the privatisations in the subsequent years, private networks became accessible for Turkish migrants in Germany. Yet, as far as the Turkish channels broadcasting in Germany are concerned, they differ from the usual broadcasting in Turkey with extensive advertisement. Running long ad breaks between programmes, these channels become different from their counterparts in Turkey. Private networks include Kanal D (Euro D), Star (Euro Star), ATV (ATV Avrupa), Show TV (Show Türk), Samanyolu TV, TGRT, and Kanal 7 Avrupa. They have differentiated their broadcasting style from their programme structure in Turkey by running a lot of commercials. Television channels based in Germany, e.g. Yol TV and KanalAvrupa, have also followed this trend. These channels broadcast from Europe, appealing to a certain audience.

> As of 1990, a series of private television channels with their own headquarters in Germany followed the existing networks. The majority of these private channels belong to large media corporations. They have mainly commercial concerns; their programmes focus mostly on entertainment (Halm & Sauer; p. 21).

Much as TRT has the largest number of viewers among Turkish television channels broadcasting in Germany, private channels also have a significant audience. These channels are not very different from its counterparts in Turkey; their broadcasts are not specifically tailored for migrants apart from airing times and local commercials. Private television networks, in particular, depend heavily on advertising revenue. As they have commercial concerns, they run local ads and ads from Turkey for a long period of time Even though the history of Turkish television history does not date back to a long time, it has replaced magazines and newspapers, reaching wide audiences. Furthermore, TD1 may be shown as one of the best examples of the hybrid media in Germany. This network is a local one broadcasting both in Turkish and German. Even though it is no longer an active channel, it is an important experience in the media scene as it is an example of bilingual broadcasting. The programmes of this channel were tailored exclusively for the media usage needs of Turkish migrants living in Germany.

> The programmes of this channel are prepared directly for the needs of migrants living in Germany. In addition to the broadcasts made in their mother tongue, some parts of the programmes are in German. TD1 positions itself as a pluralist, liberal media organisation with political approaches aimed for integration without sacrificing cultural identity. The television channel is among the most-watched networks (37%) in Berlin (Halm & Sauer, p. 21).

TD1 is the abbreviated form of "Türkisches-DeutschesFernsehen" (Turkish-German Television). It is a local television network in Germany broadcasting in Turkish and German. It was founded in 1985 by AtalayÖzçakır. It was available in 10 countries. Its broadcasting activities were ceased in 2007. Its attempt at bilingual broadcasting is of key importance.

TRT-INT, a public international broadcasting channel. It was founded in 1990. In 1992, it was renamed as "TRT Avrasya" (TRT Eurasia). It was merged with TRT Türk on 21 March 2009. On 8 May 2009, TRT INT's broadcasting activities were ceased. Currently, the channel continues its activities under the name TRT Türk.

> The channel employs a lot of people abroad, particularly in Germany; some part of the broadcasts are being produced in and for Germany. However, the primary objective of this channel is to strengthen and maintain the bonds of Turkish immigrants with their homeland, Turkey (Halm & Sauer, p. 21).

Euro D, television channel founded to produce programmes tailored for Turks living in Europe. While its initial name was Kanal D Fun, it was changed to Euro D on 7 March 2001.

Euro Star, It was founded on 1 March 2006 to produce television programmes for Turks in Europe.

ATV Avrupa (Europe), it was founded on 16 October 1997 to produce television programmes for Turks in Europe. Its initial name was ATV Int.

Show Türk, it was founded on 29 September 2005 to produce television programmes for Turks in Europe.

Samanyolu TV, the European branch of Samanyolu whose target audience is Turks living in Europe Its television and radio broadcasting activities were terminated on 15 November 2015.

TGRT, Its full name is "Türkiye GazetesiRadyoTelevizyonu" (Radio and television networks of the newspaper "Türkiye"). It was founded on 17 December 2004.

Kanal 7 Avrupa, it was founded on 9 November 2009 with the aim of broadcasting for Turkish audiences in Europe. Its former name is Kanal 7 Int.

KanalAvrupa, A sub-channel of AkbaşMüzik (Music) starting to be broadcasted in Europe on 1 December 2005.

Yol TV, the Alevi television channel founded on 15 November 2006. It belongs to the European Alevi Unions Confederation.

Despite the retrogradation of the Turkish language in Germany, Turkish television channels are still in demand. However, the readership of the newspapers and magazines have seen a decline. While newspapers are no longer popular in Germany, television networks in Turkish maintain their popularity with the series and programmes they run. Turkish migrants in Germany watch Turkish television channels via satellite dishes and cablecasting.

My spouse and I work, so we do not have much free time. That is why we follow daily newspapers occasionally. As for television, we watch one or two German channels to get news. There are a few series that we watch in Turkish channels. So, we also watch Turkish channels (Özlem, 27).

Both new and older generations are still interested in watching Turkish television networks. In fact, it is common for many immigrant households to have subscriptions for both Turkish satellite broadcasting and German televisions.

Turkish television channels are always watched in our house, yet we watch series online sometimes. We watch German programmes. We watch sports with my sons. We watch programmes in both languages. Sometimes we watch Turkish channels, sometimes we watch the German ones. We have subscriptions for both cablecasting and regular German television channels (Metin, 53).

3.4 Internet Media

The worldwide use of the Internet media is on the rise, increasing with each passing day. They are popular as they are cheap and easilyaccessible, providing opportunities for local broadcasting and small-scale businesses. They are also popular as a part of the immigrant media among the new generation. The readers and viewers are able to access with ease to these media with the web pages of the newspapers, magazines, and local broadcasts. Many small-scale businesses have started to reach migrants via the media. Their significance becomes greater each day. Currently, a quarter of the migrants in Germany use the Internet media as a tool for getting information; 18% of these individuals use Turkish web pages in this respect (Halm & Sauer). The younger generations, in particular, use technology in order

to get informed. In the observations made within the scope of the study, it was observed that the younger generations follow both German and Turkish media online. It can be thus claimed that the Turkish media on the Internet are in their most dynamic form. Daily newspapers and magazines reach their viewers and readers through the Internet and online platforms. The most-preferred criteria for these sites are specialisation in a particular area of interest, bilingual publications, the focus on local issues and news, and the up-to-date and instantaneous news publishing. As they are not limited only to local news with the contributions of columnists, the Internet media becomes an appealing tool for getting informed. Their combination of the formats of a magazine, an online newspaper, and a portal, as in the examples of E-Gazete (E-Newspaper) and Regensburg Haber (News) facilitates the access regardless of the medium. Within the scope of the thesis, some of the websites publishing content in both Turkish and German will be analysed along with the media usage habits of the new generation. These include:

3.5 The local media in Europe

The local media in Turkish have emerged recently, becoming more and more popular in Germany. In addition to the accessibility of newspapers, magazines, and radios with an extensive number of printed issues and delivered to households via mail, there are also online versions of these media. The centre for the media is Germany. These outlets publish and broadcast content both in Turkish and in the language of the region. They operate in Germany; their publishers, broadcasters, and employees are Turkish immigrants living in Germany. Although it is possible to see German citizens as well among the staff of these outlets. Their target audience is Turkish immigrants reading in Turkish and, for some, German citizens. Their area of distribution consists of the region in which the migrants live and its periphery. Basically, Internet portals concern this aforementioned region while addressing to a general readership. These include the media aimed to be distributed in a few cities and the newspapers and magazines distributed free of charge. These are distributed either monthly or biweekly.

> The trailblazer among these publications is "Anadolu" (Anatolia) mentioned previously, published with the support of the German Federal Republic in 1964. Then, unions started to publish regular bulletins and publications in Turkish. Meanwhile, some publishing projects of the Turkish

intellectuals in Germany were realized, such as "Anadil" (The Mother Tongue), a literary magazine published by YükselPazarkaya. After the 1980s, particularly with the publishing projects of political exiles from Turkey to the German Federal Republic initially aiming their own spheres, then the society in general (such as Türkiye Postası and Demokrat Türkiye (Democratic Turkey)), the dynamism of intellectual publications was maintained (The Turkey Post, 2014).

Local newspapers and magazines started to follow this trend of dynamism as well. Some examples include Merhaba (Hello), Ren Postası (The Rhine Post), Hessen Toplum (Hesse Society), Manşet (the Headline), and Regensburg Haber (Regensburg News). These newspapers and magazines mainly depend on their advertising revenues. There are some who have widened the scope of this activities and become professionals.

However, the problem is that the Turkish media in Germany have entered a stage of decline. The reason behind this is the global decline of the mainstream media. The advancement of communication technologies lowers each day the demand for the printed and visual media. They are being replaced by the Internet and the social media. A profound transformation is taking place. The fact that the Internet is unlimited and affordable brings about new opportunities, diverting the attention of the readership in this respect. Another problem is the decrease in the number of readers.

The alienation of the new generations from the Turkish language reduces the competence of Turkish in Germany. Even though these individuals understand Turkish, their insufficient competency in reading comprehension decreases their interest in the Turkish media. However, this is not the case for Turkish television channels as there is not a significant drop in the number of their viewers. Even the new generation watches regularly some of the series aired on Turkish television channels.

Regensburg Haber; a local magazine based on the city of Regensburg in Germany publishing bilingual news, both in Turkish and German. Its news stories are also available online. Besides Turkish immigrants, its content appeals to German citizens as well. The editors of this monthly magazine are of Turkish origin. Its target audience live in Regensburg and neighbouring cities. It is also possible to read the magazine from its website. The content consists of local events, news stories, and advertisements. It is distributed free of charge, depending on the advertising revenue.

Ozguruz.org is the publishing initiative by Can Dündar. It publishes in both German and Turkish. It is based in Berlin, Germany. It was founded in January 2018. The target audience of this network is the residents of both Turkey and Germany.

Taz.Gazete; A bilingual (Turkish and German) newspaper based in Berlin published five days a week. Various fields from politics to cultural events are included in its content. Published daily in Germany, the newspaper's aim is to resist against the restrictions on the freedom of the press in Turkey. While being of German origin, it also publishes content in Turkish. It started out with five on-line bilingual publications each week. Its news stories, articles, and columns appeal not only to the readership in Turkey but also to the Germans and the Turkish migrants living in Germany.

E-Gazete; the newspaper, publishing content with a slogan of "The news portal of Central Germany", is a bilingual medium. In addition to local content, there are also news stories concerning Turkey and Germany. Some fields in the newspaper include culture-arts, politics, economics, women, Turkey, health, technology, and sports.

Ha-ber.com; an on-line bilingual newspaper based in Berlin. While the fields concerning Berlin, Europe, and Turkey are the focus of the newspaper, there are also news stories about sports, economics, and the world in general. It depends on its advertising revenue. Therefore, it is possible to see local advertisements in the newspaper.

Ren Postası; an online newspaper published in Turkish, even though the content focuses on Germany. It is a local news outlet, also targeting audiences in the neighbouring cities. Local news and advertisements constitute the newspaper. Its slogan is "The newspaper of your family".

Hessen Toplum; like other newspapers mentioned above, Hessen Toplum is also an online newspaper. The only difference is that it makes a separation between the content of its German and Turkish news stories. Its target audience is the Turkish migrants living in Germany. Local news and advertisements constitute the newspaper. In addition to its online format, it is also printed.

Merhaba; the slogan of this newspaper is "The voice of Southern Germany". The target audience of its publications is the local residents and people living in the neighbouring cities.

It is also printed as a regular newspaper. It is published since 1990. Turkish migrants living in the German city of Ulm and in neighbouring cities compose the target audience of the newspaper. It is published two times a month in Southern Germany free of charge. It depends on its advertising revenue. The newspaper has grown recently, reaching thousands of readers in Ulm and neighbouring cities. It is also available online.

3.6 The German Media

According to the studies conducted by the Foundation Centre for Turkish Studies and Integration Research (TAM) based in Essen, Germany, the preference of Turkish migrants in Germany concerning German television channels differ from that of Germans. In these studies, it was revealed that while the number of viewers for public television channels is low, private television channels ZDF, RTL 2, and VOX. In the recent years, with the new generation of migrants, the viewers of both German and Turkish channels have increased in number. The reason for this increase is that the members of the new generation are not only able to speak and understand the German language, they have also adapted to the German social and cultural structure. As they are not strangers to the society in which they live unlike the first generation of migrants, they are able to understand the country and thus follow its media. For that reason, the viewership of television channels increases with the emergence of the new generation.

> I like and watch television channels in German. Game shows, talk show, movies: They are all good. I also watch Turkish channels but I cannot understand the jokes in comedy shows. I only watch series. There are good series. But I watch news from German channels to get informed about the events in Germany. Because all the football matches and the news about the city are available in German channels (Volkan, 15).

As for the preferred television channels, the most popular ones among migrants are private networks. These channels appeal to the migrant audience more when compared with public channels. The inclusion of American media products in these channels contribute to their popularity. The emergence of a common culture in the globalised world may have influenced migrants in this respect. Furthermore, private networks appeal more to the migrants, broadcasting content tailored for this particular audience.

3.6.1 Television Channels in Germany

RTL; a German commercial network. It is Germany's largest private free-to-air broadcaster. The channel started broadcasting in 1984.

ProSieben; it was founded on 1 January 1989. It is the second-largest private television network in Germany. It airs American productions in addition to its own content.

ARD; one of the two public channels in Germany. It was founded in West Germany in 1950. Its full name is "Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichenRundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland".

A German private television network of the ProSiebenSat.1 Media group. It is the first private television channel in Germany. The channel started broadcasting in 1984. In addition to American programmes and game shows, it has also started to run its own programmes.

ZDF; its full name is "ZweitesDeutschesFernsehen", meaning "the second German television". It is a public television channel. It started broadcasting on 1 April 1963. The first colour transmission was realised in 1967.

RTL 2; a television channel of the RTL group.

VOX is a German commercial network. It started broadcasting in Cologne in 1993. It airs mainly movies and series.

All these television channels represent the transformation of the changing socio-culture structure in Germany. Turkish immigrants no longer have problems with the language, adapting to the cultural environment. As these individuals have adapted to the cultural structure of the country, German programmes and movies appeal to the new generation.

As far as the statistics and the observations made within the scope of this research are concerned, it can be claimed that television broadcasting in Germany is still an active sector for both German and Turkish networks. Much as the Internet is used for reading news and getting informed, all generations of migrants watch both Turkish and German television networks to watch series and various programmes.

Deutsche Welle is a significant example in this respect as a German bilingual media organisation. It appeals to both German citizens and migrants with its broadcasting in German and Turkish; it has an important place among migrants as it provides news about the region in which these individuals reside.

Deutsche Welle; a media organisation based in the cities of Bonn and Berlin, broadcasting in 30 languages via television, radio, and the Internet. Its significance is that it also broadcasts content in Turkish. Its bilingual broadcasting is of importance as a German television network. It is quite popular among the Turkish audiences living in Germany. As it broadcasts content in Turkish, it is preferred by people who cannot have a good command of the German language.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY

4.1 Immigrant Media and Hybridization

Upon thinking of immigrant media in Germany, Turkish television channels and newspapers based in Turkey come to one's mind. However, with the emergence of the new generations of immigrants, along with the effects of globalization, online journalism and online news sites have started offering a flow of news and information for immigrants. Along with the broadcasting of the media from Turkey with a stance regarding immigrants as citizens abroad instead of individuals living in Germany, online journalism, rising as an alternative to the inadequate representation of immigrants by the German media,fills a major gap. The fact that they broadcast local news, in particular, creates a great advantage in terms of preference over other media. Within the scope of the study, it will be discussed how the immigrant media have a bilingual and hybrid linguistic structure by taking the hybridization of the languages and cultures of immigrants with the influence of both cultures into

consideration. The Turkish and German media will also be discussed, and the media organs reaching immigrants from Turkey in Germany will be analyzed. A considerable part of this study was conducted in the cities of Nürnberg (Nuremberg) and Regensburg, located in the state of Bavaria. For that reason, socio-cultural maps of the state of Bavaria and the cities of Regensburg and Nuremberg will be drawn in this section.

4.1.1 BAVARIA

Figure 2 Bavaria Source: Wikipedia

A state located in the southeastern part of Germany, Bavaria is the largest state of the country by land area. Its capital is the city of Munich. Other cities in this state are Augsburg, Regensburg, Nuremberg, Bamberg,and Würzburg. The cities with the highest immigrant population are Munich and Nuremberg. In fact, one might feel as if in Turkey while walking along the streets of these cities. Grocery stores with Turkish names, discount stores, and clothing shops bring about Turkish characteristics into the cities. The study was conducted in the state of Bavaria, and the observations and interviews took place mainly in the cities of Nuremberg and Regensburg. In these cities, the population of immigrants from Turkey is the highest right after Asian countries.

Table 2 The rates of foreign citizens in the state of Bavaria / 2015 Source: Bayerisch Landesamt für Statistik

Country	Percentage
Turkey	12,6%
America	3,7%
Asia	13,5%
Africa	3,1%
EU	51,8%

The study was conducted in the cities of Nuremberg and Regensburg, located in Bavaria. The thesis research was done in Nuremberg and Regensburg, mainly in the latter, and several observations were made in these cities. First, second, and third generations of immigrants were observed under different groups during the course of the study. The first generation of immigrants has worked in the service industry or in factories, and their competence of German is not adequate. The idea of not being permanent had an impact on their thought of not adopting the German language and Germany early on. The majority of them being primary school graduates or drop-outs, the first generation of immigrants cannot speak German effectively. Although they can go through their daily routines in Germany on their own, they get help from their children and grandchildren while visiting the doctor's office or while running errands in governmental offices. Most of them prefer "Turkish doctors" in Nuremberg and Regensburg. In addition to working in the service sector and in factories, the second generation has qualified occupations like civil service jobs, and they also work as doctors, lawyers and MPs. They have occupations that are more influential in Germany, requiring the effective use of German.

The third and fourth generations of immigrants were born and raised in Germany; therefore, they have fully integrated with the country they live in. In the study, observations were made among and interviews were conducted with younger German citizens from Turkey, the majority of whom are studying at the University of Regensburg. While some of them speak Turkish with a broken accent, the others speak it fluently. They see Germany as their homeland for they were born and raised here, and they also state that they are from Turkey. While describing themselves as both Turkish and German, they actually identify themselves as a third culture, a mixture of both Turkish and German cultures.

The sociological structures of the cities where the study is conducted will be analyzed briefly in order to become familiar with them.

4.1.2 Nüremberg

In Nuremberg, one might feel as if in Turkey for a moment. Kebab restaurants, grocery stores,and bakeries create this feeling. Nuremberg is among the cities with high numbers of immigrants from Turkey. One can easily run into a Turkish person on the street. Its status as the primary center of industrial production has attracted immigrant workers to this city. Even though the first generation of immigrants came to this city as the working class, the younger generations attend universities and vocational schools in Nuremberg or other cities.

Turkish immigrants also make day trips to Nuremberg, the second-largest city in the state of Bavaria, as there are Turkish health centers in the city.One can see as well that Turkish immigrants visiting the city from neighboring cities to shop from Turkish grocery stores. An elderly gentleman at the clinic of the Turkish dentist explains why he prefers coming here as follows:

> *My child, we were too busy raising our kids to learn German. My knowledge of German is not good enough to talk to a German doctor about my problems. Here, I can talk to the doctor in my own language (Ayşe,78).*

Observing doctors and nurses, one can see that they can speak both languages and that they have completed their education in both countries. One also discovers that the new generation has a good command of both languages and cultures in many fields and that they blend these two cultures in their own ways. Hybridity has influenced their cultures and lives as much as it has influenced their languages. One can observe in the offices of doctors from Turkey that a secretary from the same country speaks German. At the same time, one can also see that a German nurse can work with a Turkish doctor, providing people service.

The ties of the people living in this city with Turkey have developed in different ways. Besides transportation, factors like television, satellite channels and the Internet have a role in the development of communication networks. This interaction has given the city a look similar to a small Turkish city. Restaurants, mosques, traditional Turkish coffee houses, kebab restaurants and grocery stores create an atmosphere like Turkey. One can see the hybrid culture originating from both German and Turkish cultures all around the city. The names of grocery stores and restaurants, and promotional flyers of clothing stores and supermarkets also create a hybrid atmosphere. The researcher visited Nuremberg in order to make observations in places such as Turkish clinics and grocery stores and to make house visits as well. Furthermore, three immigrant families were interviewed, and clinics of doctors from Turkey were observed. The researcher has spent time in many Turkish grocery stores and they had the chance to talk with the people in these places. The first family visited consists of parents from the first generation and their daughter from the second generation. The members of the second family are the immigrant father from the second generation, his spouse who came from Turkey with this marriage, and two sons from the third generation. The third is a family of two, consisting of two brothers from the third generation both of whom are college students.

Figure 3 List of products

Source: https://www.can-supermarkt.de/de/angebote/angebote_can-extra.html

4.1.3 Regensburg

A small city located in the German state of Bavaria. Besides the Siemens company, the city has attracted immigrants from Turkey with a number of factories operating in the city. Although the Turkish population rate is not high, it is a city with a considerable immigrant population due to its status as a university town. Having a population of 142,000, the city is a university town. As the researcher was in the city for a while for research, a great part of the thesis was written by observing immigrants in the city. The city is a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2006. For the thesis research, during the researcher's time as a guest student at the University of Regensburg, they had the chance of observing students in their everyday environment and getting together with them on many occasions. In addition, as their own

family is of immigrant origin, the researcher met with their relatives from the first generation, listening to their accounts. House visits and observations in places like doctor's offices and Turkish grocery stores were also made. In this city, the researcher had talks with groups consisting of people from the first and second generations of immigrants, conducted their studies with the students of the University of Regensburg, and worked for some time in a restaurant owned by a family from Turkey.

4.2 Hybridizing Media Language

The term *hybrid* signifies something of mixed origin and composition. It stands for the formation of a new culture from two different cultures. Ayhan Kaya describes the mixture of cultures in Germany as *bricolage* (Kaya, 2000: p.30). The word bricolage derives from *collage*, a painting technique, and it indicates the mixture or the blend created with the use of pieces present at a given time. The researcher will refer to the blend in the context of this study as hybridization. In other words, they will describe the formation of a third culture from two cultures while analyzing the way it influences immigrant media. How immigrant media, similar to the new generation of immigrants, reports news bilingually or in German with Turkish content will be observed as well.

There is a different, unique language between immigrants. This language is a mixture of German and Turkish, along with the addition of words from English due to the contributions of the new generation. They switch between languages and add words from the other language while speaking Turkish or German. For example, one can say"Arbeitsam'a gidiyorum (I am going to Arbeitsam)." (Arbeitsam: Labor exchange). Such a pattern of speech is visible in a conversation made with anygiven immigrant family. Starting from the second generation, the reason behind this may be seen as a lack of command in both

languages or the preference of taking the easy way out while using language. One can say that these types of speech can be seen in the conversations among immigrants. Many young immigrants from Turkey cannot understand or speak Turkish. Therefore, the tendency of viewing the German media or news stories written in German has increased. However, immigrants who cannot use German continue to follow Turkish news and sources. For that reason, bilingual news increase in number day after day. Reporting news in both languages is gradually becoming a common practice in the German media. Many news sites have started to publish news both in German and Turkish, thus making the newer generations of immigrants their target audiences while offering news for immigrants of Turkish origin.

Such kind of journalism has also started to be seen more frequently in newspapers originating from Turkey and local websites.

Figure 4 Berlin Turk Web Site Source: Berlin Türk http://www.berlinturk.com/tr
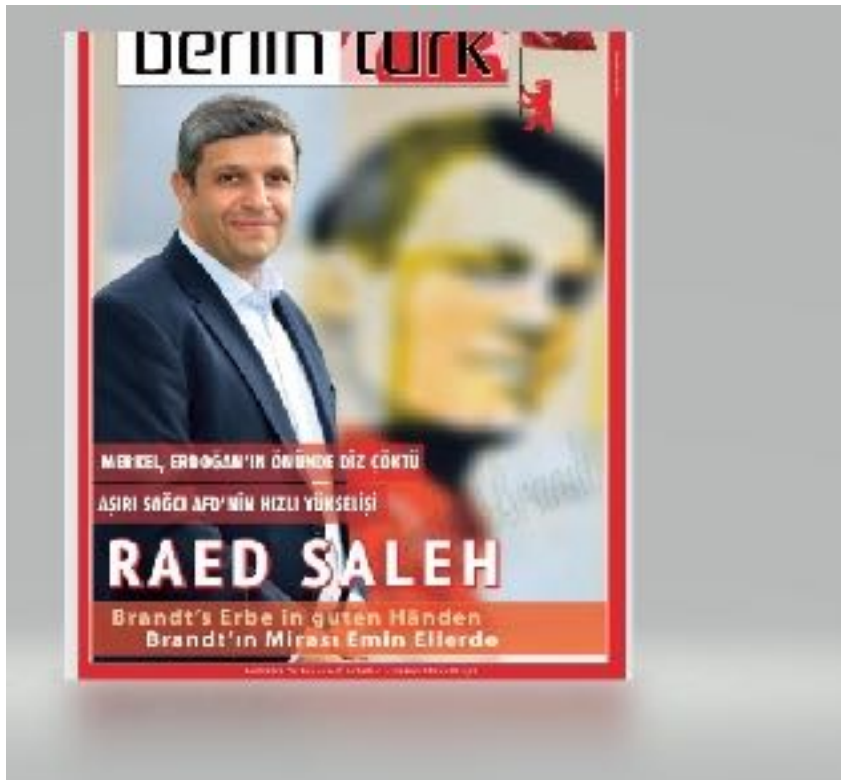
They publish news stories that are more up-to-date and more local, and the news stories they report are about Germany and the region where immigrants live instead of being focused on Turkey like the Turkish mainstream media. Both of these facts have been influential factors in this tendency.

Nilüfer: Why do you not follow daily newspapers in Turkish?

Kadir (57): The news in the newspapers lose their actuality by the time they reach us. I read yesterday's news. Instead of this, I prefer getting the latest news. Everything is present on the Internet. I can reach any site, any news story I want with a single click. Thus, I get local news and read fresh news stories. By the time I read the news from the newspaper, I had already learned about them from television. This is not the case with Internet sites. I check them several times a day. I come across a different news story each time. That is why I prefer them.

Owing to the Internet technologies, along with globalization, immigrants have experienced a change in the types of media channels. Although the habit of following newspapers was crucial for the first generation, it was replaced by the Internet and the social platforms brought about by Internet with the newer generations. It is not certain how long Turkish daily newspapers will last in Germany, but Internet technologies and online platforms have rapidly started to settle among immigrants.

4.3 Turkish-German Immigrant Media and Hybridizing Media

4.3.1 Television

One of the first branches of media that comes to mind when one thinks of immigrant media is television. As it is a bridge between them and their homeland, it is preferred

especially by the first generations. The first generation of immigrants who do not have an adequate command of German and whose daily routines are limited to shopping and work still prefers Turkish television channels.

With the advancement of technologies in the field of telecommunication, many television channels became accessible to people living outside the country. This brought about a different point of view for the social and cultural lives of the first generation of immigrants. Immigrants who depended only on German channels, and, therefore, have gained a chance to maintain their daily life practices with their homeland due to these developments. Although Turkish television channels are still important for the second generation of immigrants, they have begun to lose their prominence for the new generation of immigrants from Turkey. The new generation, now using the German language effectively, have started using the German media in an effective way as well. One can observe that the new generation is not willing to follow Turkish television channels whose representation of themselves they do not find to be enough for they live in Germany and the majority of whose content is about Turkey. Although they think that German television channels do not represent them adequately just like the Turkish ones, they embrace German channels as they have internalized the points of view and humor of the country they live in. Furthermore, with the development of communication technologies, the new generation has also inclined to global channels with the use of the Internet. These activities are sufficient for satisfying their need for news, entertainment, and culture. One can talk about the presence of two groups in the immigrant media in terms of television:

- Turkish television channels: Channels broadcasting from Turkey. Both public and private networks.

- German television channels: Certain German channels followed by immigrants in Germany. Both private and public networks.

4.3.2 Turkish television channels

With the development of satellite technologies, many Turkish television channels have started broadcasting in Germany simultaneously with Turkey. Despite not being preferred by the new generation, these networks are followed by the first generation of immigrants. Satellite broadcasting arrived in Germany much later than the establishment of the Turkish media. One of the reasons behind this situation is that communication technologies were not advanced enough. Another reason is that immigrants of Turkey did not think themselves as permanent residents in the country early on. Along with the emergence of the thought of being permanent, major advancements in communication took place and the idea of considering immigrants living in Germany as a market started to be formed. In this section, an analysis of Turkish television networks, which maintains its influence on the first and second generations of immigrants living in Germany, will be made. As it is known, the first Turkish television network to broadcast outside Turkey and in Germany is the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) (KAYA, 2000, P:87).

Up until 1990, only the programs aired on TRT were available in Germany. In 1991, TRT Int, the channel of TRT aimed for Turkish people living abroad, became accessible all over Germany through cablecasting. In the 1990s, with the establishment of private television networks in Turkey, these channels also started broadcasting in Germany with their editions specially tailored for this country (RTÜK Public Opinion Research, 2007,www.rtuk.org.tr).

TRT continues broadcasting a variety of content and makes its broadcast streaming available for wide audiences in Germany. It has started the first broadcasting activity for audiences living abroad with the TRT International network.

It was the only Turkish television channel in Germany until the beginning of the 1990s. When looked at the broadcasted content, it can be seen that although they were mostly news programs, regional and entertainment programs were also included.

> Due to several reasons like the creation of specific programs intended for Turkish people living in Europe, the channel's acceptance as a more reliable network than other private networks as it is owned by the state, its wide range of programs owing to its independence from external funding with state sponsorship, and some psychological and emotional reasons such as patriotic sentiments of Turks in Germany, TRT remains as one of the most popular television networks among Turkish people in Germany (Heinemann and Kamçılı, 2003: 113; Ergi, 1996:40).

Later on, channels such as EURO STAR, EURO D, EURO ATV, KANAL 7 AVRUPA started streaming and became a part of the broadcasting world. These channels customize the content they stream according to immigrants and make their programs more area-specific.

Euro Star is a private and commercial television channel. It is an entertainment network. It was established in 2009. It broadcasts simultaneously with Turkey.

Euro D; the network belongs to Doğan Media Group. Its content can be categorized as entertainment and celebrity news. It broadcasts simultaneously with its counterpart in Turkey.

ATV Avrupa is commercial entertainment network. It was established in 2011. It broadcasts simultaneously with the national network. It belongs to Turkuaz Media Group.

Show TV is a commercial channel broadcasting entertainment and celebrity news programs. It airs a wide range of commercials by taking local ads and ads from Turkey.

Kanal 7 is known for its conservative-traditional structure. It has a wide audience among immigrants in Germany.

TRT 1 AVRUPA is a state-owned network. It broadcasts news and information. National and traditional values are usually emphasized. Adopting a point of view regarding immigrants as "citizens abroad", it plays the role of a symbolic bridge between these individuals and the homeland. It has started to broadcast regional content in recent years. It has also become possible to watch programs intended for immigrants. TRT Türk: It is a television network broadcasting for Turkish people living in Europe. It broadcasts according to the European time zone. It began its broadcasting activities in 1992 as TRT Avrasya, and the name was changed to TRT Int-Avrasya. In 1997, the channel was separated as TRT Int and TRT Avrasya. It became TRT Türk in 2001.

While they broadcasted news on Turkey in the beginning, there have been some changes in its broadcasting policies in recent years. Programs for immigrants have started to be aired in both private and public networks. Upon looking at the broadcasting policies of channels, one can see a number of differences. TRT Int airs content such as entertainment, music, and educational programs.

Owing to its status as a state-owned channel, it adopts nationalistic and authentic cultural elements and broadcasts with an understanding of immigrants as citizens abroad. National customs and traditions of Turkey are repeatedly given, thus revitalizing nationalist sentiments is aimed. A symbolic bridge between the homeland and the country of immigration is tried to be constructed.

> In 1990,TRT launched its first transnational channel, TRT-INT.Initially, TRT-INT broadcast to Turkish migrants living in Western European countries as a politically and ideologically state-oriented Project (Gökçen Karanfil, 2007).

These television channels have more commercial concerns as they are private networks. Entertainment and advertising are more common in these networks. In these channels,

audiences are seen as consumers. One can spot ads frequently in these networks. Especially long commercial breaks mark a difference between them and networks broadcasting in Turkey. Ads about Turkey or regional ads in Germany create long breaks. Kanal D, such a network, belongs to Doğan Media Group. It has commercial concerns. Its content can be categorized as entertainment and celebrity news. Kanal 7 has reached a wide audience among immigrants from Turkey in Germany with its conservative-traditional structure. It was generally observed that Kanal 7 and "Elif", a television series aired on this channel, was watched in the homes visited for the research. The conservative-traditional point of view of the first generation of immigrants contributed to the number of viewers of this network.

According to the results of a public opinion poll conducted by Radio and Television Supreme Council with Turks living in Europe, when looked at the ratings of Turkish television networks, a decrease among new generations of immigrants was observed. The reason behind the aforementioned decrease is that the knowledge of Turkish culture of these immigrants is limited to the knowledge conveyed to them by their families, and their lack of fluency and understanding of Turkish. Them being strangers to Turkish culture creates another problematic issue.

When asked about the reason of this alienation, Özlem (26) replies as follows:

> Both my husband and I work very hard. We do not have time, anyway. When we have time, we check news channels, German news channels. There are a few Turkish series that we follow, but we watch them online. As we do not have time, we cannot watch television. When we get the chance, we check the news. We watch German channels or series. Usually, we prefer German public networks.

In addition to watching satellite channels, following series online is a more common practice among new generations of immigrants. Working hours, busy schedules, and the lack of time results in the use of Internet which enables a person to watch anything at any time. Furthermore, as the new generation of immigrants is more integrated with German culture they prefer German television channels to get informed about the news. Unlike the demands of the first generation, getting news on Germany and the regions where immigrants live is becoming the primary preference instead of watching the news on Turkey.

For that reason, while German networks are preferred for news and information, series and movies are watched online.

As a person from the first generation of immigrants, Nilüfer (76) explains the reasons behind her preference of Turkish television networks:

> My child, I cannot speak German well. I watch movies in my own language. I do not understand German jokes, either. They broadcast nonsense. That is why I watch Turkish channels. I watch some series. We rarely watch German channels. And that is when something important happens, or when there is an interesting news story. Satellite channels are all open. I watch Kanal 7 the most. Its shows are good. My friends also watch them. My sons watch German channels. Of course, they do, their German is excellent. They understand these channels. We used to watch German channels as well because we had to. Turkish channels were not available back then. But now I do not have to watch German channels anymore.

In this case, the consumption of the Turkish media is not only a result of the lack of command of German, but it comes out of the need of Turkish immigrants for information and entertainment that is not satisfied by the German media. The problem with the German media is still the inadequacy of the representation of immigrants from Turkey. The number of television programs and news is limited. The German media usually broadcast content taking the immigrants who are integrated with Germany as their basis and consider these individuals as their targets.

> 16% of people who cannot understand German well only use the Turkish media, while 83% use both Turkish and German media. Only 3% of people with intermediate German knowledge use the Turkish media, while the rate among those who know German well is less than 1% (Halm, Sauer, 2007).

4.3.3 German television channels

Using the German media requires a command of the language. Thus, many people from the first generation of immigrants do not prefer German television networks. Due to the increase in the use of German language with the emergence of the new generation, German networks have started to be preferred in order to get news on the region and the country. When asked about the favorite channels among immigrants, ZDF and ARD are at the top of the list. In the observations made on immigrant families, it is seen that the new generation prefers German networks for entertainment and talk-shows. The reason behind this is the increasing knowledge of German and the gradual adaptation to German culture.

According to the data based on interviews and observations throughout the research, the most watched German television channels among Turks in Germany are:

ZDF: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (Second German Television). A state-owned

German network.

RTL: A commercial television network.

ARD: One of the two public networks, the other one being ZDF.

SAT 1: A private television network. Furthermore, it is the first private network in Germany.

Pro Sieben: The second largest private television network in Germany.

4.3.4 Newspapers

Following the signature of the labor recruitment agreement with Federal Germany in 1961, Turks started to immigrate to Germany. In the initial years, immigrants had serious problems when it comes to getting news and information. In order to deal with this issue, starting from 1965, Hürriyet, a Turkish newspaper, started to distribute newspapers from Turkey by planes, aiming to meet the need for information. This method was quite expensive. Furthermore, newspapers reached to the readers with delays. The newspaper was prepared and the typesetting was made in Turkey, and it was printed in the printing house following the shipment of matrices to Germany by airplane. The content of the edition published in Germany matches up with the newspaper in Turkey to a large extent (Köksal, 2009). In the late 1960s, with the perception of immigrants from Turkey as a market, the newspaper named Akşam was printed in Germany for the first time on February 3, 1969. Hürriyet started to be published in this country after Akşam, on April 16, 1969. It was followed by Tercüman in 1970, and Milliyet and Son Havadis in 1972 (Tokgöz:145). In the 1970s, other newspapers in Turkish such as Sabah and Cumhuriyet were published in Germany, although they were not successful (Cryns, 1991:22). The newspapers, functioning as a bridge between the immigrants and the homeland, had a great significance for immigrants. In addition, they created a sense of community among them in the country of immigration. As a matter of fact, İsmail Tipi (58) , a former reporter for Hürriyet, underlines the importance of the sense of integrity as follows:

During the times when Hürriyet was the number-one newspaper, we had a dissuasive effect on the German public. When we reported that Turkish children were sent to special schools (Sonderschule), many children were saved from being sent to these schools. In our times, newspapers had display names. Every Turkish immigrant used to know these names. We had a considerable readership. Nowadays, newspapers have lost its former importance. Newspapers had their display names back then. Everyone in Germany knew them. Now, not many people read newspapers. Only older people read newspapers, even at my house.

As of 2008, the publishing of three newspapers named Cumhuriyet, Milliyet,and Evrensel, was ceased due to their low sales rates. Nowadays, the Turkish newspapers that are usually printed in Frankfurt and neighboring cities and that are distributed all over Germany include Yeni Özgür Politika (1995) and Sabah (2006) (Nurhan Baş, 2014)

Table 3 Turkish newspapers published in Germany **Source:** Almanya'da Yaşayan Türklerin Türk Medyasını Takip Etme Eğilimleri - M.Gökhan GENEL-2011, s:49

Newspaper	Circulation (no. of copies)
Hürriyet	107,000
Milli Gazete	12,000
Yeni Özgür Politika	15,000
Sabah	25,000
Türkiye	40,000

When looked at the publishing policy of the newspapers, it can be seen that Hürriyet has a social-liberal, conservative and Kemalist structure. Sabah, which belongs to the Çalık Holding, has a conservative-Islamist structure. Yeni Özgür Politika is a daily newspaper

published in Turkish and Kurdish. It was founded in 2005 in Germany. Türkiye is a newspaper which was started to be published in 1970 under the name "Hakikat". Its name was changed to "Türkiye" in 1972. Milli Gazete is a conservative daily newspaper in Turkish.

Upon browsing their contents, it can be observed that the number of pages dedicated to content on Germany is quite low. The news stories are usually centered on Turkey, seeing immigrants from Turkey living in Germany as citizens abroad and making publications accordingly. In the pages where stories about Turkey are given, a petty offense such as an ordinary burglary in Turkey can be present in addition to columns. It is as if the target audiences of Turkish newspapers printed in Federal Germany do not live in Germany, but in Turkey (Nuran Baş, 2014). According to the research conducted by Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien und Integrationsforschung, 36.5% of the readers from Turkey do not read newspapers at all, while 28.5% read daily newspapers in both languages and 20.8% only read Turkish newspapers.

> As seen in the data from 2010, a third of the Turkish readers (36.5%) do not read newspapers at all, 28.5% read daily newspapers in both Turkish and German, while approximately one-fifth of them (20.8%) read only Turkish newspapers. The rate of people who read only German newspapers is 14.3% (Sauer, 2011, p: 181),

> The report of Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien und Integrationsforschung indicates that in 2010, 45.1% of the readers of Turkish origin prefer Hürriyet, 11% read Zaman, 10% read Sabah, 4% read Türkiye while a total of 2.8% prefer Millî Gazete or Yeni Özgür Politika (Sauer, 2011).

One can infer from the observations made on the immigrants from Turkey that while the first and second generations of immigrants read Turkish newspapers, the new generation read newspapers in both languages or only in German. Some of them do not buy newspapers and follow them online. There were differences in answers among generations when asked about the language of the newspapers they read.

4.3.5 Generations

The first generation

The first generation of immigrants did not learn enough German as have departed from their homeland thinking that they would return, thus leaving language learning to their children as they are being raised. Therefore, most of them do not have an adequate command of German. Daily newspapers and cablecasted content from Turkey has already been a solution for the problems occurring in daily media consumption. Many immigrants live in their houses in Germany as if they are in Turkey, following networks in Turkish and watching Turkish television series. However, with the rise of the Internet, printed newspapers were replaced by online newspapers. In the researcher's observations made in the homes of five Turkish families, it was found out that the first generation of immigrants has subscribed to one or two newspapers, or has been buying them from stores. This practice is a kind of ritual for these individuals, and the newspapers are seen as a source of an exchange of news about Turkey.

> "We have been buying Hürriyet every day for years. I still read it daily. I read Sözcü as well. It is also parallel to my opinions. My husband reads Hürriyet, and I read Sözcü. This is a past-time activity for us, you know? I read each page. How else can you pass time in Germany? There are also series that I watch on Turkish channels. I rarely check out German channels. I do not read their newspapers, either (Fikriye, 76) ".

As it can be seen in Fikriye's statements, reading newspapers is a common practice among the first generations. They live as if the times have not changed since their arrival, and they continue to follow media in their own language.

The second generation

When one looks at the second generation of immigrants, it can be seen that they have started, or continued, their education in Germany. Their command of German is good and better than the first generation. Many of them, unlike the first generation, work in fields such as trade, business or public service instead of manual labor. Thus, they have integrated with the culture, language and the media of the society in which they live. They follow media in German as well as media in Turkish. They buy one of the local or national newspapers, or they read newspapers online. In addition, they also watch television networks in German. In fact, as they have children at home, this generation follows the German media with them.

> "At our house, we watch both German and Turkish channels. As my wife came from Turkey with our marriage, her German is not that good. She watches Turkish channels or watches series online. Me and my sons, on the other hand, watch the news and entertainment shows in German. That is why we have cable network as well. I can get any kind of news I want from the Internet. We do not buy Turkish newspapers. Instead of that, we read news online. As for German newspapers, we only buy daily local publications. We mostly get information and news from the Internet (Metin, 55)".

Due to these reasons and others, the second generation usually follows media in both languages. Furthermore, the use of online newspapers is also common among this generation.

The third and fourth generations

Upon looking at the new generations of immigrants, it can be seen that they were born and raised in Germany, and they speak advanced German. Most of them understand Turkish, but they cannot understand Turkish idiomatic expressions and concepts. Due to the language

barrier or the lack of familiarity with Turkish culture, they cannot follow the Turkish media. During the researcher's observations, it was discovered that a limited number of Turkish young people has a good command of Turkish, or watch Turkish channels. Instead, they watch German shows and follow media in German online. A majority of them prefer websites or online newspapers instead of printed newspapers.

> As both my husband and I work, we cannot watch television nor read newspapers. We prefer German channels or online newspapers in order to get news. We do not have much free time, anyway. And social media satisfy our need for local news (Özlem, 25).

The main reason why the new generations of immigrants remain distant to Turkish newspapers or television networks is the lack of command of Turkish, and their familiarity with Turkish culture as much as they learned about it by their families.

> Nilüfer: Why do you watch German comedy shows?

> Muammer: I do not find Turkish ones funny.

> Nilüfer: And I did not get the jokes in German. (The researcher watches the show of Bülent Ceylan, who is from Turkey and famous in Germany. They do not get most of the jokes as they do not understand German gags and idioms)

> Muammer: That is because you do not get the jokes. For me, it is the same reason why I do not get Turkish jokes.

Many young Turkish people do not watch shows in Turkish for the reason mentioned above, and they do not read Turkish newspapers as they do not understand the language.

Turkish newspapers gradually lose their former popularity in Germany among immigrants. With the new generations, bilingual newspapers or newspapers written in the immigrants' version of German, targeting immigrants, will stay relevant. The competence of the next generations of the Turkish language cannot be predicted. For that reason, Turkish newspapers look for alternative methods in Germany. It may be possible that in the generations to come, Turkish newspapers will be published in German, or other ways to reach immigrants will be sought.

4.3.6 Bilingual newspapers and magazines

The change in the language and culture of immigrants has also affected the immigrant media in Germany. The number of newspapers and magazines written in both languages increase each day. Many Turkish newspapers have started to be published in both languages. The question whether bilingual publishing would affect the number of readers cannot be answered within the framework of the research made for this study. As the new generation was born and raised in Germany, they have a closer affinity for German culture. Their bonds with Turkey are limited to the transfer of cultural codes by their families. Trips to Turkey in the summertime and the way Turkish is spoken at home has formed their perceptions of Turkey.

However, most of them have stated that they did not have much information about Turkey and that their knowledge was limited. For that reason, reading Turkish newspapers do not interest them. But it was seen that they follow the news on Turkey published in German newspapers or local publications such as magazines and newspapers. In this section, the changing linguistic and cultural structures of immigrants from Turkey will be analyzed through the examples of bilingual newspapers and magazines.

Regensburg Haber

Figure 5 Regensburg Haber Web Site

Regensburg Haber is a magazine prepared and offered in two languages, and it is published in Regensburg, a city in Germany. It is also possible to access the magazine online via its website. It approximately consists of thirty pages. The phrase "Die Deutsch- Türkische Nachrichtenzeitschrift Für Regensburg" is written under the title of the magazine. As far as its content is concerned, some part of the news are in German and some others are given in Turkish. Some of their writers are of German origin, while some of them are immigrants originated from Turkey.

Masthead of the magazine

Herausgeber-Chefredakteur

Owner - Editor in Chief

Salih Altuner

Design

İhsan Yeneroğlu

Redaction / Editorial Board

Emre Öndin, İhsan Yeneroğlu, Romy Hoffman

Korrespondenten / Correspondents

Bayram Güzel, Cedric Delarbre, Çiğdem Kirik, Daniel Steffen, Nilay Aygün,Sümeyye Varlı, Tutku Topal, Ulrich Böken

Autoren / Authors

In the interviews conducted with, Salih Altuner, editor in chief, states that some of the correspondents are students coming from Turkey. Either he or these students write the news in Turkish. His Turkish is fluent, yet he speaks with an accent. He pauses while answering some of my questions. He is also an immigrant. He works in an automobile factory. He publishes the magazine on a voluntary basis. As for the correspondents who are immigrants from Turkey, they write the news stories in Turkish for they do not have a good command of Turkish.

Nilüfer: Why do you write in two languages?

Salih: Because we want both German and Turkish people to read our magazine. The new generation of Turks does not understand Turkish,anyway. We write for every generation and for both societies.

Nilüfer: It is intriguing to me that a Turkish immigrant does not speak Turkish and writes news stories in German.

Salih: Most of them do not understand Turkish. Our colleagues from Turkey help the creation of news in Turkish.

One needs to concern oneself about the changing cultural and linguistic structures in order to comprehend the bilingual formation. The new generation of immigrants, in particular, has a different cultural identity. They have created a new culture inspired by two cultures. It would not be wrong to say that a third culture or a hybrid culture has been formed.

This cultural identity, created with the combination of different cultural elements, is a kind of a blend. This cultural blend brings about the formation of a "third culture" owned by young people (Ayhan Kaya, 2000).

The "hybrid culture", which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, has originated from Turkey, and it is the cultural and linguistic transformation of, in this case, a correspondent who comes from Turkey but writes in German and does not understand nor speak Turkish.

The news stories in Turkish are written for the first and second generations or young Turkish people who could not have a good command of German. The researcher did not encounter with a person from the new generation who speak little or no German in neither of the cities where this study was conducted. The majority of these individuals speak German as their native language.

4.3.7 Online Platforms

With the advancement of Internet technologies, communication technologies have also experienced a transformation in Germany. The information flaw whose lack is felt among immigrants is tried to be offered through this medium. Online platforms have brought new

blood to the world of media during a period in which not being represented in the German press and not being able to read the specific news in Turkish press created serious problems for immigrants. Thus, a method which enables to reach both German people and immigrants from Turkey was created. While news stories in Turkish become an alternative for immigrants whose knowledge of German is not adequate, those in German is a solution for people who cannot understand Turkish. The hybridizing media, the most important aspect of the study, manifests itself most explicitly in websites. Similar to a young immigrant who is from Turkey but speaks German and is a German citizen, a news story prepared in German with a Turkish name and content is a reflection of the hybridizing culture. When they were asked where do they feel they belong, these citizens state that both countries are their homelands and that they are a blend of two cultures.

The media has evolved just as a young immigrant who indicates that they are neither German nor Turkish but a mixture of both. The study takes into consideration neither German nor Turkish media, but the media which is between both media, a mixture of both. Both German and Turkish newspapers publish bilingual news stories in their online versions. However, one can observe the differences upon analyzing the content of local online portals. It can be seen that it has a more local quality, that it is intended mostly for immigrants, and that it is in the range of"immigrant media" with its linguistic structure. Some examples of bilingual news portals include:

TAZ (Newspaper)

TAZ, a newspaper published daily in Germany, has also started to be published in Turkish as well. The German newspaper printed in Berlin now also includes Turkish pages. Although its publication started based on the restriction of the press in Turkey, it has also initiated the news publication aimed at immigrants from Turkey. They publish news in Turkish even though it is a German newspaper. The bilingual news portal appeals to citizens in Turkey, German citizen, and immigrants.

Figure 6 : Web Sites

Regensburg Haber

The newspaper, published on a local basis in the city of Regensburg, also reports news online. The content is divided into segments such as politics-news, economy, sports, entertainment, integration, and society. It mostly publishes local news and local ads.

Figure 7 Berlin Ses Magazine

Berlin SES Magazine

Das Türkisch Deutsche Stadtmagazin für Berlin

(Turkish-German city magazine for Berlin) Published bilingually as the sub-heading suggests, the magazine has also its own website. It is possible to follow it on various social media platforms. The PDF versions of magazine issues are also available on their site.

The number of readers of bilingual websites increases on a daily basis. Born as an alternative to German and Turkish media, these websites appeal to both German and Turkish audiences while offering content tailored for the new generation of immigrants.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

With communication Technologies transformed, time and space concepts have lost importance. Everybody can reach information in the same time. Information becomes accessible.   Cultures have been effected each other and languages get mixed. Without boundaries transitions cultures we can see in every culture.

After Turkish migrations to Germany, we show cultural transition between German and Turkish culture. German culture effected Turkish immigrant's culture and language. Their language has become bilingual and their culture affected also by German culture. We can see this effect in their media, culture, language and traditions.

The aim of this thesis is to provide the answers to the research questions regarding the forms of interactions which Turkish Germans and their media usage and heir hybridist cultures. To gain satisfactory responses to these questions is the best way in- depth interview method. With this method several open-ended questions were asked to the participants.

As a result of the in-depth interview, German Turks media has affected by hosting country. And their culture becomes hybridist. And results show German Turks media usage practices have changed.

In observation German- Turks do not need any more Turkish media as much as past. They can understand and selected German media also. They are benefiting both German and Turkish media. Turkish media still popular inside of older generations. But in new generation, they use both of Turkish or German media also internet media.

In general observations, Turkish German language and cultures become hybridist. Also they are not belonging to just one way media channels. They can use two countries media also internet media. They shape their own media and local internet pages and magazines are helped them. Local media are getting popular in immigrants. They prefer local media than press media.

In conclusion, according to results of the in-depth interview, German Turks culture and language have changed. Also their media usage prefers has changed. Old generation still benefit from Turkish media and press media but new generation prefers local and internet media tools. They are speed and give fresh news. And they call to target audiences.

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