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**THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TURKISH IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE TURKISH
AND GERMAN PRINTED MEDIA IN GERMANY**

European Studies Joint Master's Programme

Antalya / Hamburg, 2014

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The Representation of the Turkish Immigrant Women in the
Turkish and German Printed Media in Germany

Onay : Yukarıdaki imzaların, adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylarım.

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SUMMARY

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TURKISH IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE TURKISH AND GERMAN PRINTED MEDIA IN GERMANY

The aim of this study is to show the depiction and representation of the Turkish immigrant women in the Turkish and German printed media in Germany.

This study will describe the immigration wave to Germany, which had started with the supply of Turkish labour force to the German labour market pursuant to the agreement dated October 31, 1961, as well as political and economic landscape of Turkey prior to the immigration of Turks and the image of Germany as the land of their dreams.

In order to illustrate how immigrant women are depicted in the Turkish and German printed media published in Germany, this study explores such subjects as the long-term stay of immigrant workers, which has started with them having their spouses and children join them through family reunification in the 1970s, as well as language and integration issues of Turkish immigrant women in the context of their roles within the family as wives and mothers on the one hand and with respect to their working conditions in the public sphere on the other.

Within this framework, the immigrant women and their representation in the printed media within the context of gender discrimination and the divide between traditional and modern Turkish women will be analysed through newspaper articles regarding this matter.

To this end, articles on Turkish immigrant women from the newspapers “Die Zeit, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Bild and Hürriyet” published in Germany in April 2013 will be put under the microscope in a comparative manner.

Keywords: Immigration of labour force, Turkish immigrants, gender discrimination, printed media, Turkish immigrant women, representations of women

ÖZET

ALMANYA’DA TÜRK ve ALMAN MEDYASINDA TÜRK KÖKENLİ GÖÇMEN KADINLARIN TEMSİLİ

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türk kökenli göçmen kadınların Almanya’daki Türk ve Alman Medyası’na yansımalarını ve onların temsilini ortaya koymaktır.

31 Ekim 1961’deki antlaşma uyarınca Türk iş gücünün Alman iş piyasasına pazarlanması ile başlayan Almanya’ya göç dalgası, Türk kökenli göçmenlerin göç öncesi Türkiye’deki politik ve ekonomik durum, onların hayallerini süsleyen Almanya resmi anlatılacaktır.

1970’li yıllarda aile birleşimi nedeni ile eşlerini ve çocuklarını da yanlarına aldıkları ile başlayan uzun süreli kalıcılık dönemleri, Türk kökenli göçmenlerin özelinde kadınların dil ve entegrasyon sorunları gibi konular kadınların aile içerisindeki eş ve anne rolleri ile kamusal alanda çalışma koşulları bağlamında değerlendirilerek Almanya’da yayımlanan Türk ve Alman medyasında göçmen kadınların nasıl temsil edildikleri konusu ortaya konulacaktır.

Bu çerçevede kadın göçmenler ve onların hem toplumsal cinsiyetçi bağlamda hem de geleneksel ve modern Türk kadını ayrımında yazılı medyada temsilleri, bu alanda çıkmış haberler örnekleriyle analiz edilecektir.

Bu bağlamda, 2013 yılı Nisan ayında Almanya’da yayınlanan “Die Zeit, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Bild ve Hürriyet” gazetelerinde Türk kökenli göçmen kadınlar üzerine çıkan haberler karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelime: İş gücü göçü, Türk kökenli göçmenler, toplumsal cinsiyetçilik, medya, Türk kökenli göçmen kadınlar, kadın temsilleri

INTRODUCTION

This study regarding the “representation of Turkish immigrant women in the Turkish and German printed media in Germany” will firstly analyse the historical context of Turkish immigrants. The first years and causes of the immigration, the political and economic scenery of their country prior to the immigration, their dreams regarding the country of destination as well as new problems encountered there will be put into perspective.

The immigration of labour force from Turkey to Germany begins with the agreement signed between these two countries on October 31, 1961 and a serious labour migration occurs from different regions of Turkey, particularly from rural areas, into the German labour market¹. This rapidly growing immigration wave has multiple causes: Economic reasons, limited freedom of the press and expression, the despair caused by the poor economic state of the country, the hope of a better life, achieving economic well-being in short time and returning to the home country to make investments for the future... “A large portion of Turkish immigrants arriving in Germany with the first wave of immigration had first immigrated from their villages and towns to industrial areas of Turkish cities because of worsening economic conditions².” For many Turkish families, migration to big cities wasn't the end of the road and they sought the solution to their new problems in migrating “abroad”, to the land of uncertainties.

The goal of Turkish immigrants coming to Germany thanks to short-term agreements during the first years of migration was to work hard and then to return to their country with the savings that they would accumulate in short time in order to buy a home where they can live with their families and to set up a business. Nevertheless, they soon realised that this dream was impossible to achieve without speaking German and only by working in factories as unskilled workers.³

These workers who called themselves “foreign workers” (auslaendische Arbeiter) or

¹ Fischer, Christina.; Althemeliotis, A. (Hg.) *Jugend – Migration - Sozialisation – Bildung* P. 136-137 Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf Berlin. 2009

² Mertens, G. *Türkische Frauen und Mädchen*. In: Westermanns pädagogische Beiträge, H.2 1980, P. 62-63

³ İbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Almanya’da Göçmen Türkler ve Ana Dilde Medya Kullanımı*. Kilad Kocaeli Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi. Year:4, Issue:8 Autumn 2006 P. 120

“guest workers” (Gastarbeiter) started to have their spouses and children join them owing to legal arrangements made regarding family reunification in the 1970s. Thus began the permanent stay of immigrant workers in Germany⁴.

During the first years of migration, neither the immigrant workers nor the German government or people thought that this would be permanent⁵. However, the situation was different for other European countries. Whereas some countries such as Sweden and Norway had long adopted practices for facilitating the integration of immigrants into the society, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom had also taken necessary permanent and structural precautions in advance due to their better understanding of the reality of immigration given their experience in colonialism in the past. In contrast, such countries as Germany and Austria were unfamiliar with the phenomenon of immigration. Even though immigration has deeply influenced the German society, this subject didn't receive the necessary legal and political attention.⁶

Turkish immigrant families coming to Germany during the first waves of migration were from lower classes of Turkish society. Many of them sought relief from their economic distress by immigrating abroad. Despite a slight improvement of their economic situation provided by this escape, their social-psychological problems increased, as well. As a result of their low level of education, it was hard for them to learn a second language and to overcome isolation from German society.⁷

During their first years in Germany, immigrants who did not speak German, in particular Turkish immigrant women of the first immigration wave, had to go to many official institutions (employment agency, doctor, etc.) in accompaniment of their spouses, friends or other family members who spoke better German. For this reason, they became estranged from the real world in Germany and had very limited relations with German society. This double isolation, from both their families and the society in which they lived, started to create certain psychological

⁴ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Alman Medyasında Göç ve Göçmen Teması*. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 2006/5 P.60

⁵ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Alman Medyasında Göç ve Göçmen Teması*. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 2006/5. P. 60

⁶ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Almanya'da Göçmen Türkler ve Ana Dilde Medya Kullanımı*. Kilad Kocaeli Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi. Year:4, Issue:8 Autumn 2006 P. 119

⁷ Değirmenci, Orhan. *Türkische Frauen im deutschen Gesundheitswesen*. Dissertation. Hamburg 1983P.45

problems.⁸

Because of economic reasons and language problems, these foreigners formed their own neighbourhoods where they lived in low-priced homes among family members and other familiar people who helped each other and preserved their traditions.⁹ While these people lived in a secure and controlled environment in these Turkish ghettos alongside their family members and friends, their lives were also self-enclosed and isolated from the society in which they live.¹⁰

According to an article in a Turkish newspaper published daily in Germany, women who don't work and stay at home all day long aren't able to talk to their spouses or children.¹¹ The burden of life on the shoulders of Turkish working women in Germany is heavier than it is for German working women because of the former's load of housework and high number of children in addition to their career. The economic independence that they obtain thanks to their work creates new problems with their spouses and this situation results in new personality disorders in Turkish women.¹²

The media always put the blame on immigrants for increasing restrictions and State sanctions as well as for the unemployment issue which escalated in severity in recent years in Germany. Immigrants are portrayed as an economic burden of the society. Ethnic discrimination reflected in the biased reports of events by the media causes prejudice against immigrants. From media reports to election propagandas of political parties, from films to television series, immigration issue comes up in many different areas.

Immigrants are often represented in media reports as a community that doesn't fit into the society while many issues such as integration, language and legal rights are overlooked and the

⁸Baumgartner-Karabak, A. ; Landesberger, G. : *Die verkauften Bräute*, Rohwolt, Reinbek 1978. P.95 Schöning-Kalender, C. P.83

⁹ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Alman Medyasında Göç ve Göçmen Teması*. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 2006/5 P.60

¹⁰ Baumgartner-Karabak, A. ; Landesberger, G. : *Die verkauften Bräute*, Rohwolt, Reinbek 1978. P.95 Schöning-Kalender, C. P.83

¹¹Bultan,F. ; *Çalışma Olasılığından Yoksun Türk Kadınlarının Sorunları* (Die Probleme der türkischen Frauen ohne Arbeitsmöglichkeiten.) Milliyet (Turkish Newspaper), Frankfurt, 23.2 and 24.2 1977

¹² Krappmann, L. *Soziologische Dimensionen der Identität*, Diss., Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1971, P. 23

source of these problems are simplified as being ethnic and cultural. In particular, entrainment shows reflect a biased and oversimplified view of the immigration issue, and the media as a whole give wide coverage to stereotype immigrant characters, macho Turkish men, young immigrant women with a Muslim background caught between two different cultures, authoritarian fathers, traditional families and religion, and thus reinforce prejudices towards this community. The media reduces the immigrants to groups of people having difficulty in integrating into German society because of their own ethnic and cultural conditions and turns a blind eye to the responsibilities of other social mechanisms (institutional, legal, political, etc.) in this integration process. Hence, the media show a political and from time to time biased approach with regard to the immigration issue.^{13 14}

Given the fact that those who carried out the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 studied at the Hamburg University of Technology, political debate about the security of Germany has heated up and immigrants with a Muslim background have attracted considerable media attention in the aftermath of these attacks. “Violence and Islam” have become a hot topic for the German public as one of the major factors threatening the security due to negative generalisations about Muslims and the fact that Islam and terrorism are often associated with each other following these attacks. Thereafter, immigrants with a Muslim background started to be represented in the media through images of people failing to integrate into the society in which they live, mostly Turkish girls and women in headscarves. This reinforced prejudices of German people against Muslims and ostracized them from the society.

The media contributed to the exclusion of immigrants by reducing them to strangers who don't belong with the rest of the society.^{15 16}

Despite all, today, the understanding of immigration and immigrants has evolved. This is

¹³ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Almanya’da Göçmen Türkler ve Ana Dilde Medya Kullanımı*. Kılad Kocaeli Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi. Year:4, Issue:8 Autumn 2006 P. 71-75

¹⁴ Akgün, Lale. *Türken und Deutsche – Fremde oder Freunde?* Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P.60

¹⁵ Erkayhan, Şeref. *Almanya’ daki Kültürel Çeşitliliği Medyada Anaakımlaştırmak*. Almanya Türk Toplumu. Berlin; 2009. P.1

¹⁶ Gümüş, Burak. *Almanya Türklerinin Alman Toplum ve Medyasındaki Konumu*. Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P.102

because national borders, that were once limiting the free movement of people, are de facto erased as is the case with global capital, global media and exchange of goods and money. Therefore, transnational immigration gained in importance. Immigrants have become disassociated not only from their former immigrant lives but also from the current ones. In this context, the concept of immigration used in this study is based on transnational immigration.

The introduction presents explicative information on different parts of this thesis and the discussion of different subjects will also be accompanied with newspaper articles in relation to the representation of women in the printed media within the context of gender discrimination. This study also covers the story of successful women in the front line of social struggles in today's globalizing world together with, in support of and sometimes against men.

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF LABOUR MIGRATION IN GERMANY

Immigration has always existed throughout the history of humankind. Immigration is the movement of people from one place to another and has multiple causes. Humans have always tried to satisfy their curiosity by seeing other countries and learning about other cultures. They also travelled abroad for other good purposes such as education and often stayed there permanently. Another aspect of immigration is that it can be a necessity in the face of floods, earthquakes and honour killings as well as other economic, social and political pressures which force people to leave their dwellings and to find another place in the country or to abandon their country altogether in order to reach foreign lands. Those who migrate are called immigrants and the phenomenon itself is referred to as immigration.

Immigration theories explore both push and pull factors in play. In this context, economic, political and social instabilities in the country of origin are examples of push factors whereas a more attractive economy, higher political and social stability, economic welfare and an opportunity for a better life in the destination country can be counted as pull factors.

Following chapter of the study will analyse, from multiple points of view, the first years of the emigration of Turkish immigrants, economic and political state of Turkey, their home country, and Germany, their destination country as well as the long-standing relationship between these two countries so as to evaluate the living conditions of immigrants and the difference between “what they hoped for and what they actually achieved”.

1.1 Historical Context

In the years following World War II, Western European countries wanted to address labour shortages on their labour markets through employment of foreign workers. This labour demand provided a glimmer of hope for the unemployed living in Turkey. Turkey signed labour migration agreements with Germany in 1961, with Austria, Belgium and Holland in 1964 and with France in 1965. This event marked the beginning of labour migration from Turkey to

European countries.¹⁷

The earliest migration waves from Turkey to Europe, in particular to Germany, occurred in the 1950s. It wasn't easy for people to abandon their homes in search of food and work in foreign lands and even in foreign countries. With regard to immigration to foreign countries, brain drain is as important as labour migration. Whether it imply brain drain or labour migration, the adventure which started with the intention of those, who couldn't find satisfactory compensation for their work, to go abroad for a limited period of time in order to earn higher amounts of money under better conditions didn't end as fast as it began.

Since they left their country, in the beginning, with the idea of earning significant amounts of money in a short time and returning to their country of origin later on, they made investments in their home country with the high amounts of money that they accumulated by living under poor conditions in the country of destination. With the investments that they made in their villages and towns of origin (buying vineyards, orchards, tractors, houses, etc.), at first, immigrants showed signs of an eventual return. However, later developments including political turmoil, economic issues and many other factors resulted in them staying in these foreign countries for longer periods of time. When their spouses and children, too, joined them through family reunification, immigration became a whole different process for them. Nevertheless, this new process brought with it new issues. In addition to the problem of integration into the society in which they started to live, their spouses and children encountered problems in many areas, including language, work, education, accommodation and health. Yet, those who emigrated as a consequence of brain drain showed a different pattern with regard to their living conditions as immigrants. They improved their economic situations by increasing their knowledge and skills in their destination country and by adapting to the host culture during their stay. As a result of the immigration phenomenon which has started this way and which is referred to as under different names such as “emigration from the country”, the countries from which the emigration occurred have lost qualified labour force and educated manpower.

On the other hand, the fact that immigrants tended to invest in their home country with what they earned in their host country increased foreign currency inflow of the country of origin

¹⁷ Cf. Akçadağ, Emine. “Göçün 50. yılında Avrupalı Türkler”

and contributed to its economic growth. Then again, a significant decrease was observed in educated and qualified labour potential which would otherwise have played an important role in national development given that immigration was more tempting for people in this category. By the same token, migrant-receiving countries have exceedingly satisfied their need for educated and qualified workers.¹⁸ Following this introduction, different stages of the immigration will be presented below, starting from its beginning in the 1950s.

1.2 First Period of Emigration and Immigration

Following the agricultural mechanisation in the 1950s, Turkey experienced a mass internal migration from rural areas to big cities. This development triggered not only the internal migration shifts but also the external migration process. After the small-scale migration waves created in the 1950s by personal initiatives or through private intermediaries, came the wave of labour migration, in other words the “ever-increasing workforce exportation”, to European countries, in particular to Germany, on the basis of bilateral agreements that Turkey signed in the 1960s.¹⁹

1.3 1960s, 1970s and Family Reunification

The possibility of finding a job in Europe gave a new glimmer of hope to people owing to the environment of uncertainty and increasing unemployment caused by the 1960 Turkish coup d'état. These young people, who immigrated to different countries with distant cultures in hopes of finding work, didn't know what to expect at first. Thereby, especially those who applied to join the workforce of European countries had to pass stringent health checks. For many years, they were regarded, by their own country, as a source of foreign currency and, by the destination country, as young and healthy labour force which needed to work for their host country under very difficult conditions. Furthermore, they considered themselves as “guest” workers (Gastarbeiter) who would return to their home country after improving their economic position within a short period of time. Therefore, in the beginning, they stayed at single-room dormitories, guest houses, factory lodges but later, when it was decided that they were to be permanent residents, they moved to very cheap social housing dwellings due to the fact that they were joined

¹⁸ Cf. Yıldırımöğlu, Av. Hakan, “*Uluslararası Emek Göçü – “Almanya’ya Türk Emek Göçü”*” Kamu-İş; Volume 8, Issue1:2005

¹⁹ Cf. Yıldırımöğlu, Av. Hakan, “*Uluslararası Emek Göçü-“Almanya’ya Türk Emek Göçü”*” Kamu-İş; Volume:8, Issue1/2005, P.3

by their children and spouses and that they wanted to support one another in this country whose language was unknown/untaught to them. Consequently, these poor economic conditions forced them to create ghettos heavily populated by immigrants.

In 1962, approximately two-third of foreign workers still used to stay at worker dormitories. Their rent wasn't that high but, for that matter, they didn't use to earn enough to pay higher rents. Their accommodation expenses were cut from their monthly income. Both parties used to think that working duration of foreign workers was finite. As a result, they lived under quite unfavourable conditions for many years.²⁰

Nobody had thought of the problems that this immigration wave starting in the 1960s would entail. Neither Germany nor Turkey was able to interpret correctly the immigration phenomenon. Both parties assumed that this was a temporary process but when immigration turned into permanent stay, immigrants' problems became impossible to handle because Germany failed to recognise this reality.²¹

As a result of the economic crisis which initially led to an increase in oil prices in 1970s, the Federal Republic of Germany stopped accepting workers from countries outside of the European Community in 1973. After the spring of 1974, Germany gave permission to foreign workers to have their spouses and minor children join them through family reunification. In consequence, more women and children arrived in Germany.²²

The increase in foreign population resulted in social problems in Germany and immigration-related issues became the subject of political and public debate nationwide. Being unable to express themselves sufficiently due to language problems, the immigrant families were deprived from some of their rights. In order to satisfy their various needs efficiently and to be in solidarity, they founded religious communities and associations and created their own

²⁰ Treibel, Annette. *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften*. Juventa Verlag. Germany. 2008. P.130

²¹ Cf. Tisk Yayınları. "Avrupa' daki Türk Kadını"

²² Cf. Tisk Yayınları. "Avrupa' daki Türk Kadını"

neighbourhoods and districts in which they live together.²³ Hence, the first generation immigrants who were isolated from German society as well as their families and children encountered serious problems in the course of their lives in Germany since they lacked fluency in both languages.

In particular, many children from Turkish families had to go to Sonderschule, a special German school “for children who are considered to be mentally retarded” and thus couldn't get a proper education.

Given the fact that this first generation of Turkish immigrant workers didn't feel the need to adapt to German society, thinking that they wouldn't stay there permanently until the mid-1970s, a large proportion of their children were also doomed to live their lives as immigrant workers just like their parents.

1.4 1980s and New Generation of Immigrants (Politics, Workforce and Religion)

The first generation of immigrants are considered to include the immigrant workers who came to the country during the first wave of immigration until the end of labour importation of Germany in 1973 and who were initially called “Gastarbeiter (guest worker)” and then “Mitarbeiter (colleague)” when their stay became permanent.²⁴ The second generation of Turks are comprised of the children of these immigrant workers, who came to Germany through family reunification at early stages of the immigration between the late 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. Most of them abandoned their education in order to come to Germany. At least, some of them acquired a profession and “made it in life”. However, the rest weren't as successful and had to work as unskilled workers like their parents owing to many reasons, the main reason being the language problem.²⁵ Regarded as an unfortunate generation in the literature, these children of the second generation settled and got married in Germany, and their children subsequently became the third generation.

²³ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Alman Medyasında Göç ve Göçmen Teması*. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 2006/5, P.60

²⁴ Treibel, Annette. *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften*. Juventa Verlag. Germany. 2008. P.129

²⁵ Arslan, Mehmet. *Almanya'daki Türk İşçi Çocuklarının Eğitim Sorunları* Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi Issue: 21 Year: 2006/2 (P.233-245) P. 235

The children of the second generation were unfortunate. In this new country to which they were brought, they confronted two different worlds, in terms of both language and culture. In their homes, they were under the influence of their mother tongue and their own “culture” insofar as possible and of the German language and culture outside.

Living a Turkish life in evenings and a German one during the day, these young people suffered from personal development problems, which eventually entailed failures in their school lives and other social integration issues. Furthermore, no sufficient support was available to them during pre-school period or during their school lives in this new country. Except a small minority who could adapt to the German educational system, most of them started their carriers as unskilled workers after completing mandatory education period without even having the chance to acquire a profession.²⁶

Even though there was hardly any place of business owned by foreigners in the 1960s, there was enough encouragement for them to open such workplaces in the following years since some private consumption products were unavailable. At first, small business places were opened in the second half of the 1970s, such as small travel agencies selling plane tickets, tailors, grocery stores, greengrocers, etc. Later on, interesting developments were seen particularly in the field of gastronomy. Foreigners had now begun to market products of their home country and German consumers seemed happy about it.²⁷

Following the military coup d'état in 1980, which was one of the most tumultuous periods of Turkey's history, large numbers immigrated to many European countries, particularly to Germany, as political refugees through various channels.²⁸ Political polarization in Turkey continued to have negative effects, albeit on a small scale, in Germany. In addition, Turkish government started to promote the sending of religious officials to Germany in order to meet religious education needs of Turkish citizens living there.

²⁶ Ültanır, Emel et al. *Almanya' da Yaşayan Üçümcü Kuşak Türk Gençlerinin Sosyo Kültürel Yetileri*. XIII. Ulusal Eğitim Bilimleri Kurultayı, July 6-9, 2004 İnönü Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Malatya

²⁷ Leggewie, Claus and Zafer Şenocak (Hg.) *Deutsch Türken / Türk Almanlar*. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH Germany. 1993. P. 154-155

²⁸ Kaya, İlhan. *Avrupalı Türkler: Misafir İşçilikten Avrupa Vatandaşlığına*. Eastern Geographical Review 19. P. 155

German immigration policy has become more and more restrictive as a result of the unemployment, steadily increasing since the 1980s, urban problems and high numbers of asylum applications. One of the most important immigration policy practices of the time is “the encouragement of return immigration” which targeted the Turkish immigrants.²⁹ Those Turks who were reimbursed for their retirement insurance premiums in order to return to their home country didn't find what they expected in Turkey and, additionally, they couldn't return to Germany.³⁰

1.5 Children of Immigrants, the New Generation Brought Up in Germany During 1990s and Onwards

Whereas labour migration to Germany and other countries decreased as of the 1990s, the ongoing immigration waves are caused mainly by family reunification (for instance, marriages with immigrant workers, people joining their immigrant siblings, children, spouses and parents), which has a share of approximately 70% of all migration shifts.³¹

A large portion of marriages with immigrant workers is due to the fact that children of first generation immigrant workers reached the age of marriage. Worker parents played an active role in their children's choice of “imported groom” or “imported bride” from Turkey instead of marrying other Turks, born and raised in Europe. In some cases, culture differences between spouses brought these marriages done under family pressure to a dramatic end.³²

More recently, a strong increase is observed in labour migration, especially in the construction sector, to the new Turkic republics which were established after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to Russia with which Turkey have now better relations and a higher exportation

²⁹ Çiçekli, Bülent. *Yabancılar ve Yabancı olmayanlar –Almanya’ da ve Türkiye’ de Hukuki Statü*. P.198

³⁰ Akgün, Lale. *Türken und Deutsche – Fremde oder Freunde?* Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P.55

³¹ Sirkeci, İbrahim et al. *Türk Göç Kültürü: Türkiye ile Almanya arasında Göç Hareketleri, Sosyo-Ekonomik Kalkınma ve Çatışma*. Migration Letters, Volume: 9, N° 4, pp. 373 – 386. December, 2012. P.376

³² Timmerman, C. 2006. *Gender Dynamics in the Context of Turkish Marriage Migration: The Case of Belgium*. Turkish Studies 7 (1):125 - 143.

volume as well as to Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya.³³

Acquisition of German citizenship grew more and more appealing given that foreigners living in Germany were convinced they would stay there permanently and that they wanted to take an active part in political life and to have the same rights as Germans, including the right to elect and be elected. Thanks to the amendment made to the aliens' law dated January 1, 1991, access to German citizenship has become easier. In consequence, more and more people obtained German citizenship. Even though Germany refuses to grant dual citizenship, the rate at which people are opting for German citizenship has accelerated as a result of the new law dated January 1, 2000.³⁴

At every stage of immigration, language, religion, race and culture issues were always an obstruction for integration of foreigners into German society. Foreigners have always felt like second-class people; the case was even worse for Turks who have felt like third-class people. As a result, they confronted with many problems such as ghettoization, alienation, identity crises and integration issues. Despite all, Turkish citizens knew how to penetrate into the every corner of Germany society. They set up businesses, became employers and started to demand their political rights.³⁵

Becoming more and more prevailing in Germany as in the rest of Europe, racism and unemployment have increased hostility and prejudice against foreigners, and the spread of the perception that violence, terrorism and growing unemployment crisis are caused by foreigners entailed many problems hard to overcome.³⁶

In 2005, the Federal Republic of Germany accepted the reality that it is a country of immigration. All political parties represented in the Federal Parliament reached an agreement on the “law of immigration and immigrants”. Nevertheless, despite this law, immigration policy is

³³ Cf. Biçerli, M. Kemal, “*Göçün 50. Yılında Yurtdışındaki Türkler*”

³⁴ Cf. Tisk Yayınları. “*Avrupa’daki Türk Kadını*”

³⁵ Cf. Biçerli, M. Kemal, “*Göçün 50. Yılında Yurtdışındaki Türkler*”

³⁶ Cf. Biçerli, M. Kemal, “*Göçün 50. Yılında Yurtdışındaki Türkler*”

applied with double standards for Turkish immigrants. For instance, Turkish immigrants are considered ineligible for dual citizenship and they are deprived of the right to elect and be elected.

Unfortunately, these types of practices and recently increasing racism and social exclusion entice Turkish immigrants more and more to embrace political Islam. Some groups seek the solution in being organized within Islamic communities. Increasing number of minarets and mosques raises tension within society and fuels racist groups' hostility towards Muslim immigrants.³⁷

The growing interest of Turkish population in German politics can be seen in the rising number of Turkish members of German political parties.³⁸ In recent years, the desire among Turks living in Germany to return to the home country has noticeably faded. This decline, which has started in the 1980s and gained apparent momentum since then, is particularly observed in young people who came to Germany for education and found job opportunities in this country after graduation as well as in Turks married with Germans.

The peak in the number of Turks returning to their country of origin occurred following the 1973 oil crisis and as a result of incentive laws passed during the year of 1983 in order to speed up the return to Turkey. In 2006, the number of people emigrating from Germany to Turkey exceeded the number of Turks immigrating to Germany. During the last five years, migration to Germany has been decreased. On the whole, the rate of emigration of Turkish citizens from Germany to Turkey is close to that from Turkey to Germany during the last ten years or more.³⁹

1.6 Turkish Immigrant Women in Germany

Conditions of Men and Women During the First Period of Labour Migration

The small-scale migration waves to Europe and particularly to Germany which initially

³⁷ Çelik, Hıdır Eren. *Göç, Asimilasyon ve Getto*. Die Gäste, Number: 10 January- February 2010. P. 2

³⁸ Leggewie, Claus and Zafer Şenocak (Hg.) *Deutsch Türken / Türk Almanlar*. Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH Germany. 1993. P. 160

³⁹ Sirkeci, İbrahim et al. *Türk Göç Kültürü: Türkiye ile Almanya arasında Göç Hareketleri, Sosyo-Ekonomik Kalkınma ve Çatışma*. Migration Letters, Volume: 9, N° 4, pp. 373 – 386. December, 2012. P.377

started in the 1950s by personal initiatives or through private intermediaries turned into multiple immigration waves following bilateral agreements signed with Germany (1961), the Netherlands (1964), France (1965) and Sweden (1967).⁴⁰ During the first years of immigration, “worker recruitment” agreement signed between Turkey and Germany had a special characteristic, separating it from agreements made with other countries. Turkish workers were only granted a two-year contract and family reunification wasn't permitted. Nevertheless, Germany has always had a special place in the hearts of Turks in comparison with other European countries. However, as a result of pressure from German employers, certain flexibilities were brought to these applications through an agreement made on September 20, 1964.⁴¹ Germany has the highest population of Turkish immigrants in Europe. The proportion of Turkish citizens among all foreigners within the country is around 30%.^{42 43}

A significant decrease was observed in labour migration to the West following the 1973 energy crisis. During that time, the need for immigrant remittances gained in importance as a result of the economic state of Turkey. However small, a certain labour migration to Arab countries is observed in the following years. And yet, this migration movement was very limited in comparison with emigration to Western European countries.⁴⁴

In spite of the official end of foreign worker recruitment in 1973, Turkish immigrants acquired, in the spring of 1974, the permission to invite their spouses and minor children in Turkey to Germany through family reunification.⁴⁵ At first resistant to the idea, conservative Turkish immigrant men coming from rural areas started to tolerate women immigration more than before and invited their spouses to join them after it was understood that first immigrants

⁴⁰ Cf. Akçadağ Emine. “Göçün 50. yılında Avrupalı Türkler”

⁴¹ Fischer, Christiane.; Althemeliotis, A. (Hg.) *Jugend – Migration - Sozialisierung – Bildung* S. 138 Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf Berlin. 2009

⁴² Şahin, Birsen. *Almanya'daki Türk Göçmenlerin Sosyal Entegrasyonunun Kuşaklar Arası Karşılaştırılması: Kültürleşme*. bilig. Autumn 2010. Number 55:103-104. P.105

⁴³ Yıldırımöğlu, Av. Hakan, “Uluslararası Emek Göçü – “Almanya’ya Türk Emek Göçü”” Kamu-İş; Volume:8, Issue:1/2005

⁴⁴ Yıldırımöğlu, Av. Hakan, “Uluslararası Emek Göçü – “Almanya’ya Türk Emek Göçü”” Kamu-İş; Volume:8, Issue:1/2005

⁴⁵ Esen, Erol. *Onlar Bizim Hemşehrimiz*. Siyasal Kitapevi, December 2011. Ankara. P.16

settled there permanently.⁴⁶

This was the beginning of permanent immigration for Turkish workers who used to plan on returning to their home country after working abroad for a while.⁴⁷ Like them, their spouses and children were immigrating to Germany either directly from rural areas or from industrial centres or one of the few big cities of their home country if they had already experienced internal migration but couldn't find what they expected.

The number of women and children immigrating to Germany until 1980 increased three- to fourfold as a consequence of decisions taken with regard to family reunification. Certain flawed policies resulted in high numbers of unemployed people. These include discontinuation of child care benefits to be paid to foreigners' children living outside Germany as well as initial support of reunification with spouses and later employment prohibitions imposed on these spouses and other family members due to changes over time in practices regarding German immigration policy. These developments transformed immigrant workers and their families into “social work cases”.⁴⁸

Socio-cultural and Economic Conditions of Turkish Immigrant Women In Germany

Female Turkish immigrants who came to Germany in 1974 through family reunification were members of a society which had a very low rate of literacy. They had language issues and difficulty to overcome their problems on their own. They were isolated from German society which didn't carry out necessary preparations for the integration of foreigners. They were considered to be low-class people even in their own country. First-generation of immigrants initially stayed at “Heims” created at their workplaces. Following the family reunification, they needed to move to low-cost social housing dwellings and live there in security, together as immigrants who support and protect each other. This situation entailed the formation of districts heavily populated by immigrants in Germany. They lived together with their fellow countrymen in these districts comprised of unpleasant homes, in which Germans didn't want to live, due to

⁴⁶ Yıldırımöğlu, Av. Hakan, “Uluslararası Emek Göçü – “Almanya’ya Türk Emek Göçü”” Kamu-İş; Volume:8, Issue:1/2005

⁴⁷ İlbuğa Uçar, Emine. *Alman Medyasında Göç ve Göçmen Teması*. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 2006/5, P.60

⁴⁸ Esen, Erol. *Onlar Bizim Hemşehrimiz*. Siyasal Kitapevi, December 2011. Ankara. P.18

social and cultural circumstances. They preserved their own culture and continued to speak their mother tongue in order to break out of isolation to a certain extent. However, this process has deepened their isolation from German society.

The beginning of women's work life in Germany and their economic independence brought the weakening of father authority in these “traditional families” emigrating from Turkey, mostly from rural areas. Furthermore, since children were able to learn German much quicker than their parents thanks to their circle of friends at their nurseries and schools, they also had an important power within the family by helping their parents as interpreters during their bureaucratic and institutional procedures. As a result of the fact that Turkish women and children who started to work and gain economic independence, albeit only partial, wanted to have a better say in the family, new problems arose between family members. Turkish women who entered the work force started to learn German in their environment or in language courses and became able to discover the society around them and reduce their isolation from other family members and the broader community. Nevertheless, in comparison with jobs available to other European immigrant women, jobs filled by Turkish immigrant women tend to be heavier duties with less pay given to less qualified workers who work under worse conditions.⁴⁹ In addition, most of these women work illegally given that they don't have necessary work permit (as is the case with women immigrants arriving in Germany in order to join their husbands). A significant proportion of them have side jobs due to their low income.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Baumgartner-Karabak, A. ; Landesberger, G. : *Die verkauften Bräute* Rohwolt, Reinbek 1978. P.95 Schöning-Kalender, C. P83

⁵⁰ Yardımcıoğlu, Güler et al.. *Arbeits-und Thesenpapier zum Gesundheitstag*. 1981. Hamburg. P.5

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Media and Women in the context of Gender Identity and Gender Roles

The present chapter of this thesis will illustrate with numerous examples how the printed media provide their readers with different women stereotypes such as the mother and the wife whose place is home; women who work in the public sphere; women representations which marginalise them; the sex object and women in different religious and ethnic contexts.

The concept of “sex” defines people as woman or man according to their biological, physiological and genetic characteristics. On the other hand, “gender” isn't based on biological differences. Instead, it is related to the perception of society about women and men and the gender attributes expected of them. Gender identity describes social roles of women and men and defines women as being “feminine” and men as being “masculine”. Individuals learn about the responsibilities attributed to them as well as the distribution of roles on the basis of their gender identity. Gender identities vary from culture to culture and over time. Social constructs and time period of a society determine social relations between its female and male members.⁵¹

Many media organisations stereotype women by presenting them either as mothers and wives or as wicked women instead of reflecting the varying situations and lives of women.⁵² The media reduce women primarily to “bodies” and exploit the female body, thus legitimizing the existing sexist mind-set about them.⁵³

Sexist mind-set about women gives a gender-specific role to women. We often see that the media adopt, in their news articles, a sexist discourse which legitimize the patriarchy even

⁵¹ Erdoğan, Mehmet. *Medyada Cinsiyete Dayalı Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelede Medya İzleme Grupları*. Turkish Republic Prime Ministry, Directorate General on the Status of Women. Dissertation. Afşaroğlu Matbası. Ankara. P.12

⁵² Tekhanlı, Tuğçe. *Medyada Kadın ve Erkek Temsili*. Yeni Düzen Gazetesi. 2013.

⁵³ Gencel-Bek, Mine and Mutlu Binark. *Medya ve Cinsiyetçilik*. Ankara Üniversitesi. Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi. Ankara. 2000

more.⁵⁴

It is observed that women exist in the media with their gender identities as defined by male-dominant society and that their sexuality is emphasised. The role of satisfying the other is always given to women. Both in men's and women's magazines, women are always portrayed as sex objects. Some magazines include countless pages filled with flashy women pictures and use women sexuality as a means of attraction.⁵⁵

Today, sexism towards women attributes a gender-specific role to women, a role which rarely changes. Many product advertisements make wide use of women's sex appeal as a tool of attraction. As can be seen in countless advertisements, for example in those about underwear and hosiery products, naked bodies of women who get dressed or undressed are almost completely exposed. In these advertisements, women's sexuality is clearly exploited.⁵⁶

Even though the advertised product and the female image in the advertisement often don't have anything to do with each other, female body is used as a sex object in order to attract men who are the target group of the advertisements in question. Women are portrayed with “feminine” characteristics while men with “masculine” ones within the framework of the social construct of gender identity. These portrayals reflect appropriate behaviours and manners expected of female and male members of the society.⁵⁷

Whereas female body is exposed in a naked condition in Western cultures, in Eastern cultures, they are supposed to be covered, in part due to religious convictions. However, male dominance over women is present in both. As a result, women in Turkey feel obligated to prove their charm by exposing themselves and, at the same time, to protect themselves and their virtue by hiding their charm.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Gencel-Bek, Mine and Mutlu Binark. *Medya ve Cinsiyetçilik*. Ankara Üniversitesi. Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi. Ankara. 2.000

⁵⁵ Tekhanlı, Tuğçe. *Medyada Kadın ve Erkek Temsili*. Yeni Düzen Gazetesi. 2013.

⁵⁶ Karaca Yasemin and Nurhan Papatya. *Reklamlardaki Kadın İmgesi: Ulusal Televizyon Reklamlarına İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme*. Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi. Year 2011, Volume:16, Issue: 3. P. 481

⁵⁷ Çimen, Deniz. *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Bağlamında Televizyon Reklamlarında Kadın*. Dissertation. Ankara. October 2011

⁵⁸ Uluç, Gülize et al. *Medyada Kadının Temsiline İlişkin Feminist Bir Okuma Çalışması*. Tempo magazine. P.6

Sexist discourse against women is rife throughout the media. Women are present in approximately 21% to 32% of printed media reports. When the printed media talk about women, this is often in the form of a tabloid article in the third page. For instance, in daily newspapers, more than half (around 51%) of news articles concerning women are from the tabloid section. It is noteworthy that even those, who present ideas about women's campaigns against the ban on hijab and headscarf, are mostly male commentators.⁵⁹

Looking at this kind of gender policies, it is clear how important the role of media organisations is.

Since the 1970s, the literature focuses on the ways women are represented in the media, in part, thanks to the advances of feminism.⁶⁰

In this context, like many media watch organisations that are founded around the world in order to monitor women representations, a media watch group (Mediz) was created in Turkey in a similar effort. The fundamental principal of media watch groups from all over the world is that everyone should have the same opportunities and liberties regardless of their “sex, race, ethnic origin, nation, religion and sexual orientation”.⁶¹

Following this introduction which contains general examples of news articles from the Turkish printed media which represent women with gender discrimination, the present thesis will demonstrate the representation of Turkish immigrant women in the printed media within the context of gender discrimination.

2.2 Representation of Turkish Immigrant Women in the Printed Media in the context of Gender Discrimination

In recent years, an increase has been observed in the representation of immigrant women in the media. However, even if they may be moderators or film stars, immigrant women are still

⁵⁹ Uğur Tanrıöver, Hülya et al. *Medyada Kadınların Temsil Biçimleri* Araştırması. Mediz. May 2008.

⁶⁰ Çimen, Deniz. *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Bağlamında Televizyon Reklamlarında Kadın*. Dissertation. Ankara. October 2011

⁶¹ Erdoğan, Mehmet. *Medyada Cinsiyete Dayalı Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelede Medya İzleme Grupları*. Turkish Republic Prime Ministry, Directorate General on the Status of Women. Dissertation. Afşaroğlu Matbaası. Ankara. P.49

subject to stereotypes and are in the forefront only with roles stressing their exotic and foreign origins.⁶²

Within a society, the media have great responsibilities in many fields. The media aren't just a medium transmitting objective news to its audience. They are capable of not only taking part in social efforts such as contributing to the integration of immigrants into the society, but also hindering such efforts. It is clear that the media can support efforts for or against their integration or can be used for this purpose. Duties of the media in this matter have multiple dimensions. It is only possible through the media to create a living where multiculturalism is transformed into cultural richness instead of a place where different cultures co-exist by chance.⁶³

The media can help the integration process of immigrants and minorities in Europe by discussing and trying to resolve problems, providing a platform of expression for minorities, instead of only publishing pictures and articles. The media should be able to present the immigration and integration of women objectively with regard to the gender-specific discrimination instead of bringing up violent foreigners and militant, pro-terror and radical foreign groups. As long as the media give necessary attention to minorities' problems, support the integration of immigrants and fight negative representations, they can become an asset instead of an obstacle.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, no change has occurred in media reports during the last 20 years and negative articles on immigrants continue to be published like before. Male immigrants are predominant in gender-based articles on violent acts, crime stories, fanaticism and terror. When the topic is Islam and women, the media often display images of backward Muslim women wearing hijab and portray them as prisoners of Islamic culture. Modern Turkish immigrant women are almost completely absent from the media and headscarved Turkish immigrant women are depicted as being an example of uncivilised, backward, conservative Muslim women and a

⁶² Bulut, Claudia. *Von der Gastarbeiterin zur Schutzpolizistin*. P1. (Schatz, Heribert et al. *Migranten und Medien. Neue Herausforderungen an die Integrationsfunktion* von Presse und Rundfunk. Wiesbaden 2000.) Westdeutscher Verlag.

⁶³ Dorer, Johanna / Marschik, Matthias. *Medien und Migration*. Impulse heft nummer März. P.24

⁶⁴ Dorer, Johanna / Marschik, Matthias. *Medien und Migration*. Impulse heft nummer März. P.24

political “danger”.⁶⁵

While talking about immigrant women in Germany, the first thing that comes to mind is Turkish women. This is because Turks have the highest population rate among immigrant groups. In addition, Turkish women are somewhat the symbol of “foreignness” to the German people. Furthermore, “hijab” is strongly associated with foreignness. The hijab of Turkish immigrant women is the centre of their problems, even before their careers. When discussed, it becomes a spark that ignites reactions and that creates tension in the society, as expected, in addition to being the subject of numerous lawsuits in German courts.⁶⁶

“Oriental women” were among the things that Western tourists - particularly men - talk about the most as a reflection of their repressed sexual desires and these women used to occupy their sexual fantasies. As a result of the immigration process, the oriental women hidden behind mysteries and erotic romance were replaced by the real Turkish women wearing hijab and having multi-child families. What is even more remarkable is that, headscarved women no longer possess the mysteries and erotic attraction of the past and are now the symbol of Islamic oppression with the influence of derogatory expressions used by the media, such as “backward”, “uncivilised”, “unable to integrate”, etc. In Germany, many old German Women wear headscarf and go to church in that outfit. It is even possible to see many young Germans choose to wear headscarf in order to keep up with the times. Yet, every women with an oriental look are presented as “Turkish immigrant women” since this is the common area of interest for the media. Moreover, the media represent the women of Islam as being “uncivilised and oppressed” and Western women as being modern and free.⁶⁷

Regarded as “good news” by the printed media in Germany, frequent news reports about “honour killings” and “forced marriages” define the perception of Islam within the society and cause islamophobia. In particular, magazines “feature” veiled, covered, reticent and distant girls and women on their covers in order to show the state of women rights in Islam as well as the

⁶⁵ Dorer, Johanna / Marschik, Matthias. *Medien und Migration*. Impulse heft nummer März. P.25

⁶⁶ Inan, Alev and Andrea König. *Medienbildung – Medienalltag*. Magdeburg 2008. P. 261

⁶⁷ Farrokhzad, Schahrzad. *Massenmedien: Motoren und Multiplikatoren der Ethnisierung?* (Butterwegge, Christoph et al. *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration*. VS. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften Wiesbaden 2006. P.71 – 72)

differences between Turkish immigrants and German society.⁶⁸

2.3 Reports Focused on Women in the Turkish and German Printed Media

In today's world, sex plays an important role in marketing and sales of products displayed in advertisements with gender identity content. Advertising is a most efficient way of communication. Especially, when advertising and sex come together, a truly strong communication arises.

Aiming to appeal to sensuality, advertisements use naked women images in roles that are supposed to interest men. For instance, in Pepsi Twist commercials, a lemon that is being peeled is associated with a woman who gets undressed.⁶⁹ Many car advertisements are decorated with images of sexy and attractive women posing beside the cars.⁷⁰ In tobacco and underwear advertisements as well as in beverage commercials, beautiful and seductive women play the leading role.⁷¹ Naked woman image used in the face soap advertisement of Woodbury as a symbol of brand's aesthetic qualities shows that women are perceived as an object of desire.⁷² Briefly, female body and images of women are used, throughout the history and in our days, as advertising tools no matter what the product is.

The contribution of the media to the marketing of women sexuality and female body is obvious, regardless of the country in question, whether that country is Turkey, Germany or any other country in the world, even though the degree of exploitation may vary from one to another.

Some extreme examples of the exploitation of female body can be seen in Turkey where tabloids such as *Günaydın*, *Posta* and *Star*, “high society gossip” magazines such as *Şamdan*, *Hafta Sonu* and sports magazines such as *Asabi* feature many images and stories of naked or half-

⁶⁸ Gümüş, Burak. *Almanya Türklerinin Alman Toplum ve Medyasındaki Konumu*. Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P. 104

⁶⁹ Dumanlı, Duygu. *Reklamlarda Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın İmgesinin Kullanımı*. İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Sanat ve Tasarım Fakültesi İletişim Sanatları Bölümü

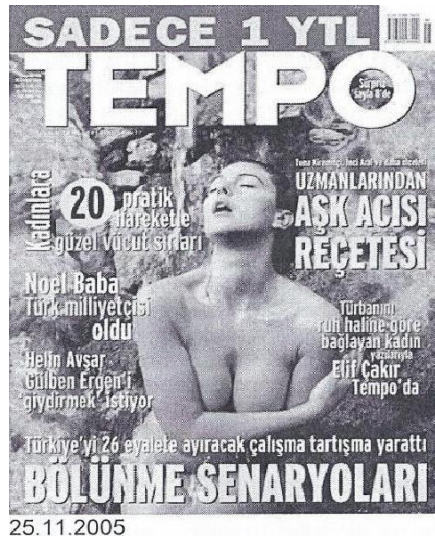
⁷⁰ Dumanlı, Duygu. *Reklamlarda Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın İmgesinin Kullanımı*. İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Sanat ve Tasarım Fakültesi İletişim Sanatları Bölümü

⁷¹ Reichert, Tom. *Reklamcılığın Erotik Tarihi*. Güncel Yayıncılık. 2004. P. 115-116.

⁷² Reichert, Tom. *Reklamcılığın Erotik Tarihi*. Güncel Yayıncılık. 2004. P. 115-116.

naked women who are essentially supposed to seduce men as “third-page beauties” under the pretext of “sensational journalism”.⁷³

Four issues of Tempo, a weekly news and current events magazine, are selected randomly as a reading study and all four issues dated November 25, 2005, December 9, 2005, December 2, 2005 and January 13, 2006 have completely naked or provocatively dressed, beautiful, well-groomed and photogenic women on their covers.



25.11.2005



02.12.2005



09.12.2005



13.01.2006

Source: Uluç, Gülize et al. *Medyada Kadının Temsiline İlişkin Feminist Bir Okuma Çalışması*.

Tempo magazine. P.10

⁷³ Gencel-Bek, Mine and Mutlu Binark. *Medya ve Cinsiyetçilik*. Ankara Üniversitesi. Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi. Ankara. 2000

The headlines of these issues are “Territorial Partition Scenarios” for the one dated November 25, 2005, “Scandalous Memories of Derviş” for the one dated January 13, 2006, “Everything about the Meeting between the National Intelligence Organisation and Barzani” for the one dated December 2, 2005 and “Magic” for the one dated December 9, 2005. In all four selected magazines, naked or half-naked female bodies are used even though they have nothing to do with the headlines. The aim of this practice is to draw the attention of the reader thanks to the female body. Despite the fact that these topics aren't related to each other or to female bodies, all four covers make use of female sexuality with explicit female pictures.⁷⁴

The identity and role of women are associated with their sexuality by the media. This is the manifestation of objectification of women's identity, treatment of women as desire objects and their presentation for viewing pleasure with a patriarchal mind-set.

In the first part of the chapter on printed media articles involving representation of women in relation to gender discrimination, some examples of news articles are analysed initially in a general context and then in the context of Turkey. The following chapter will give examples of news reports with regard to the representation of immigrant women (especially those in Germany) in the context of gender discrimination.

German radio and public started to define Turkish immigrant workers as “Muslim immigrants” with a religious reference, instead of a class or a national group. For the German public, Islam equals “terrorism”, “violence”, and “oppression of women”. In consequence, Muslim Turks are associated with “violence”, “oppression of women” and “terrorism”.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Uluç, Gülize et al. *Medyada Kadının Temsiline İlişkin Feminist Bir Okuma Çalışması*. Tempo magazine. P.8

⁷⁵ Gümüüş, Burak. *Almanya Türklerinin Alman Toplum ve Medyasındaki Konumu*. Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P. 109



Şekil 1: Der Spiegel, 16, Nisan 14, 1997

This picture of a Turkish girl presented under the title of “Gefährlich fremd” (Dangerous, foreigner), which perceives the person in question carrying a Turkish flag as threatening, aggressive, revengeful and angry, is taken during a march organised to protest the Solingen attack during which five Turkish citizens were killed. Being presented as a symbol for alien and dangerous immigrants by Der Spiegel magazine, Yasemin K. sued this periodical.⁷⁶



Şekil 3: Der Spiegel 40, 29 Eylül 2003, Spiegel Special 2, 2003



⁷⁶ Gümüş, Burak. *Almanya Türklerinin Alman Toplum ve Medyasındaki Konumu*. Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P. 102

Images presented above are headlines from three different magazines: Spiegel, Stern and Spiegel Special. These headlines can be translated as “The Principal of Hijab. Muslim Community in Germany” (Spiegel 40/September 29, 2003), “Islam in Germany. Between the Hijab Controversy and the Fear of Terrorism” (Stern 15/April 1, 2004), and “Blood-soaked Land of Allah. Islam and the Middle East” (Spiegel Special 2/2003). These kinds of publications give the impression that Islam propagates violence, anger, gender-based discrimination, terrorism and extremism.

Printed media in Germany contribute to the spreading perception of Turkish immigrants as Muslims as well as to their alienation by putting them into an “exclusionary, generalising and discriminatory” category. This wrong image conveyed by the media negatively affects the perception of immigrants and Islam by German society.⁷⁷

It is rare to come by positive articles about foreigners in newspapers and other media outlets. Whenever there is a development about a theft, a robbery, a fraudulent asylum application, a massacre or any other similar crime, “bad foreigners” become “good foreigners” for the German media. This practice fuels hostility towards foreigners and reactions against ethnic minorities within the pluralistic society.⁷⁸

In national and tabloid media, “problem of foreigners” is mentioned in the context of alienation threat and danger to peace in the country. When the media touch upon the uselessness and danger of foreigners, all eyes turn to male and female Muslim immigrants coming from Turkey since they are the densest immigrant population in Germany.⁷⁹

It is common to encounter news articles on nikab, hijab and headscarf in the same vein as the “die Zeit” article carrying the headline “Weg mit dem Kopftuch” (Enough with the Headscarf) from the magazine's November 1, 2003 issue.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Gümüş, Burak. *Almanya Türklerinin Alman Toplum ve Medyasındaki Konumu*. Deutschland und Die Türkei. Siyasal Kitapevi. 2012 December. P. 109-110-111.

⁷⁸ Butterwegge, Christoph / Gudrun Hentges. *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration*. Wiesbaden 2006. P.17

⁷⁹ Butterwegge, Christoph / Gudrun Hentges. *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration*. Wiesbaden 2006. P.16

⁸⁰ Butterwegge, Christoph / Gudrun Hentges. *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration*. Wiesbaden 2006. P.21

As though a campaign is being conducted, there is no end to newspaper articles on “forced marriages” and “honour killings”. The killing of Kurdish woman Hatun Sürücü by three out of her five brothers on February 7, 2005 made the news for weeks after weeks not only in local news outlets but also in “Süddeutsche Zeitung” newspaper dated February 26, 2005 under such headlines as “In the grip of a Turkish family. Turkish men punished a woman with death once again. Violent clash of cultures. As if there were a Muslim village in modern Berlin”.⁸¹

I would like to finalise the chapters on the “Representation of women within the context of gender discrimination and related news articles” by summarising the Turkish and German sides of this subject one after the other. Above-presented explanations describe the representation of women in the media, sexism against women, the ways women are shown as well as roles that are assigned to them (such as motherhood, housekeeping, child care, etc.). We have also seen that the media legitimise the sexist treatment of women with commentaries and declarations justifying the violence towards them, “from beatings to sexual harassment and rape”, as well as the pretext of “provocation” for which women are blamed.

Thus, the media constitute a prime example of how women's bodies are displayed for the patriarchal viewing pleasure and how women are exploited for their bodies. As a matter of fact, gender discrimination is rampant in the media with regard to distribution of duties. Those who work in decision-making positions are mostly male. Examples presented so far outline the “representation of women in the printed media within the context of gender discrimination” in Turkey where democratisation process has its shortcomings, where customs and traditions have an important place in people's lives and where honour killings are still frequent.

On the other hand, a different approach is used in order to analyse “the representation of women in the printed media in the context of gender discrimination” in Germany, as can be seen from examples that are given. In particular, Muslim Turks are defined as “Muslim immigrants” and they make the news under negative headlines involving violent crimes, other crime stories, Islamism and terrorism. Media reports on honour killings, forced marriages, Islam, nikab, hijab and headscarf put in people's mind the image of Turkish immigrant women. To summarise, the

⁸¹ Butterwegge, Christoph / Gudrun Hentges. *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration*. Wiesbaden 2006. P.22

differences between Turkish and German printed media regarding the gender discrimination towards women have been seen.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH

3.1 Aim of the Research

The aim of this thesis, which is entitled “Representation of Immigrant Turkish Women in the Turkish and German printed media in Germany”, is to analyse, within a theoretical framework, labour migration to Germany and “the representation of Turkish immigrant women in the printed media within the context of gender discrimination” as well as news reports related to this subject and then to evaluate news articles published in one Turkish and three German newspapers, that are selected, with regard to this subject during a certain period of time.

Furthermore, this thesis will research the place of first and second generations of Turkish immigrants in the society as well as that of third and fourth generations of Turks who have become authentic members of German society in order to investigate the change in the understanding of emigration and immigration as well as the increase in transnational migration.

3.2 Methodology

News reports pertaining to the representations of Turkish immigrant women are studied through qualitative content analysis in Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine and Bild newspapers as well as in the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet which is considered to be the media outlet printed in Germany with the highest circulation rate among newspapers heavily followed by immigrants.

3.3 Limitations

The analysis conducted in this study is limited to one Turkish and three German newspapers. In this context, this research includes the following newspapers: Hürriyet, the Turkish-language newspaper with the highest circulation rate in Germany, Frankfurter Allgemeine which has a liberal editorial policy, Bild which mostly features popular and tabloid news and finally Die Zeit which focuses on political issues.

3.4 Presentation of the Newspaper Hürriyet and its Editorial Policies within the Framework of this Research

Hürriyet is a daily newspaper which operates to this day under Doğan Holding.

With its high daily circulation over the half million mark, this is an important newspaper of Turkey. Akşam was the first Turkish newspaper to be published in Germany in order to satisfy the need of Turkish immigrants for newspapers and news. Its first issue in Germany was published in Munich in 1970. Then followed Tercüman, Hürriyet and Milliyet newspapers. Today, there is a print house in Frankfurt, Germany that prints Hürriyet newspaper. Published both in Turkey and in Germany, Hürriyet is one of the most influential outlets of Turkish media operating in Germany. Being the best-known Turkish brand in Europe, this newspaper is sold by 18 thousand retailers in Germany and by 25 thousand retailers in whole Europe within the framework of a distribution network which belongs to Axel-Spring Group.

In addition to its successful journalism, Hürriyet tries to transmit to Turkish people living abroad new developments and other useful information on subjects such as daily life, legislation and retirement in their host country and to give consultancy services with the help of experts. It provides substantial support to various campaigns and events having the purpose of facilitating integration of Turkish immigrants into their host country and their active participation in social, cultural and political spheres. Even though Hürriyet newspaper features political, social, cultural, artistic and sports content in order to satisfy the need of Turkish immigrants living in Germany for newspapers and news, it is mostly oriented towards political issues.

“Turkey belongs to the Turks” is the tagline of Hürriyet of which the chief editor is currently Enis Berberoğlu. Even though this tagline with racist connotations is heavily criticised, newspaper managers continue to present the following argument: “This is an extract from the Constitution. When the Constitution changes, we may do so, too.”

3.5 Presentation of the Newspapers Die Zeit, Frankfurter Allgemeine and Bild and their Editorial Policies

Bild

The number of its readers reaches 11.63 million, which corresponds to 17.9% of whole German population over 14 years of age. 4.3 million of them are female while 7.3 million are male. In other words, 63% of their readers are male. 43% of its readers are graduated from some primary school, 35% from some secondary school and 4% from higher education. 7% of its readers are self-employed whereas 34% of them are civil servants and 37% qualified workers. According to the founder of this newspaper, Axel Springer, their target group isn't composed of

businesspeople or of educated and intellectual people. They target workers and the consumerist society. Bild readers are always characterised with same attributes.

This newspaper benefits mostly from tabloid news. For instance, an event where a top-model accidentally exposes a nipple when her bra slips is more scandalous for them in comparison with an incident where five hundred people are killed. It is a standard daily newspaper which provides people with general news written in plain language, which can influence masses, which doesn't go into details in order to uncover truths (for example, it has published reports stating that Greeks take advantage of European Union subsidisations granted to Greece) and which presents sports articles of high quality.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

“Frankfurter Allgemeine” is a daily newspaper which incorporates news reports related to all parts of Germany. Businesspeople and educated people, particularly those who are interested in trade, are primary readers of Frankfurter Allgemeine. In addition to detailed entrepreneurship articles, this conservative newspaper publishes many reports on foreign policy, as well. It also features cultural articles on social subjects. On rare occasions, the newspaper includes images along with its long and complicated articles. However, until 2007, no image had been used in the first page. It is a political, liberal and conservative newspaper which more or less aligns itself with the CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) with regard to its political views. Even though it features many articles on economy, culture and sports, it focuses particularly on economic subjects.

die Zeit

This is a weekly newspaper that started its publication on February 24, 1946 and that is available everywhere in Germany. Since 1996, die Zeit operates under the publishing group Georg von Holtzbrinck. The newspaper is published every Thursday. Its print house is located in Hamburg and the newspaper has editorial offices in various cities of Germany as well as abroad, for example in Switzerland and Moscow. Target group of this newspaper is people with high level of education. Instead of merely presenting daily and current events, it analyses these events in depth and researches their causes. It is a liberal newspaper that touches upon every kind of topic but that features mostly cultural articles.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The following tables will present news articles published in one Turkish and three German newspapers printed in Germany within the context of “Representation of Turkish immigrant women in the Turkish and German printed media in Germany”.

4.1 Hürriyet Newspaper and its Qualitative Content Analysis

Table 4.1 regroups news articles published in the German edition of Turkish Hürriyet newspaper, during the period of this research which was in April 2013.

Table 4.1 Hürriyet

Hürriyet: April 1,2013 - April 30, 2013											
	with Picture		without Picture		On which page		Theme of the news article				
Number of news articles	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Front Page	Middle Pages	Daily news	Tabloid	Crime stories	Foreign women	Immigrant women
News article 1	X Immigrant youth					x	x politics				
News article 2	X Fazıl Say					x	x politics culture				
News article 3	X Dilek Kolat					x	x politics				
News article 4	X Can Bolat					x	x politics				
News article 5	X artistic success					x	x art success				
News article 6	X Girl playing harp					x	x art success				
News article 7	X receives award					x	x success				
News article 8	X Sıla -Competition					x	x	x			
News article 9	X Dilek Kolat - Turkish citizen					x	x politics				
News article 10	X Doctor and Turkish nurses					x	x success				
News article 11	X Sıla -Competition					x	x	x			
News article 12	X Girl playing piano					x	x art, success				
News article 13	X Sıla -Competition					x	x	x			

News article 14	X Under- secretary of Kolat dismissed					x	x politics				
News article 15	X Success of dog groomer					x	x success				
News article 16	X Sila -Competition					x	x	x			
News article 17	X Sila -Competition					x	x	x			
News article 18	X Refugees, not sexual object					x	x politics			X Refugee women	
News article 19	X hijab Muslims					x	x				x
News article 20	X Sila-Competition					x	x	x			
News article 21	X Nermin Abadan Unat					x	x cultural activity				
News article 22	X Sila -Competition					x		x			

In this tabel a total 22 of articles are studied about Turkish immigrant women. There was no news on the first page of the newspaper. As illustrated in the table, all of the 22 news articles were found in the middle pages of the newspaper. Featured in news headlines and content are observed to be compatible with each other.

In terms of news presentations, the news about the star dancer who is thought to be “bizim kizimiz (our dancer daughter) Sila Sahin” took the first place with seven news articles in the newspaper. The second place is dedicated to women of Turkish origin who have grown up in Germany and have achieved success in initiatives on the public area. Four articles are presented about them. Following those, there were three articles on women active in arts and music and also eight articles on daily life and culture of these women.

4.2 German Newspapers and Qualitative Content Analysis

Table 4.2 presents news articles published by Bild newspaper in the course of one month in relation to the subject of this research.

Table 4.2 Bild Newspaper

Bild Newspaper: April 1, 2013 - April 30, 2013										
	with Picture		without Picture		On which page		Theme of the news article			
Number of news articles	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Front Page	Middle Pages	Daily news	Tabloid	Crime stories	Foreign women
News article 1	X Sila					x	x	x		
News article 2	Sila	doesn't match picture				x	x	x		

During the research done on the newspaper articles between first and thirtieth April 2013, except the two written news about Sila Sahin, there were no written news about Turkish immigrant women in Germany.

The foreigner population of Germany is approximately 9 million people. Within this population, the percentage of Turks is the highest one with 31% which corresponds to nearly 3 million people. Within this context, the approach of Bild newspaper, which benefits mostly from tabloid news, towards the representation of immigrant women is quite interesting.

As can be seen from **Table 4.3** which categorizes news articles published in “Frankfurter Allgemeine” in the course of one month, this newspaper incorporates all kinds of news articles from every corner of Germany whether it be political or economic. During the research period no news about Turkish immigrant women in Germany were found.

Table 4.3 Frankfurter Allgemeine Newspaper

Frankfurter Allgemeine Newspaper: - April 1,2013 - April 30, 2013											
	with Picture		without Picture		On which page		Theme of the news article				
Number of news articles	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Front Page	Middle Pages	Daily news	Tabloid	Crime stories	Foreign women	Immigrant women
News article 1	X Integration and Democracy					x	x politics				
News article 2				X Accession to the EU		x	x politics				
News article 3	X Sports					x Club Ali Bey	x travel				
News article 4	The person who is supposed to be found guilty.					x	x politics				
News article 5	X Fazıl Say					x	x politics				
News article 6				X THY		x	information economics				
News article 7	X Bibliography					x	x information presentation				
News article 8				X Turkey should be the mediator		x	x politics				
News article 9				X Judge's chair		x	x politics				
News article 10	X Book presentation					x	x information presentation				

Four of the 10 articles presented in Table 3 have no pictures; six have pictures and the content of all the news show compatibility with the headline. It is observed that on the first page no news of relevance to the research are found but they are mainly published in the middle page. When viewed in details, the Frankfurter Allgemeine is found to be presenting news about Turkish immigrants in general. Research conducted demonstrated that despite news presented about Turkish immigrants, there is no specific article about Turkish immigrant women. This is also due to the newspaper's editorial policy of not allocating a place to publish on issues related to Turkish immigrant women.

"Die Zeit" newspaper, the only weekly publication among the three German newspapers included in the research, published the relevant news articles presented in **Table 4.4**.

Table 4.4 Die Zeit

Die Zeit Newspaper: April 1,2013 - April 30, 2013											
	with Picture		without Picture		On which page		Theme of the news article				
Number of news articles	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Headline and Content match	Headline and Content don't match	Front Page	Middle Pages	Daily news	Tabloid	Crime stories	Foreign women	Immigrant women
News article 1			X Hostility towards foreigners			x	information culture				
News article 2	duet					x	information	x politics			
News article 3	X aircraft company					x	information economics				

It is a liberal newspaper covering cultural news mostly and during the research period no news on Turkish immigrant women were identified. As demonstrated in the table the publication provides political, economic and cultural news that concerns Turkish immigrants as a whole. It does not merely cover daily news but publishes analysis as well.

As demonstrated above during the April 2013 period, I have listed the relevant news articles and their contents. Among the one case was of much interest for the media: Sıla Şahin. Many tabloid news were written on Sıla Şahin who was the center of attention of Turkish and German public opinion since she is born to Turkish parents and grew up in Germany, which makes her a member of the third generation of immigrant Turks. We will evaluate news articles which present this Turkish woman, whose nude pictures were featured in the Playboy magazine and who reached the top of her success story with her performance in the competition “Let's Dance”, as “the Pride of Turks: Sexy Sıla Şahin”.

In the following subchapter, a particular attention will be paid to news reports published in Hürriyet which constitutes a perfect example of the representation of Turkish immigrant women in the printed media and we will observe that Hürriyet is the most popular newspaper among Turkish immigrants in Germany.

4.3 Women oriented News Reports from one Turkish and three German Newspapers

In the last chapter of this thesis news reports published in **Hürriyet newspaper** during a

certain period of time (April 2013) will be analyzed. News on Sıla Şahin ranked the first in terms of its intensity and its actuality in news reports. This chapter will begin with analyzing the presentation of the pictures on the news.



In Hürriyet's April 8, 2013 edition, the front page includes an article with a picture under the headline “She danced for eight hours a day. First round is cleared.” In addition to this article, tabloid annex of the newspaper, called “Kelebek”, presents another article titled “Keep going Sıla” accompanied by a picture of Sıla dancing. Below this picture, some short commentary filled with praises shall be found: “In the sixth edition of Let's Dance competition broadcasted by German channel, RTL, a very beautiful Turkish girl, Sıla Şahin, achieved to amaze the jury with her marvellous dance.”

On April 12, 2013, the front page of the newspaper's Kelebek annex is featuring pictures of Sıla and the article with the headline “Sıla is ambitious. This is only the beginning for her” provides quotes from the actress Sıla Şahin who qualified for the next round in the “Let's Dance”

competition which attracts millions of viewers from all over Germany. She was interviewed by the Hürriyet and had said if she was should win the competition watched by 5 million people she would include Anatolian music and Turkish folklore. In the same report she provides a lot of information about her life, her dance and costumes behind the scene; she is quoted “I am attracting the jury with my dance and attracting the spectators with my emotions, I believe that I will win it”.

The reporter asks about her clothes. She is quoted as saying “we did not choose our clothes except small details. The costumes and norms that sponsors have are obligatory. Deep in my heart I wish to present our own culture and folklore which is really rich and related with our emotions. Due to these emotions I wish to involve the Anatolian music to connect to them and if I win the first place I will bring up this issue in the media and with my sponsors.”

A large section of the tabloid annex of the newspaper's Kelebelek on April 15, 2013 edition, is dedicated to the pictures of a dazzling Sıla, who worked her miracles in the “Let's Dance” competition as well as commentaries about her under the title “Sıla, the Marvellous”. In this article, Sıla Şahin responds to the questions addressed to her by saying that she also works in the filming of critically acclaimed RTL series “Gute Zeiten, schlechte Zeiten” (Good Times, Bad Times), that she works in sets and television studios six days a week, which leaves her only one day to rest.



The tabloid page of the newspaper's April 19, 2013 edition is also filled with big pictures of Sıla in one of which she is photographed with her mother. In the same edition and in an interview with her, the reporter mentions that Hanife Gürsoy Şahin, who came from Berlin to

Cologne in order to join the crowd in the RTL studio, watched the performance of her daughter, Sıla Şahin, in the second round of the competition and quotes her as saying: “My daughter's dance was spectacular. I really liked it. It made it possible for me to live what I have missed in my youth. Sıla is my only child. I love her more than anything.”



In Kelebek of the newspaper's April 22, 2013 edition, we can see an article with a picture praising the success of Sıla under the title “The fire of Sıla gets bigger in Let's Dance”.



Again in Kelebek, the tabloid page of the newspaper's April 29, 2013 edition, I noticed the news report with a picture which has some small headlines: “Five million people watched Sıla”, “To the finals, one step at a time”, “Quality increases” and which explains that having danced a Waltz in this week's “Let's Dance” competition broadcasted by private German television RTL, Sıla Şahin obtained the highest scores from both the jury and the audience, thus she was qualified for the fifth round.

Here the representation of Turkish immigrant women in **Bild Newspaper** which is overwhelmed by tabloid news about Sıla Şahin is analyzed.



Articles on the “Let's Dance” competition published in the middle pages of Bild newspaper's April 5, 2013 edition included a report titled “Diese drei tanzen aus der Reihe”

(Extraordinary dance of the trio) which described the dance of Sila Şahin, a 27-year-old ballerina as well as various praises and commentaries to other dancers under the title “Bei ihr faengt das Tanzparkett Feuer” (The dance floor is on fire). Known from the television series “Gute Zeiten, schlechte Zeiten” (Good times, bad times) and also the first Turkish girl from Germany to be on the cover of Playboy magazine with her nude pictures, Sila Şahin is quoted as saying that there is tension between her and her mother because of all the tabloid news about her and that she dances in this competition in order to fulfill her mother’s wish because her mother had always said, “I would like my daughter to become a dancer”.



In the April 12, 2013 edition of Bild, the news article titles “Sexy Sila Şahin bei Let’s Dance” (Sila Şahin at Let's Dance), “Heute tanze ich für meine Mutter!” (I dance today for my mother!) included a picture of Sila Şahin and a picture of she and her mother. “Hani”, Sila's mother, who is heartbroken by her daughter's Playboy pictures, cannot hide her joy for her daughter's participation in “Let's Dance”. She says, “I have always wanted my daughter to become a dancer. I hope that she will achieve our dream for both of us”. The reports continues as to portray Sila Sahin, as a 27-year-old German-Turkish who took part at Let's Dance competition and that with the dance starting at 20:15 in RTL, the dance floor would be on fire again. Sila told to Bild that she is thrilled and so excited, too, but "Today a dream will come true for both me and my mother. I hope it becomes true." she added.

When examining news about Turkish immigrant women, the news on "Let's Dance" and Sila Sahin gain the first place so above the news pictures and comments on them were examined.

The reported news on Sila Sahin in each of the two newspapers "Bild and Hürriyet" found their places in the middle pages of these newspapers. In each newspaper, the reports on "Let's Dance" and "Sila Sahin" give different images of her and this is according to the editorial policy of the newspapers. This will be analyzed in more details below.

In Hürriyet newspaper; "The first round has passed by dancing of 8 hours a day" written on the bottom of the picture suggests that she has strived to achieve success. In a picture of "Sila" and her dance partner, the presentation of the picture to absorb the sympathy of the readers is noteworthy.

Through titles such as "Her Mother followed Sila", "Sila was like a men and to change this, I sent her to learn ballet" accompanied by a picture of Sila and her mother, the newspaper tries to illustrate a good relationship between the dancer and her mother. In the picture in which Sila and her partner are portrayed the reader is to be sympathizing with the romance and sensuality and the unveiling of the foreground.

In the news article with the picture entitled "In Let's Dance, Sila's fire is growing", it is mentioned that in the competition of the former week, she scored the highest and entered the next round. The article claims that she was admired by the audience for her dance and sexy dress and her appearance in the competition and her dance partner and she are portrayed as the most sympathetic couple.

Article titles such as "Step-by-step to the final" and "quality has increased" attract the readers' attention merely to the dance.

News on "Let's Dance" and Sila Şahin in Turkish national newspapers Hürriyet, although presented in the middle pages are quite exclusive. Success of a Turkish immigrant woman presented as "pride of Turks" is widely covered and showed up. Her success is linked to the image of Turkish immigrants in German society.

In Bild newspaper; in the article titled “Diese drei tanzen aus der Reihe”, three female dancers from the “Let’s Dance” competition are illustrated with Sila Şahin’s image displayed in sexy clothes in the center of the picture and much larger than the two other dancers. She is portrayed as a female sexuality attraction object with sexy clothing while the two other dancers are portrayed as wearing more overcasting clothes.

Titles such "Heute tanze ich für meine Mutter" and "Sexy Sila Sahin bei Let's Dance" with a thumbnail image Sila with her mother and also a picture of herself in really sexy dance clothes strived to attract the attention of the readers.

It is noteworthy that Sila Sahin gained her fame through playing in the “Gute Zeiten, schlechte Zeiten” (Good times, bad times) RTL television series and through posing nude for Playboy magazine cover. Afterwards she was receiving death threats and harassment from the Turkish immigrants’ society. However, after her participation in the “Let’s Dance” competition the environment is changing for her as her success is viewed as a subject of pride for Turks and “the ice is melting”.

Having analyzed the mostly mentioned news item, Sila Sahin’s story, I will now focus on Turkish immigrant women’s representation in three newspapers: the Hürriyet newspaper, Bild, Frankfurter Allgemeiner and Die Zeit. In each case the relevant news are analyzed. The **Hürriyet newspaper** will be examined first and the order is chronological.

The middle page of Hürriyet newspaper’s March 25, 2013 edition, which is the newspaper's European News section, presents an article written by Dilek Kolat, a woman from Turkish descent, and also the Berlin Senator for integration. The article is about the standpoint of Germany with regard to immigrants. Dilek Kolat underlines the importance of decisions taken during the conference of Integration Ministers and gives the good news that a huge step has been taken for employment of more immigrants. Having more immigrants registered in employment agencies and abolition of the option model for the asylum seekers and the revision of the laws was a big step according to Kolat and writes: "All decisions are very important. In particular, studies of immigrant employment agencies are a big step. This decision will reduce the high

unemployment among immigrants. "

In the European News section of Hürriyet's March 26, 2013 edition, there is a news article titled "Canpolat is in the City Council of Mainz" which reports that Nurhayat Canpolat from SPD, an inhabitant of Mainz, Germany, is the first Turkish politician to be elected to the City Council of Mainz. It is mentioned in the article that Nurhayat Canpolat, 54-year-old NGO activist, has been Cohesion policy spokeswoman for the SPD since 1980 in Mainz and she has been involved in many areas of the Municipal Assembly and that she would prioritize social issues. As reported in the newspaper Mainz Municipal Assembly President, Dr. Eckard Lensch, has stated that after Nurhayat Canpolat's entry to the parliament, the percentage of women in the parliament raises to 50 percent and he is quoted to believe that in this new role she would make a significant contribution to the SPD.

The European News section of Hürriyet's March 28-29, 2013 edition has an article titled "Dilek Kolat is the favourite of Berliners" which explains that Dilek Kolat is the politician who attracts the most attention among the members of Berlin Senate after Klaus Wowereit, the Governing Mayor of Berlin.

In addition to politicians, successful artists, musicians, nurses and professors appear in the news articles of Hürriyet. For instance, in the April 3, 2013 edition of Hürriyet, a news article with large pictures covering the whole "Magazin Kelebek" page, about Ezgi Kutlu, a young artist who continues her art life in Germany, is published. The article has the following laudatory title "The Carmen of Berlin".

The full-page article published in the April 6-7, 2013 edition of Hürriyet has the title "The love of music comes from her father". This is an article filled with positive comments about Beste Toparlak, a 24-year-old harp player whose music training started at the age of eight and who completed her harp studies in the Ankara State Conservatory. According to the article, Beste Toparlak makes the Turkish society proud with her success, including concerts and tours with important symphony orchestras in Turkey as well as important concerts with world's most outstanding organ virtuosos, all of which make her gain recognition across borders. At the moment, she lives in Hamburg in order to continue her music education with a master in the

school of music and theatre.

In its April 9, 2013 edition, *Hürriyet* is allocating space to another article by Dilek Kolat, Berlin's Senator for Labour, Integration and Women's Issues, which is titled : “No to the option, BOTH AT THE SAME TIME”. There she explains the future efforts to be made on the issue of dual citizenship which is of particular importance for Turkish immigrants living in Germany by stating that “We will collaborate with non-governmental organisations in order to help those who want to acquire German citizenship”.

In the news report with a picture dated April 9, 2013, the headline “The game of doctors is spoiled by Turks” is followed by an article which indicates that when a physician wanted to open a clinic along with his two Female Turkish assistants in AsbachBeumenheim, a village of the German city Donauwörth, the doctors of the village and the Union of Bavarian Physicians tried to prevent them from doing so. However, due to the signatures collected by the Turkish nurses, of whom the article speaks highly, the German doctor with whom they worked was enabled to open the establishment in question. According to this article, after the Turkish nurses made tremendous efforts to collect these signatures, the biased attitude of authorities against foreigners was eliminated.

In the next case, on April 13-14, 2013, there is a full-page article titled “In front of the mirrors, in the hearts of millions” about the Turkish pianist Karsu Dönmez who was born in the Netherlands and became the pride of Turks living in Europe as a result of her great success. This is an article filled with praises for Dönmez who was born to a family emigrating from Karsu village of Hatay, Turkey to the Netherlands, who entered the world of music at the age of seven and who gained international recognition with her works at a very early age.

Immediately after this heart-warming news article about Turkish pianist Karsu Dönmez, the newspaper's April 13-14, 2013 edition also provides a disgraceful news report. A full-page article is published about the rape of 13 year-old Ö. Y. by 29 different people in Kocaeli, Gölcük, Turkey. Titled as “Reaction to the gang rape gets bigger”, the article has also the following subtitles: “Protest for the condemnation of rape”, “Ö. Y. in Gölcük, N. Ç. in Mardin”, “Not only a victim of rape but also a victim of police”, “Turkey-India comparison”, “Special bureau for

sexual crimes” and “Gang rape news in the Italian press”. It is easy to see how this shameful rape, which happened in Turkey and which is reported in a Turkish newspaper published in Germany, is relevant to Turkey and, more importantly, how this news item closely followed by the global media seriously damages the image of Turkish immigrant women.

In the European News section of Hürriyet's April 30 - May 1, 2013 edition another article is published involving a Turkish immigrant woman who is a sociology professor, Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat. Under the title “A Turkish Club is opened in Cologne”, the article is about her participation in the inauguration of a Turkish Club in Cologne where she also underlined the importance of the education of children and organisation of women.

Analysing the above-mentioned ten news reports about Turkish immigrant women, published in a specific period (April 2013) of time in German edition of Hürriyet newspaper, I have put them in the following order in terms of the number of news articles on a given subject: the first place is taken by news reports on achievements in the political arena by Turkish immigrant women who are among the first or second generation of Turks living in Germany for many years and who has reached high positions either in the states or in the political parties. The second place belongs to biographies of immigrant Turkish women, in which the artistic success stories of these women are reported. Following the success stories topics that were summarised, an article is found that reports on a rape incident which had happened in Turkey and was reported by the Turkish newspaper, Hürriyet, in Germany. However, the reason for my interest in this article was that it is probable to perceive this as damaging the image of Turkish immigrant women. The last article to be mentioned is indirectly another success story of a Turkish immigrant, sociologist Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat, in Germany who is at the back of everybody's mind with her writings on the “Place of women within the society” from the 1980s.

In the second newspaper I studied, articles published in **Bild newspaper**, which benefits mostly from tabloid news, two pieces of news about Sıla Şahin were found in the research period. However, no article was detected with regard to Turkish immigrant women in Germany. Yet, the types of news that involve women are published with picture and big headlines such as “In diesem Keller wurden Frauen als Sex-Sklavinnen gehalten” (These women were detained in this basement like sex slaves.), “Daniela (36) seit zwei Wochen verschwunden! Freund

festgenommen” (Daniela , 36 years old, missing since two weeks. Her friend is arrested.),
 “Rentner ersticht Ehefrau auf der Strasse” (He stabbed her retired wife in the street.)

“**Frankfurter Allgemeine**” is a daily newspaper which incorporates news reports related to all parts of Germany. No articles (news report) have been detected with regard to Turkish immigrant women in Germany within the specific time period (April 2013). Among the articles which are of interest to Turks and other Foreigners living in Germany, two of them are summarised below given that they provide a good example of the editorial policy of the newspaper.

Published on April 8, 2013, the news article titled “Europa: Integration und Demokratie” (Europe: Integration and Democracy) makes the following commentary: “The motive behind the formation of the European Union was that integration comes before democracy. Later, we discovered that this expectation had no future. Today, the priority of integration over the idea of democracy in Europe resulted in it being seen as a threat. This has to change.”

Published on 20 April 2013, in the article titled “EU-Mitgliedschaft bleibt strategisches Ziel” (EU membership is still a strategic target for us.), Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan is quoted as saying “Even though the European Union refuses to accept us as a member, we continue our efforts to achieve our target. At this moment, our economy is better than that of 22 Member States of the European Union. If we don't become a member of the European Union until 2023, Europe will certainly lose us”.

As can be seen from these two summarised articles, we observe that Frankfurter Allgemeine although publishing on issues related to immigrants, does not publish any articles on the specific topic of Turkish immigrant women. I concluded that the editorial policy of this newspaper is totally ignorant of such women.

Being a liberal newspaper which mostly publishes culture-related articles, the weekly “**Die Zeit**” published no news report regarding Turkish immigrant women during the research period (April 2013). As can be understood from a few articles that we will briefly summarise, instead of merely presenting daily and current events, Die Zeit newspaper delves into the reasons behind these events.

The newspaper's economic news page presents an article with a picture titled “Wir Wollen wachsen” (We want to grow) in its March 21, 2013 edition. Starting with the arguments of Temel Kotil, the CEO of Turkish Airlines, in favour of night flights and the firing of hundreds of airline workers, the article mentions the solidarity between Turkish Airlines and Luftansa and notes that the growing success of Turkish Airlines in Europe threatens the growth of Luftansa.

The March 27, 2013 edition of the newspaper has a full-page article with a picture of Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan in front of Turkish flags when he was arrested in 1999 and a picture of Erdoğan, titled “Das Duett der starken Maenner” (Duo of powerful men). The article states that “Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan wants to become stronger. In order to do that, he needs Öcalan”. The news commentary continues as follows: “14 years ago, these two Turkish citizens were at the point of being imprisoned. One of them was arrested by the Turkish secret service in Kenya and the other one faced imprisonment due to a poem that he had read. Both of these politicians, one of them Kurdish and the other one religious, were driven into the corner by the State. Yet today, they shape the future of Turkey. One of them is Kurdish Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the other one the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.”

In the April 18, 2013 edition of the newspaper, there is an article about a Turkish Pianist, Fazıl Say, who had been put on trial. The article title is “Die türkische Justiz und die Blasphemie” (The Turkish justice and the Blasphemy) and it reports that “Turkey is completely outraged”. When asked during an interview with Zeit why Fazıl Say is punished with ten months of imprisonment and why Orhan Pamuk was put on trial years ago in Turkey, a country whose current Prime Minister, himself, was imprisoned 14 years ago because of a poem that he read, Orhan Pamuk responds “This is really horrible and unacceptable. I am profoundly sorry for Fazıl Say and for Turkey.”

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, relevant news reports were collected and analysed from three German and one Turkish newspapers published during the research period which was April 2013. Researching for representation of Turkish immigrant women in these printed media, I found out that the first place according to the intensity of media coverage is occupied by the stories about Sila Sahin , who is a dancer participating in the “Let's Dance” competition. Born to a Turkish family in Germany, she was center of much public attention both in Turkey and Germany. The news about her was most tabloid news; Playboy magazines published her in nude poses. "Let's Dance" contest made her a subject of more controversy with each newspaper representing her differently. While the Hürriyet represented as a Turk having achieved great success in the competition “Let's Dance” and an immigrant woman, who was the pride of the Turks, Bild newspaper portrayed her as an attractive sexy woman dressed differently from other participants.

Other immigrant women represented in the Hurriyet, are cases of success in the fields of politics, arts, music, education and professional activities. Another relevant issue that was covered in this media was a rape story which could potentially damage the image of immigrant women in the German society as well as Turkey’s image as a whole.

As for Frankfurter Allgemeine and Die Zeit, Turkish immigrant women are never mentioned in these media during the one month of research, even in cases in which German politicians of Turkish descent (Dilek Kolat and Nurhayat Canpolat) are involved. This leads me to the conclusion that the editorial policy of these publications is totally ignorant of the issues related to this group. This demonstrates a shortcoming in representation of these women who are a population of about 1.5 million in Germany.

As examined in this research, the representation of immigrant women in newspapers is a problematic area in the media. They are never visible in the media as long as they are ordinary people with the only exception being cases of immigration problems.

According to my research, the written media coverage of immigrant women compared to men is much less. Traditionally, women's representation in the media has been indicated as a

problematic area. This might be due to the gender discrimination in some media where most of the decision-making is done from male viewpoint. As an example even in the case of abolition of headscarf ban in Turkey, despite the issue being totally about the women, the most comments printed in the media were by men commentators.

According to the literature, Turkish immigrant women are commonly present in the German media when there is a problem (spousal violence, honor killings, forced marriages etc) but their success stories are not as largely covered. However, the *Hürriyet* represents and focuses only on successful immigrant women and portrays them as being Turks' pride.

Nowadays along with the change in the understanding of emigration and immigration, immigrants have become part of the community beyond being just a source of pride, the successful and the elite Turkish woman image which is represented by *Hürriyet* newspaper and the sex symbol as a visual pleasure object which is portrayed by the *Bild* newspaper. In this context, my research is of value as I detected a representation problem of ordinary Turkish immigrant women who are thoroughly absent in the printed media.

Global capital, global media and the exchange of goods and money have eased national borders that were once limiting the free movement of people. Transnational migration has gained importance. Nowadays immigrants live in some part of the year in Turkey and the other part in Germany so there is a change in their lifestyle. For Turkish immigrants, some of the first generation who moved to Germany as "Gastarbeiter (guest workers)" either stayed or went back to their hometowns or other European countries. These people went to their children and grandchildren.

We notice that the understanding of emigration and immigration has changed and that transnational migration has gained importance in the light of analyses and researches carried out within the framework of this study on "the representation of Turkish immigrant women in the Turkish and German printed media in Germany". Finally, we observe that children and grandchildren of first and second generation of Turks have become authentic members of German society as third and fourth generation of Turks. I sincerely hope that ulterior studies and researches will shed light on this phenomenon.

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