

ERASMUS UNIVERSITY ROTTERDAM

# Turkish youths and media preferences

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Researching the media behaviour of third generation Turkish-Dutch immigrants in Rotterdam

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**Abstract:**

This thesis explores the different possible angles of effects on the media preferences of the research audience. It focuses on the media preferences of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people living in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Accordingly, this research centers on themes such as parental mediation strategies, the rise of new media, social identification, social participation and the characteristics of transnational Turkish television versus Dutch television. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 young Turkish-Dutch people living in Rotterdam. The respondents were asked about their media preferences, their subsequent media use and motivations for said media use. The main research question of this thesis is: 'What are the media preferences and -motivations of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people in Rotterdam?'. The sub-questions are: 'What are the influences of social relations with other parties on the media preference of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people?', 'What is the influence of changes in Dutch society and politics on the media preference of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people?', 'What is the influence of religiosity on the media preferences and -consumption of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people in Rotterdam?' and 'What is the influence of membership to a student- or other organization of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people on feelings of belonging to Dutch society?' The results of this study signal a shift from transnational Turkish television as main media source to online media as the dominant media technology in the lives of young third-generation Turkish-Dutch people living in Rotterdam. They remain strongly focused on Turkish cultural media products and attach great value to the Turkish part of their identity. The precarious nature of their identity, born in the Netherlands with a Turkish background can be explored in a more diverse pallet of interests online. This leads to segmentation and a stronger focus on Turkish cultural products on the one hand for some with an already strong predisposition towards the Turkish social identity group. On the other hand, this can also lead to a greater diversification of the cultural media products diet of these young people. Social online media are widely used, although their use is greatly dependent on the possible social control exerted by the Turkish social identity group. Membership of an organization which does not focus solely on Turkish issues can also have a diversifying effect on the media consumption of the research audience. Although the respondents considered themselves to be religious, the research did not find any notable influence of religiosity on media consumption behaviour.

**Keywords:** Turkish migrants, third generation, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, media preferences, transnational media, new media, Social Identification Theory, participatory citizenship, religiosity, parental mediation.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Young Turkish-Dutch people and Media Use

The research project of this study is one with many angles and many opinions exist throughout society on the topic of transnational media use. What this research mainly concerns itself with is the way descendants from Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam use media to reaffirm cultural tastes and practices. During the course Media and Cultural Globalization earlier this year we discussed the article *Thinking Across Spaces. Transnational Television from Turkey* by Asu Aksoy & Kevin Robins (2000). This article entailed media use by Turkish immigrants in Germany but, because it was written more than a decade ago, it felt outdated. Twelve years later, with the arrival of digital television, video games and the rise of the internet, immigrants have more media options than ever. I wanted to research, using theory, interviews and qualitative analysis, what Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam in 2012 watch and listen to. Furthermore, one of the most fascinating questions we can seek to answer with the possible results of these researches is how Turkish immigrants *use* all these media.

In the Netherlands, the past decade has brought about much public discussion of the multicultural society, what actually constitutes as a profound Dutch identity and the position of non-Western immigrants, living predominantly in cities like Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. Integration into Dutch society, criminality and lack of proficiency of the Dutch language are seen as big-city problems. Especially the media use of these non-Western immigrants is subject to much discussion, as entire streets in certain neighbourhoods have a satellite dish on every available free space and almost every Turkish or Moroccan bakery has the radio tuned to music from their country of origin.

There are not many studies on immigrants' media consumption in the Netherlands. One of the few studies available was conducted by Özdemir (2010) which was limited in its scope since it investigated the effects of transnational television viewing on identity construction with second-generation female Turkish immigrants. For this research, I would like to further explore why young Turkish people, often of the third generation immigrants, chose certain media types, particular shows and channels. What kind of decision making process makes up for this choice and how could we explain this.

## 1.2 Academic & Social relevance

When it comes to migrants and transnational media use, several researches have been conducted. These studies generally focus on issues such as integration, identity and migration, with examples of Akosy & Robins (2000,2002), Ogan (2001), Georgiou (2006), Karanfil (2007) and more recently Özdemir (2010). These studies concern themselves primarily with the influences of the arrival of transnational television on the lives of mostly first and second generation immigrants in different societies. However, the young people of Turkish descent, the young adult category between 18 and 25 years old are in the Netherlands mostly already third generation immigrants and lived their entire lives in the Netherlands. What will be interesting is to see is the possibility of generational shifts in media use among Turkish immigrants. Moreover, while the focus on identity appears to be a fruitful one, not much research has been conducted as to what is actually being watched and what other motivations beside identity construction, migrant- and diaspora theory there could be for these people. Furthermore, the rapid changes in the media landscape in the last two decades, with the rise to prominence of new media technologies such as the internet and video game consoles could in turn very well have an influence on the media use of young Turkish people living in the Netherlands. This research can be seen as building on the aforementioned researches with the emphasis on research conducted by Özdemir (2010), as she studied the effects of transnational television on second generation Turkish immigrant women in the Netherlands. In this research, she indicated possible shifts in media use for younger generations of Turkish immigrants.

From a social relevance perspective, the subject of Turkish young people, or non-Western immigrants, has been a much debated subject for the last decade. In 2011, a group of eleven people of Turkish descent with backgrounds in politics, education, sports and pedagogy sent in an opinion piece to the Dutch newspaper De Volkskrant. They warned that the bond between Turkish young people and the Netherlands was in danger, as they did not identify with Dutch society enough which is resulting, according to the authors, in problems on the subjects of participation, psychological health, domestic violence, social safety net issues and the influence of religion. They warned for the pressure on young people of Turkish descent to stay loyal to their 'own' community, resulting in a strain on personal development, individual choices which could result in a decrease in integration and participation in Dutch society.<sup>1</sup> In this research, we take a look at the actual development of personal interest of young people of Turkish descent via their media preferences and –behaviour.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/1790349/2011/01/10/Manifest-Turks-Nederlandse-professionals-Problematiek-jongeren-zeer-verontrustend.dhtml> (13-04-2012)

### **1.3 Turkish immigrants in Dutch society**

In order for us to be able to fully grasp the circumstances and context of the state of the communities of Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam in the Netherlands, I will outline the demographic statistics of these communities in this chapter. This will range from a historical context of the initial immigration in the 1960's and the subsequent further development to numbers on employment, housing situation, educational background, gender differences, entrepreneurship figures, birthrates and so forth. Furthermore, this chapter will focus on the cultural, political and social participation of the Turkish community. For this I will use statistics provided by the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBI) as well as several studies on immigrant history and Dutch society.

#### *A short history of immigration*

During times of great economic prosperity in Western-Europe, several countries hired immigrant workers from countries in the Mediterranean such as Italy, Spain and Turkey. In 1964, the Dutch government signed a recruitment-agreement with Turkey, which officially started the workers' migration (Dagevos et al. 2006). In their research, Dagevos et al. (2006) compared the general social demographic statistics of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and Germany. In West-Germany, the migration of Turkish workers had started approximately three to four years earlier, but there remain plenty of similarities in the patterns of migration regarding both countries; there are a lot of fluctuations in the seventies and eighties and a strong decrease in migration in the beginning of the eighties. This was mostly due to global economic recession that also hit West-Germany and the Netherlands hard. However, in the Netherlands, this decrease in immigration coincided with an increase in remigration of the initial Turkish workers migrants back to Turkey. As Germany started with the immigration process earlier than the Netherlands in the sixties, they also experienced this flow of remigration in an earlier stage, in the seventies. In the Netherlands, the subsequent increase in the late eighties of immigration after the initial decrease in the early eighties was largely due, according to Dagevos et al. (2006) to the upswing in the Dutch economy, to Turkish immigrants bringing their families from Turkey over to come live with them in the Netherlands and the so-called marriage migration, a process where Turkish immigrants go to Turkey to find a spouse, bring them to the Netherlands to wed and start a family. After 1994, there was another dip in migration as the regulations for the reuniting of families became much more strict. The mini-recession that occurred in 1994 also put a damper on the migration numbers. Throughout the rest of the nineties and the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the immigration numbers seem to have stabilized.

### *General demographics*

In 2004, the total share of Turkish immigrants and their descendants in the entire population of the Netherlands was about 2,2%, approximately 350.000 people. They are the largest minority group residing in the Netherlands, followed by people from Surinam (325.000), Morocco (306.000) and the Dutch Antilles (131.000). The division of the genders is skewed towards males, as they make up approximately 52% of the Turkish population in the Netherlands (Dagevos, et al., 2006). Apart from the make-up of the Turkish population with respect to the entire general population and the gender division, there are some fundamental differences between the two immigrant groups in these neighbouring countries (for more details, please see appendix A). First of all, there is the division of age groups within the immigrant groups. The researchers found that in 2003, the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherland consisted of much more young people, between the ages of 0 to 20 years old, comparatively. Possible reasons given for this difference are the more strict naturalization laws in Germany as compared to the more lenient attitude of the Dutch government, where the latter allowed a lot of marriage migration to occur beginning in the 1980s. When we get to the older age categories, both in Germany and the Netherlands, there is a dip starting at ages 55-65. Many first generation immigrants migrated back to Turkey, but in Germany they decided to stay more (comparatively) than in the Netherlands. Dagevos et al. (2006) mention the also remarkable dip in the 15-20 year old age category in the Netherlands. One reason for this could be that, as a lot of these second or third generation Turkish immigrants maintain a double nationality, they go back to Turkey after their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday to serve their mandatory military service in the Turkish army. Of this younger age group, in the Netherlands it is made up for 90% of Turkish immigrant of the second generation (See Appendix B). It is known for a lot of people of Turkish descent to possess both the Dutch and the Turkish nationality. The Dutch nationality is granted by the Dutch government when the person is either born in the Netherlands or has obtained the Dutch nationality through nationalization. In the beginning of the 1990s, a lot of Turkish immigrants of the first generation opted for nationalization, as they would not have to give up their Turkish nationality. However, starting in 1997, there was a dramatic decrease in Turkish applications for the Dutch nationality (Appendix C). Dagevos et al. (2006) state that new naturalization laws are probably the main cause for this, as after October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1997, application for the Dutch nationality meant automatic forfeit of one's original nationality. As the trend for Turkish immigrants is to migrate back to Turkey at old age, as mentioned above, this would be a plausible explanation. However, there are some exceptions to these new regulations, as the Kingdom of Morocco does not permit a forfeit of nationality. Turkey does not fall under these exemption clauses in Dutch naturalization laws, but the authors found that a very large majority of Dutch inhabitants of Turkish descent maintain their Turkish nationality.

Caglar (2004) researched why the maintaining of a dual Turkish-German nationality would be in one's advantage. As it turns out, Germans of Turkish descent cannot obtain a full Turkish nationality, as the German government does not allow such a construction, much like the Dutch government from 1997 onwards. However, following regulation changes in Turkey in 1995, they can obtain a so-called "pink card" (*pembe kart* in Turkish), which grants them access to certain rights in their home country, without granting them full citizenship. 'The "pink card" can be seen as a clear case of extending substantive rights without formal citizenship status. The "pink card" holders are legally no longer Turkish citizens, but they are entitled to rights (such as residence, work, mobility, investments, inheritance, and property rights like buying, selling, and renting land) free from the restrictions the foreigners are subject to in Turkey' (Caglar 2004, p. 300). As the possession of such a "pink card" does not constitute full citizenship, this option would also be attractive for Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands. Another possible reason for the decrease in naturalization of Turkish immigrants to Dutch is that the children of Turkish immigrants who are born in the Netherlands already automatically receive full Dutch citizenship but can travel to Turkey on their parents' passport until they are 18 years old. After this, they can apply for a "pink card". Dagevos et al. (2006) indicate three basic differences between Turkish immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands that could have far reaching effects on other socio-economic statistics of these groups. Firstly, the German government mainly demanded a certain level of education prior to arrival in Germany. Because of this, these Turkish immigrants were more educated than the ones going to the Netherlands, most of who came from little villages. This brings us to the second point as the Turkish immigrants going to Germany mostly came from the cities in Turkey, giving them a very different profile and cultural baggage. Finally, as mentioned before, the regulation on marriage immigration was much more strict in Germany than in the Netherlands, while on top of that a lot of political refugees came to Germany instead of the Netherlands. The latter group is, according to Dagevos et al. (2006) in general higher educated than women and men flown in for marriage.

### *General demographics Rotterdam*

When we look at the demographic statistics of Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam, we see quite a similar pattern emerging. The municipality has kept track of population mutations from 2001 until most recently 2011 (Appendix D). In 2001, there were 41.276 inhabitants in Rotterdam of Turkish descent. For the next ten years, this number slowly increased to 47.519 inhabitants. Among the 47.519, the first generation consisted of 23.592 people, meaning that about half of the people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam consist of the original immigrants who were born in Turkey. What we know (Appendix F) is that the second generation of Turks in Rotterdam is for the most part represented in the ages between 0 and 25 years old. Although the second generation in total



constitutes about 23.973 in 2011, 18.432 people of this second generation is younger than 25 years old. We can see here that the findings of Dagevos et al. (2006) of a large contingent of young Turkish people in the Netherlands are affirmed by the size of this young second generation in Rotterdam. The age group of 15-24 year old, which contains the target population of this research, had a total 7.524 people. The first generation is mainly represented in the age groups between 35 and 55 years old, with a dramatic decrease in population in the older age groups. This follows the trend as sketched by Dagevos et al (2006) of a remigration movement of elderly first generation Turkish immigrants back to Turkey. As for the gender division of the Turkish population of Rotterdam, we can see that it is slightly skewed towards the male population, resembling the national statistics as found by Dagevos et al. (2006). Lastly, we take a look at the possession of dual citizenship status of immigrants living in Rotterdam (Appendix E). In 2001, there were 26.984 Turks in Rotterdam with a dual Dutch-Turkish nationality and with this they were by far the largest immigrant group with dual nationality. Over the course of the next 10 years, we can see an increase of about 10.000, where in 2011 there were 36.140 Turkish people living in Rotterdam with a dual Dutch-Turkish identity. Although this goes against the general downward trend of naturalizations of Turks to the Dutch nationality as described by Dagevos et al. (2006), we could argue that the combination of a large contingent of young second generation Turkish immigrants born in the Netherlands and the possibility of obtaining a 'pink card' makes up for this lack of naturalizations.

For the next section of this chapter, I will go over several aspects of daily life of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and Rotterdam, using researches conducted by the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS), ordered by the Social Cultural Planning bureau (SCP). The discussion below will concern such topics as daily household life, education, media use and employment situations.

### *Education*

Two factors are analyzed here, the proficiency of the Dutch language and the level of education. According to Dagevos et al. (2006), the Turkish immigrants in Germany are more highly educated than in the Netherlands. A research conducted by Klaver, Mevissen and Odé (2003) found that out of all the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands, Turkish and Moroccan immigrant have the lowest level of education on average, especially when it comes to women; more than 60% of them did not receive an education higher than elementary school. In 2006, Dagevos et al. found this number to have slightly dropped to 56% for the first generation and 24% for the second generation (of this latter group Klaver et al. (2003) stated that there were not enough data to conduct analysis). It is remarkable however that the second generation of Turks in Germany is in general more highly

educated than in the Netherlands. We can see the possible association between level of education of the parents and of their children, subsequently (Dagevos et al., 2006, pp. 39). With regards to the rate of young Turkish immigrants of the second generation leaving school without a diploma, Klaver et al. (2003) found an average of 20% of young Turkish immigrants doing so. Rezai and Barendrecht (2007) found these numbers to have gone up in 2006 (25%) but subsequently decreased in 2007 (21,6%). This still means that one in five Turkish immigrants between the ages of 5 to 22 leaves school without a diploma. There is however a consistently high flow of Turkish students to college (HBO) and university (higher scientific education), especially for the second generation (Rezai & Barendrecht, 2007, pp. 57-61).

When we take a look at the proficiency of the Dutch language, it is especially the first generation of Turkish immigrants that is lacking. Dagevos et al. (2006) found in 2002 about 40% of Turkish immigrants reported their own Dutch proficiency as 'good', compared to more than 50% of the Turkish immigrants in Germany and their proficiency of German. Klaver et al. (2003) list high desire to return to Turkey by the first generation during their initial stay and lack of Dutch governmental mandating of Dutch proficiency as two prime reasons why. Dagevos et al. (2006) state that research has shown a positive correlation between Dutch proficiency and net labor market participation, job level and salary (p. 50).

#### *Professional sphere:*

The aforementioned findings on the general demographics of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands can be considered a proxy of characteristics with which the position on the professional market is determined. Klaver et al. (2003) found the employment rate for Turkish immigrants to be below 50% and for Turkish women even below 30%, although the unemployment rate for Turkish immigrants did slightly decrease in 2002. Almost one-third of all 15-64 year old Turkish people received unemployment benefits, with approximately 60% of Turkish males between 55 and 65 receiving disability benefits. The authors also report that about two-third of Turkish immigrants are working in low-level jobs, mainly in agriculture and industry. Rezai & Barendrecht (2007) however, claim that a lot of people of Turkish descent are working beneath their actual competency level How? Do they for example have special skills that are not utilized? (p. 81). A majority of Turks have temporary employment, but the entrepreneurship level is quite high at 10%, compared to other minority groups (Klaver et al. 2003, p. 12).

Dagevos et al. (2006) identified three key components to measure the labor market position of Turkish immigrants in Dutch society: net participation rate, the obtainment of steady employment and job status. As previously discussed, the participation rate of Turkish immigrants in the labor market is not high. Compared to their Turkish colleagues in Germany the net participation rate is low, with the exception of higher educated Turkish immigrants. With regards to the obtainment of steady employment, people of Turkish descent in the Netherlands for the largest part have temporary employment. When combined with the differences in regulation by the Dutch government on contract termination between temporary and permanent employment, this weakens the Turkish immigrants' labor market position. Finally, Dagevos et al. (2006) found education to have a lower effect on finding a higher level job for Turkish people than for native Dutch people.

A research conducted by Backer (2011) found that Dutch temporary work agencies have a high percentage of honoring racist and discriminatory requests by employers who are looking to hire people for temporary work, the kind of work in which people of Turkish descent, as previously mentioned, are largely employed in. In her research, the author found that almost 72% of the temp agencies in the Netherlands honor requests by employers to exclude candidates of Turkish descent during the selection procedure, as well as approximately the same percentage for people of Moroccan and Surinam descent. These results are remarkable and should be taken into consideration when examining the position of people of Turkish descent on the labor market in the Netherlands and their position in Dutch society in general.

What is generally of influence on the labor market position of Turkish immigrants is the proficiency of the Dutch language, but according to Dagevos et al. (2006) this cannot account for a significant portion of the lower chances on the labor market. They state that other factors of influence may be the homogenous nature of the Turkish community in the Netherlands. More than 50% of the first- and 35% of the second generation of Turks in the Netherlands only consider themselves to be fully Turkish, while these figures are 11% and 16% respectively for Turkish immigrants who consider themselves only Dutch. This strong identification with the country of origin is combined with a lack of social contacts with native Dutch people in the private life (Dagevos et al., 2006, pp. 63). Furthermore, there is a high level of transnational marriages, meaning Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands bring a spouse over from Turkey and then gets married. As the majority of these marriage migrants are found to be women, this brings a lot of Turkish women over from Turkey with no experience in Dutch society and no Dutch proficiency (Dagevos et al. 2006, pp. 63-65). We will discuss the implications of interethnic marriage patterns (or lack thereof) later in this chapter. In the following section, we will discuss the participation of Turkish immigrants through voluntary ties.

## *Civil society*

Turkish immigrants have low participation in civic foundations and parents' council at school. In his research on voluntary organizations in the public sphere in relation to minorities, Dekker (2006) utilizes the term 'civil society'. He notes that this term entails public voluntary participation and all the informal relations that revolve around this, including business or governmental organizations but including recreational participation like sport clubs.

Dekker (2006) states that there is a low level of participation of Turkish minorities living in the cities of the Netherlands compared to Surinam or native Dutch people, with the most notable differences in the environmental and international solidarity organizations. The author notes that according to his research, more than 60% of Turkish immigrants are therefore outside of the "civil society". Turkish immigrants do score high on willingness to vote for Dutch parliamentary elections, but Dekker's research showed that more than 40% of Turkish immigrants rarely follow any Dutch political news. Furthermore, Turkish immigrants have the highest scores on religiosity, as 93% consider themselves part of a religion and more than 40% indicates to regularly attend religious meetings (Dekker 2006, pp. 82-83). The second generation of Turkish immigrants does participate more so than the first generation; there is a big difference in the participation of men and women, as the former participates more than the latter and the higher the education level, the higher the willingness to participate in civil society as defined by Dekker (2006). The author places emphasis on the education variable, as this he indicates that after some further analysis the level of education often indicative is of broader interests and a more stimulating social environment. Turkish immigrants are mostly active in sports and religious organizations and men especially are active in football (soccer) clubs, although the mosque is also mentioned the most by Turkish men. Turkish women are mostly active in organizations that involve their children like schools or their children's sport club. Dekker (2006) conducted further analysis on the lack of participation of Turkish and Moroccan woman and even after checking for variables such as education level, professional employee and children who live at home, the lack of participation was not explained.

The Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, as mentioned earlier, mostly consider themselves Sunni Muslim, with a few Christian and Alevi exceptions. However, visiting mosques also seems to be a general male practice, as almost twice as many Turkish men (54%) regularly go to a mosque, compared to 29% of women. Generally, in Islam women are not compelled to go to mosques since it is voluntary for them. This is practiced throughout the different currents of Islam and could explain the difference between the genders. Dekker (2006) mentions that research has shown a positive correlation between religious commitment and other societal participation (p. 93).

Turkish immigrants are mostly active within organizations that concern themselves primarily with people of the same ethnic background; this correlates with findings from Van Heelsum (2004) of a relative high degree of internal focus combined with a high level of organization. In 2004 there were 1125 Turkish organizations present in the Netherlands, of which 41 were Kurdish (Van Heelsum, 2004, pp.8). The Turkish-Kurdish conflict is, besides the various Islamic doctrines, an important source of contradictions and conflicts between the different organizations. The religious criteria is the most important discerning aspect and the official Turkish Islam in the Netherlands is *Dinayet*, (which stems from an Arabic word meaning 'religion') which is connected with the ministry of Religious Affairs in Turkey. This form of Islam is characterized by influences of Turkish-nationalism and has a moderate Sunni background (Van Heelsum, 2005, pp. 8). The other most important organization is the more conservative *Milli Görüs* (which loosely translates to National Vision), with divisions in Turkey as well as the Netherlands. The most common target audience for all these organizations, which can range from religious to student organizations, is young Turkish immigrants. These youth organizations often fall under the umbrella of the larger *Dinayet* or *Milli Görüs*.

#### *Life around the house*

In relation to the above mentioned four minority groups (Turks, Moroccans, Surinam and Dutch-Antilles), the Survey Integratie Minderheden (Survey Integration Minorities) by Dagevos, Gijsberts, Kappelhof and Vervoort (2006) found that Turks generally have about two to three children per household. We can also see that when it comes to households of four children, Turks are leading all other ethnic groups in Dutch society. It is mostly the Moroccan families which contain more than four children. When we take a look at the marriage patterns of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and especially the ethnicity of the spouse (Appendix G), it shows that almost ninety-five percent of all Turkish immigrants choose a partner of the same ethnic background, while the rest of marriages usually constitutes a Turkish and native Dutch combination (What about marriages between Turks and Moroccans?). When we discern between first and second generation of immigrants, this percentage drops from ninety-six percent of the first generation marrying another Turk to eighty-two percent of the second generation doing the same. Especially the percentage of marriage between Turks and native Dutch people increases with only two percent of the first generation, but fourteen percent of the second generation of Turks marrying a native Dutch partner. The patterns of marriage do follow the general trend Dagevos et al. (2006) highlighted in their comparative study between Turks in Germany and in the Netherlands as marriage migration was very frequent amongst Turks in the Netherlands. Although the percentage dropped for the second generation, it appears that Turkish immigrants still predominantly marry within their own ethnic group. An important note here is whether these partners are also Turkish immigrants living in the

Netherlands or are 'flown in' from Turkey. In their research on the daily life of minorities living in the cities of the Netherlands, Merens and Keuzenkamp (2008) found some interesting similarities and differences between the different minority groups. First of all, the authors state that Turkish and Moroccan women tend to marry younger and subsequently have more children (as shown above). This means that Turkish immigrants have more experience with living in a family household. When it comes to the division between paid and unpaid (domestic) work, Merens and Keuzenkamp (2008) state that Turkish people devote more hours per day to unpaid domestic work than the national Dutch average, although the first generation devotes more time than the second. A plausible explanation for this is that the second generation is still relatively young and often does not have children yet. Among Turkish immigrants there is a far greater difference between genders, according to the authors this could be due to cultural notions of domestic work being a 'woman's job' and doing so would embarrass the man, while women derive status from cooking lavish traditional meals for instance. This is further corroborated in the research by Merens & Keuzenkamp (2008) when it comes to the notions of gender division. What is striking is that Turkish women, much more than native Dutch, Surinam and Antillean, agree that they should stop paid work if their husband demands that they do. The researchers conclude that Turkish women in general incorporate a more traditional view of gender tasks and assume a more subordinate role within the household. Second generation Turkish women who have received higher education are more in favor of a more equal division of domestic labor while for the males this does not differ between generations. When it comes to children, the authors found that Turkish women take care of the children significantly more than Turkish men. In the following section, a discussion of the cultural participation of Turkish immigrants is given.

### *Cultural participation*

In his research of cultural participation of the four biggest immigrant groups in Dutch society, Van den Broek (2008) states that the percentages of participation by these ethnic minorities in both theater and museum is not representative of the demographics of Dutch society. The author differentiates between different types of culture: canonical culture, popular culture, informal culture, amateur art and, in the case of the different ethnic background of immigrants, culture forms from the country of origin.

With concerns to participation in canonical culture, which includes drama, classical music, opera and museums, Van den Broek (2008) notes that Turkish immigrants, together with Moroccan, have the lowest percentage of participation in at least one form. The percentages for Turkish immigrants are less than half the ones for the native Dutch, although the numbers do rise substantially for the

second generation (pp. 152-153). After controlling for income, education level and Dutch proficiency, the author found that only the second generation of Turkish immigrants differs from the native Dutch in level of cultural participation, while other second generation immigrant groups are nearly similar.

Popular culture, which includes films, stand-up comedy, musical, dance and pop music concerts, has a far higher overall percentage of participation. What is remarkable is that the second generation of Turkish immigrants participates *more* in these types of culture than native Dutch, while film is the highest draw for every minority group. Van den Broek (2008) however states that after controlling the numbers of variables such as age, gender and education level, the higher level of participation for Turkish immigrants is diminished. He notes that this to be mostly due to the relative overall low age level of the second generation.

What Van den Broek (2006) describes as 'informal culture' are manifested in informal gatherings, organized outside of the traditional cultural institutions, often within the social circle of the participants; for instance weddings but also parties with paid admission. The author found that Turkish people participate in these types of culture more than native Dutch people; this is also the case for the second generation after controlling for the aforementioned variables (pp. 161-62). The amateur art participation is also low for Turkish immigrants when compared to other ethnic minorities, but Van den Broek (2006) found that the few Turkish amateur artists that do exist are usually quite organized in, for instance, Turkish theater groups.

Lastly, the author researched the possible preference towards cultural products from the country of origin. He found that from books to movies and parties, Turkish immigrants have a very strong preference for Turkish cultural products, more than any other immigrant group in the Netherlands. The numbers found by Van den Broek (2006) do show a slight decrease in preference by the second generation Turkish immigrants. The author points to the strong cultural industry in Turkey with Turkish as an established language as the principle reasons for this strong orientation towards Turkish culture. He concludes that this focus of Turkish immigrants on Turkish cultural product correlates with the strong inward orientation of the Turkish immigrant community as found in previous research.

#### *Media use*

Lastly, in line with the subject of this thesis, we'll take a brief look at what is known about the media consumption of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. In their research, Huysman and De Haan

(2006) analyzed the media consumption of the four largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, in which they differentiated between newspaper-, television and internet consumption.

First up is newspaper consumption. The authors note that several Turkish daily newspapers like *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Türkiye* are available at newsstands and in Turkish supermarkets in a timely manner, while other immigrant groups have only a very scarce availability of newspapers from their country of origin. Turkish immigrants often do not read any newspaper at all, which is mostly due to the education level of the first generation Turkish immigrants, as stated previously by Dagevos et al (2006). Among Turkish immigrants, the practice of reading Turkish newspapers is well established and there is far less difference between the first and second generation of Turkish immigrants than other immigrant groups when it comes to newspaper consumption. Furthermore, Huysman & De Haan (2006) found higher educated Turkish immigrants to read Turkish newspapers more often than their less educated ethnic peers.

Next is television viewership, as researched by Huysman & De Haan (2006). The authors found that, in 2006, Turkish immigrant in general devote about two hours and forty-five minutes to watching television per day. Young Turkish immigrants, following a larger nationwide trend, are tuning in more and more to commercial broadcasters than public ones. Turkish women, elderly and –people with a low education and/or problems with Dutch proficiency watch more Turkish transnational television. Furthermore, compared to for instance Moroccan immigrants, Turkish immigrants watch a lot more television from their country of origin. As discussed previously, the vibrant and vast Turkish cultural and entertainment industry is an important factor in this.

Finally, we take a look at the internet usage of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. As expected, internet usage of second generation Turkish immigrants is far larger than that of the first generation. This is mostly due to the above mentioned lack of Dutch proficiency by the first generation, according to Huysman & De Haan (2006). As for the younger Turkish generation, their internet usage is almost on par with other ethnic groups, but still found a bit lacking during the time of the authors' research in 2006. They also researched what kind of websites the respondents of the survey used visited, according to the respondents themselves. Turkish immigrants lead the other ethnic groups in visits to websites with a background of the country of origin. Furthermore, Turkish immigrants were found to communicate more with their own group online than any other ethnic group. Both these online usages of Turkish immigrants were conducted in Turkish language. In their research, Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) found religion to be important to Turkish immigrants and this showed in their online behavior. 'Depending on the strength of their religious convictions, they resort to the Internet as a guide in the maze of norms and values, exchanging views with each other, and especially with



like-minded peers, about norms and values, the interpretation of Islam in the West....' (Peeters & d'Haenens 2005, p. 228).

The community of people of Turkish descent living in the Netherlands is one of the oldest non-Western immigrant communities. After coming here to work, many migrants raised families in the Netherlands and built their lives here. Compared to other migrant groups, they are remarkably centered and focused on the maintenance and expression of their indigenous culture and tradition. Furthermore, they tend to define themselves by their religion, which is moderate Sunni Islam. Within the Netherlands and Rotterdam, they have formed many organizations with a variety of goals, usually with political, religious and social goals at their core. While the levels of employment, Dutch proficiency and social interaction are relatively low with the first generation of Turkish immigrants compared to other immigrant groups, the second and now third generation are differing in their (grand) parents' lifestyle, education and employment patterns. In the next chapter, with the aforementioned information in our mind, we will take a look at the theory we can use to construct a framework for understanding the media use of young people of Turkish immigrant descent.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this section, we will further explore the theoretical concepts of *diaspora*, as the community of Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam constitutes one of the many communities of Turkish immigrants throughout not only The Netherlands, but the rest of Western-Europe, including Germany, Denmark, France and Belgium. Furthermore, the concept of *multicultural society* is analyzed. The Turkish immigrant diaspora and their relationship with other ethnic groups within Dutch society are very important factors for answering my research questions on motivations of media use. Here the effects of Dutch politics and media representations are the main topics. We move on to a concept quite closely related to *multicultural society*, namely *participatory citizenship*. Concepts of identity and social engagement are in close relationship with participation in the sociopolitical process. Lastly, we focus specifically on media use and audience, as we take a look at *media preference theory*. In order to know why certain programs or channels are being watched more than others by our target demographic group, we need to look at theory analyzing media consumption choices and the influences hereon.

### 2.1 Diaspora theory

In his study, Appadurai (1996) states that abstract social constructs such as identity or even love together constitute imagined worlds which various people and groups of people use to make sense of reality. These imagined worlds consist of several landscapes or -scapes . With these terms, Appadurai (1996) proposes that the scapes constitute the always fluent set of ideals, values and truisms that direct our thought and actions. The definition, use (or abuse) of technology falls under the technoscape, the division and ideas of global capital that inhabit the financescape. Then comes the ethnoscape, and this scape is defined by the constant momentum of human dispersion around the world. What is an important cause for diasporic communities and their relationship with other communities is what Appadurai defines as the constant friction between the scapes. Thus, even an elementary model of global political economy must take into account the deeply disjunctive relationships among human movement, technological flow, and financial transfers.

Vertovec (1999) emphasizes the different meanings of transnationalism and diaspora while differentiating between three variations of diaspora; the diaspora as a social morphology, as a type of consciousness and finally as a mode of cultural production. The social form is closely related to the history and experiences of the Jewish people and their subsequent dispersion across the world. Here, the emphasis of the term diaspora is placed on the coerced nature of the displacement although not

all members of this diaspora have negative experiences as a result of the forced migration. The diaspora as a type of consciousness deals with the awareness of the transnational communities that they have established a life away from their country of origin, a proverbial 'home-away-from-home'. Finally, definition of diaspora as a mode of cultural production states that diaspora is not defined by pure identity but by diversity out of necessity. This is most commonly found among transnational youths. 'Among such young people, facets of culture and identity are often self-consciously selected, syncretized and elaborated from more than one heritage' (Vertovec, 1999, pp. 451). These different kinds of definitions of diaspora do not exclude one another, but coexist and are constantly in flux.

When we talk about people living in the Netherlands of Turkish descent, I also talk about the migrant communities in which they live. Starting in the 1960's, Turkish migrants have dispersed over Western-Europe. On the whole, economic reasons were primarily the cause of this migration. According to several agreements reached between Turkey and several Western European nations, the Turkish migrants came over to work. As Avci (2005) notes, the initial migrants were strictly laborers, who were expected to return home to Turkey after they were no longer needed. In the mid 1970's, with the global economic crises, this need for labor indeed ended and there was an official immigrant stop declared in 1974. However, during the seventies, family reunifications took place, as the initial migrants brought over their women and children to come live in the Netherlands. This meant an increase of the Turkish immigrant population in the Netherlands. Staring (2001) refers to this as chain-migration. He emphasizes the importance of network-oriented migration. The migrants used their informal networks of friends, family and acquaintances to look for work and housing. Staring (2001) uses the example of the concentration of Turkish immigrants in the Dutch city of Alkmaar, which almost exclusively came from the Eastern Turkish city of Trabzon. In the last fifty years, they have formed their own communities within Dutch society, a diaspora. The Turkish immigrants started forming their own organizations in the late seventies. These organizations were very important to the transnational communities that appeared over the years. 'These organizations reflected the political and religious cleavages in the home country. At times they emerged due to the opportunities in the host country or otherwise as a reaction to the home country. Some were established by the host country as a platform. A large number of them happen to be religiously oriented' (Avci, 2005, pp.205).

A lot has been written on the concept of diasporic communities. Getting back to the scapes, Appadurai (1996) states that the mediascapes, the media technologies and the –messages alike, and ideoscapes, the collection of ideas on -and ideals of politics and society, are closely related, as they both provide the imagery about the world in narratives and discourses. When studying a diasporic community such as the Turks in The Netherlands, we must therefore take into account their socio-

economic position within Dutch society, media representations of Turks and the native Dutch alike and their political affiliations and –organizations.

With regards to the imagery that the media provide to their audience, and to the Turkish diaspora living in Western-Europe in particular, Aksoy & Robins (2000) state that the media use of these immigrants grants them the opportunity to actively consider the social construction of identity belonging and cultural community. By watching television from Turkey, the diasporic community feels a sense of belonging while at the same time knowing it to be merely imagined in nature, as belonging and sense of belonging do not coincide. The authors concede a fleeing of immigrants into the imagery from Turkish television but shy away from determining this to have a negative effect on feelings of identity and belonging.

*“Maybe the new media network will just serve the cause of Turkish imagined community, promoting long-distance nationalism among ‘Turks abroad’. In which case, Heitmeyer and others will have been right in arguing that these transnational media are a problematical factor in the European cultural space. But our own experiences suggest to us that there might, in fact, be a new possibility space emerging, with new openings for cultural reordering.”* (Aksoy & Robins, 2000, pp. 364).

Morley (2001) on the other hand, using the same notions of Appadurai, argues that diasporic communities use patterns of resistance and modes of media to consolidate and reaffirm their own rigid sense of identity. Just as there is disjuncture between modes of finance, technology, ethnicity and the media, these frictions cause people ‘to live through identities ascribed to them by others, rather than through the identities they might choose for themselves’ (Morley, 2001, p. 427). Although not as great as post-modern theories claim it to be, the anxieties brought about by a rise of physical and virtual immigration have not resulted in somewhat hybridized forms of culture, but rather a withdrawal out of the public domain by many people of multiple cultures. By immigrants as well as stay-at-homers, media are used as tools for an escape to romanticized nostalgic past and remote places.

In her research on the transnational media use of Turkish-Australians, Karanfil (2007) states that because of the feelings by these immigrants and their descendants of living between two countries, between two cultures, diasporic communities ‘feel a need to preserve and reproduce their identity in a place away from the one they might consider home’ (pp. 61.) According to the author, they therefore are tempted to turn to mass media for messages, however small they may be, that make them feel at home even though they are away from home. One of the ways they can do this is by consuming media from their country of origin to lessen the feeling of actually being away from home.

Georgiou (2005) sees in the nature of the scape of diasporic communities the origin of diasporic media networks which in turn create the so called satellite dishes culture in Western-European cities. She sees the issues of recognition of these diasporic media cultures raised by different minority groups as quite similar to issues that were raised by feminists. Furthermore, the use of these types of media by immigrants can be seen as a response to the concentration of power and control by the nation state. Referring to the concepts of Orientalism and the Other by Said, Georgiou (2005) states that these diasporic media networks function as interpretations of the West by the rest; 'the singularity of the European universalism (and its Orientalism) is challenged from within' (Georgiou, 2006, p. 30). This would entail that transnational non-Western media's form and content can tell us as much about the country from which the broadcast emanates as it can tell us about the host-country for the immigrants receiving the transmissions. In the case of Turkish transnational television, the difference between public broadcasters and commercial ones and their popularity could tell us more about the state of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and how the Netherlands is perceived in Turkish media.

In her research on the effects of media use on the construction of identity with second generation Turkish immigrant women living in The Netherlands, Özdemir (2010) found that the emergence of transnational satellite television had a huge impact on the lives of these women. Immigrants felt more attached to their land of origin, identified more strongly with their Turkish identity and even noticed that their Dutch proficiency was negatively influenced by the increase in time allotted to watching Turkish transnational television. Here we see diasporic communities almost retreating from what was dubbed the modern 'multicultural society'. The Dutch government itself stated a couple of years ago that the policy of multiculturalism was abandoned, just like the case of Germany. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 2011, then Vice President Maxime Verhagen gave a speech during the NOVA College tour television program, declaring the multicultural society was dead and buried.<sup>2</sup>

The community of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands constitutes a diaspora according to theoretical definitions. The characteristics of this diaspora entail the notion of being home-away-from-home and a strong desire to maintain cultural links to the country of origin. What is being defined as 'Us' and the 'Other' within this frame can speak volumes on the conscious and unconscious feelings of identity and belonging. Finally, as we will discuss in the next paragraphs, the position of this diasporic community within Dutch society is of importance to these feelings and could contribute to subsequent media choices and preferences.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.elsevier.nl/web/Nieuws/Politiek/289371/Maxime-Verhagen-Multiculturele-samenleving-is-mislukt.htm> (01-02-2012)

## 2.2 Multiculturalism theory

Dutch society has seen a dramatic shift in public and political discourse. Smets & Kreuk (2007) name the assassinations of Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn and Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, together with the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 in the US and subsequent bombings in Madrid and London as prime reasons for this change. In the last couple of years, right-wing politician Geert Wilders, who is outspokenly anti-Islam, gained prominence and received a substantial amount of votes in the last parliamentary elections. The discourse of the lack of integration into Dutch society by Muslim immigrants has widened the gap between Dutch natives and Islamic immigrants. Duyvendak et al. (2007) agree, stating 'the value gap in the Netherlands is greater than in other countries' (pp. 10-11). Part of the cause is the overall more liberal values of Dutch society in comparison with for instance Germany. According to Duyvendak et al. (2007), the stigmatization of Muslim immigrants by the majority of the progressive Dutch public has had an adverse effect on integration and emancipation. Vervoord (2011) states in her research on ethnic concentration in neighborhoods and ethnic minorities contacts that ethnic concentration constrains social contact with native Dutch inhabitants. Furthermore, ethnic concentration increases social contact with co-ethnics. In other words, neighborhoods with a high concentration of Turkish immigrants will have an effect of focusing the Turkish immigrants' attention towards Turkish culture. Further, Vervoord (2011) expresses the suspicion of other social factors at work. 'Although we did not find any evidence that third parties such as family and the ethnic community discourage or sanction social contact with natives, resulting in less frequent social contact with native neighbours and friends or acquaintances...,the influence of third parties might come into play in the formation of strong rather than weak social ties with natives ...' (pp. 126). In this research, attention will be devoted to the possibilities that these aforementioned third parties also play a role in media preferences.

In a similar research on daily interactions and everyday relationships between Turkish immigrants and Dutch natives in two neighborhoods in Amsterdam, Smets & Kreuk (2007) found that Dutch public discourse caused the Turkish immigrants to intensify their study of Islam, in order to counter the harsh criticism on their religion. This is an important reaction and the rationale behind this could be interesting, should we find a religiously motivated preference for Turkish transnational television among the majority of Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam. The Dutch natives however, were not interested in learning more on Islam. 'Turkish residents are aware of these prejudices. Reactions are manifold among the different types. Encapsulated Turks contend that the prejudices encourage a stronger orientation toward Turks in the neighbourhood and Turkey, because natives do not treat them equally. Integrated Turks stress that they have a Turkish and a Dutch identity. The Turkish

pioneer tries to convince the natives that she is different by behaving in as modern and independent' (Smets & De Kreuk, 2007, pp. 46). What we can see here that, for this research, it is very important to know more about the respondents' relationships with native Dutch people and their attitude towards these relationships. The question now is; what effect does this public discourse have on Dutch media policy? Awad and Roth (2011) found a clear shift in policy. While there initially was room for cross-cultural programming on Dutch public broadcasters, designed to specifically be attractive to descendants of the first immigrants born in the Netherlands, the shift in minorities' policy also worked its way into media. The situation is more complex than straightforward adapting to similar policies as economic reasons also have to be taken into consideration.

Rezai & Barendrecht (2010) state that research by Entzinger (2008) has shown that Turkish young people in Rotterdam identify more with being from Rotterdam than being Dutch. According to Entzinger (2008) this is partly due to the fact that urban youths, native Dutch and immigrant alike, rarely travel outside of the city limits. They are confronted more with their direct environment and subsequently feel more attached to it. Furthermore, when comparing with research conducted in 1999, a 2006 survey found immigrant youths in Rotterdam to identify more with being Dutch than they did seven years earlier, despite the relative harshening of the political and societal climate, especially towards Muslims.

The position of Turkish immigrants in the Dutch multicultural society has somewhat shifted in the course of the last decade. With the general negative public discourse on Islam and Muslims, the fairly religious Turkish community, with Turkish youth especially, has reacted with a more intensified study of, and commitment to, Islam. Moreover, the nationalistic Turkish feelings these immigrants still quite strongly possess will undoubtedly influence their own perception of their position in Dutch society. More on this in a later paragraph, what we will next focus on are the actual commitments to participating in Dutch society and what kinds of factors influence these decisions.

### **2.3 Participatory citizenship**

With regards to media culture and -use on the one hand and ethnic communities on the other, Deuze (2006) is highly critical of research focusing solely on national or corporate journalism. He sees the recent success of ethnic media as having two main causes. First of all, he sees a development of increased agency on behalf of the audience. People have now more the chance than ever to actively seek out media content and, with the sharp increase in Internet usage, the possibility to create media content themselves. One of the effects of this development as described by Deuze (2006) could be a fragmentation of society and public discourse, as everyone will use and consume media based on

their specific preferences, never being exposed to opposing cultural content. The second reason for the success of ethnic media lies in the commercial gains for the media producers. For this reason, we must be wary of conflicting media use immediately with constructing identity, as the purpose of the broadcaster is to attract a large and specific audience as possible in order to sell advertisement space and time to companies. The increase of non-Western immigration towards the West has proven to be an excellent target for ethnic media producers. 'The role and function of minority community media today, however, is just as much a function of the changing relationships between media, culture and society as it is an expression of patterns of increased or ongoing worldwide migration' (Deuze, 2006, pp. 276). As ethnic media entails media produced within a country for and by a certain ethnic group, the question here would be: are there any Turkish channels that air in Rotterdam who specifically target the Turkish audience or Turkish topics?

However, this particular audience can also play a role within society. Participatory acts can range from membership of a political or socially active organization and involvement in the political process by voting through public voicing of opinions through protesting and demonstrations. With regards to the participatory citizenship of what Vromen (2010) calls 'Generation X', which is the generation of youths with ages ranging from their early teens to about their late twenties, the amount as well as the intensity and motivation for public participatory acts cannot be defined in traditional terms. Vromen (2011) found that, with Australian generation X, there are four notable patterns of participatory citizenship to discern. The first is gender, as women are found to be more active than men when it comes to participation in any form of political act or discussion. Second, education is a tremendous factor in the determining of the level of participation. 'A higher level of education was significantly related to all four scales of participation, so while education was strongly associated with only five of the participatory acts, the effect accumulated to become an important one.' (Vromen, 2011, pp. 96). The third pattern is concerned with the type of participation, be it individual or collective. Among generation X emphasis is mainly placed on individual forms of participation, although boycotts are participated in more collectively. The last pattern found relates to the question of individualized versus collective participation, as Vromen (2011) found a vast majority of the respondents were involved in some sort of sporting or recreational group. What influence these kinds of groups could have on the participatory citizenship and subsequent media use is an interesting factor to research in my upcoming thesis. Vromen (2011) argues that the results of her study suggest that in order for this Generation X to be attracted to the political arena, individual issues have to be conceptualized and politicized. This could in turn mean that for Turkish third generation immigrants, media content has to speak more directly to their specific individual interests in order for them to consume it, instead of more general 'ethnic' programming.



Van der Vliet (2010) argues that in order for an immigrant to strive for genuine citizen participation, they must feel like having a stake in the host-society. He finds that from the four predominant non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands, the first and second generation Turkish immigrants score the lowest in 'feeling Dutch', amounting to less than fifty percent. What Van der Vliet (2011) was interested in, is how work and subsequent improvement in the financial situation of these immigrants also raises their feelings of being Dutch. He found that employment having an effect on feeling Dutch, although only slightly more than fifty percent of Turkish immigrants with the most Dutch work experience felt more Dutch. However, he also found that this influence only exists when the immigrant does not have a sufficient mastery of the Dutch language. The influence of financial situation on feeling Dutch was virtually non-existent. This is similar to findings by Özdemir (2011) on the crucial effect language has on feelings of belonging and possible subsequent motives for participation. With regards to media use, the adverse effects of transnational Turkish television on Dutch language proficiency as described by Özdemir (2011) could also have an adverse effect on levels of public participation.

The aforementioned topics of multiculturalism theory and citizen participation are very hard to decouple from each other, as they are closely intertwined. Notions of identity, public discourse, political climate, the status of migrants in society and minority groups' commitment to their own roots all relate to one another. Social Identity Theory (SIT) is relevant here in order to better grasp the mutual influences of all these factors on the forming of communities and the (re)construction of identities by minority groups within a society.

## **2.4 Social Identity Theory**

Following Tajfel (1972), Hogg (2006) states that a person may possess the explicit knowledge of belonging to a certain social (cultural) group. Consequently, this knowledge, together with the emotional and value significance will manifest itself in the forming of a social identity. Consequently, a social group must entail people who all share the same social identity. As we can see, this relation is rather symbiotic as both the individual and the group need each other for their social identity. When we look at the identity construction with regards to attitudes and behaviours of social groups, Social Identity Theory (SIT) states that a threat to a group identity is an important shaping factor. These threats of social identity can come in many different shapes, forms and sizes and generally puts the cohesiveness of the group under stress. From a point of view of a social group living in another host country, a possible threat could be an intervention by said host society in the form of cultural integration. Within the parameters of the group's social identity, people define and evaluate themselves. As stated by Hogg (2000), by doing so they constantly redefine their own identity while

subsequently differentiating from other social groups. In another research, Hogg (2006) argues that groups of people sharing the same identity not only compete with other groups for social status, but also within the group there is competition for consensual prestige. In other words, social identity groups vie for recognition in society by highlighting their positive attributes, but members of said group also vie for recognition by their social identity peers. In the next paragraphs, we will go further in depth on how the possible Turkish social identity group in the Netherlands is defining itself.

Utilizing Social Identity Theory (SIT) Ashforth & Mael (1989) state that people have the predisposition to classify others and themselves in various social categories including gender, age cohort, and religious affiliation. The groups are defined by their members' prototypical characteristics. Because of the large amount of possible categories, there is a great deal of overlap between different social identity groups. The question now is; why do people identify with a certain group? According to Ashforth & Mael (1989) social classification serves two distinct functions. Firstly, a person using social classification 'cognitively segments and orders the social environment, providing the individual with a systematic means of defining others.' (pp. 20-21). Accordingly, a person is given the aforementioned characteristics of the social group he/she belongs to, but there is a fine line between reliable characterization and stereotyping. Secondly, an individual may use social classification to determine their own self-concept within the classified social environment. This self-concept, according to SIT, is comprised of two parts: the personal- and the social identity. While the former is made up of individual characteristics such as bodily type and (physical) abilities, the latter is formed by the perception of belonging to a certain social group. This membership may be actual or purely symbolic, as long as the person perceives the fates of the group and him- or herself as intertwined.

In their research on the perception of native Dutch and Turkish immigrant youths on the multicultural society Verkuyten & Thijs (2001) state that according to SIT, threats to a social group's are important factors in group's behaviour and attitudes. The degree of response by the group often depends on the level of social group identification by the members. For instance, the authors argue that native Dutch people with a strong commitment to their own social group could see the influx of immigrants with a strong desire to keep their own culture as a threat to Dutch culture. In response, the immigrant social groups could find the strong insistence of native Dutch people on cultural adaptation as a threat to their own group identity, especially when the majority group is perceived to be discriminating against minority group members. The more strong the commitment of the latter group members to their groups' identity, the stronger the reaction could be.

Following Berry (1980) Verkuyten & Thijs (2001) state that in every heterogeneous society with multiple social groups needs to attend to two central issues. Firstly, they have to observe the desire

for maintenance of minority groups' cultural attributes and its subsequent valuation and secondly, attention must be paid to the perceived importance by minority group members of adaptation and contact with the majority group. The latter is often emphasized by proponents of assimilation by ethnic minorities, where maintenance of minority group culture is seen as a rejection of majority group culture. The maintenance of their indigenous culture is important for a lot of ethnic minority groups for political, psychological and social reasons. According to Verkuyten & Thijs (2001) ethnic minority group members can choose between four different attitudes towards this issue. Firstly there is assimilation into the majority groups' culture with the opposite one-sided maintenance of their own minority culture as the second choice. The third option is integration, which divides importance between adaptation and contact on the one hand and cultural maintenance on the other. The last option which is marginalization entails the rejection of both the majority and the minority culture.

So what are the choices being made by Turkish youth in the Netherlands? Milikowski (2001) states that the initial reaction of the Turkish immigrants was a strong emphasis on cultural maintenance. 'Many Turkish families found the egalitarian free-and-easy behaviour of the Dutch offensive, and desired to protect Turkish culture against the alien intrusions of the new environment' (p. 3). Özdemir (2010) argues that in this process, the Turkish immigrants could perhaps have become even more Turkish than they would have been at home. In their research, Verkuyten & Thijs (2001) found that Turkish youth in the Netherlands identify strongly with their cultural roots. From what we have seen above, this could mean that they react more strongly to perceived threats to their social group, while at the same time these threats tend to shift their focus even more towards their own culture. It could be possible that this strong commitment of Turkish youth towards the Turkish social group is partly due to attitudes of Dutch society and media representations. With regards to this, Peeters & d'Haenens (2005) found that migrant minorities in the Netherlands do not identify with their image as projected by the Dutch media. Particularly the perceived emphasis on negative news about ethnic minorities on Dutch news, with little emphasis on positive news, is seen as annoying. As a result, they turn to their native media more, as a strengthening of the bond with their social group.

We can see here that concepts of identity, multiculturalism, societal participation are all intricately connected. The attitudes of native Dutch people and the Dutch media, but also the strength of the tie towards the Turkish social group all has a possible effect on the media preference of Turkish youths in the Netherlands. But just as Ashforth & Mael (1989) state that the self-concept is comprised of a social and personal part, so could the subsequent media preference comprise of social and personal attributes. In the next section, we will take a further look at media preference theory and parental mediation.

## 2.5 Media preference theory

We now have some overview on certain demographic determinants, predispositions with respect to beliefs and societal values. Hawkins et al. (2009) wanted to research if predispositions determine the choice of media content or the interpretation during media consumption or maybe even both. They found that the choice of television genre and content is somewhat influenced by predispositions, especially when it came to drama. Here, perceived expertise with the genre predicted the attention given. There were no significant gender differences within the sample used by Hawkins et al. (2009). As we previously discussed, there are certain sentiments and trends among Turkish immigrants within Dutch society struggling to find recognition for their ethnicity, identity and religion. It is expected that they look for this recognition in their media behavior. Hawkins et al. (2009) however, found no correlation with selective viewing of content, negative correlation with attention to genre and only partially positive correlation with attention to news broadcasts. It will be interesting to test these findings with an ethnic minority audience such as the Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam. Further findings were that mood/stimulation factors and content preference had an effect on the selection of viewing, but the latter had a far greater effect on attention during viewing. This leads us to believe content consciously chosen by the research population in this research has a greater effect on the audience during viewing in the reaffirmation of their beliefs and values.

In their research on the influence of personality traits on media preference and cultural consumption Kraaijkamp & Van Eijck (2005) used the concept of the Big Five personality traits, which include extraversion, openness, emotional stability, friendliness, and conscientiousness. Apart from extraversion, their research showed substantial effects of these personality traits on media consumption. Particularly, openness was an important personal determinant of media preference. 'This makes openness a highly relevant trait for understanding people's cultural practices and preferences' (Kraaijkamp & Van Eijck, 2005, p. 1686) As discussed previously, Dutch society has witnessed a shift towards a more populist public discourse on Muslim immigrants, causing the Turkish immigrants to possibly seclude themselves more, even in media usage. Openness to others can therefore be a very interesting topic of research in my thesis.

We move from internal to external motivations of media preference. As mentioned earlier, third parties could have an effect on immigrant behavior and feelings of belonging. Kraaijkamp & Van Notten (2009) researched the effect of one such party, the parents, on media socialization. They found that the socio-economic status of parents had a great influence on the media socialization of the children. Parents from higher social strata are more involved in the media use of their children, consume more high-brow media themselves and stimulate leisure reading activities with their

children. 'It is therefore important to recognize that the parental role as educator in media affairs is socially differentiated to a large extent' (Kraaijkamp & Van Notten, 2009, p. 197). Furthermore, families with divorced parents were found by the researchers to let their children spend less time consuming television, and offer less guidance on media use (ibid.). The media consumption of parents is shown to directly influence the consumption and preference of the children albeit not intentionally. In the following section we will take a closer look at the different ways parents mediate and influence their children's media use

## **2.6 Parental mediation:**

Parental mediation in relation to television, with regards to the possible influence of parents on their children's media use, has been the subject of an extensive collection of scholarly work. Only in recent years has the focus shifted more towards new media such as the Internet and videogames. In their research on television mediation Valkenburg, Krömer, Peeters & Marseille (1999) discerned three different types of mediation. The first one is restrictive mediation, where the parent(s) forbid the child to watch a certain program or after a certain hour. The second type is the active mediation. Here the parents actively discuss content with children before, during or after viewing. The third is co-viewing, where the parents watch together with the child without discussing the content or is present in the room while the child watches television. Now these types may overlap, for instance a parent might actively discuss with the child the content of a particular program and subsequently restrict the child from viewing it. Mendoza (2009) states that the type of mediation and the frequency of its use by parents depend on a large variety of factors, which include parent accessibility, engagement, attitudes towards the medium, family communication style, disciplinary style, number and location of television sets in the household and the way a family uses social space.

Schofield Clark (2011) criticized mediation research for a number of weaknesses. Two of which are the emphasis on younger children while more older children and adolescents perhaps require different strategies or more adaptation and, most importantly, the focus on television mediation which makes the child a passive recipient of input from television and family alike, forgoing the active agency the child has in learning and relationship building. She argues for a fourth emergent type of mediation strategy to be included in theory, namely participatory learning. This strategy involves children and parents interacting together with and through new media to learn about its use and each other.

This covers the mediation by the parents that can shape the later media use and preference of adolescents and young adults. However, Nickelson (2001) states that when a child reaches

adolescents, peer relationships take over as a major influence on a person's media preferences, - choices and -behaviour. Brown & Witherspoon (2001) conclude that some teenagers choose media to be more like their peers, some media to be only like a particular group of peers and some media to be different than any of their peers. When looking at media preferences, the influences of parents and peers must be examined. Furthermore, as we have discussed in previous sections, the attitudes of Dutch society and media representations could also have an influence on media preference. In the following sections, we will take a look at how certain political or otherwise cultural predispositions come into play.

## **2.7 Influences on media preference**

Bobkowski (2009) states that adolescents' and teens' media choices are closely related with what he calls the central task of adolescence; namely the development of identity. Any research on the media preferences and -behaviour of teens and adolescents must take this strive for the construction of a unique and individual identity into account. The author states that religiosity could be one of the factors that have an influence on media use and -preference. The extent to which teens and adolescents appropriate the religious values that they support and model their media consumption pattern accordingly is determined by their experiences, skills, role models and social ties that reinforce religious values. These societal factors could include like-minded friends, families and authorities that teach a certain religious perspectives on subjects as gender-relations, sex and violence. However, the research found no support for the theory that the religiosity of the parents had a direct influence on the media preference of their children. They also found a weakening role of the parents as adolescents progress through their teenage years, but despite this the teenagers made media choices in line with their religious background. One of the most discerning factors was the depiction of pre-marital sex in television programmes. 'This suggests that religious adolescents choose to watch less mature television programs partly because these programs contradict the values concerning sex that are promoted by their faith communities' (Bobkowski, 2009, p. 67) The research had a focus on Christian adolescents in the United States and, as the author concedes, more qualitative research which includes other religions and young people's media consumption choices could add more depth to these findings.

In their research on Muslims living in the Netherlands Maliepaard, Lubbers & Gijsberts (2009) found the Islamic religion to be of great importance to second generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants when constructing their identity. This religious association has further implications for their possible references to Dutch society in many facets. 'Those individuals from the second generation who are strongly religious are more likely to associate strongly with their own ethnic

group, not only in terms of identification, but also in terms of social activities and use of media' (pp. 467). Here we come back to the topic of own social group as discussed previously in this chapter. The taboos of Islam on premarital sex and the consumption of alcohol could play a role in the media behaviour patterns of young people of Turkish descent and furthermore, the religiosity of these people could affect their predisposition towards more ethnically and culturally homogenous media products.

We move from religious to political influences on media preference. In her research on media use and political predispositions with regards to the 2004 U.S. presidential elections, Stroud (2008) found clear evidence of political predispositions motivating media preferences and –selections and partisan selection occurs among all media outlets. However, these instances of selective exposure do not mean that people completely surround themselves with likeminded media outlets. Even the emergence of the Internet has not made the exposure any more varied. Stroud (2008) claims that these new media continue to inspire partisans to seek out likeminded sites. This is in line with findings by Peeters & d'Haene (2005) with regards to religious oriented browsing on the Internet by Moroccan and Turkish youths. Although political- and religious predispositions are obviously not one-and-the-same, Stroud (2008) mention Green et al. (2008) in equating party identification and religious belief in the United States.

Focusing on face-to-face social interactions, online- and offline news consumption Gentzkow & Shapiro (2011) researched ideological segregation in the United States. They found that online ideological segregation is low in absolute numbers and is higher than most offline media such as television but substantially lower than face-to-face interaction. The authors attribute their findings to the preferences of many people for qualitatively well written news pieces. When taking production costs into account, news websites want to appeal to a large audience as possible. On top of that, news consumers have the tendency to visit multiple news websites. Gentzkow & Shapiro (2011) conclude that the Internet does not lead to higher levels of ideological concentration. This would mean that people are more diverse in their media consumption than they are in the choice and maintenance of their own social circle. As mentioned earlier, the Turkish immigrants are known to be rather oriented towards their own social group. Following this research, their media consumption and especially their online news consumption would exhibit a rather more diverse pattern. However, this research primarily focuses on political segregation and although political affiliation could have an influence on the self-concept of Turkish youths in the Netherlands, it remains to be seen how much an influence it would have.

The media preference theories that have been discussed in this chapter can help us shed light on the different and intricate influences on the media consumption of young Turkish immigrants. As we can see, they range from certain personality traits and emotional predispositions, styles and intensity of parental mediation, peer influence during adolescent formative years to possible religious and political predispositions. They hark back to feelings of belonging to a certain ethnic group. It is therefore very interesting to research what kind of factors are of actual influence on the media preferences and –choices of young Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands.

In summary, this chapter deals with different theories from the perspective of the host nation, the questions of belonging and the values of immigrants as well as the possible questions from the point of view of the media industries. Transnationalism and diaspora theory focus on the experiences and challenges communities face. Theory on participatory citizenship highlights the discerning factors and value judgments of active citizens and the role that not only identity, but also factors as age and gender play. The different concepts of multiculturalism and Social Identity Theory emphasize the nearly symbiotic relationship between dominant native Dutch social groups and the ethnic minority of the Turkish immigrants. The subject of this research, media preferences of ethnic minorities, has shown to be a multidimensional topic with a tremendous variation in possible causes and effects. In the end, this chapter provides us with the necessary theoretical concepts and tools to further develop my research questions and –methodology. In the following chapters, I will further elaborate on these matters.



### Chapter 3: Previous Research:

There has been written a substantial amount of literature on migrants and media use. The Turkish immigrants throughout the world and their media consumption since the arrival of transnational television have in general been the topic of many studies. This research of course utilizes the insights gained in these studies and tries to add to the topic by taking a different angle. The main focus of research has been the media use combined with integration into the host society and feelings of belonging to the home- or host society with regards to transnational television. These scholars include Milikowski (2000), Aksoy & Robins (2000, 2002) and Ogan (2001), while more recently research has been conducted by Özdemir (2010). As many researches have focused solely on the effects of watching transnational television in general, no insight has been gained into the exact programs, shows and series that are being watched and, perhaps more importantly, why they are being watched. This research will add valuable information on the subject matter of Turkish immigrant media consumption, the arrival of internet and its impact on media consumption patterns, the generational shift in media preferences among Turkish immigrants and could be used for further media and minority policy.

Generally, as Karanfil (2007) states, the research conducted on this topic can be divided into two sides. The first side is rather positive on the possible effects of the arrival of transnational media on Turkish migrants' lives. The other side is more negative of the effects of this development with regards to integration into host societies, feelings of belonging and even cultural ghettoization among the Turkish immigrant media consumers.

In their research on the impact of transnational television on Turkish immigrants living in London, England, Aksoy & Robins (2000, 2002) found a positive attitude of Turkish immigrants towards transnational Turkish television. The authors conducted research using a combination of focus groups with individual interviews with several Turkish immigrants living in London. Furthermore, they interviewed several broadcast officials in Turkey for further explanation of Turkish Transnational television policy from the standpoint of the broadcasters themselves. These positive effects they found were two-fold. Firstly, transnational television fulfilled the needs of Turkish immigrants to reduce their feelings of missing Turkey, their homeland. The idealized imagery as presented in the programmes they consumed made for a conscious reflection on their own ideal remembrance of the Turkey they grew up in. The second positive effect as found by the authors is the realization of the

socially constructive nature of terms as 'identity', 'belonging' and 'cultural community'. According to Aksoy & Robins (2000) the Turkish immigrants were made more aware that they did not constitute the Turkey that they saw on their television screen, as they could not physically be part of it. They also knew that the imagery of Turkey they received was an idealized version. Furthermore, watching snippets of daily Turkish life without experiencing the entirety of it gave the Turkish immigrants watching transnational television a sense of desynchronization. This created an awareness of the disruptive and somewhat alienated position they had vis-à-vis current Turkish society.

Ogan (2001) argues that the arrival of satellite television had a major impact on the lives of Turkish immigrants living in Amsterdam. The fact that they could now receive programming entirely in their own language led to certain shifts in the daily life of Turkish migrants. Following Aksoy & Robins (2000), the author states that the imagery of their home country was very appealing to these Turkish immigrants and they subsequently started to devote more and more time to watching transnational television. According to Ogan (2001) they also started to get affected by the images they saw on television. These effects were rather positive according to Millikowski (2000) who conducted a study about experiences, habits and preferences of Turkish immigrants in relation to their transnational media use. In a process that took about six months, the author interviewed about fifty Turkish-Dutch people about their experiences with Turkish transnational satellite television. The initial research encompassed about thirty people, who were interviewed using an interview questionnaire with the aim to have people talk about not only their television experiences, habits and preferences, but also their cultural and political views. Here, we can see an angle that has not previously been taken. An important aspect is the effect of watching contemporary Turkish society by Turkish immigrants that have not experienced this society first hand for a long period of time; the ideas about the said society that were pervasive in the sixties, seventies and eighties, when the immigrants left, are confronted with a more modern reality. The contemporary society as portrayed by transnational media helped confront these Turkish immigrants on their perhaps somewhat more traditional ideas on Turkish society and the functioning of societies in general. This effect even extended to their pervasion of Dutch society and their own function within it. The interviewees of Millikowski (2000) stated that the imagery of Turkey in transnational broadcasts helped them to re-examine certain cultural traditions they perceived as fundamental to Turkish culture that had become boundaries between them and Dutch society. Aksoy & Robins (2000) agree, quoting an interview with Haluk Sahin, the news coordinator for the Turkish channel KanalD, which they conducted in 1998; "Turks were getting disconnected from Turkey, and they were stuck in a frozen history. As if the clock had stopped, they were repeating what they had when they left Turkey'. But now, he adds: 'it is not like that. They are following the Turkish agenda day by day.' (Aksoy & Robins,

2000, pp. 362). Whether or not this is actually happening with the young Turkish-Dutch people living in Rotterdam will be very interesting to research. Other factors such as economic, cultural, religious and even political factors might perhaps be involved here, not to mention the generational differences combined with the emergence of new media technology. This previous research has shown that the positive effects of the emergence of transnational television mainly occur on the side of the immigrants themselves, making them more aware of the social construction of identity, eases homesick feelings, and synchronizing them with contemporary (Turkish) society.

We now move on to the possibly negative aspects of transnational media consumption by Turkish immigrants, as argued by Karanfil (2007). In his research on the transnational media use of Turkish immigrants living in Australia, she states that there are two negative effects which are very much like the positive points as mentioned in earlier research. The methodology uses in this research was again interviews, as the author conducted several, how many is not exactly clear, face to face interviews with Turkish immigrants living in Australia about their media consumption patterns, and – preferences, as well as topics such as culture and identity. First of all, with respect to fulfilling the need to see the homeland because of missing it, the authors argues that transnational television actually makes the viewer more aware of missing out on it, furthering the distance between the homeland and the immigrant. Secondly, satellite television viewing behaviour of the Turkish immigrants only isolates them further from their host society. By tying them to a home country which is far away, the consumption of transnational media contravenes the engagement of the immigrant with the host society's culture. In the end, these negative aspects outweigh the positive ones, according to the author; 'As the consumption of a national media within a diasporic context tends to isolate the migrant from both the host society and the homeland, the migrant becomes more dislocated and displaced even at a mental/psychological level. As a result we start having populations with multiple homes who are, in actuality, homeless.' (Karanfil, 2007, p. 68). What has to be said though, are the different circumstances of Turkish immigrants and their communities in Australia in relation to their counterparts in Europe. Karanfil (2007) states that because of the distance to Turkey a lot of immigrants only went back once or twice in about thirty years. On top of that, their numbers are not that great in Australia, hindering the formation of strong cultural communities as happened in The Netherlands or Germany. Their feelings of disjuncture from Turkish cultural life could differ greatly from Turkish immigrants in The Netherlands, leading them to alternate media consumption patterns.

The last research we will discuss was conducted fairly recently by Özdemir (2010). She interviewed 28 second generation Turkish immigrant women living in Rotterdam, The Hague and Amsterdam about their transnational media use and their identity, feelings of belonging and of discrimination.

Özdemir (2010) found that Turkish women in the Netherlands started to devote more time to television after the arrival of satellite television. This also influenced their construction of self-identity, as they watch Turkish television not only to give meaning to their lives, but also to learn about Turkish culture and traditions more and how a woman ought to behave. Finally, Özdemir (2010) states that Turkish women immigrants in the Netherlands highly value their Turkish origin and utilize transnational television to strengthen that bond with their home country. In doing so, their bond with their host society gradually crumbles. The author found that 'transnational television slows down the integration of Turkish women migrants to the Dutch society' (pp. 76-77). However, their identification with their own Turkish social group was not influenced by experiences of discrimination against Turks or Muslims by Dutch society, as the women felt their attraction to their social group to originate more from their sense of loss when leaving Turkey. Their stronger identification with Turkey did lead to more Turkish media consumption. Finally, Özdemir (2010) recommends further research to younger generations of Turkish migrants, as her participants hinted towards a possible shift in media behaviour of their teenage children.

What we can see here is different angles previous researches on Turkish migrants and transnational media tackled. The methodology that has been predominantly used in this research is in depth face to face interviews, sometimes combined with focus groups for further details and more information on subjects that were not entirely clear. The effects of transnational television on identity, feelings of belonging to the home country or the host society, integration and levels of media use are interpreted in very different ways, although we can see that the more recent researches have a far more negative view of these findings than the earlier ones. Lastly, the focus of all these previous researches has always solely been transnational television. For this research, the emphasis on the multiple media outlets such as social media is of great importance, as the emergence of the internet and its new ways of transmitting and receiving imagery might influence media preference and – consumption patterns.

## **Chapter 4: Research Justification:**

This research mainly concerns itself with questions of young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam, their subsequent media preferences and –choices and, finally, the possible influences on these media preferences and –choices. In this chapter, I will further explain the choices for these themes and why they are relevant to study.

### **4.1 Why Rotterdam?**

Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands, with a total population of 610.412 people in 2011 (see Appendix D) and as such holds a special position when it comes to social regulations and urbanization, not to mention the very large contingents of ethnic minorities that call Rotterdam their home. Furthermore, previous research by Özdemir (2010) on which this research aims to expand has focused on second generation Turkish women mainly living in Rotterdam. For the sake of comparisons and further analysis, focusing solely on Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam would be of great value. Finally, there are other reasons behind the choice of Rotterdam such as the logistics and the given time constraints.

### **4.2 Why young Turkish immigrants?**

The Turkish ethnic community, as further explored in a previous chapter, constitutes the largest ethnic minority in both the Netherlands and Rotterdam; in 2011, there were 47.519 people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam (Appendix D), while the total number of Turkish immigrants and their descendants living in the Netherlands in 2006 was approximately 350.000 people (see Appendix B). As stated previously, the Turkish community in the Netherlands is known for their strong social ties to their own social group and their country of origin. This is reflected in the researches discussed earlier, which indicate a strong tendency for consuming transnational Turkish media. However, as the question is often posed as what possible influence this media behaviour could have on their feelings of identity and belonging, the question of intrinsic entertainment or information-seeking preferences has yet to be asked, let alone answered. Turkey has a very strong entertainment industry at their disposal. Their entertainment and drama shows not only differ from their western counterparts in Europe with regards to language, but also in format. A research by the Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) in 2011 found that shows in Turkey are at least twice as long in airtime as

their European counterparts. They subsequently found that airtime of a show in Europe and the United States is between 20 and 60 minutes, with an average of 45 minutes. In Turkey, shows generally run for about 90 minutes per episode, notwithstanding commercial breaks. Although in Western European nations the broadcasters themselves determine the airtime of episodes, in Turkey the RTÜK regulates this.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Turkey has begun exporting their drama series to countries in the Balkan and the Middle East, dubbing the audio in Arabic for the latter. Soap operas and drama series in particular are in high demand, as they totaled an export value of \$50 million in 2011.<sup>4</sup> One famous example is the series known as *Aski Memnu* (which loosely translates to *Forbidden Love*). This series, based on an old version of the very first domestically Turkish produced series of the same name, has become very popular in the Middle East after being dubbed in Arabic. We can see here the strength of the media industries in Turkey, especially compared to the Dutch ones which are relatively small in size and potential market. Of all the immigrant communities in the Netherlands, the Turks have the most media options at their disposal.

Özdemir (2010) states that the age of a migrant largely defines what generation they are considered to consist of. The first migrants from Turkey in the 1960's are considered the first generation, while their children are considered the second generation. This could mean that they are either born in the Netherlands or migrated later when their fathers initially came to the Netherlands to work. Although I also phrase the target demographic of this research as 'young' Turkish immigrants, they could be considered third generation immigrants, as they often stem from second generation parents. One of the participants, Zeynep Kutsal, can be considered as an expat, as she came here to study and work and will move to Belgium for a PhD position at a Belgian University. Her contribution to this thesis is strictly as a reference point of an outsiders' perspective on both Dutch society and the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. When it comes to the age factor, Georgiou (2006) states that generation can have a tremendous impact on the level of engagement of migrants with transnational media. She based herself on research conducted by a cross-European research project on diasporic media cultures, which employed a variety of methods, ranging from interviews to focus groups and questionnaires. As Özdemir (2011) found second generation Turkish women to spend a substantial amount of time consuming transnational media, she coupled this with Georgiou's (2006) finding of second generation migrants often having a stronger attachment to their country of origin. However, the women in Özdemir's (2010) study did state that their children who were growing up

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-236204-rtuk-finds-turkish-tv-episodes-twice-as-long-as-euro-shows.html> (02-04-2012)

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=turkish-soap-operas-total-50-million-in-exports-2011-01-16> (02-04-2012)

held different attitudes towards transnational media than their parents and more research into this could give new insights.

#### **4.3 Why multiple media outlets?**

Previous research always makes assumptions on watching Turkish transnational television without differentiating between different channels, different programs and genres, while these differences are constantly highlighted in other media researches concerning media consumption and preferences. Furthermore, the strong emergence of 'new' online media has created an entire new way of communication, with all its implications for forming communities, looking up information and connecting to peers. It will be interesting to research if there are discrepancies between the use of the different media outlets, between television and the internet. A research on the media use of teenagers in the United States by Rideout et al (2009) found that the total media exposure of children between 8 and 18 years old was more than 10 hours per day. Subsequently, about 30% of this time was made up of multitasking, meaning utilizing two or more media at the same time, for instance playing on your smartphone while watching television. It seems that the growth in mobile media devices and usages in particular has fueled the increase in media exposure of young people. The research utilized a large sample of 2000 people between the ages of 8 to 18 in the United States. Of these 2000 children, 700 also kept week-long diaries about their media consumption. Although this research was done in the U.S. and research on this field is somewhat lacking in the Netherlands, the study's findings and methodology are relevant when investigating media consumption pattern of young people in the Netherlands. Due to the rapid technological development in the previous few years, it is assumed that Turkish young people use more diverse media channels; this research wants to understand what kind and why.

## Chapter 5: Research argumentation:

Considering the theoretical perspectives as laid out in previous chapters and the already conducted research, this section is comprised of a further explanation of the research questions that will guide this thesis. The main research question in this thesis will be:

- 1).What are the media preferences and -motivations of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people in Rotterdam?

The reason I framed the question in this fashion is based on prior research that was conducted with a focus on the effects of transnational media on concepts of identity on one generation of Turkish women by Özdemir (2010). In her research, Özdemir (2010) states further research into the media use of Turkish immigrants might use a broader scope in order to make more comparisons between the generations and study possible evolutions in media behavior. The reason for choosing the third generation of Turkish immigrants is to better compare the findings by Özdemir (2010) and look for possible evolutions in viewing behavior. Also, this research is not confined to women only since the two genders in the study are included to have a more comprehensive idea of media consumption.

In the process of answering my main research question, sub questions will help me obtain the key bits of information that ultimately garner credible results. These sub questions will be:

- A). What are the influences of social relations with other parties on the media preference of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people?

These other parties could be native Dutch school friends, coaches at sport clubs, parents or other family members etc. As put forth in the theory, the shaping factor of other parties somewhat changes when children grow older. From parental mediation strategies that vary greatly with respect to the parents own perception of media influences to peer influences during puberty. Here we could also look at the possible gender differences. As Özdemir (2010) states, women are seen as the negotiators of migrant communities, and communicators to younger generations. What could be interesting is to see if this translates to differences in media preferences and predispositions of the younger Turkish women.

This question would help me in analyzing the process of taste and selection of media content, as Turkish communities are known for their parental strict social control. A second sub question will be:



B.) What is the influence of changes in Dutch society and politics on the media preference of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people?

Part of this research question requires investigating the possible connection between media preferences of Turkish immigrants and the rise of some anti-Islamic sentiments in the Dutch society as explained previously in the theoretical framework of this research. The Turkish immigrants constitute a large part of Dutch society, a society which has undergone tremendous changes in public discourse and political milieu. The aforementioned possible effect of the Turkish immigrant community reacting to this with a more inward focus towards Turkish cultural values could have also affected their media use. It will be very interesting to investigate this possibility using the interview data collected.

The third sub-research question focuses on a specific aspect of the Turkish immigrant community living in the Netherlands.

C. What is the influence of religiosity on the media preferences and –consumption of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people in Rotterdam?

Research has shown that Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands highly value their own religious identity. Maliepaard et al. (2009) found religious and ethnic identity to be strongly co-dependent for the second generation of Turkish immigrants, even more strongly than for the first generation. As mentioned in the previous theoretical chapter, young adults could be influenced in their media preferences, -selection and –consumption by their religiosity.

The last research question concerns itself with the issue of participatory citizenship. What is interesting to research is the influence of level of interest in Dutch political and societal phenomena and the possible membership of a (student) organization. The theory as mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter indicates a possible higher level of interest in public affairs if subject matter of the organization is closer to the personal, cultural and social environment of the people in question.

D. What is the influence of membership to a student- or other organization of third generation Turkish-Dutch young people on feelings of belonging to Dutch society?

These questions will help us paint a better picture of the multiple angles we can take on the subject of media uses and –preferences of Turkish young people living in Rotterdam. As these questions often entail researching personal motives and perceptions, it is important that we realize a coherent and decent method to gather our information. The next section will deal with the methodology used for this research and why it was the best option available.

## Chapter 6: Methodology

To research the media consumption preferences of young Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, I have conducted a qualitative study to obtain my data. Given the emphasis on personal predispositions, preferences and motivations, it is crucial for this research to go more in depth on conscious and perhaps unconscious choice patterns amongst the research population. These can vary to a high degree and cannot therefore be categorized beforehand to test in perhaps a survey. The different researches already conducted either used interviews or surveys as data collecting method. I chose the interview method over surveys for a number of reasons.

For this research I have chosen semi-structured interviews. As Matthews & Ross (2010) state, this technique is often used with qualitative social research. 'They are most typically associated with the collection of qualitative social data when the researcher is interested in people's experiences, behaviour and understandings and how and why they experience and understand the social world in this way.' (pp. 221). A semi-structured interview allows the interviewee to talk about their experiences and perceptions in their own way, while still safeguarding the focus of the research on certain topics and themes. For this research I utilized a combination of the 'opening-the-locks' model and the 'tree-and-branches' model for interviewing as discussed by Evers (2007). Opening-the-locks entails posing a broad opening question and letting the subject direct the flow of the interview while asking probing questions to go more in depth into topics that the subjects mention that are of use to the research. I chose this initial approach as previous research has shown the Turkish immigrant community to be fairly inward focused and researchers like Smets & De Kreuk (2005) and Özdemir (2010) found initial hesitations by their interviewees about discussing topics with people who are not of Turkish descent. However, as I want to handle a certain set of topics, I also had some questions on these themes prepared beforehand according to the tree-and-branches interview model, but I tried to ask them as much as they naturally came up in the conversation. With an example of an interview guide by Matthews & Ross (2010) as a blueprint, I created an interview guide as can be seen in Appendix H.

Researches on transnational media use of Turkish immigrants that have utilized interviews include Aksoy & Robins (2000, 2002), Ogan (2001), Milikowski (2000), Karanfil (2007), Özdemir (2010). There have been several researches on media preferences, mediation by third parties and questions of identity utilizing interview techniques, Smets & Kreuk (2005) found that a certain lack of proficiency

of the Dutch language by several Turkish immigrants constrained the flow and data collecting of the interviews. However, as I interviewed young second and third generation Turkish immigrants that were born in the Netherlands and were still receiving education, I could safely presume they possessed the necessary Dutch proficiency for in-depth interviewing. Furthermore, the resulting data gained by the interviews could make in-depth comparisons between different researches, and especially the aforementioned research by Özdemir (2010) possible. Another problem many researchers faced was finding enough respondents for long interviews, as many Turkish immigrants were hesitant to talk face-to-face with the interviewer. Özdemir (2010) conducted interview with the advantage of her own Turkish cultural and ethnic background while possessing a high level of Turkish proficiency. A lot of her interviews were actually completely conducted in Turkish. Because the focus of the research is on Turkish immigrants and handles intrinsic motivations and other feeling as well, conducting interviews on media preference were the only reliable option.

In her research, Özdemir (2010) mainly conducted shorter interviews up to 30 minutes, with a couple of interviews of 50 minutes. Furthermore, although stating to have interviewed 28 participants, Özdemir (2010) conceded that only 13 of those interviews were conducted in such a manner that they led to credible results. She states that an 'increase in the amount of time per interview as well as the number of participants would generate a better understanding about the outcomes of watching transnational television for migrants' (p. 77). Given the limited amount of time that was available with regard to the early deadline of June 2012, I set out to interview a minimum of 10 participants myself and in the end managed to interview 14 young people of Turkish descent between the ages of 18 to 25 living in Rotterdam.

The interviews were primarily scheduled through my own social network, my professional network of De Bijenkorf, a large department store with branches in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague and, finally, on the Erasmus University, the Hogeschool Rotterdam, Zadkine College, which are advanced education institutes for all levels of education. I first started out interviewing Turkish students on the Erasmus University Rotterdam campus and within my professional network and asked them to each recommend another young Turkish person they know to approach for an interview. This method was taken from Ogan (2000) who utilized this technique to especially find people who represented certain religious or political positions that might have implications for their media preferences and subsequent consumption. I specifically asked the respondents for the recommendation of other participants who had lower levels of education than university. The interviews lasted between about 50 and approximately 80 minutes in total and were conducted on a wide variety of locations. In order for the respondent to feel comfortable and free during the interview, I always let the respondent decide where to be interviewed. The interviews took place on the Erasmus University in

rooms I had reserved, on the Hogeschool Rotterdam, both Woudestijn and Hoboken locations, at a respondent's work after he had finished a shift, at their own house and at the locations of two (student) associations.

All of the interviews were conducted in May, 2012. The interviews covered a wide range of topics, as I let the respondent free to express their thoughts, even if they did not necessarily cover topics that were of relevance to the research, so that the respondents felt at ease and free to talk. The topics included social life, use of the Turkish language, Dutch politics, Turkish politics, all in relation to their own media use, -preferences and -choices. Following Özdemir (2010), topics also included feelings of discrimination in the host society, as Social Identification Theory states that strong identification with a certain social group is also affected by behaviour and discourse of the host society.

To analyze the data acquired during the interviews, we turn to Thematic Content Analysis as described by Burnard (1991). This method of analysis was intended for semi-structured or in-depth interviews. This method relies on a couple of assumptions about the data before we can begin our analysis. First of all, in-depth semi structured interviews have been conducted and recorded in full. Secondly these interviews are also transcribed in full. Using this method, each interview has been devised into different themes that have been discussed. This method assumes 14 steps for analysis, but some of the steps require peer researchers to generate and independently validate the themes that came forth in the interviews by reading the transcriptions (Burnard, 1991, pp. 463). Furthermore, this method also demands the selection of respondents to come in and also verify the thematization, plus the placement of sections of the transcripts under certain themes. Given the time constraints and the logistical constraints of having two peer researchers with adequate knowledge of Thematic Content Analysis to assist me, the method has been slightly adopted to better fit this research. As mentioned before, the aim of this analysis is 'to produce a detailed and systematic recording of the themes and issues addressed in the interviews and to link the themes and interviews together under a reasonable exhaustive category system.' (Burnard, 1991, pp. 462).

Now the problem here is, with the absence of peer reviewing and controlling during analysis, how accurate and exhaustive is the category system? To make up for this, I did invite a select number of respondents to verify the themes and the placement of certain quotations within those themes, as prescribed by Burnard (1991). After this, I adapted some themes. These themes consist of the main issues raised by the respondents during the interviews. Subsequently, utilizing the Thematic Content Analysis, the following chapter focuses on these particular themes within the interviews. Quotations will be implemented to further illustrate these themes and how the respondents placed themselves vis-à-vis the themes.

## Chapter 7: Data Analysis

As described before, the data for this research was gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews. A total number of 14 young Turkish people living in Rotterdam were individually asked to articulate and think about their own media choices, -preferences and –behaviour, the possible influences of these aspects of their lives on other aspects and vice versa. Besides that they were asked about their more general understanding and perception of Dutch society and their own role therein. Issues such as discrimination, racism, victimization and media portrayal were discussed. Before we start with the analysis of the gathered data, we will first take a look at some key characteristics of the respondent group, as to have a better understanding of the individual context of the thoughts and views articulated. After this, we will discuss the themes that our Thematic Method Analysis of the transcribed interviews foregrounded.

Of the respondents, the characteristic of gender is the first that really sticks out. Of the 14 interviewees, 8 were female and 6 were male. It would have been preferable to have a more even division among the genders, as the demographic chapter has shown us that the actual division of men and women among the Turkish-ethnic population in Rotterdam in the age-categories relevant for this research to be almost even. Nevertheless, remarkable differences and trends between the two genders could be discerned, even with slightly less male than female respondents. Gender can be of influence on media preference, as some of the female participants of the research expressed a viewing behaviour they themselves labeled as more like that of a male, when speaking about their favorite programs. Other female interviewees, on the other hand, emphasized the female character of their media behaviour and –consumption. However, there were also remarkable similarities when it came to viewing behaviour and –preferences, as two current Turkish drama series were named by quite a large variety of respondents, irrespective of their gender.

The second characteristic of the interviewees is their position in the academic and professional sphere. Of the respondents, 12 are still students, 1 is part-time employed at a Turkish restaurant of a friend and Zeynep, the 24 year old expat living in Rotterdam just got accepted to a PhD at a Belgian university. Because of her different immigrant status, Zeynep is not included in the overall analysis of the themes and trends as identified in this research, but merely used as a supplemental outsiders'

perspective on both Dutch society and the behaviours of the Turkish social identity group in the Netherlands. The division of levels of education did not fully reflect the demographics of the target audience as there were slightly more highly educated respondents in this research than the division of education among Turkish-Dutch young people in Rotterdam according to the available statistics. Nevertheless, all levels of advanced education, which in the Netherlands can be divided into roughly three categories, namely MBO (Average Professional Education), HBO (Higher Professional Education, quite similar to college) and University, were represented with more than 2 respondents from each level of education. The fact that these interviewees were still going to school, while all of them also worked small part time jobs or internships is of great importance to the research. As Özdemir (2010) the daily interaction with other ethnicities outside of the house and the therefore more limited availability of television during the day is of influence on their media consumption patterns and their media preferences.

The third characteristic that follows from the previous one is that of the 14 participants, 13 still live with their parents, with the exception of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant young woman who, quite contrary to Turkish custom, lives together with her native Dutch boyfriend. The fact that these young people, mostly of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Turkish immigrant descent, still live with their parents is of great influence for this research. They generally have one television set available at their home and have to share this with parents and siblings alike. Later on in this chapter we will go more into detail on the role of parents in the media behaviour of these young people.

The final important characteristic of the interviewees for this research is their membership of several associations. Of the 14 respondents, 10 were members of some kind of association. Within those 10 however, there was a lot of variation as to the sort of association they were members of and how active. For instance 4 of them were members of the DSB Foundation, an association aimed at social coherence in the Afrikaanderwijk. Some of these interviewees were even in the board of directors of this organization and there was even an overlap, as one of these participants was also involved in Actuell TV, an internet based television station aimed at a Rotterdam audience. 5 other respondents were a member of the HBO and WO oriented student association S.V. Mozaik, while one of these respondents was active in this association as she took place in the Activities Committee. Finally, one respondent was part of a Turkish theater group called Dildade and one respondent was a member of the Cem Foundation, an Alevi foundation aimed at Alevi youth in the Netherlands. This characteristic was important because participation in society was one of the aspects of the theory that we wanted to research further. In this chapter we will look at how the membership of these organizations affected the overall perception of Dutch society by these young people of Turkish descent and their own position therein.

These characteristics, some shared and with a lot of differences even within the similarities, were important elements to the collection of credible data. With all these aspects in play, the analysis of the transcriptions of all the interviews yielded five main themes that were of importance to all the respondents. These where:

- Identity and media preference
- Role of new media
- Dutch society and media use
- Transnational and Dutch television
- Parents and media

All of the respondents related their media use to the perception of their own identity, who they were and who they were not. Two respondents expressed the explicit desire to emigrate to Turkey, or as they would say: *back* to Turkey, the country of their (grand) parents, as they felt a stronger connection with Turkish- than Dutch society. Both these girls were in a long distance relationship with a person living in Turkey, which according to themselves also accounted for their strong feelings in favor of emigration. Almost all of the interviewees began their description of their own media behaviour with the statement that they don't watch a lot of television anymore. The participants all gave accounts of how they feel Dutch and Turkish television to be different or, after some thought, remarking about the changes in Turkish transnational television over the last decade.

The research questions and subsequently the interview questions prepared beforehand were concerned with patterns of media use, identity and media, Dutch society and their own position in that society, the possibly symbiotic relationship between their media use and their own social identity and finally the influence of new media such as the internet on their media preferences. The themes as discerned above were analyzed using the Thematic Content Analysis. Each theme is described and further explored and clarified using actual quotes of the participants.

### **7.1 Identity and Media Preference**

One of the major themes researched in this thesis is the relationship between concepts of identity by young people of Turkish descent and their subsequent media use. All but 1 of the participants in this study could be defined as third generation Turkish immigrants. This means that their grandparents

moved from Turkey to the Netherlands and at least one of their parents was born here. They themselves were born in the Netherlands and are in the possession of a Dutch passport, while almost all of them also possessed a so-called “pink-card”, which does not grant them full Turkish citizenship but certain rights as an exemption for a visa when entering Turkey. This section of the data analysis concerns itself with the way these participants use several media in relation to their own concept of identity. The interviewees indicated to strongly feel that what they watch or listen to depends and reinforces who they are as a person. In their mind, it’s their identity influencing their media use, and not the other way around in any way.

When explaining more about herself and the way she saw her media use following her concepts of identity, Tugce tries to explain the social and psychological position of being a third-generation non-Western immigrant living in Dutch society. She aligns cultural and ethnical predispositions with the media consumption choices she makes, as her media use reaffirms parts of her identity.

‘Yeah, you know I think that we are just in a very peculiar situation because our parents came here. That we just want to take a little bit of everything, so to say, of the Turkish, of the Dutch... Sometimes you do have that association with the Netherlands, which makes me want to watch the news here because I live here, you know. But because I also have a Turkish background, I lean towards that side so to speak. It’s just the... I think I’m trying to find the balance in some way. As I said, news from here because I just live in the Netherlands, very businesslike and important for me to know what is happening here. And because I’m Turkish, my humor, my background or what I’m interested in, or the way of life of people on the Turkish channels is what I find enjoyable to watch. Yes that’s what I think, that balance, sometimes this, sometimes that. Do you understand?’ #00:30:58-8#

Tugce, 22 years old, Rotterdam

Tugce is a student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam who lives at home with her parents, two little sisters and a little brother. The thoughts she expresses in the aforementioned indicate the delicate, almost tightrope-esque nature of her own social identity. She feels a very strong cultural and ethnical connection with the Turkish side of her identity, where her source for entertainment makes her feel more in tune with this side of herself. Because she was born in the Netherlands, she also feels a need to succeed in this country, determined but slightly detached from personal sentiment. The ‘drive to succeed’ by children of immigrants, the urge to improve their socio-economic situation has been described in the aforementioned theory. She is enrolled in two MA programs, in Finance and Financial Law, at the Erasmus University and plans to graduate for both of them by December 2013. The professional Dutch and personal Turkish side of her identity are two sides to a coin for her and she organizes her media consumption accordingly.



The emphasis on economic participation in Dutch society has been the benchmark of integration for the Dutch government and national statistical bureau for a long time. Tugce remarks that the part of her that says more about who she is, in terms of background and way of life, is undoubtedly Turkish. Zihni Özdil, a lecturer of non-Western history at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, reacts to this notion of Turkishness as the central point of interest to Turkish youths in an op-ed piece in the *Volkscrant* on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 2011: ‘..most Turkish-Dutch live in a state of ‘pillarized’ segregation whereby the country of their (grand) parents is the main reference point. Turkish-Dutch mainly have friend from the same ethnic background, primarily consume Turkish media, mainly visit Turkish websites, converse mostly in Turkish and have little interest in Dutch politics.’<sup>5</sup> Now in how far this statement is accurate is debatable and certainly will be addressed further on in this thesis. In this research however, a strong connection with Turkish culture and language was expressed and emphasized by the respondents.

This led Ayse, a third generation Turkish-Dutch immigrant who studies Pedagogy at the Hogeschool Rotterdam, to express her feelings about an occurring situation in her family where her little sister does not place that same focus on Turkish culture and language as she does.

‘It’s really important. Yes, I feel that as well as my Dutch proficiency is, my Turkish proficiency should be just as good. For instance my little sister is not like that. She doesn’t speak Turkish, very little. And when she does, then I’m like: “Please speak Dutch, don’t speak Turkish” because her Turkish is just so bad and I can’t take that. I feel that if you’re Turkish you should be able to speak proper Turkish. Yes.  
#00:58:29-9#

Ayse, 21 years-old, Rotterdam

Ayse speaks about the importance of speaking Turkish and the role of Turkish programs in that process, as she explained that her little sister, who is 16 years old, watches more US based television series and listens to English music more than she herself does. To almost all the participants, this focus on Turkish culture and –media feels natural and is often an internalized predisposition, never critically assessed but always assumed. We can see here that a large portion of the participants is very strongly geared towards the Turkish social group in terms of social identity. This attitude is subsequently also reflected in the statements about her television viewing behaviour as expressed by Sevgi, a 22 year old Psychology student.

‘Yes, to a certain extent, because I never consciously think about... It’s not that I think: “There is nothing on TV, but Dutch TV I won’t watch”. It’s more like: “There is nothing on TV”. Get it? I don’t

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<sup>5</sup> Volkscrant, 12 January 2011.

even think about that, that's just it. Just automatically, when I get home for instance, I immediately turn on the Turkish channels. (...)#00:26:33-0#

Sevgi, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

It is clear that Sevgi has internalized the feeling of Turkish culture being the default position for her, as she indicates not even considering Dutch media as part of her media diet. This is not from an exclusionary point of view but the consumption of Turkish culture is assumed as natural and a given state of being. We can see here the strong pull of the Turkish social group in Dutch society, with its focus on their own culture, customs and language. In this process, social identity peers are of importance to the establishment of a media consumption pattern. When Sevgi tells about how the move from primary school to secondary school affected her television viewing behaviour, she speaks about this.

'No I don't know.. Well, friends.. I don't think that that was really an influence. Although it could be, for instance when everybody watches a certain show you'll start to watch too. It's not really... I always had only Turkish friends, friends I really talked to, after school, that where mostly Turkish girls...

#00:41:40-4#

Sevgi, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

When going from elementary to secondary or high school, children start to hit puberty, a time during a person's life where a large portion of the identity is being formed and different identities are tried out. A large portion of the participants spoke about how their television consumption pattern shifted from watching Dutch children's programs and cartoons to watching Turkish transnational television series with their parents. However, the constant pressure or tightrope nature of the identity of young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam has also resulted in, as described in the theory, a stronger identification with the city of Rotterdam. Their media consumption reinforces this, first of all from again a most practical point of view, as expressed by Ridvan, a 22 years-old HBO student.

'For me it's important to know what happens here. And of course I want to know what happens in Turkey. But sometimes they're really everyday banal stuff. So if that's really useful is a whole 'nother question. (...) To me it's important to know what happens here. #00:35:14-0#

Ridvan, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

Esra, a 22 years-old Sociology student with a very strong desire to emigrate to Turkey, expresses this desire to see more of Rotterdam in her media content, which she deems even more important than general Dutch current affairs.

'But I look for things in Rotterdam, for instance, and its surroundings. I'll type in "Rotterdam" and read about what happened in the vicinity. (...) I think that's more important than Dutch news in general (...) The closer it gets to you, the more interesting it is to people.' #01:04:06-3#

Esra, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

In news values research, proximity is one of the basic elements and refers to the geographical distance between the viewer and the event taking place. Growing up and living in Rotterdam means that the respondents will have a stronger desire to learn about current events taking place in the proximity of Rotterdam. This identification however goes beyond the purely economic and practical. The young Turkish participants in this study expressed the same attitudes as Tugce about her feelings of having to balance two cultures within their identity. They would often make statements along the lines of not feeling completely Dutch when in the Netherlands, but also feeling like a foreigner in Turkey when on holiday or visiting family. In the lack of a definitive cultural identity reference point Rotterdam becomes their central focus when it comes to identity construction.

'I think I feel more like a person from Rotterdam than Turkish, to be honest. (...) When I'm on holiday for five or six weeks and I get back. Not to the Netherlands, we go by car, but when I see Rotterdam, then it's "Ahh finally I'm home", yeah. #00:16:38-5#

Okan, 23 years-old, Rotterdam

Nevertheless, young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam generally feel a strong connection to their Turkish roots, heritage and culture. This is the culture of their parents and grandparents, of their friends and family with whom they interact with the most in their daily life. They see it as their natural duty to maintain that part of their identity through the consumption of Turkish cultural media products. At the same time they were born and raised in a fairly liberal-oriented Dutch society and most of them, with the exception of the ones with strong feelings for emigration, feel a desire to succeed here, to further build their lives here. This is why they also consume Dutch media products, keeping up with the parameters of Dutch society through an emphasis on current affairs. As we can see, their media consumption is derived from their perception of their somewhat hybrid identity and reinforces and maintains that identity. However, the media consumption patterns and motivations differ greatly from the ones expressed by second generation women in research conducted by

Özdemir (2010). The rise and dominance of the internet has caused shifts in media preferences and – behaviour. In the next section, we will take a look at the dominance of these new media.

## 7.2 Role of New Media

As mentioned previously, the participants often indicated at the beginning of interviews that their television consumption has waned over the last few years. All but one stated that internet really has taken over their lives when it comes to their media usage. Where their parents mainly watch transnational television, they themselves chose to consume a wide variety of online media, but often transfer the aforementioned predisposition about cultural media products to these new media. In this section we take a look at the subjects of democratization or segmentation, as expressed in the theory chapter. First of all, we will take a look at the way internet has taken over television as main media technology.

The programs often watched on television are drama series, talent shows as Turkey's Got Talent and The Voice of Turkey and game shows such as Survivor and Deal or No Deal. However, a lot of programs can also be watched online, at the site of the network or in this case, of the producer of the shows. Ayse speaks about Acunn.com, the website of the Turkish producer Acun Ilicali.

'Well, for instance, something I just missed on television, he usually has short fragments of for instance a boy leaving the show, his goodbye. And about a fight between two girls. And that's so much more clear. And you have episodes which last an hour-and-a-half, the entire episode of that day. And popular movies. Just of famous people of the Voice of Turkey for instance, who became first and what they're doing right now and that's the kind of stuff I like to keep track of.' #00:28:12-9#

Ayşe, 21 years-old, Rotterdam

What we can see here is the way internet is taking over television. Television shows are still the main product, but the technology of the internet enables our participants to improve on the viewing experience. Furthermore, the internet is used to explore other interests, such as downloading US based series that have not been aired in the Netherlands, keeping up to date on Turkish, Dutch and Rotterdam news and checking the latest updates on football, videogames and fashion

'I follow a lot of sites, Lookbook, Bloglovin, that's where I'm at most of the time. That's a website a lot of bloggers are a member of and that's where all the most recent blogposts are on, so you can see which blogger posted something. (...) you've got fashionblogs, you've got beautyblogs, you've got blogs about food, and you've got blogs about art. (...) They're predominantly English/US blogs. But also

Swedish, Turkish... There are also some Dutch blogs and that's kind of nice to see. Sometimes they take photographs in Rotterdam and that is fun to watch. At the moment I read a lot of Dutch bloggers. I don't know why, but it's fun to see and to know it's in your own country or city. #00:51:41-1#

Figen, 23 years-old, Rotterdam

In this sense, the internet brings about more democratization of media consumption behaviour. The fast, immersive and often anonymous nature of the internet enables these young Turkish people to further explore other interest that may lie outside of their usual Dutch/Turkish cultural realm, but as we can see in the example by Sevgi below, also lead to more segmentation, as they surround themselves with even more Turkish cultural products.

'Turkish forums, that's what they were. I can't remember the name, something with.. it was really Turkish, that link was T-R Forum of something. There were a lot of different sections, different topics (..) For instance about education in Turkey, another one about photography. It was a general forum, but there were just so many Turks there and I thought it interesting.

Sevgi, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

Another aspect of the emergence of new media is the dominance of social media over the media behaviour on our respondents. All but one of the respondents acknowledged having a Facebook account and using that to keep in touch with friends and family in Turkey and in the Netherlands. An important aspect is *how* they use these social media. Ayse explains here attitude towards Facebook:

'Yeah I don't think that's necessary, that for instance a lot of people check-in somewhere. "I'm here, I'm there, I'm doing this, next week on holiday or, just finished an exam!" I think that kind of stuff is not necessary, that is really nonsense, let me put it like that. Just posting photographs and reacting, that's the kind of stuff I like. So that's why I'm not really active. #00:18:22-5#

Ayse, 21 years-old, Rotterdam

The 'not really active' statement was repeated by every interviewee when asked about their Facebook use. The respondents put a firm emphasis on keeping personal information and interaction as private as possible. This is in line with the Turkish culture of maintaining your own personal identity and not giving away too much. When asked more prodding questions as to why they maintained this attitude, they would often speak about the unofficial social control that the Turkish social identity group, with family members, family friends and other Turkish acquaintances, could exert via social media. These other parties could send friend requests which could not be ignored and subsequently also see their photographs and with whom they interacted, both online and offline, if

they shared all that information. Figen, a 23 year old student, explains the importance of gender in interpersonal communication in the real world.

'Yeah, that goes back to the subject of girls shouldn't be around boys. Before someone sees you on the street and tells your parents. (..) It would be weird if for instance I was talking to a Turkish boy and I'd say "he's just a friend". Then my parents would think "where does that come from?" And yeah, I don't know, I'd rather hang out with my own kind. #01:03:29-7#

Figen, 23 years-old, Rotterdam

It is precisely the often anonymous or safe nature of online communication that is so attractive to these young people of Turkish descent. Esra, 22 years-old, speaks about using different social media sites like Chatnu, TMF Chat, Sugababes and Hyves when a little younger and what the differences between online and offline interaction were.

'Yeah, you were braver because it's behind a screen, you know. I mean, on the street I wouldn't dare at that time.. Well, I was pretty vocal, I wasn't embarrassed to talk to a boy but it's not like I just did that. When on ChatNu I would see a boy, or a girl or whatever, if for instance you'd see a nice picture you'd be less reluctant to react to that picture. But if you see a nice person on the street you won't walk up to him to tell him he's cute, you know? (...) #00:52:36-6#

Esra, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

Here we can see why online social media are so popular with young people of Turkish decent. As mentioned before, there is quite a lot of pressure to adhere to the cultural values of the Turkish part of their social identity and the rules of the Turkish social group. This also places their interpersonal, and especially their inter gender-, communication under a high level of scrutiny. At the same time, these young people were born and grew up in a more liberal-oriented society in which personal social interaction is under less of a magnifying glass. As one of the main characteristics of all but two of the respondents is also their current scholarly orientation, they speak Dutch fluently and have a lot more interaction with other ethnicities and native Dutch culture than their parents or grandparents did. Subsequently, the relative anonymity of certain social media grants them the freedom to negotiate these two often colliding cultural elements within their own social identity.

The last topic of the rise of new media is the definite rise of mobile internet usage. Almost all the respondents owned a smartphone with a mobile internet connection. The most popular apps revolve around social media and interpersonal communication, although Dutch and Turkish news apps are also prevalent. Gökhan, 21 years-old student still living with his parents, speaks about the importance of his smartphone to his media use and personal daily life.

'Through my phone, yeah. It's become a habit, I mean je wake up in the morning and the first thing you do is check Facebook on your phone. Who posted something, are there any things that make me laugh and whatnot. And before you go to sleep you look again, nowadays I only turn on my PC if I need to do a report for school because that's a bit difficult on an iPhone (laughs). That's when you realize how addictive such a small thing is. Maybe that's the reason I don't watch a lot of television, could be..

.. #00:55:29-6#

Gökhan, 21 years-old, Rotterdam

In this section we have seen how new media is replacing (transnational) television as the main media source for young people of Turkish descent living in the Netherlands. The possession of (mobile) internet greatly democratized the media use of our respondents, as they did not have to share their media experiences with family members all watching the same television. The technological features such as speed, multifaceted communication and the more anonymous nature of this communication gave them more opportunities to explore more facets of their social identity. These new media outlets have simultaneously given way to a more diverse media consumption pattern, but also led to greater segmentation or even 'pillarization' with respect to people already heavily immersed in the Turkish culture and social identity group. Although this trend of influences of new media is not related to Turkish immigrants alone, it is definitely an interesting topic. Social Identification Theory also states that there are outside forces of influence on the strength of the bonds between members of a social identity group. This can range from feelings of discrimination by the majority social group or pressure from the latter on the Turkish social identity group to adapt more. In the next section we will discuss these topics in relation to the media use of our respondents.

### **7. 3 Dutch society and Media Use**

One of the reasons people from a certain tightly-knit social identity group 'close-ranks' even more and turn their backs on the rest of society, so to speak, is discrimination. The interviewees did not express feelings or anecdotes of racism they themselves experienced, but Sevgi, a 23 years-old girl, spoke about one instance where she encountered racism that to her is exemplary for her experiences in Dutch society.

'(..) I did experience that some time ago, when I was standing at a tram stop with my friend. There was this man, this Dutch man who all of a sudden started screaming at us "Go back to your own country!" and all that kind of stuff. That really upset me, you know, "go back..." I didn't come from anywhere,

where should I go back to then? Because I was born here, but ever since I was little it's been: "Yeah, you're Turkish, you're an immigrant" So I don't know.. #01:05:25-1#

Sevgi, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

Here we can see the results of hostile attitudes from the majority native Dutch social group towards the Turkish immigrant community. A couple of other respondents expressed the way that they feel pigeonholed into a certain stereotype. Zeynep, a 25 years-old PhD candidate who studied in the Netherlands on two occasions and stayed here permanently after finishing her MA in Organizational Psychology at Tilburg University, discussed her own experiences about the interaction between the majority native-Dutch social group and the Turkish social identity group.

'It does affect my living here because the people's thoughts about Turkish people, because when I say "I'm Turkish", it's always stereotyping. You can't blame the people, but yeah, it's there. It doesn't affect my thinking about myself, I know myself, I'm trying to express myself as much as possible, but, for instance, if you're Turkish and if you want to make your carrier here you're always one step back because you're not Dutch. Yeah I have that feeling because you don't know... The main reason is that you don't know Dutch, but if you tell people that you want to learn Dutch they don't believe you because of their experiences with other Turkish immigrants. There are other Turkish immigrants living here for years, for more than ten years and they still haven't learned to speak Dutch very properly. I kind of understand that stereotyping, but because I'm not a person who is stereotyping I do not understand. Do you know what I mean? #00:52:27-5#

Zeynep, 25 years-old, Rotterdam

Zeynep has a unique position in the Turkish community in Rotterdam. She came here to study a Minor at the Erasmus University and fell in love with a Dutch student. After returning to Turkey she was determined to come back to the Netherlands because she said she felt more at home in the more open and individualistic Dutch society. She is not religious and has little contact with the Turkish social identity group in the Netherlands and has an outsider's perspective in that sense. The expressed sentiments of the need for active participation in Dutch society was also expressed by other 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants but the labeling as 'Turks' is still a major part of the reaction of many 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Turkish people, such as Sevgi, and in reaction they claim they turn more towards Turkish culture.

Another aspect of Social Identification Theory that came to the forefront during the interviews was the shift in Dutch political and societal discourse about non-Western immigrants and Islam. As discussed in the theory section, anti-Islam and anti-immigrant sentiments have grown in the Netherlands and has been vocalized in Dutch politics and subsequently in the Dutch media by figures



as the now deceased Pim Fortuyn and current house of parliament member Geert Wilders. This criticism of Islamic culture and heightened pressure on non-Western immigrants to adapt more to Western-liberal 'Dutch' values does not necessarily mean a tightening of the bonds between these young descendants of Turkish immigrants and the Turkish social identity group. The aforementioned notion of integration from an economic and practical perspective is often used to define their own position with regards to the criticism about Muslims and immigrants in Dutch public discourse.

'(...) And I'm not part of that group, so it's not my fault that they talk about Muslim youngsters ruining society and ruining it for the rest of us. Of course I do mind to hear that stuff, because they are Muslims like me and my brother could be part of that, so to speak. But I think I'm integrated well enough and adapted to society. So even if they make it, even if they gain power, even if things will change it won't affect me. I don't care what they say, because it's all nonsense. The actions of one Moroccan boy are blamed on the entire religion of Islam. I am not like that, not part of that group. I mean I do my thing, I work for my money like every other student. I pay taxes, I study, I'm trying to achieve something, so it doesn't do anything for me. But of course it's not nice to hear your people, your kind of people being judged and portrayed negatively in the media. Of course I wanted that this was not the case and they could do positive things and that we appear in the media for something else than negative stories. (..) Wilders can say what he wants, I really don't care.' #01:07:42-0#

Esra, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

The 'I don't care' phrase was uttered by a lot of respondents, which I found often initially reluctant to talk about their own thoughts on current Dutch public discourse. Often used in a defensive demeanor, this utterance was indicative of the possible effects of the anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant sentiments expressed in Dutch media; young Turkish people turn their backs more to Dutch politics. However, a couple of respondents expressed the need for the Turkish community, or Muslim community in general, to better respond to the criticism and take a more active stance. Alper, a 25 years-old MBO graduate who works part-time as the manager of a Turkish restaurant and is also an actor in the theater group Dildade, talked about this importance of a more measured reaction.

'(...) Look, first of all, it affects me and it does not affect me, you know? I mean it's a combination. You know, you can be anti-Islam, everybody has an opinion about something, I mean, say whatever you think. I mean, the fact that Geert Wilders came this far, we partly made sure of that. "We" as Muslims, made sure of that. Look, if you get someone mad with your opinion, it's funny. And we, I mean we Muslims again, we get angry right away when you speak about Islam. "He doesn't like Islam, he's a Jew..!" They get angry right away. That is what Geert Wilders did, he got people angry to boost his own ego I think. I mean, just don't take it all too seriously, you know? #00:43:59-1#

Alper, 24 years-old, Rotterdam

Here we can see the possible link between attitudes of anti-Islam sentiments in Dutch society and Dutch media possibly having an influence on the participatory citizenship and subsequent media use of young Turkish immigrants. In relation? to the depiction of Turkish immigrants and Muslims in Dutch media on one hand and their own thoughts about their place in Dutch society on the other hand could have an influence on their participation in said society. In turn, membership of an organization or association could lead to an intensifying of interest where they do not only watch Dutch television or follow Dutch news from an aforementioned economic and pragmatic point of view, but from a perception of importance to society and their own contribution to that society. What was remarkable was that this attitude towards the Dutch political and societal climate with an emphasis on the need for a more active approach from Turkish young people was mostly voiced by respondents who were part of an association. In this thesis, the concept of participatory citizenship was explored in the theory outline. Membership of societal associations appears to have a negotiating effect on the push-and-pull nature of the social identity groups. It is however of great importance if this association is aimed at a broader target audience than only the Turkish community. For instance, of the 5 members of the student association s.v. Mozaik, which is aimed at Turkish students on the University and the HBO (College) students, none expressed the need for an active approach by the Turkish social group to the criticism and a need for more active participation of this Turkish community in Dutch society. The other association of which 4 respondents were an active member, DSB (Dialogue and Social Bonding) did speak about this. Burcin is a 21-year old student who also sits on the board of DSB, talked about why she joined this association.

‘Well, DSB is voluntary work that I do, and Aktuell TV as well of course. But DSB, for about a year now, has really become half my life. Because I’m really working on that a lot, thinking a lot about different activities we can organize in the Afrikaanderwijk<sup>6</sup>. And it’s just a lot of fun to be able to do something for people that mean’s something to them and that you get a little thank you, like: “Thank you for organizing this”. And that’s just really beautiful to me.’ #00:03:54-7#

Burcin, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

When we talk about participatory citizenship, the aforementioned theory told us that young people do tend to be more active if the causes relate to them more on a personal note. In the case of Burcin, and the other members of DSB, this is definitely true, as the association does involve the Turkish community heavily and also focuses on the neighbourhood they themselves grew up in or live now,

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<sup>6</sup> A neighbourhood in the south of Rotterdam

which literally brings the issues closer to home. What is remarkable is that the Turkish community is often described as fairly closed off to outsiders, a social identity group with a tight set of rules, regulations and codes of behaviour. Burcin also spoke about how and why she got into contact with Aktuell TV and what they do.

'(...) I wanted to be more social and I like helping people, I really like showing other people what's going on in Rotterdam and Aktuell TV is really about Rotterdam. And, it's really nice to make people more aware of certain things and that's possible through Aktuell TV, by making certain broadcasts about the Turkish community, what they do in Rotterdam, to show that to the native Dutch people. And show the Turkish people what the Dutch-native people do, that's the purpose of Aktuell TV. That's a very important reason why I choose Aktuell TV.' #00:05:38-8#

Burcin, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

This section on the attitudes and discourses that are currently prevalent in Dutch society and its effect on young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam has shown us the ways in which ways they are responding and how that in turn influences their own media use. What is important to take away is the plurality of attitudes and opinions by the respondents. The predispositions and personal interests of young Turkish people living in Rotterdam are an important determining factor in the way they handle discrimination and criticism by Dutch society. In terms of media use we cannot find a direct effect, but the persons with an already strong tie with the Turkish social identity group feel more validated in their attitudes of attraction towards Turkish culture, values and subsequent cultural media products.

In the next section, we will discuss the characteristics of Turkish transnational television and the differences with Dutch television as perceived by our respondents. The aspects of playing time duration, format of shows and programs and the changes in Turkish transnational television that have been noticed by the interviewees are further explored.

#### **7.4 Transnational Turkish and Dutch Television**

Even though the participants often expressed a growing disinterest with television, watching shows on TV is still a large part of their media consumption pattern. Which choices they make on which programs or shows to watch not only depends on cultural identity, but could also be influenced by more general characteristics of the different TV channels. What was noticeable was the emphasis the participants placed on the commercial nature of Turkish transnational television, along with playing

time length. While their parents and grandparents watch a lot of transnational television and are subsequently more used to this, the experiences of the young Turkish 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants with Dutch television and internet based media lead them to be far more critical of these aspects of transnational Turkish television.

'Yeah that's the thing with Turkish television. There are even shows which start at 7 o'clock and then there is a short summary of the previous episode. They say "short" but really it's an hour long. Then at 8 o'clock the show actually starts and runs until 11 o'clock, with very large commercial blocks in between. So really, if you also watch the summary, you spend 3 hours watching 1 program, 1 series. That's in Turkey, while in the Netherlands you don't have that. (...) and because Turks are more emotional, the shows last longer. For instance Survivor in the Netherlands only takes up a half hour or 1 hour tops, while in Turkey it takes 3 hours (...)' #00:28:08-6#

Burcin, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

In this instance, it is interesting to look at why these differences between the two television cultures occur and why young Turkish immigrants are, as they say themselves, both drawn to- and deterred by these characteristics. Hall (1990) writes about the cultural differences in communication. He states that context, information surrounding the communication or event, is of great importance in giving meaning. He proposes a scale from high to low context, where high context means most of the information about the message is already in the person itself. Low context on the other hand refers to the explicit coding of the message. The author states that the differences between communication in Northern-Europe and the U.S. on the one hand and Mediterranean, Arabic and Asian on the other revolves around these differences in low and high context. We could interpret this as familiarity (high context) and formality (low context). The attractiveness to more emotional, personal and long winding programs for young Turkish people could derive from their high context cultural communication background, where they want to keep informed about everything having to do with the people who are important in their lives. In this case, this would not only refer to people but also events and daily life in Turkey.

Furthermore, the Turkish transnational broadcasters are predominantly commercial, meaning they want to make programs that attract as much viewership as possible as long as possible. This gives them the opportunity to insert many advertisement blocks, which they can sell to companies which in turn can target a specific audience, namely Turkish people in Europe. The Dutch broadcasting system is one with a combination of three public channels and at least 6 commercial ones, demanding more diversity in programming.

When compared to Dutch television, many respondents emphasized the positive aspects of the shorter playing time of certain programs. The explanation they came up with themselves on why programs were longer on transnational Turkish television often centered on cultural or ethnical definitions of Turkey and Turks that were perceived as commonplace. For instance, Turkish people were described as being more emotional and that's why programs last longer, because the producers stretch out the emotional bits. The value judgments on how they perceived these differences were a rational agreement with shorter playing time on Dutch television while emphasizing that they somehow still favored the longer Turkish programs. Another discerning characteristic was the perceived 'openness' of Dutch television, in accordance with their views on Dutch society in general. Alper, who himself is an actor in a Turkish theater group, spoke about the freedom of speech on Dutch television as compared to Turkish television.

'The biggest difference according to me.. Yes what I notice is that Dutch television, or programs or shows, whatever, it's uncensored. I mean, look, if they curse then they just curse, no? If they talk about, I'm just naming stuff, if they talk about sex, then they just talk about sex. They can do this at 8 'o clock in the evening on television, but at 5 'o clock as well, when everybody can see it. But in Turkish television programs or series or something, there is almost no cursing, no talking about sex. It's just that, as I mentioned before, taboo subjects are not handled.' #00:31:19-4#

Alper, 24 years-old, Rotterdam

These differences between Turkish and Dutch society as perceived by the respondents is also a characteristic given to the respective broadcasting systems and –values. In that sense, Turkish television is placed against Dutch television when it comes to liberal-Western values such as freedom of speech. But this openness goes further than just speech, as the portrayal of for instance gender relations and lifestyle on Dutch television is often contrasted with a more restrained Turkish portrayal of gender interaction and a less liberal lifestyle with for instance the consumption of alcohol. However, after thinking about it more deeply than their initial assessment, many respondents came back to the subject to explain the changes that have occurred on Turkish television and Turkish society. Figen, 23 years-old, talk about the differences of Turkish series when contrasted with about a decade ago.

'The lifestyle. How they live, very European. Very prosperous and in a lot of shows there is no mention of faith anymore. You'll quickly see a girl getting attracted to a boy, then they kiss and sleep together immediately, like it's the most normal thing in the world according to religion and to humanity. That is not the case, but it is portrayed like it's okay and I think parents are not as fond of watching shows like

that with their children. Because they glorify it and it's portrayed as normal. That there is still something inside of you that says: "this is not allowed, this is not right".' #00:38:52-9#

Figen, 23 years-old, Rotterdam

Turkish transnational television has changed over time to accommodate changes in Turkish society, as Turkey experienced economic growth and has modernized tremendously since the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, when the first and second generation of Turkish immigrants left for the Netherlands. The Turkey of their parents has changed and that change has started to show on transnational television. Besides news, entertainment shows can tell a lot about a certain culture and its values. The young respondents of my interviews, such as Tugce, seemed aware of that and emphasized, just as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the differences in use of Dutch and Turkish media.

'Yeah, that's what I do, yes. Or in the morning at 8 'o clock, that's something I always try, to check on what's going on. Because on the Dutch channels I only find the news of value, because the rest is really about nothing, I believe, nothing that makes us think: "Oh, that's fun". So to speak, if I watch Dutch channels I only find the news to be of interest. Discussion programs about political happenings. More as an information source, do you know what I mean? And Turkish series... Turkish series are just for leisure, just entertainment.' #00:17:31-2#

Tugce, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

Compared to Dutch television, Turkish transnational television has certain key characteristics, other than the spoken Turkish language, that makes them unique to their viewers. The main attribute is the length of television series and programs. With the length of one show often exceeding two hours, the viewing experience is completely different than the Dutch style of a new program or show every 30 or 60 minutes. This is distinctive for Turkish television and the respondents find reasons for this tremendous difference in what they view as the natural and obvious difference of the practical and businesslike viewpoint of Dutch society and culture, compared to the emotional and immersive Turkish culture. Besides this, the more open and liberal mindedness of Dutch culture is, according to the interviewees, another difference that shows up on television, but this does not affect their thoughts on Dutch television. Moreover, Turkish transnational television has become more open and liberal, especially in the display of gender relations, than many of the members of the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands perceive as typically Turkish. The last section of this chapter deals with these first and especially second generation of Turkish immigrants, the (grand)

parents of our interviewees, how they handle media and their influence on the media preferences and subsequent use of young people of Turkish descent in the Netherlands.

## **7.5 Parents and Media**

The last theme that surfaced after analyzing the transcriptions of all the interviews was the role parents had in the media use of their children and how values about media content are communicated to our participants by their parents. We will first take a look at the direct influence of parents, their tastes and media preferences and how this affects their children's media use. After this, we will discuss the types of mediation techniques employed by the parents to teach their children how to use media. Finally, because of the predominance of new media in the media diet of many interviewees, we'll explore the ways in which the parents deal with internet.

The media consumption pattern of the parents, as previously discussed in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, is of influence on the media consumption pattern of their children (Kraaijkamp & Notten, 2009). This influence is however not intentional. This research showed that young Turkish immigrants often have to share their television viewing time with family members as there is only one television set in the household. Furthermore, the parents and especially the father has a fairly large influence on which program is being watched. Of all the participants, three indicated to have a father who spends a lot of time watching transnational television due to (partial) unemployment, which is common among elderly Turkish immigrants as mentioned previously in the demographic chapter of this thesis. These fathers immerse themselves in a Turkish transnational television experience all day. As the father commonly decides what to watch when he's home, the children often are forced to follow his media diet. Tugce speaks about the role of her father in the television viewing behaviour.

'My father, he watches a lot of television, too much to name it all, but he watches television a whole lot. Yeah, and he, you know, for instance the 6 'o clock news, if there is news he always has something to say about it and then my little sister will ask: "Why do you think that?" Then you automatically start talking about it. I do have a father who is very interested in us and our questions, he answers them, if it comes down to politics he answers them, if it's about a show and if it's about a place in Turkey, he just tells about the background of the city and that stuff, you know. So it's just incidentally, about substance. It's more dependent on the moment, if he likes it or not. Or sports, he loves that you know,

he can tell enthusiastically about that. I just think that his interests play a role in our television behaviour.’ #00:23:29-6#

Tugce, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

The role of the parent, and especially the father, is traditionally very large within Turkish culture and this reflects in the television behaviour and mediation. However the topic media itself and what it means to see certain things on TV is rarely discussed and if discussed this is rarely initiated by the parent. We come to the subject of mediation, the techniques employed by parents to teach their children on how to interact with-, and critically assess media content. The general pattern that emerged from analyzing the responses of the interviewees on the ways their parents would control television viewing behaviour, is the forming of a rather loose mediation style, with the great exception of the taboo subject of sex. This subject almost always prompted a rigorous way of restrictive mediation, meaning taking away the opportunity for the child to watch certain content without explanation or further discussion on its content. Figen tells more on how this went into practice at her house when she was younger.

‘When I was little it was indicated that you are not allowed to watch that, too naked, too open. “That is not proper, that is dirty, that is not allowed.” That’s how you learned that and if you’re little, you really did not do that until a certain age. And now I’m like: come on, who are you kidding? Look, I get it that that’s not the most comfortable way to watch a kissing scene or a sex scene.’ #00:32:20-9#

Figen, 23 years-old, Rotterdam

Parents always immediately change the channel when a love-, kissing- or even sex scene appeared during the viewing of a movie or a television show, long enough for the scene to be over so that the channel could be switched to the original program being watched. Other subjects such as violence and discrimination on television were never of interest to the parents. Restrictive mediation also occurred as allowed time allotted to television was limited when children were younger to accommodate bedtime. The focus on the removal of sex on television can be traced back to religious reasons, as sex or even thinking about sex is prohibited before marriage within the religion of Islam. Participants however all indicated that they themselves do not follow this media behaviour when watching television all by themselves. The attitude of their parents on imagery of gender relations and the depiction of kissing or sex on screen did not have an effect on the attitudes of the participants, as Figen showed in the last sentence of her remark.

We come the last aspect of parents and media, namely their relationship with new media and how they possibly mediate their children’s internet usage. As discussed previously, the mediation



techniques parents use for new media are often derived from the mediation techniques used for television. New techniques are perhaps required to deal more with the interactive and private nature of internet usage. The respondents of this study already told us about the use of restrictive mediation techniques employed by their parents when it came to the taboo subject of sex. However, when it comes to the internet, parents of young people of Turkish descent that were interviewed usually do not know what their children do or see online.

'They don't know a lot about that. They don't know, for instance when they walk behind me they will see that I'm on Facebook or watching a movie. They see that but it's not as if I tell my parents: "I just watched a movie, I just did this and this". They don't specifically know what I do, on the internet'

Ayşe, 21 years-old, Rotterdam

Some explanations can be given for this; the main two are age and education level of the parents. They themselves grew up with the emergence of television so their mindset about media is shaped by this. The character of new media technology is often lost on older generations. Furthermore, as shown in the Turkish demographic chapter, the education level of the parents of young Turkish immigrants is generally relatively low, which could be a hindrance when trying to deal with learning about new media usage and concepts. However this does not mean the parents have had no role in way the respondents initially learned about using computers and the internet, which indicates a participatory learning mediation style as described by Schofield Clark (2011). After a while though, they surpassed their parents because they used the internet more and more. Alisan, a 22 year old young man, speaks about how his mother handles computer problems now.

'And now the child has more knowledge, no? You learn a lot at school. What if the computer breaks down, you mother will look at it and say: 'Well, it's broken, what do we do now?' She might ask her child "can you help me figure out what's wrong?" Maybe there is something wrong with the software, maybe there is cable disconnected, maybe there is no power. As a child you know more than your parents at the moment, because they are less involved with it than you as a child. You as a child might be working on the computer every day but your parents may not be.' #00:21:12-7#

Alisan, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

The role of the parent in the media usage of young Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam is often an indirect one, as discussions about media content rarely take place. Cultural understanding and adherence to certain cultural rules is expected without explanation. Turkish young people themselves, especially with the emergence of new media, find themselves drawn to the Turkish cultural viewing behaviour of their parents, but at the same time sometimes drawn towards the more open and liberal ideas about television, and media content in general.

The analysis of the different themes that emerged from the interviews has given us the necessary tools for further answering of the research questions. Young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam use media to maintain the important Turkish cultural side of their identity. This is seen as natural and commonplace, a position implicitly learned and incorporated from parents and other members of the Turkish social identity group. They also use media to stay up-to-date on the situation here in the Netherlands, the country they were born in. The role of new media in their media consumption and –preference is exceeding the part transnational television plays. The characteristics of the internet make sure that they can maintain a more diverse pallet of their identity, while it can also lead to an even larger immersion with Turkish culture. The latter depends on the predisposition of the individual themselves, but the somewhat anonymous nature of internet usage is a great advantage to them.

The rising popularity of a more right wing critical discourse on Islam and immigrants in Dutch politics, media and society is met by different attitudes by these young people. As Social Identification Theory indicates, this criticism and the occurrence of discrimination can create stronger feelings of identification with the Turkish social identity group, although membership of social associations aimed at Dutch society can create an active attitude with respect to not only the practical, but also the cultural stake the Turkish community can have in Dutch society.

Transnational television, although waning in influence on young Turkish people's media preferences, still holds a large share of their media consumption. The programming and format differences of Turkish transnational television vis-à-vis Dutch television can be ascribed to the highly commercial nature of the former. Furthermore, the participants attribute cultural characteristics they deem natural to these differences. Their attitude towards Dutch media is shaped by their own perception of Dutch society and its role in the construction of their own identity. Lastly, the influence of parents on young people of Turkish descent and their media use is shaped by the viewing behaviour of the parents, the fairly loose mediation techniques and their own lack of knowledge about new media.

In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at how these themes will help us answer the formulated research questions and come to a conclusion.

## Chapter 8: Results

This study on the media preferences of young people of Turkish descent living in the Netherlands was conducted via in-depth semi-structured interviews. The interviews took place with the participation of a selected group of respondents, most of whom can be considered 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Turkish immigrants, as they generally had one or more parents who were born in the Netherlands. One of the participants was a 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant, which made comparing very interesting. In the end, 14 respondents were interviewed on the media preferences, media uses, views on Dutch society and their perception of differences between Dutch and Turkish media.

This study focused on the media preferences of young Turkish people and the possible influences hereon. Earlier studies on migrant media use have focused primarily on the relationship between the construction of identities by migrants and transnational television viewership (Aksoy & Robins, 2001; Georgiou, 2006; Özdemir, 2011). This study placed more emphasis on the actual content of the preferred media products of young Turkish immigrants, most of whom were of the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam. What we were interested in researching was the possible influences of several societal, personal and other factors on the media preferences of these young people of Turkish descent. A theoretical framework was constructed to view the possible interesting angles we could take in this matter. These theoretical topics included the broad notion of diaspora theory, as the respondents were part of a Turkish community living in the Netherlands. Furthermore, multiculturalism in Dutch society, the effects of different ethnical groups living together, was used as a possible influence on media preference. Following Verkuyten & Thijs (2002) and Özdemir (2010) we employed the Social Identification Theory (SIT) to go more in depth into the workings of the Turkish immigrant diaspora's role in the daily life, and subsequent possible media use, of our research population. Furthermore, to assess the role of connection to Dutch society in media use, we looked at theory of participatory citizenship. Lastly, personality traits, the influence of parents and their mediation techniques, and, finally, the possible influence of religion on media preferences were offered to conclude our theoretical framework.

This theoretical framework led to the formulation of our main research question; 'What are the media preferences and -motivations of third generation Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam?' The sub research questions that would help us to better answer this where; 'What are the influences of social relations with other parties on the media preference of third generation Turkish immigrants?', 'What

is the influence of changes in Dutch society and politics on the media preference of young Turkish immigrants?', 'What is the influence of religiosity on the media preferences and –consumption of young Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam?' and 'What is the influence of membership to a student- or other organization on feelings of belonging to Dutch society?'. We then set forth to operationalize these concepts and research questions into an interview guide (appendix H)

Now, of course, each individual is different, but several more general patterns emerged from the analysis of the raw transcription data of the conducted interviews. Utilizing Thematic Content Analysis, five main themes of the interviews were distilled. These themes were verified later by a select group of respondents. These themes were; Identity and media preference, Role of new media, Dutch society and media use, Transnational and Dutch television and, finally, Parents and media. These themes largely corresponded with the aforementioned theoretical topics which formed the basis for the interview guide. The subject of religion however did not in the end form a separate theme as it might have in the theoretical framework constructed. The reasons for this will be discussed later in this results chapter.

In this results chapter we will look at what the analysis of the themes has brought us in relation to the aforementioned theoretical framework that was constructed. The results of the research will be interpreted accordingly in the paragraphs to follow.

### **8.1 The results of diaspora and multiculturalism**

When it comes to diaspora, Vertovec (1999) wrote about three types of diaspora. Diaspora as a social morphology, closely related to history and experiences of the Jewish people. The second type is diaspora as a type of consciousness, knowing to be 'home-away-from-home'. This type was found especially predominant with second generation Turkish women in the Netherlands, as researched by Özdemir (2010). Lastly, Vertovec (1999) deals with diaspora as a mode of cultural production, which according to the author is mostly found among transnational youths such as our research population. This notion would entail the self-conscious selection of facets of culture and identity from more than one heritage. We can see traces of this latter definition of diaspora throughout this research, as our participants actively choose parts of their Turkish roots and parts of their Dutch influences when constructing their own identity, with a strong emphasis on Turkish cultural values and subsequent identity.

Avci (2005) notes the importance of chain migration with the diasporic Turkish communities in the Netherlands. On many occasions, people originating from the same province, city or even village in Turkey would find each other here in the Netherlands. The respondents often told me that many Turks in Rotterdam originally came from the regions of Kayseri, Yozgat, Konya and Trabzon. The importance of this for the younger generation of Turkish immigrants is much less than for the older ones, as the former do not actively seek out other people from that same district. That is not to say that it is of no importance to the younger generation, as especially the young people of Turkish descent from Trabzon emphasized the value of being from that region. The Turkish people living in the Netherlands do tend to cluster in certain neighbourhoods, in the South of Rotterdam and in the West part, Delfshaven. Furthermore, many the respondents explained that their own social circle of friends often only consists of other young Turkish people, with the occasional Moroccan exception. This is similar to results found by Vervoord (2011) of ethnic concentration both spatially and socially.

This research found religion being closely related, according to the participants, to the personal identity of the research participants and consequently their view of what separates them from native Dutch people. Maliepaard et al. (2007) found that pattern with second generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and this research also found it with younger Turkish (third generation) Turkish immigrants. The subjects often remarked about 'obviously' being a Muslim as a person with Turkish roots, but not being very active or strict with following certain Islamic rules and regulations.

## **8.2 Social Identification Theory**

For this research, Social Identification Theory was extensively utilized to analyze the feelings of belonging to a certain culture or ethnicity by the respondents and to research if and how these feelings might affect their own media use. We followed Verkuyten & Thijs (2001) herein and we can look at two aspects of SIT, namely the maintenance of the own culture by the Turkish social identity group and the importance of contact with majority group. When it comes to the maintenance of the own culture, our research audience seems to opt for a variety in stages of integration, dividing importance between the adaptation of certain liberal, individualistic, Western type of values and the contact and cultural maintenance of Turkish culture on the other. Furthermore, the findings of Rezai & Barendrecht (2010) on the identification of Turkish youth leaning more towards their city of Rotterdam than the Netherlands as a whole was also apparent in this research, as the participants generally claimed to identify strongly with Rotterdam.

Another aspect of SIT is the possible effects of Dutch general politics and society, which have shifted more to the right in the last decade, with anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim voices being strongly heard. According to SIT, these pressures from the majority group towards a minority identity group such as the Turkish community could lead to a more stronger focus of young people of Turkish descent towards their Turkish social group. Özdemir (2010) found a lack of this possible influence with second generation Turkish women, as these women stated that their own feelings of missing Turkey had by far the greatest influence. The subjects of this research also voiced such sentiments, but, following Peeters & d'Haenens (2005), stressed that they could not identify with the image of the entire Turkish population as displayed in the Dutch media, stating that it were the individual cases of young Moroccan and Turkish young men who were blamed on the entire Turkish social group. While many acknowledged these actual problems, they had some trouble with what they perceived as the overall more negative reporting tone on 'their' people. However, they claimed that this did not affect their own identification with the Turkish social group, stating that the feelings of this bond long predated any of these sentiments on media portrayal

This research also deals with the practice of combining socially practical attributes with personal attributes. Dutch media is often consumed with very practical mindset, while abundance of Turkish media is consumed with combination of a social, as in interaction and accordance with the Turkish social identity group, and an emotional, which would entail feelings of belonging mindset. Because they did not grow up in Turkey but still feel a very strong connection with it, they display a need to know more about how daily life in Turkey is and how it feels like to live there. This is an experience that they often seek out in their media use. They grew up in the Netherlands and find their home here, and they align their need for practical information about current events here accordingly. Their personal attributes are however more catered to online, as they explore a more diverse pallet of their interests on the internet.

When it comes to SIT, an important segment of the push and pull mechanisms between a majority social group and a minority social group is the experiences of discrimination as felt by members of the minority social group. In short, the more discriminated against they feel, the more they lean towards the Turkish social group. The respondents in this study in general did not feel discriminated against by the native Dutch. What were often remarked about were the sometimes self-proclaimed differences between them and the native Dutch. These statements were narratively constructed by the respondents as originating from what they perceive as common sense differences between them and the rest of Dutch society. At the same time however, the labeling of the participants by the Dutch society as 'Turks' was offered as a reason for turning their back more on the Dutch part of

their identity. The aforementioned balancing act of identity by young Turkish people is often felt to not be respected by the native Dutch.

Certain members feel a closer connection with the social identity group and it appears that these individuals more strongly tune their media use to fit this identification, both on a conscious and unconscious level. Consequently, they have a sole focus on Turkish cultural media products. They do not relate to Dutch society, only at its basic functional level. No evidence has been found in this study to support a greater generalization of these attributes to a larger section of the young Turkish population, as most of them do not exclude Dutch current events from their media diet.

### **8.3 Participatory citizenship**

The four characteristics of participatory citizenship as listed by Vromen (2011) are gender, education, type of participation and membership of a sports or recreational group. In this research, no major differences were found between the genders as both four women and four men were an active member of an association. On education this research did not find any conclusive evidence. The types of participation differed according to the type of association, the Turkish student organization focused solely on Turkish students, while the neighbourhood association focused on activities that would strengthen ethnical neighbourhood cohesion. As discussed in our data analysis, the membership of the latter type of association had positive influences on the feelings of having a stake in Dutch society, as expressed by Van der Vliet (2010). When it comes to membership of a sporting or recreational group, more male than female participants signaled to have been a member of a sporting organization.

As Deuze (2006) states, a migrant media channel could attract a large migrant audience and this development could fragment society and public discourse. During the interviews, respondents talked about the internet based television station Aktüel TV, one of the participants even works part-time as an editor at this station. This station aims at, according to the interviewee, bridging the gap between the native Dutch (and other ethnicities) and the Turkish community, trying to show them what both groups are contributing to Dutch society, with a strong emphasis on Turkish topics in Rotterdam. Aktüel TV does have a commercial background and is partly funded by online advertisements, such as ad banners for LiveTurk.tv, a commercial transnational Turkish television channel. This is however never reflected in programming of Aktüel TV itself. More about the actual viewership numbers of this station could not be traced, but the initiative does show how young people of Turkish descent are taking media broadcasting into their own hands with the emergence of new online media.

In this research, it has come to light that the level of participation could be dependent on the level of identification with the Dutch part of the perceived identity of the research population. Moreover, the results of this research suggest the existence of a possible reverse effect. This entails the notion that the more social participation through social associations whose focus does not solely lie on the Turkish community but encompasses more aspects of current Dutch society, the stronger the identification with Dutch society and the higher level of voluntary participation by young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam. Consequently, the pattern of media preference does not necessarily have to change accordingly, although a noticeable difference could be observed between the two sexes. Even with a higher level of participatory citizenship, the focus of Turkish young female students remained more aimed towards Turkish cultural media products, while male participants with higher levels of participatory citizenship named more international cultural products such as international football competitions, U.S. based animation series and videogames.

#### **8.4 Other influences on media preferences**

When looking at the possible influences of personality traits on media preferences, Kraaijkamp & Van Eijck (2005) used the concept of the Big Five personality traits: extraversion, openness, emotional stability, friendliness and conscientiousness. The personality trait openness is particularly of relevance to this research, as the Turkish community in the Netherlands is commonly characterized by a lack of openness to other ethnicities. This was exemplified in the respondents' descriptions of their own social circle as predominantly Turkish. The respondents who had higher levels of openness when it came to diversity of social circle and divulging personal information during the interviews were indeed more inclined to have a more diverse media consumption pattern, not only when it came to differences in program content, but also more diverse in language culture as they consumed both Turkish, Dutch and English spoken media products. Furthermore, they were often more diverse in their internet usage.

External factors may influence the media preferences of our research population besides the aforementioned factors such as social identity, participation and personality traits. These factors can be divided between the parents and friends. Firstly we will discuss the influence of parents on media socialization. Kraaijkamp & Van Notten (2009) state that the socio-economic status of the parents



has influence on the media consumption patterns of their children. As we saw in the Turkish demographics chapter and again in the interviews, the parents of young people of Turkish descent often have a fairly low socio-economic status, with 3 out of 14 participants reporting both parents to be unemployed. The findings of Kraaijkamp & Van Notten (2009) that parents from lower social strata are less involved with the media use of their children were also found in this research, as participants signaled the lack of interest parents had in what they as a child were watching, as long as it did not contain any sex, a major taboo in the Turkish culture.

This leads us to the types of mediation most often employed by the parents of Turkish young people in Rotterdam. The most common was a combination of co-viewing and restrictive mediation as described by Valkenburg et al (1999). There was, and is, commonly no discussion between the parents and children about the content of certain shows being watched. Because in many households of the participants only one television set is available, co-viewing happens a lot, where the restriction occurs when scenes with a more sexual nature are displayed. The channel is changed without anyone speaking about it. This did not affect the way the respondents themselves dealt with these types of scenes, as every one of them claimed to not change the channel when watching those types of scenes alone. Özdemir (2010) mentioned the possible large difference between second generation parents and their children with regards to identification. One of the examples is in their attitudes about sexual content in the media, as the young Turkish respondents themselves expressed a more liberal attitude towards this subject. The differences could be due to growing up in the Netherlands, balancing their Turkish and Dutch side of identity more and the opportunities and characteristics of new media technologies which grant them more unfiltered access to these types of content.

This view is also found when discussing the role of religion on their media consumption patterns. As stated before, almost all the participants claimed to be religious, with exception of one first generation immigrant. However, contrary to the findings of Bobkowski (2009), no direct association between religiosity and media consumption was found, as both sexual content and the open consumption of alcohol on television was not deemed inappropriate to watch privately.

'No, I don't avoid anything. (...) I, myself, do not do those things of course, I don't drink, you see. Doing is different, but of course I see it on TV. And pre-marital sex is not allowed and you technically can't watch it either, but I'm not really looking at sex, do you know what I mean? It's more of a lovescene and it's not that you see everything. So that's why I never really think about it, if it's okay by my religion.' #01:08:58-3#

Sevgi, 22 years-old, Rotterdam

The emphasis placed on the role new media such as the internet in their daily internet consumption pattern gave this research more insight in the evolution of media use by immigrant communities. Previous researches (Millikowsky, 2000; Aksoy & Robins, 2000, 2002; Ogan 2001; Karanfil, 2007; Özdemir, 2010) focused solely on transnational television. The effects of new media on Turkish immigrant groups however have not been researched to that same extent. Askoy & Robins (2000) did make some comments on the possible effects new media networks could have, such as the possibilities for the emergence of new communication space and perhaps some forms of cultural reordering. They also however mentioned the possibilities for what some would call ideological segregation. Gentzkow & Shapiro (2011) stated that online segregation is higher than offline segregation regarding media such as television, but lower than face-to-face interaction. When comparing television and internet, a lower level of cultural segregation was found online. Although Turkish cultural products were still very much part of their online media diets, more international cultural topics such as fashion, football, art, videogames and gadgets were of much influence on their online media behaviour, in English, Dutch or Turkish. The everyday face-to-face interaction of the respondents was quite diverse, all but one of the respondents were still going to school and interacting with different cultures. However, they also all spoke about how their own social circle of friends, even at school, consisted mostly of other young people of Turkish descent. Contrary to Gentzkow & Shapiro (2011), the online cultural segregation could therefore even be lower online than in face-to-face interaction. As mentioned previously, the findings by Maliepaard et al. (2007) about the interweaving of ethnical and religious identity among second generation Turkish immigrants was also found for our research population, which consisted almost all out of third generation immigrants. Therefore, more religious Turkish youths do use the internet more for religious purposes. They search for information on questions about their religion, often on rules and regulations.

In the next chapter we will look at how the constructed theoretical framework, the data analysis and subsequent results of the research help us answer the formulated research questions. It will lastly take into consideration points for further research into this topic matter.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion and points for further research

The focus of this study were the media preferences of young people of Turkish descent living in Rotterdam, the Netherlands and, consequently, what factors are of influence on these media preferences and patterns of media use. These factors were divided in the concept of living in multicultural society as a member of a diasporic community, the possible effects of developments within Dutch society, personality traits that could influence media behaviour, the role their parents play in their media socialization and finally the influence of religion.

In the data analysis chapter of this thesis, using Thematic Content Analysis as conceptualized by Burnard (1990) several themes were distilled from the raw research data, consisting of full transcripts of every one of the conducted 14 interviews. These themes had great overlap with the angles taken in the theoretical framework chapter because the interview guide which led the interview from the point of view of the interviewer was of course constructed using the theory. Nevertheless, as seen in the data analysis chapter, more or less weight was placed upon certain topics by the respondents, which led to interesting research results. In this last chapter, we will take a look at how the theory, research, data analysis and the results helped answering the formulated research questions. After this, we will conclude this thesis with points for further research.

The formulated main research question was: 'What are the media preferences of young Turkish immigrants living in Rotterdam?'. The most important result from this research is the remarkable shift from transnational television to new media such as the internet. Previous research by Askoy & Robins (2000, 2002), Ogan (2001), Karanfil (2007) and Özdemir (2010) focused on transnational television and an older research audience whose references to media were primarily confined to television and newspaper consumption. This shift in media preference from 'old' media such as newspapers and even television to 'new' media such as the internet, mobile media devices and videogames is not different from changes in media preferences for other youths such as native Dutch. However, the results of this research have shown that the motives behind this shift in media preference could have a deeper lying and prominently cultural factors. Young people of Turkish descent living in the Netherlands use media to maintain part of their identity that they value. As descendants of non-Western immigrants who grew up in a liberal Western society they constantly balance both parts of their identity. There are many influences at play here and this is where the sub questions as formulated can help us further explore this.

The first sub questions posed was: 'What are the influences of social relations with other parties on the media preference of young Turkish immigrants?'. These other parties are in this research mostly categorized in three different parties: parents, personal friends and contacts through a societal organization. The latter will be dealt with in the last sub question. First of all, in the case of our research population, the separate categories of both friends and family (i.e. parents) are both part of the same Turkish social identity group. In general, young people of Turkish descent tend to have a great focus on an ethnically homogenous group of friends. This research has shown that cultural media products play a large part in this. Onwards from puberty, where the first phases of identity construction takes place, friends play a larger part in the selection of cultural media products and the focus shifts from predominantly Dutch children's television to transnational Turkish television.

Here the parents also come into play. Most households of our respondents have one television set. Given the highly respected position of parents and elderly in the Turkish culture, the control over which television channels are being viewed is often in the hands of the parents and, more specifically, the father. This further stimulates a focus in television viewing on Turkish transnational programming. The mediation techniques employed by the parents are a combination of restrictive mediation and co-watching. Restrictive mediation dominates when it comes to the portrayal of taboo subject in the Turkish culture such as scenes with sexual content or even inter-gender contact. However, this does not appear to have a great effect on the media socialization, i.e. the way in which the respondents deal with media content of the Turkish young people themselves. As they grew up in a fairly liberal values oriented Dutch society, they are more comfortable with watching these scenes themselves or together with friends, but abstain from doing so when in the company of elders. The short findings by Özdemir (2010) on substantially fading interest in Turkish cultural media products by third generation Turkish immigrants were not corroborated.

When it comes to the influence of other parties on online media preferences and –behaviour, the role of social network sites is rather intriguing. On the one hand these media tools enable our respondents to further explore and strengthen the bond with the Turkish social identity group through contacts with friends and family, even family in Turkey. But the social control that can be exerted on sites such as Facebook makes young Turkish people more restrained in their use. It is the relative anonymity of online communication that they value. Furthermore, this anonymity could fuel the need for more variation in their media consumption. Online, they can explore a much wider array of interests than they can with television, without the control of parents. Again, they balance both sides of their identity but add multiple layers to this identity with a greater variation in the consumption of cultural media products such as fashion blogs, news and international drama series.

The second research questions pertains to the other matter of our Social Identity Theory, namely the possible influence of the majority social identity group in the Netherlands and Dutch society in general; 'What is the influence of changes in Dutch society and politics on the media preference of young Turkish immigrants?'. This matter can be further divided into experiences with discrimination and the general political and societal discourse. SIT tells us that experiences with discrimination tend to push people closer to their minority social identity group and, in this research, subsequently to more Turkish oriented media channels. The research has shown that young people of Turkish descent do not experience much outright racism. However, as they struggle with balancing both the Turkish and Dutch sides of their identity, they feel that Dutch society labels them as 'Turks'. This makes them feel as outsiders in the Dutch society without having a real stake in it. In turn they themselves claim to relate more to their Turkish cultural side. The relationship between this labeling by Dutch society as 'Turks' and the very strong identification with Turkish culture by young people of Turkish descent was not clearly established in this research. Participants who spoke more about their feelings of implied discrimination did have a stronger focus on Turkish culture and did consume more Turkish media products.

Secondly, in this research we took a look at the possible influences of developments in Dutch politics and society in general. For the last decade, the Netherlands have experienced a rise of a more right-wing political party, with open anti-immigrant and anti-Islam tendencies. The questions would be if these developments could influence the media behaviour of Turkish young people. The respondents themselves signaled that although they do not fully agree with the representation of their people in Dutch media, these developments did not influence the perception of their own identity and subsequently did not influence their media use. Respondents with an already strong focus on Turkish culture claimed to not feel driven towards more Turkish media products and interviewees who followed Dutch politics more closely did not either.

The third sub research question was: 'What is the influence of religiosity on the media preferences and –consumption of young Turkish immigrants in Rotterdam?'. As mentioned previously, Maliepaard et al. (2007) found a strong link between the identity construction of second generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and their religion. For this research this connection was also found, as all but two participants claimed to be Muslim and considered this natural for a person with a Turkish background, while one respondent claimed to be Alevi and also considered this definitive for his identity. However, contrary to Bobkowski (2011) no relationship between religiosity and media behaviour was found. While their parents exercised restrictive mediation when it came to the

taboo subject of sexual media content, our respondents did not feel their religion influenced their media preference, as they often watched content with subjects which are regarded as taboo in their religion.

Finally, the last sub research questions also concerned itself with the possible influence of other parties on media preference and links this with the question on Dutch society: 'What is the influence of membership to a student- or other organization on feelings of belonging to Dutch society and subsequent media use?'. In this research it has come forth that young people of Turkish descent often are a member of an organization, be this student related, socially active, recreative in nature or religiously motivated. When it comes to the influence of these organizations on societal participation, it is important to discern between organizations focused on the maintenance of Turkish culture or organizations with a broader scope. While the former primarily functions to further strengthen the bonds with the Turkish social identity group by for instance providing a Turkish place for students of Turkish descent to meet other students of Turkish background, membership of the latter organization type tend to follow Dutch politics and –news more intensely.

Finally, to conclude this thesis we will take a look at the possible points for further research. This research continued to build on previous research, primarily by Özdemir (2010). It also utilized interviews to further gain insight in motivations for media use. Further research could broaden their focus on a far wider research population using the information gathered in the interviews. An interesting topic that came forth during this research was the use of social media by young people of Turkish descent and the way they adapt their online behaviour to comply to social control while still using new media such as the internet in a way to further explore other parts of their identity and interests, outside of the sometimes difficult subjects of Dutch society and Turkishness. While this research took difference in education level in consideration, this subject could be further explored as some participants indicated that other friends or family with a different level of education displayed a somewhat different set of media preferences.

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