Turkey and Turks in the German media

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Abstract

It is known that the prejudices, which have emerged in the historical process, are engraved in the social memory of the nations; conveyed from the past to the future in language, art, literature, history and many other fields; and reproduced via media especially in the periods of crisis.

Firstly, Turkish-German relations must be examined in the historical process in order to understand how Turkey and Turks are represented in the German media. Accordingly, Turkish-German relations are also important in terms of drawing a general framework on how the West, which has been preserving its topicality for centuries, sees Turkey.

How the subjects and groups are represented in the media texts and what kind of an image are formed in relation with them reveals the social memory of the countries in which the media texts are produced.

The prejudices which have emerged in the social memory of the German people in the historical process have an effect in forming the negative image of Turks by being reproduced via active media especially in the periods of crisis. A negative image of Turks is brought forward with the concepts such as human rights violations, fundamentalism, oppression against the women and the minorities, Kurdish-Turkish discrimination and Alawi-Sunni discrimination.

German media uses as evidence and tries to emphasize their justness on the publications, photographs and images that take place in the Turkish media in terms of especially the concepts mentioned above.

Media texts are dialogues which are formed between the target audience and the narrator who reflects the opinions of the authority elites that are the sources of news. For that reason, representation forms of Turkey and Turks will be associated with the historical prejudices and analyzed with the critical discourse analysis approach in the scope of this study.

Key Concepts: Social memory; prejudice; representation; image; imagery; media.

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Introduction

> "The past never dies. It always lives inside us and constitutes the most important factor that shapes the behavioral patterns of individuals and the communities. Colors of the living have been built especially on the memory of the dead."

Gustave Le Bon

The reality, which the humans have acquired with life experiences while moving forward in the path of socialization, goes beyond being their own natural reality. With the patterns determined by the social, humans do not experience and live their own natural reality but the social reality which is formed in the mediation of the social. The life which is lived with the illusions makes them to perceive the reality as their own reality. Accordingly, the image which is formed with the codes of the culture is actually a subtle make-up that hides the reality behind the senses and the physical appearance and shows the nonexistent as existent. The symbols of the culture are perceived via sense organs; however, they call out to the subconscious. Image is the expression of the subconscious (Yazıcı-Emir; 2003; 39).

According to the definition of Demiray (1994; 403), imagery is abstract and exists in the mind whereas image is a tangible concept which is perceived visually. However, some writers emphasize the image concept as the exact Turkish translation of the imagery (Eren; 1988; 701-702). According to some writers, image is the distortion of the imaginative activity.

Natural reality is a tangible and objective reality that exists outside of humans and independent from the humans and conscious. The problem of reality is a phenomenon that came into existence with the humankind. At first glance, the basic reality seems as the nature itself in the relations between the outside world and the humans because the first thing that humans see around themselves is the outside world, namely the nature. Image is the visual representation of the reality and can be physical or imaginary. Creating image is discussed, but creating imagery is out of question. In this study, the term image will be discussed as the representation of the reality. The term imagery will be discussed as the reflection of the images perceived from the outside on the consciousness. Certain images, which have been put forward by mediating the natural reality with the prejudices due to certain reasons and representing those in the media, are perceived with the accumulated knowledge of the target audiences acquired during their historical development (socialization process) and are evaluated imaginatively.

In the social memory of the German people, the Turkish image has been represented in the scope of two main themes in the historical course either as the military power that threatened Europe or as miserable beings. The prejudices which have emerged in this framework are represented as cruel, barbarian, destructive, expansionist Muslim Turks; miserable, sick man (Ottomans); beings that do not give importance to the human rights; that consider women as second class; that cannot create a civilization; as negative beings in any case; and as a threat to the Christian Europe. Now, social and political events that have become effective in the emergence of these prejudices in the historical process will be briefly discussed.

Reasons for the prejudices about the Turks in the German society

Before discussing the reasons for the prejudices about the Turks in the German society, the term prejudice must be defined. According to Demiray (1994; 636), prejudice is a positive or negative judgment, preconception that has been considered about someone or something beforehand. According to Eren (1998; 1140), prejudice is a positive or negative judgment, prejudgment or preconception about someone or something acquired beforehand in view of certain conditions, events or images. As it is seen, prejudice is to judge someone according to their relation and to communicate with them through that judgment without knowing them or having information about their personality. Behind this preconception, a certain image pattern is formed in one's image about that person. They evaluate the person before them in accordance with this image pattern. Accordingly, the evaluation of the Turks by the German people emerges in line with the Turkish image which has been engraved in their collective imageries via cultural codes that they have acquired in the socialization process.

Acquaintance between the Turks and the Germans occurred in different historical processes and generally due to war until the migration of Turkish workers to Germany in the 60s. The first one of these encounters approximately dates back to a thousand years ago. Since this encounter beginning with the Crusades, some information and documents which reflect emotions, opinions and impressions have survived to our time. These written information and documents feed one another by reflecting upon many fields ranging from the literature to art; from course books to the media; and from social value judgments to the relations. They contribute to the creation and reproduction of the prejudices about the Germans in the collective imagery of the Turks and prejudices about the Turks in the collective imagery of the Germans. The history of the relations between the Turks and the Germans had started long before the departure of the Turks to the Germany as workers or immigrants. The prejudices which emerged as a result of this relation have reflected upon the German

language, literature, music, doctrines of the church, religious traditions, fashion and architecture. It is observed in these sources that there are certain prejudices about the Turks and these prejudices are conveyed from generation to generation.

Prejudices rooted in history

The ideology which always resulted from the Christian fanaticism has been defined as the "Crusader Mentality" in the Turkish public opinion as a result of the hegemony of the Western imperialism which lasted in the Muslim lands for over about a century; the things experienced by the people of these lands due to this hegemony; and disappointments experienced by them and injustices suffered by them in their relations with the West not only in the Ottoman Period but also in the Republican Period. With the engraving of this judgment in the collective consciousness, they have always evaluated and continue evaluating with a distrust every attitude of the Western states towards them regardless of whether or not this distrust had real reasons.

In their studies, many Western scientists use expressions that justify this opinion. When the Muslims of the Middle Ages had seen the first Crusader Armies, they comprehended much later that of which kind of a systematic propaganda they became the target (Nomiku; 1997; 10-11).

The prejudices which formed negative images about the Turks were utilized in order to evoke fear and hatred among the public which had positive presumption about the Ottoman Empire in some issues especially between the 15th and the 16th centuries due to the propaganda performed by the clergymen and the statesmen. Turks had been a symbol of fear as barbarians who threatened Europe until the Vienna defeat in 1683; and they became barbarians not to be feared but mocked and disdained after 1683. In works about Turks, the name Turk was used with the adjectives barbarian and violent.

Prejudices emerged during the crusades

The Europeans named as the Crusades the wars which were generally fought against the Muslims and the Christians that were not Catholics. Later, this name became known as a name given particularly to the campaigns made against the Turks. The Christians, which were motivated by the Popery under the disguise of religion, were supported by the merchant groups, various statesmen and the noblemen (Erer; 1993; 15). The Christians, who wanted to save the tomb of the Jesus from the control of the Muslims, had started performing pilgrimage to the Holy Lands since around 1000. These visits became frequent due to the fact that pilgrimage visits were welcomed by the Arabs. Since the second half of the XIth

century, Western knights were mesmerized with the idea of Holy War. These knights started pilgrimage visits as small armed groups. When they returned, they told about the riches of the Near East and stated that a conquest could be made. March of the Seljuk Turks started threatening the Byzantine again in the same period. In the West, an idea emerged on protecting the Christianity in the East side.

By making use of this environment, Pope Urban II planned making a joint campaign to include all Christians. He asked Christians to arm themselves for Jerusalem and to save the Holy Lands from the control of the Muslims. This call was met with greater enthusiasm than the Popery had expected. Consequently, the Crusades started, which would continue for more than two centuries (Tanilli; 1990; 319-320).

The reasons for the Crusades can be collected in three main groups: 1. Religious reasons: Established before the Crusades, Kuluni order has spread over a large area in Europe. The clergymen coming from this order ensured making peace between the states and the principalities in Europe. After that, they provoked all Christians against the Muslims. 2. Condition of the Byzantine Empire: Seljuk Turks took over Anatolia and moved forward to the environs of Istanbul. European Christians considered it necessary to save their brothers in the East from the control of the Turks. 3. Economic reasons: Due to the fact that Europe was in a great economic depression in the XIth century, the people became very impoverished. Since the Spice Trade routes and the Silk Road were under the control of Muslim Turks, Christians became attracted with those routes (Akşit; 1984; 432-433).

Started with all these reasons, the Crusades motivated the ignorant and poor Christian European communities. Like many European societies, Germans also took the information about the Turks in the Crusades period from the Catholic Church and via clergymen. Due to the fact that the language used by the Church is Latin; that the ratio of people who can write and read was very low; and that Latin was not a language commonly used among the public, the information acquired by the public about the Turks was completely shaped in accordance with the demands of the Catholic Church. By showing the Turks as a potential threat, the Church provoked the Christian public against the Turks. The propaganda pursued by the Catholic Church against the Turks in the Crusades period actualized towards the emotions and opinions of the Christian public.

In the letters, travel notes and other documents written in the Crusades period, Turks were represented negatively either as a power that ensured the rapid spread of a new religion or as heathen, intolerant in terms of humanism, vulgar, harsh, destructive, heartless, merciless and

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sinner people who did not care about moral codes; did not abstain from atrocious attempts; and were able to do any kind of evil (Kula; 1992; 35).

Prejudices emerged with the campaigns made against the west after the conquest of Istanbul by the Turks

On May 30, 1453, Mehmet II entered the city whose new name was Istanbul (Constantinople). After having conquered the capital of the Roman Empire, Mehmet II, both willingly and compulsorily, took possession of the last remnants of the Byzantine Empire and the lands in the Middle East which were under the rule of the Latins (Mantran; 1999; 107, 108, 109). Between 1453 and 1553, the Ottoman Empire was perceived as a superior power in Europe which would be taken as example with its military and political institutions. In his writing written in 1530, Martin Luther, compared the Turks with the Christians and stated that he regarded the Turks as modest and well-mannered people who were simple in their lives and that the people who were living under very harsh conditions in the Eastern Europe virtually saw the Turks as saviors. Suleiman the Magnificent invited Luther to Istanbul. However, when the Ottomans started threatening Germany, Luther, as a German and a Christian, announced the Turks as the "servants of the devil" and asked all Christians to fight against the Turks (İnalcık; 2002/20; 25).

The conquest of Istanbul, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, by the Turks in 1453 was somewhat a warning for the Europeans in terms of the extent reached by the Turkish threat. This conquest made the Europeans exaggerate the Turkish threat too much. The conquest of Istanbul was also regarded as the turning point of the westernization in Turkey in terms Turks' relations with the Europeans. Turks' gaining a great superiority in Turkish-European conflict caused Europeans to embrace an idea of establishing a unity against the Turks by setting aside the conflicts among themselves due to the Turks tapping the door. For that reason, the thesis – which asserts that the idea of the European Union was organized against the threat coming from the East of Europe and it was aimed to establish the political safety of Europe in this aspect – has become an accepted thesis today (Özsoy; 1998; 18-19).

In the period between the conquest of Istanbul and the death of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Ottoman Empire spanned three continents, namely Europe (two million square kilometers), Asia (four and a half square kilometers) and Africa. Having spread to a large region, the Ottoman Empire frequently engaged in conflicts with its neighbor Austria in the West due to the political demands of the countries under its sovereignty and their wayward attitudes. The wars fought against Austria and Russia became the most significant problems

that caused trouble for the Ottoman Empire in the XVIIth century and in the early XVIIIth century. Having lost its power gradually, the Ottoman Empire waged war against Austria to help the Hungarians. Vienna was besieged, and the King of Poland who came to help Austria defeated the Ottoman army in 1683. This defeat became a turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire which entered the decline period at that time. Western states, namely Austria, Venice, Poland and Russia joined forces against the Turks by forming a 'Holy Alliance' (Milliyet; 1991; 117, 122, 123). In this historical course, Turks were regarded as a threat in the Western Europe until the Ottoman Empire was defeated in 1683. The image created about the Turks was engraved in the imagery of the European societies and the documents which was written in that period. Many of those were letters written with a prejudiced point of view lacking objectivity; subjective and biased definitions and expressions lacking scientific aspect in the travel notes of Catholic travelers.

Apart from the Germans, the image of Islam reflected by the Italian priest Ricolde de Monte Croce in his works had the most lasting impact on the process of Turkish image into becoming evident. His writings guided many figures after his time. Martin Luther, one of those figures, completely adapted to Turks the book named 'Confutation of the Koran' in which Ricoldo tells about the results of his observations and examinations during a missionary visit (Kula; 1993; 17). Luther likened the Turks to the devil. According to him, "Turks have no word of God and clergymen to spread this word. For that reason, Turks are rude and filthy hogs who do not know to live and what to believe. If Turks had clergymen who were applying and spreading the word of God, many of them would quit being a hog and be human." According to Luther, Turks burned, chopped and crippled the people without knowing that which Koran was the real Koran (Kula; 1993; 64-65). By translating into German the book named 'Confutation of the Koran' written by Ricoldo, Luther completely adapted to Turks the writings of Ricoldo about the Saracens (Muslims). According to him, Turks are the real external enemy. Therefore, a unity must be established among the Christians against the Turks. Jews living in Europe sympathized with the Turks due to the heavy religious and social oppression suffered by them and the unbearable harshness of the conditions. With this knowledge, Turks made as the points of exit the areas in which Jewish districts were located during wars. For that reason, Luther considered the Turks and the Jews among the reasons for the evilness and he referred to these two cultural communities in the same context from time to time (Kula; 1997; 33).

The leaders of the European countries, who were smothered by the pressure of the Turks and feeling unsettled against the Turks due the weakness resulting from the disorder among themselves and the unfruitful conflicts, longed for creating a new Roman Empire in region that spanned the borders of the old Roman Empire in order to break loose from this psychological pressure (Özsoy; 1998; 20). Political and religious propagandas which caused the emergence of fear of Turks in Europe are effective in our time, too. The image of Turks as barbarian, sanguinary and cruel Muslims continues being the antithesis of the Christian Europe.

Prejudices emerged after the defeat of the Turks in the Second Siege of Vienna

In order to reestablish the unity of the Catholic Church to include all Christians and its administrative function, a conscious propaganda was made stating that Turks were cruel and barbarian. This propaganda changed only after the idea that the Turks are invincible disappeared after the Second Siege of Vienna (Spohn; 1996; 54). In this way, Turks were no longer a threat, but the image of cruel and barbarian Turks formed for years was engraved in the social memory of the Christian Europeans.

Especially negative judgments dominated in the social memory of the Germans and their folk songs about the Turks. For instance, "Bloodhound", "Bloodthirsty dog", "Turkish dog", "Archenemy", "Godless Turks" are among those songs (Spohn; 1996; 75). It is clearly observed that the negative propaganda about the Turks made to the Christian public yielded results. On the other hand, there are two opposite evaluations in the image of Turks given in the operas in the background, namely the positive and the negative evaluation. As we especially mentioned above, Sultan or Pasha is seen as an enlightened human in the 18th century in the operas composed after the defeat of the Turks. His worldview and grace set an example for some German despots. However, common Turks sustained their different negative image as sneaky, cruel, violent, fanatic, slave merchant and eunuch (Spohn; 1996; 74).

The words East and Turk became synonymous in Europe in the course of time. Due to the fact that Caliphate was in the hands of the Ottomans, the Westerners perceived the Ottoman Empire as a power that spanned the Muslim colonies which were under his control. They transformed into "Eastern Question" the prevention of the movement of the Turks into Europe, which continued in the line of history spanned from the Turks' first step on the European lands to the conquest of Istanbul, and sending the Turks back where they came from (Özsoy; 1998; 46-47). The problems experienced by the Christian Europe about the

Turks have continued for centuries without its essence changed and sometimes under the name "Eastern Question" by changing name. Accordingly, the idea of "Muslim Turk" threat was tried to be kept alive, which rooted in the past and held together the Christian Europe in the old Roman Empire region with an idealism of establishing a unity.

The negative prejudices, which were created against the Turks in the European countries that wanted to expel the Turks from Europe, spread with the propaganda performed by the elites and the clergymen and they were conveyed from generation to generation. The image of "Muslim Turk" was utilized for making the Turks as a propaganda material both as an enemy of the religion and as an external threat; for forming negative prejudices; and for elites and clergymen to control and manipulate more easily the public who came together with the emotions of fear and hatred. A bronze engraving entitled "The War Fought by the Germans against the East" made by Hans Andre was placed by the German Nazi government in 1938 in Kahlenberg which is located near Vienna where the Turks were defeated in 1683. In this engraving, there is Star of David on the edge of the Turkish flag (Spohn; 1996; 145). Turks continue being in the agenda of the German state and the Catholic Church as a threat which is sometimes a real one, but usually as one formed via propaganda.

Prejudices emerged with the Turkish-German alliance in Word War I

Beginning with the 19th century, the word Turk began to be used as an offensive word in the diplomatic circles of Europe. According to the Europeans, Turks were tried to be civilized in the last couple of centuries but the efforts made in this course went down the drain in not only the 19th century but also the 20th century. The image formed about the barbarism of the Turks showed its full influence in the World War I. While the Turks had been known in the West as warriors, barbarians but honest fighters up to that period, this image transformed into an image that oppressed, slaughtered and even carried out genocide on the minorities due to the heavy propaganda made during the World War I (Özsoy; 1998; 39).

The World War I broke out due to the conflicts of interest among the powerful states. States primarily including England, Russia, France and Germany began competing for colonization and they wanted to benefit from the weak condition of the Ottoman Empire. England, France and Russia joined forces and already partitioned the Ottoman Empire into a number of pieces among themselves at the beginning of the war. On the other hand, by winning the Ottoman Empire over, Germany both endeavored to actualize its own goals and to find a good ally for itself. All these reasons and tensions between the states forced the Ottoman Empire to join the war (Milliyet; 1991; 266).

Prejudices emerged in the period of Republic of Turkey

The destruction brought by the Treaty of Sevres on Turkey was devastating. On the other hand, Treaty of Lausanne led to the end of the Ottoman Empire and announced the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, Turkish people removed the Armenians from Kars, Ardahan and Trabzon. He quashed the Kurdish uprisings. He expelled the French, the Italian and the Greek from the Turkish land. He brought the secular state concept by officially abolishing the Caliphate. He performed activities towards the modern understanding of the Western countries with the laws like law on Latin alphabet and the surname law. He ensured the enlightenment of the public with campaigns on dress and reading-writing (Galle; 1995; 17-18).

In that period, the cultural relations between Turkey and Germany rather focused on the field of education (Koçak; 1991; 38). Since 1933 in which Hitler's rule was established, the close economic relations existent between Turkey and Germany skyrocketed. Turkey became the country which was on the first rank of Germany's economic expansion program. Having embraced a policy of high price for the raw materials and the agricultural products purchased from Turkey, Germany sold its own industrial products to Turkey at a price higher than the market price and made profit out of this condition. Since other Western countries were purchasing from their own colonies the agricultural products and the raw materials that they could purchase from Turkey, it was not possible for Turkey to develop foreign trade with those countries. Moreover, due to the fact that Turkey based its foreign trade largely on the barter system because of the foreign exchange problem, it could only trade with the countries to which it sold goods. Germany made use of this condition for its own benefit (Koçak; 1991; 200-201).

Prejudices emerged with the migration of Turkish workers

After the World War II, Federal Germany was reestablished and its economy started developing rapidly. Some German firms, which experienced shortage of workforce, began bringing workers from Turkey via their representatives sent particularly for this issue since 1960. On September 1, 1961, the "Turkish-German Worker Exchange Agreement" signed between Federal Germany and Turkey was put into effect, and Federal Germany provided from Turkey the workers it needed until 1973. The first workers and Federal Germany which brought those workers thought that this worker migration was temporary. For that reason, those workers usually came to Germany alone, but then, they brought their wives and children to Germany (Turan; 1992; 27). This condition made a change on the representation

of the immigrants in the media beginning with the early 1970s. Due to the reuniting of the families of Turkish workers, who were in the position of temporary labor force, and these workers' bringing their wives and children to Germany, the opinions of the public that reflected the fear of the public opinion about the invasion of Germany by the foreigners and the Turks were depicted in the German media. On this subject, the magazine Der Spiegel made a cover subject in 1973 with the title "A Million Turks: Turks Are Coming – Everybody Fend for Themselves." Turks living in Germany constitute 30% of the foreigners there with a population reaching 2.3 million (Kondiyoti-Saktenber; 2002; 310-311). According to Pazarkaya (http://www.konrad.org.tr), the negative image of Turks portrayed by the Turks who were mainly forest villagers and came to Germany in the first worker migration was effective in the emergence of the negative prejudice about the Turks.

Europe experienced religion wars for years. These wars were made especially between the Catholics and the Protestants. The XVIth and the XVIIth centuries witnessed the civil wars between the Catholics and the Protestants in many European countries. Despite those bloody religious sect clashes among themselves, the Christians joined forces against the Turks with the hatred which was rooted in the previous centuries with the migration of the Muslims into Europe (Galle; 1995; 17).

The shock of culture and language difference suffered by the migrated Turks without any preparation had a significant effect on the negative development of the image of Turks beginning with the migration of Turkish workers. Being a foreigner is observed especially in eating habits, dressing code, physical features and behaviors among different factors which are regarded as cultural indications. Perceiving foreigners is actualized superficially, but in the form of comparison. Negative traits observed in the foreigners are exaggerated and a habit of limited consideration is established with the categorization through prejudice patterns (Öztürk; 2000; 95, 97).

Among the foreigner groups, Turks became the most disliked group in Germany due to different reasons such as language, religion, physical features, behavioral differences resulting from cultural differences and social prejudices.

Turks living in Turkey contribute to the formation of the negative image of Turks in Germany. The image of Turks portrayed in the novels, stories, songs and the media on this issue shows parallelism with the prejudices of the German people. For instance, images of "Easterner proud bad men", "morbid murderers" and "fearless young men who struggle against the evil forces" are observed in the examples given by Nurdan Gürbilek in her book

entitled "Kötü Çocuk Türk" and television series like "Kara Melek", "Yılan Hikâyesi", "Deli Yürek" and "Aynalı Tahir" (Gürbilek; 2001; 90).

Discourses are different in the media, German public opinion and beyond the international borders between Turkey and Germany. The typical appearance of a Turkish family in the German media are dominated by an image of Turks which is composed of mothers coming from rural areas and who wear headscarf; fathers who control their daughters and establish dominance over other members of the family; family honor; acts of violence with knives; and fearless elder brothers (Kondiyoti-Saktenber; 2002; 308-309).

Reproduction of the prejudices about the Turks in the German society in the media texts

Ideologies are acquired by way of language use and conveyed also by way of language use. Many of the ideological opinions are learned either by listening to family, friends or other members of a group, or by reading and watching. In this way, ideologies are expressed via discourses and reproduced in the society (Van Dijk; 2003; 18). Discourse comes out with meaning's moving in the tongue. On the other hand, ideology deals with the fact that how this meaning is set in motion for the benefit of certain people and groups (Sancar Üşür; 1997; 89). Ideology is the semiotic rules which are used to produce the messages. Reading ideology means to read to hidden side of the messages. Discourse is what the message says whereas ideology is the coding that determines what is possible to say. Coding of the message involves acts of encoding and decoding. Encoding defines the annotation whereas decoding defines the connotation. Decoding occurs in the scope of the meaning that different groups ascribe to that code. The effect created by the ideology ensures the message in the discourse to be coded in a certain direction (Sancar Üşür; 1997; 89).

According to Althusser (1994; 35, 43, 45, 60), ideology names the individuals as subjects. The actualization of the ideology can only be possible via the subject. Means of mass communications, which are among the ideological apparatuses of the government, operate by using the ideology. Like other ideological apparatuses of the government, these gravitate towards the same goal. Each of them contributes to this single goal via idiosyncratic way for the reproduction of the production relations, in other words, the reproduction of the capitalist exploitation relations. While political apparatus adjusts the individuals to the political ideology of the government, the news apparatus feeds all citizens with doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism and similar emotions via press, radio and television. Hence, means of mass communications which serve the purpose of sustaining the capitalist

order are covered and hidden universally by the dominant bourgeoisie ideology. In this way, the reproduction relations of the capitalist social formation, in other words, the reproduction of the relations between the exploiter and the exploited ensure the ideology of the dominant class to be placed in the minds.

Subjects, via discourse, internalize the ideology which is composed of the beliefs, values and attitudes that govern the community that is in the socialization process. For that reason, the individuals are made subjects by the discourses which are kept open to them and made accessible for them. For the powers that constitute an ideological entirety to form hegemony by becoming dominant, it holds a vital importance to take the control of the structural features of written and verbal communication (Yağcıoğlu; 2002; 5-6).

According to İnal (1996; 22, 95), the point of origin regarding how the power/authority relations are built in the discourse is not the news but the social structures. In order to reveal the forms of the establishment of these relations in language and discourse, it is necessary to discuss the subject in an interpretation process.

Social formation is composed of three main levels, namely economy, politics and ideology. According to Van Dijk, ideology, which constitutes one of the levels that build up the social formation, is interested in the opinions, particularly in the social, political and religious ideas shared by a group or a movement. According to him, ideologies are the deep-rooted beliefs of the members of a group. The term ideology possesses not only many definitions but also different areas of use. Ideology is used so as to mean false consciousness; popular but misleading beliefs; and ideas planted by the ruling class in order to justify the status quo and to hide socio-economic conditions of the workers. In the political uses of the term, this negative concept of ideology envisages the polarization of "us and them" as a false, misleading and deceptive system of beliefs and the social conflict between the ingroup and the outgroup. It is the use of language and discourse that affect how we acquire, learn and change the ideologies (Van Dijk; 2003; 16, 18).

In the expression of the relation between the social opinion and the social reality, concepts such as mediation, imagery, symbolization began to be used instead of the false consciousness concept.

Representation means to establish the reality via language. Discourse not only reproduces the reality but also defines and builds it. Imagery is the possible forms of living that define the social, and differ and vary indefinitely from one society to the other. The past and the present of the society are defined via symbols and myths. Accordingly, discourse is defined as the

original pattern of the imaginary one. Symbolic system is the level in which the social reality is defined. Symbolic one builds the discourses as language and interpretation practices. Mediation is defined as the change process experienced by the reality until it reaches the opinion. In negative sense, mediation is the disguise of the social reality. Mediation in positive sense was developed by the Frankfurt School. Here, instead of twisting the change in the mediation process, all active relations between the different types of being and consciousness are mediated (Sancar Üşür; 1997; 123-126).

Ideologies can be developed cognitively since they configure the social representations. Due to the fact that ideologies control the social practices indirectly in general sense and discourse in particular sense, the subsequent apparent social function of the ideologies is to allow and facilitate the common action and not only the cooperation and interaction of the members of the ingroup but also the interaction with the members of the outgroup. These are the social micro level functions of the ideology. In macro level, ideologies are defined in terms of group relations such as authority and dominance in the most common way. Ideologies serve as a function to maintain mental control for justifying the authority of the authority elites (Van Dijk; 2003; 48).

Positioning of the news in the critical media understanding – which is a part of the existent social reality and which is considered as a mediator that builds up and defines the reality usually for the benefit of governing/dominant classes through sometimes challenging and controversial, and sometimes guided and closed interpretation practices – shows compliance with this framework.

Discourse is the discussion of the use of language in terms of culture and society. The basic reason for discourse analysis is to perceive the human communication in its entirety. This holism prevents the discourse from being limited to an abstract language and linguistics dimension, and provides opportunity for different points of view. Discourse approaches are divided into two categories, namely critical and non-critical discourses.

Non-critical approach discusses discourse practices in a descriptive and expressive way. On the other hand, critical approach goes beyond describing discourse practices and use of language and shows how the discourse is shaped by power/authority and ideology and how the social identity, social relations, information and belief systems are effective in terms of social culture. Critical approach argues that social values determine language/discourse (Kocaman; 2003; 10-11). Critical approach is directed against all types of abuse of power and dominance, and focuses on the ideological basis of the dominance.

Ideology constitutes the basis for the total of system of ideas expressed in the communication; emotions, opinions, attitudes conveyed by consciousness groups or the individuals. Hegemony is a process that operates with the conveyance of the dominant ideology, consciousness formation of the consciousness and social authority experience (Lull; 2001; 19).

Critical discourse analysis approach emerged as a sociopolitical praxis that critically makes the use of language an object of analysis. In view of the fact that economic, cultural and political sources are not equally shared in modern societies, this praxis aims to contribute to make this distribution just. The use of power in a way that generates social inequality by the elites, institutions and subjects can emerge as a political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and sexual discrimination. The aim is to analyze with a critical approach the cultural texts, in which this excessive social injustice and the imbalance between the powers are justified and naturalized, and to exhibit and reveal justification mechanisms. Accordingly, the aim is to transform the current order and to contribute to the establishment of a more just order among various groups that form the society (Yağcıoğlu; 2002; 3-4).

Critical discourse analysis is to analyze the language as discourse. That is, it shares the concern of critical social sciences to show how socio-economic systems are built upon the domination, exploitation, and dehumanization of people by people, and to show how contradictions within these systems constitute a potential for transforming them in progressive and emancipatory directions. Critical discourse analysis views texts as a moment in the material production and reproduction of social life, and analyzes the social work done in texts as a significant focus of materialist social critique. Critical discourse analysis builds upon critical linguistics due to the fact that it centers the conceptualization of language as discourse and more explicitly locates critical language analysis within critical social sciences (Faircloucgh ve Graham; 188-189).

Critical discourse analysis approach emphasizes not only the economic basis but also the cultural dimensions of the society, ideological culture and capitalist social relations. Critical discourse analysis gravitates towards the social problems. Characteristics of critical discourse analysis are as follows:

1. Power relations are discursive.

2. Discourse establishes the society and the culture.

3. Three main determinant of the life established discursively; "representations" as the representations of the world, "relations" between humans and "identities" which are the social and personal identities of humans.

4. Discourse operates ideologically; ideologies are the partial ways of establishing and representing the society which produces unequal power relations, dominance and abuse relations.

5. Discourse is historical. Discourse cannot be produced without context and cannot be understood without taking context into account. Context is always historical. Discourse must always be inherent in the culture, ideology and lifestyles. Discourse refers to not only present but also history. That is because language is historical.

6. The connection between the text and the society is the connection between the macro and the micro. Critical discourse analysis is an interpretative and expressive approach which involves the discourse analysis that draws connections not only between social and cultural structures and processes but also between the texts; a critical reading; a systematic methodology and the research on the context (Sözen, 1999; 143-147).

Conclusion and assessment

In the study, headlines and news in Die Tageszeitung, Die Welt Online, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Spiegel Online have been examined with keywords "Turkey and Turks" since January 1, 2008 to date via critical discourse analysis approach.

In view of that, Turkey and Turks are represented negatively in newspaper Die Welt with the following subjects, headlines and keywords as follows: terror; prohibited; headscarf; Alawis; Kurds; prohibition of alcoholic beverages; bootleg; murder; football; cross-border operation; Turks are not able to adapt to Europe; arson; Turks are the new Jews of Germany; Hrant Dink assassination; prevention of assassination attempt on Orhan Pamuk; Turkey has been ordered by the European Court of Human Rights to pay compensation to Kurds; not only Germans but also Turkey do not want Turkey to join the European Union; news on the speech of General Başbuğ in which he emphasized "people of Turkey"; there are 2 million and 81 thousand Turks living in Germany and Turks want double passport; 72% of the foreigners living in Turkey is composed of Turks; there is still a problem of integration even in the 2nd and 3rd generation and there are unskilled youngsters. In the photos used, Turkish

women wear headscarf and long dresses, they are pictured only with other women, and they are fat, rugged and aimless.

In the news, Turkish men are represented with terror, murder, violence and football concepts. Turkey and Turks are negatively represented especially in the news which is given by stating that Turkey will not be able to join the European Union due to the bitter responses of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan.

Turkey and Turks are negatively represented in the news given in Die Tageszeitung as follows; Turkey's close relations with the USA; Turkey is unreliable; Turkey is not familiar with Germany, and accordingly, Europe; and Turkey is not a suitable candidate to join the European Union.

In the news covered by Spiegel Online, it is observed that Turkey and Turks are negatively represented as follows; a Turk who raped an 8-year-old Turkish girl and fled to Turkey; an honor killing which involves 6 people from the same family; production of bootlegs; Turks are not able to integrate into Germany.

In the news covered by Süddeutsche Zeitung, Turkey and Turks are negatively represented with implied mocking expressions as follows; "open-closed diplomacy between Turkey and Armenia" to make fun of talks between Turkey and Armenia, "Honey and milk flow from the taps of Germany", "Turkey recognizes the NATO Secretary General".

In the news covered by Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Turkey and Turks are also negatively represented with mocking expressions as follows; headscarf prohibition; Turkey is under the patronage of the USA; Turkey shows the USA as reference in order to be accepted into the European Union; NATO Secretary General election showed why Turkey cannot join the European Union; elections will be held in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus which is recognized only by Turkey.

Consequently, in the news examined since January 1, 2008 to date, Turks living in Germany are negatively represented as follows; people who do not integrate and do not want to integrate into the German public; people who object to learn German; people who have many kids; people who are lazy; people who take unemployment compensation without working; people who exert violence on women; that even the newly grown generations are unqualified and lazy; that they are Muslim and have a different culture; that they are potential threat to the German public.

Turkey is represented with the following words: prohibition of alcoholic beverages; headscarf; danger created by bootlegs; oppression on the Alawis; oppression and violence on

the Kurds; and with keywords such as unreliable, violent, oppressive, different and dangerous in the identity of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan.

As it is stated in the article, the emphasis on the unity of Europe was set forth against the Turkish threat. As Samuel Huntington asserts in his "The Clash of Civilizations" theory, Christianity was defined as the opposite of Islam. Moreover, this fact is a very old argument that dates back to the period of the "Crusades".

In addition, there is a concern that Turkey will play an active role in the decisions of the European Union due to the fact that the country will have right of representation in the European Parliament (EP) in proportion to its population if it is accepted into the European Union. As a response to the possible integration of Turkey into the European Union, by hiding the real reasons for the problems created by the economic crisis, both the prejudices coming from the history and the prejudices emerged with the migration of Turkish workers are used in the representation of Turkey and Turks in order to create a negative public opinion in the media.

After Germany's Federal Employment Agency (BA) announced in January 29, 2009 that the number of the unemployed rose to 1 million 489 thousand, some incidents occurred involving setting on fire the houses in which Turks were living. Four people were killed in Ludwigshafen. In the environs of Marburg city, a house in which three Turks were living was set on fire. Fires broke out in two separate places in Kreuzberg district of Berlin where Turks were densely living. After that, in Pforzdam city, two fires broke out in the houses where Turks were living, and 11 people were affected from the smoke and taken to the hospital.

Consequently, the emergence of the arson incidents as a result of the negative influence created on the public opinion via media by the elites who hold the power/authority in the periods of economic crisis has proven the hypothesis of the study.

Moreover, the obstacles faced by Turkey in the process of integration to the European Union can be listed as follows:

1. The fact that the unity of Europe is based on Christianity and it was established to protect this unity against the Turks.

2. The fact that Christianity was structured as the opposite of Islam.

3. The fact that European Union member states established their national unity by showing the Turks as their opposite (Greece).

4. Fears rooted in history (The fact that Turks were perceived as a threat until the Second Siege of Vienna).

5. Prejudices rooted in history.

6. Prejudices emerged with the migration of Turkish workers (The fact that Turkey and the Turks are perceived in accordance with the Turks living in Germany).

7. Obstacle created by the population density (As it has been stated above, the fact that Turkey will have right of representation in the EP in proportion to its population).

8. Economy's weak condition.

9. Cultural difference.

10. Unemployment experienced in the European Union countries (The unemployment rate is about 4 million in Germany and it is possible that this rate will rise due to the economic crisis).

The arguments that I have made above set forth that Turkey's integration into the European Union is quite unlikely.

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