

Turkish and Kurdish Media Production in Europe: A Comprehensive Overview*

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In his panorama of the ethnic media, Jean-Paul Marthoz (2001) rightly notes the « mediatic profusion » of the migrants from Turkey. If the publication of the European editions of the Turkish press is relatively precocious, it is however difficult to mention a real plurality. In the 1970-80s, the Turkish State gives the means to the public media and encourages the ones in its favour to be diffused in Europe. The establishment of the national Turkish media amongst the migrants leads to a partisan information and supplies with nostalgia of the homeland. From the 1990s, the implementation of new information and world communication technologies permits the migrants from Turkey to develop new media. The intensification of exchanges produces dynamic effects on groups, especially political and religious ones, which would not have grown on the international sphere without overtaking traditional communication. As Arjun Appadurai notes, « we need to pay a special attention to the relation between mass mediation and migration, the two facts that underpin my sense of the cultural politics of the global modern. In particular, we need to look closely at the variety of what have emerged as *diasporic public spheres*. [...] As mass mediation becomes increasingly dominated by electronic media (and thus delinked from the capacity to read and write), and as such media increasingly link producers and audiences across national boundaries, and as these audiences themselves start new conversations between those who move and those who stay, we find a growing number of diasporic public spheres » (A. Appadurai 1997: 21-22). Even if I would not use the word « diasporic » to define the initiatives of the migrants from Turkey on the European public spheres, my general argument is that ethnic media are playing an increasingly centrality to the exercise of full citizenship. This full citizenship, which confirms the Habermasian notion of active citizenry, should not only be understood in a legal sense, but as a key word in debates over desirable combinations of rights, responsibilities and competences. In Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson words, « the fundamental problem is to work out new rules of conviviality, which provide not only the basis for equality, but also the conditions for cross-cultural communication and the development of a new sense of community » (S. Castles & A. Davidson 2000: viii). In fact,

* This text takes up elements of my paper “Les médias des migrants de Turquie en Europe” in I. Rigoni & R. Blion (2001), p.207-220.

the collaboration between national and ethnic media would contribute to enhance both conviviality and cross-cultural communication.

I take in this paper the case of the Turkish and Kurdish media in the European countries of immigration. In practice, I intend to emphasise the main moments and actors of the Turkish and Kurdish media in Europe, as well as outline the trends and tendencies of the media consumption of the migrants. In so doing, I will focus my contribution on the analysis of the role of these media in the processes of inclusion, exclusion, participation and community building.

Monopoly and homeland nostalgia

The Turkish State has been for a long time much more active and influential in the media than in the migrant associative sphere. Until the 1980s, the migrant associations reproduce the multiplicity and the complexity of the political and religious currents available in Turkey, without any intervention of the Turkish State. The freedom of association, authorised to the foreigners in Germany in 1964 and made easier in France in 1981, encourages associative initiatives. The exile of political refugees permits the organisations to make up an important human and financial fish pond while the mother-organisations are victims of the insufficiency of democratisation in Turkey. The Turkish State took its time in creating a space of control in the host countries of the immigrants (pressure for the ban on illegal organisations, campaigns of Turkish politicians by the migrants, exportation of the Turk-Islamic synthesis). At the end of the 1970s, the domination of the Turkish State on the media is much more obvious than on the political and religious organisations.

The Turkish national press has been exported for more than twenty years before the opposition newspapers (left-wing and religious) have been published in Europe. From 1971 to 1990, the Turkish-speaking dailies available in Europe vary from liberal, nationalist, religious and conservative trends (see table 1). As an exception, *Milli Gazete*, only available on subscription or in the associations belonging to the Islamic network *Milli Görüş*, is the most serious concurrent to the press delivered by newsagents. The main Turkish dailies are published in Germany and immediately delivered overall Europe with a supplement related to the situation of the migrants in which the political tone and vocabulary are often more radical.

Likewise, before the liberalisation of the airwaves, the Turkish State made sure of the monopoly of the diffusion. It built television relays supplying a better coverage to the State channels TRT 1, 2, 3, 4 and TRT-INT(ernational) picked up in Europe since 1990. The Turkish State is the first to provide the migrants with television broadcasts through the TRT-INT channel which concerns also the « Diş Türkler » (outside Turks) living in Caucasia and Central Asia (TRT-INT Avrasya). This policy is clearly exposed in the review of the Turkish post office and telecommunication services, *PTT Dergisi*: «TV-5-International in Europe: according to their requests, our fellow workers in Europe directly link up to the Turkish-speaking television. Nostalgia is done: our fellow workers, living by tens of thousands in Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, France and other central European countries, have the possibility to learn the news in Turkey, to listen their own music, to bring up their children according to their own culture. In so doing, [...] our fellow workers in Europe get rid of uncontrolled [*denetimisiz*] broadcasts from the cabled TV channels which emit without any knowledge and consciousness [*bilinçsizce*], and are the copies of the German and Dutch broadcasts. » (S. de Tapia *et alii* 1997: 153-154). The homeland nostalgia (*vatan hasretleri*) is a recurrent theme of the Turkish official literature. It is taken up by the State to justify the « extrusion » of the Turkish television. While redefining the different aspects of the so-called Turkish identity, the Turkish State intends also to create the image of a unified community representing the interests of Turkey.

New technologies help old media

New information and world communication technologies counterbalance the State power, which can not anymore claim the seizure of the information on the whole media production. Firstly, the press diversifies as the popularity rating of the biggest national dailies erode. In Turkey, the press hardly maintain its sales which fall in two years of 500 000 copies, going from 3 millions in 1987 to 2 500 000 in 1989 (*Turkish Daily News* 16.04.99). The national dailies, in their majority, do not manage to go beyond the crisis. During the 1990s, television campaigns, lottery and seductive covers try, without great success, to regain the depoliticised readers. The papers are often poor and rarely affect the society; politics are covered by the institutional news and editorials. Although technically modern and still financially viable, the Turkish press suffers from the lack of investigative journalists who fear legal prosecutions, imprisonment (İsmail Besikçi, Ragip Duran) and even extra-legal execution (Metin Göktepe)

(Reporters sans frontières 1998). (Self)censorship plays an important role in the trend towards desinformation. Nevertheless, some newspapers intend to break the impasse, such as the daily *Radikal* or the satirical weekly *Leman* whose sales have shot up but which is read by the urban young middle-class.

In Europe, the success of the Turkish national dailies follows the curve already drawn up in Turkey. The biggest newspapers, *Hürriyet*, *Türkiye*, *Sabah* et *Milliyet*, maintain the same order on the sale panorama as in Turkey. However, other newspapers are sold by the European newsagents in the 1990s: the Sunni *Zaman* (1990), the left-wing Kemalist *Aydınlık* (1992), the pro-Kurdish *Özgür Politika* (1995), the leftish *Cumhuriyet* (1996), the leftist *Emek* (1996), the liberal *Sabah* (1996), the right-wing nationalist *Ortadoğu* (1996) as well as two weeklies (1990) (see table 1). Although the most critical newspapers are not distributed among migrants, the Turkish press offers a wider pluralism. Moreover, the Internet favours access to both Turkish and Kurdish newspapers, especially to those which are not distributed in Europe or whose diffusion is confirmed among the political, religious or ethnic associations.

The main media changes are certainly related to the popularisation of the satellite television together with the liberalisation of the waves in Turkey. The end of the State monopoly occurs abruptly with the pressure of the public opinion – to begin with economic actors – and the migrants. The first private experience is carried by Ahmet Özal (son of the late President), who creates in 1990 the channel *Star*, broadcasting on the Turkish networks from Germany. Consequently, the broadcasts then the channels dedicated to the migrants increase. Transmitters are built in Europe and are then transferred in Turkey. In front of the popular craze for private broadcasts, the CHP-DYP coalition government (People's Republican Party of Deniz Baykal, Right Path Party of Tansu Çiller) is forced to ratify the practice and amend the article 133 of the Constitution. The High Council of radio and television, immediately created, remains overall powerless facing the exponential growth of the media. Stéphane de Tapia has counted 1 010 radios and 620 television channels broadcasting in 1995 on the Turkish territory (S. de Tapia *et alii* 1997: 158)! Consequently, the Turkish satellite offer explodes in Europe with 25 TV channels as soon as 1996 (see table 2). Most of them belongs to private owners and are broadcasted via the satellites Eutelsat and Türksat, with some exceptions. They are mainly commercial (for 16) although some are religious (one pro-*Refah*, another belonging to Fethullah Gülen and a third controlled by the daily *Türkiye*) or political

(such the Pro-Kurdish Medya-TV). We must add 17 radio channels, of which some have Kurdish-speaking broadcasts, generally linked to the television channels and transmitted by the same satellites or even by Internet. This situation implies less a loss of sovereignty from the European States than from Turkey, which can not control the broadcasts transmitted from abroad. While the Turkish State claims its right to destroy the satellite antenna in the South-eastern areas under state of emergency, it only temporarily achieves to make ban the broadcasts of the Kurdish channel Medya-TV (I. Rigoni 2001).

The widespread access to the new technologies benefits the immigrants. They now are more easily linked to their homeland and also to the political and religious networks which have gained powerful ways of mobilisation. In Turkey as well as in migration, the conservative or so-called traditional groups instrumentalise the new technologies. During its electoral campaigns, the Sunni *Refah* Party has indeed broadly taken advantage of the opportunities given by the televised mediatisation, using TV sets for political debates and creating its channel *Kanal 7* in 1995. The satellite offer, the exchange of fax messages and electronic mails, the use of mobile are so many elements, which bring non-State actors new resources, quicker and highly efficient, and able to escape State control. This communicational network offers the modern group its modes of preservation and perpetuation. The multi-angle relations between the migrants, the host countries and Turkey have become more acute. This is especially the case for the Kurds.

The Kurdish media: Plural Voices

It is advisable to add to the panorama of the Turkish and Kurdish media many initiatives, mainly conducted by associative militants. In this respect, the Kurdish associations are particularly prolix and often represent by their own existence a challenge to the States. While the coverage of the conflict by the Occidental media is weak or motivated by imperatives related to home security (O. Grojean 2000), the Kurdish media grow, especially the press, as well as information and propaganda. This has been distributed in Europe since the early 1980s and expanded with the settlement of the migrants and the arrival of the asylum seekers in the late 1990s. Besides the pro-Kurdish daily successively named *Yeni Ülke*, *Özgür Gündem*, *Özgür Ülke*, *Yeni Politika* or *Özgür Politika* and distributed since 1995, dozens of newspapers and magazines are published by Kurdish associations and private publishers in Europe. I have

found 77 of them (see table 3). The publishers are mainly located in Germany (25 of them) and in Sweden (21), then in Belgium (6), in France (5) and in the United-Kingdom (1). The periodicals, often monolingual or bilingual but more rarely multilingual, are mainly written in a Kurdish language (Kurmanji: 38, Zaza: 11, Sorani: 8), in Turkish (31), then in German (12), in French (7), in English (7) or in other languages (4). Most of them are dealing with political and cultural questions, some are dedicated to women, young people or intra-Kurdish minorities, while the epicentre of the artistic production is in Sweden. Delivered through efficient associative networks, many of these newspapers (especially the Feyka bulletins, close to the former Kurdish Workers Party of Abdullah Öcalan, and the Komkar publications, close to the Kurdistan Socialist Party of Kemal Burkay) benefited from the Internet. Moreover, some websites (such as the Kurdistan Library and Documentation Center, based in Stockholm, and the Kurdistan Web) supply many links with periodicals. Besides the migrants, the Kurds living in Turkey have access to the information provided on the world wide web: in addition to the multiplication of Internet café in the whole country, 2,2 millions of people have had subscribe to Internet at mid-January 2001 (*Sabah* 28.01.01). A huge part of the information available in Europe but forbidden in Turkey become accessible to the Kurds, wherever they live.

Perhaps more than the press accessible to the Internet readers only, the satellite television constitutes an important vector for ethnicity and favours the identity continuation without taking part in the armed conflict. Medya-TV (called Med-TV then CTV) is the only representative of the Turkish Kurds while two other Kurdish television have been created in Iraqi Kurdistan (Kurdistan TV emits from Erbil since December 1998, Kurdsat TV emits from Suleimanieh since January 2000). Medya-TV is created during autumn 1994 when the liberalisation of the waves frees Turkey from the monopoly of national diffusion. Moreover, the Kurdish question seems at that time more than ever in an impasse: the methods employed by the government of Tansu Çiller (June 1993-January 1996) seriously embittered the conflict. Most of Medya-TV broadcasts are made in Denderleeuw near Brussels before being sent to London for the satellite transmission. Some offices are also located in Köln (film purchase, translations), Stockholm (Iran and Iraqi Kurds broadcasts and translations), Moscow (translations) and, since late 2000, La Plaine-Saint-Denis in the suburb of Paris. Over around 150 people working, sometimes as volunteers, for the Kurdish TV channel, most of the journalists are Kurds while several Europeans deal with technical and administrative matters (I. Rigoni 2000). Most of them emphasise the role of Medya-TV as an information

channel, insisting on the function of interface between the migrants, the families and political organisations on both sides of the Turkish-Kurdish areas. Some report the existence of a consensus within the team, justified by the « priority of struggle » a mutual enemy, the Turkish State, essential cement of the channel. The Turkish State does not hesitate to abuse its power to stop the Kurdish TV from broadcasting and its output to be received. Several episodes disclose the clashes between Medya-TV and the Turkish State. In Turkey, the jamming of Medya-TV broadcasts intensified after the escape and the kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan, while the Turkish government tried to make the European States aware of the channel's closure. At several times, the collaboration of the Turkish and European police turned out to be quite effective, especially in Belgium, in Germany and in France. The British licence of the Kurdish channel has even been suspended and Medya-TV could not broadcast from March 22 to May 29, 1999 following accusations relative to « appeals to violence ».

The Kurdish media often share the particularity to have been created by and to be sustained thanks to associative militants implicated in the Kurdish identity and cause recognitions, both at local, national and international levels. Moreover the information processing is sometimes radically different depending on whether the media are Turkish, Kurds or European. The example of the papers published from the arrival of Abdullah Öcalan in Italy to his kidnapping in Kenya and his death sentence in Turkey is particularly useful. On the one hand, two main Turkish dailies unanimously denounce the barbarity of this « children killer » and the « terror » he provoked in Turkey from the beginning of the armed struggle of the PKK in 1984. On the other hand, the Kurdish media, including those who never defended Öcalan before, as well as, original phenomenon, some publications of extreme left-wing movements, rise up against the extrusion of the Turkish sovereignty and the influence of the professional army on the political and judicial affairs. The comparison with the edition of November 22, 2000 will illustrate this dichotomy. The pro-Kurdish daily *Özgür Politika* publishes on its first page a huge picture of the manifestation led by « 100 000 » sympathisers of the PKK in front of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, with the slogan « free Öcalan and peace in Kurdistan ». On the same day, the nationalist daily *Hürriyet* publishes also on its first page a picture of the same size showing this time the Strasbourg march of the Turks « against terror ». The information processing is here radically different and reproduces faithfully the Turkish political debate. In the same time, the discourse of the European media evolves and becomes more nationally oriented, referring to the only events occurring on their own territories. In Europe, the propensity to violence of the PKK frightens and, in some cases, the

concept of terrorism is used by the press to the end of political disqualification (some talk about a so-called imported war). In that context, the Kurdish or pro-Kurdish media deserve credit for proposing a third path which does not content itself with the defence of its own interests but also provides free information. While the State and government's successive leaders increase their declarations, in the biggest Turkish dailies, against the use of Kurdish languages (*Milliyet* 26.12.99, *Hürriyet* 01.11.99), on the contrary, the Kurdish media in Europe prove that their use do not stand in the way of Turkey's integrity but is rather an effect of the democratisation of the country. Last but not least, the Kurdish media take a stand against a Turkish press which does not deal with Kurdish-related issues. It is the same, for other reasons, with the youngsters of Turkish and Kurdish origin born in European countries. These young people do not recognise themselves fully neither in the Turkish traditional media nor in the European ones.

The Young German-Turkish Journalists on the Spotlight

In the middle of a moral and financial crisis, the Turkish press remains stiff. The financial crisis that affected all the biggest newspapers in February 2001 resulted in the redundancy of many journalists and leading writers in both Europe and Turkey¹. Above all, the Turkish press does not meet directly with the interests of the youngsters of Turkish or Kurdish origin, whose media consumption is also oriented towards the European media. Indeed, we observe a real consumer strategy since these young people direct their choices rather according to the market offer than to a national or ethnic preference. The surveys carried out in November/December 1991 and in October 1997 by the Office for Foreigners of the Berlin Senate (*Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin*) on a representative sample of 1,000 16-25-year-old young people from Turkish and Kurdish origin, show that trend, which I have also observed during qualitative research carried out in France and in Germany.

To the question « *What are your main means of information?* » asked in the surveys of the Berlin Senate, the television arrives at the first place: the German TV channels interest 72,7% of the young people approached in 1997 against 75,4% in 1991, and the Turkish TV channels interest 68,7 % (against 53,5 %). The German press is read by 52,3 % (59,1 %) of the young people interviewed and the Turkish press by 48 % (50,9 %). The German radio broadcasts are

¹ Gürsel Köksal, « Krise als Chance begreifen », *Persembe*, 8 March 2001 (and *Cumhuriyet-Hafta*, 03.03.01). See also: <<http://www.medyakronik.com/guncel/280201m.htm>>.

listen by 28,6 % (40,9 %) and the Turkish ones by 17,4 % (19,7 %) (Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin 1997: 35). Consequently, from 1991 to 1997, the interest of young people for the German TV channels are declining (- 2,7 points) while their attraction for the Turkish TV channels increases (+ 14,8 points). The liberalisation of the Turkish waves and the diversification of the market offer an important role in this renewed interest. On the reverse, the listening of the radio broadcasts suffers a notorious decline for the German ones (- 12,3 points) and a noticeable decline for the Turkish ones (- 2,3 points). This evolution can be explained by the irruption of the Turkish television into the European satellite scene, which propose many musical broadcasts for youngsters (animation, video clips, etc.). The great loser of the surveys is the press, even if the Turkish press loose relatively less readers than the German press (- 2,9 points against - 12,3 points).

These consumption trends depend of course on the practice and the knowledge of German language, which follow the generation change. The younger Turks are the people approached, the more they are interested in German-speaking rather than in Turkish-speaking media. However, many of these young people are privileged by information given in the two languages rather than in one (amongst the 18-24-year-old, 51% read the press in the two languages and 63,5% watch television in the two languages). If this practice reveals their double belonging, the choice of the language is also a rational action that compromises with the market offer. Turkish television is generally preferred for its talk shows, news, variety shows and sport broadcasts while the German television is chosen for its film programmes. Concerning the press, the young people rather read the Turkish dailies and the German weeklies or magazines. Above all, the information on current affairs is mainly followed in Turkish whereas German is essential in domains not much covered by the Turkish media or by those who are not much competent.

In the political and institutional sphere, the young people who benefit from multiple belongings meet a strong media homogeneity leaving little place for them. In Europe, the take off of the media went hand in hand with the development of the modern concept of the nation, and contributes to consolidate the national « imagined communities ». Benedict Anderson (1991) did us a service in identifying the way in which certain forms of mass mediation, notably at involving newspapers, novels, and other print media, played a key role in imagining the nation and in facilitating the spread of this form to the colonial world in Asia and elsewhere. Arjun Appadurai's general argument is also that « there is a similar link to be

found between the work of imagination and the emergence of a postnational political world » (A. Appadurai 1997). Indeed, press, cinema, radio and advertisement (R. Bachollet *et alii* 1992) have permitted the standardisation of popular ideologies, to make them homogeneous and also to exploit them deliberately to ends of propaganda (E. Hobsbawm 1990). Likewise, in Niklas Luhmann words, « the social *function* of the mass media is to be found [...] in the memory generated by it » (N. Luhmann 2000: 65).

Today, the role of television is particularly salient. Conceived as a play-educational instrument at the junction of private (by its use) and collective (as a mass media) spheres, television is one of the main ways of socialisation (C. Frachon 1993: 66-80). Now the images echo the received ideas: the immigrant would be a teenager of a foreign origin, rap musician and tagger, living in an area where of raging unemployment and violence. The image of the good immigrant is the one of the Black or Maghrebian worker in France, Turk in Germany, or Black or Asian in Britain, dressed in worker clothes on building sites or roadworks, stretcherbearer in a hospital, bus driver, or hanged up on the handle of a dustbin truck or on a broomstick. Disguised by its uniform, the immigrant becomes harmless. Shown sometimes invisible as a delinquent, sometimes as a victim, the immigrant suffers from an image often discredited, sometimes from racism (J. ter Wal 2002, S. Cottle 2000). This leads to the debate on the construction of reality (N. Luhmann 2000, A. Giddens 1984) and more especially, on the construction of the news (M. Schudson & J. Lichtenberg in J. Curran & M. Gurevitch 2000). In their collective book *Making Media*, Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella and D. Charles Whitney make the basic assumption that « the media are actively helping to produce the context in which they exist, even as they are themselves the product of that context. [...] The media make the world even as the world makes the media. Descriptions of the media, and discussions on the meaning, impact and effects of media cannot be separated from a broader discussion of culture, history and changing relations of power. [...] The media are part of the economy, the history, the social relations of power, and the forms of identity, meaning, and experience of contemporary life; each is shaping and defining the others » (L. Grossberg *et alii* 1998: xvi). As explain the authors, the term of « mediamaking » is « intentionally ambiguous. It implies that the media are *themselves being made* while they are simultaneously *making something else* » (idem: 7). As well part of the reality and creating the reality, national media both reproduce and create the discourse on the migrants.

At the same time, the explicit and implicit references to the nation are constant in the media. The « televisual chauvinism » (J. Bourdon 1992: 11) boils down to mention its own country and its specific problems. The question « how to be accepted as a full journalist when from immigration origin? » remains indeed very relevant in all the European countries, even if perhaps less acute in the United-Kingdom where journalists of African, Caribbean, Indo-Pakistani and far Asian origin are relatively better represented than the immigrants in other host countries. The « ‘summons to stay within the community’ [assignation à résidence communautaire] consists in imprison the journalist of immigrant origin in an immutable intellectual jail » deplors Nasser Nagrouche (1993: 99), a journalist of North-African origin in France. The national media tend to consult the journalists of immigrant origin for matters on Islam, poor neighbourhoods, racism or the Muslim world, confining them on a « forced specialisation » which reproduces mechanisms of exclusion. Moreover, the national media often exclude, ignore or undermine and devalue some political voices: minority and unconventional views, such as the migrants’ ones, are often ignored or ridiculed while dominant and mainstream positions are privileged.

However, since the mid-1990s, the young generation of Turkish and Kurdish origin multiply media experiences (radio and television broadcasts, press), especially in Germany. Several Berlin radios, often dedicated to multicultural relations, devote a part of their air time to broadcasts presented by young German-Turkish or Kurdish. SFB-Multikulti, which broadcasts since September 1994², has recruited the singer Erci Ergün immediately after his well-known Turkish rap group Cartel splitted and just before he creates his own group Erci-E. Kiss FM delegates also a part of its programming to young adults of Turkish origin. Above all, the first Turkish radio in Germany, Radyo Metropol, is created in Berlin on early June 1999; one of its founding members is Özcan Mutlu, also a member of the board of directors of Immi/Grün, the immigration section of the German Green Party³, and is sitting in a district commission in Kreuzberg. He intends to compete both with German radios and the « monopoly » of the Turkish media, while offering to the young people of Turkish and Kurdish origins a space where they can express and assert their double cultural belonging⁴. If Radyo Metropol is a free radio, its creation participates in the open-willingness of the young Green politicians of Turkish or Kurdish origin to open the German society to « minorities »

² FM 106.8 and <<http://www.multikulti.de>>; <<http://user.sireconnect.de/pawelz/sfbmulti.htm>>.

³ Its website is led by one of the young politicians of Turkish origin, Adil Oyan: <<http://www.gruene.de/immigruen/>>.

(*Minderheit*) as well as to provide the youngsters with viable and well-adapted means of expression. Cem Özdemir, the well-known thirtied-year-old MP, but also Atti Özdemir, Nurhan Can, Adil Oyan, Özcan Mutlu, Filiz Demirel and Fatma M. Akyurt symbolise this young generation engaged in the section Immi/Grün (as spokesmen or consultants) and in the board of directors of the Green Party.

In France, the smallest proportion of the migrants from Turkey helps to explain that no radio has been created. On the other hand, like in Berlin, some cultural or communitarian Parisian radios give some hours weekly to young Turks and Kurds: that is the case of Radio Méditerranée (FM 88.6) with the programmes Radio Soleil and Orient Express, and of Fréquence Paris Pluriel (FM 106.3) with the programme Arc-en-ciel. The volunteer presenters of Arc-en-Ciel, militants in ACORT association (Citizen Assembly of the people from Turkey since 2002, formerly ATT: Association of the workers from Turkey), emphasise their role as «mediators» between youngsters and elders. The radio broadcasts also allow them to fully assume and play with their multiple cultural belonging. As Deniz, one of the founding members of Arc-en-Ciel, explains: «Our broadcasts are bilingual Turkish/French. That's normal since we have grown up in France with Turkish parents. We speak the two languages equally well, even though some blame us for that. But this is also useful: when we do not want the elders to understand what is said on the radio, we speak in French or a mix the two languages »⁵. Arc-en-Ciel is also a mediator between the young people from Turkey and the host societies, while organising annual meetings with young people Turks and Kurds from Europe on the notions and practices of discrimination and citizenship. Their purpose is much more to claim for a full participation to the host societies where they grew up and from which they feel sometimes excluded than to react against them.

Lastly, Arc-en-Ciel contributes to the information's renewal and development on burning current affairs concerning Turkey as well as host countries. A monthly programme is dedicated to a current affairs (violence and discrimination, freedom of religion, the minorities within the Turkish republic, etc.) discussed by the listeners. The broadcast of January 20, 2001 concerning the law on the Armenian genocide voted by the French Parliament some days earlier, and the controversy which followed, show the impact of the radio on the

⁴ Daniel Bax, "Mit Popmusik gegen das Monopol", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Berlin-Seite, 08.06.99.

⁵ Meeting during the «causeries» of Elele on the topic «The Turkish radios are talking to you! Which are they? Who are you?», 21.02.97.

migrants from Turkey as well as on the Turkish State. The facts can be summed up as follows: as during each broadcast, Arc-en-Ciel presenters invite the listeners to phone and take part to a democratic debate on this yet passion issue, to initiate a « fraternal dialog » with the Armenians and make everyone aware of its « duty of memory »... in short to « break the taboo that bears upon a dark and tragic page of our common history »; no hitch to be mentioned during the radio broadcast. However, on January 23, Emin Çolasan, a well-known leading writer of the nationalist daily *Hürriyet*, accuses Arc-en-Ciel of anti-Turkish propaganda and quotes some presenters' names, endangering the security of one's mother, lawyer and journalist in Turkey. He presents Fréquence Paris Pluriel as a « State radio [...] in the same way as the BBC », a categorisation that intends to explain its so-called betrayal against Turkey. In the same time, several presenters, well-know in the Xth arrondissement of Paris where many migrants from Turkey are living or working, are approached by angry compatriots. The presenters then decide to deny the accusations, send a letter to Emin Çolasan and to the Turkish consulate in Paris, and organise a debate with Rafi Hermonn, a journalist and member of the Centre for research on the Armenian diaspora. This episode is one of the most significant for Arc-en-Ciel presenters who deplore the lack of open-mindedness of their compatriots. Above all, this event is a relevant illustration of the impact of the ethnic media both on the home and host States, and on the homeland press of which they try to go beyond the pitfalls.

The participation of the young people of Turkish or Kurdish origin in the press is much more difficult. Some journalists achieve to publish articles, especially in Germany, but the migrants from Turkey do not show much concern with the ethnic press created in the host countries. *Perşembe* has been the unique serious attempt. This weekly is created in September 2000 in Berlin by some young German-Turkish people, and sold on Thursdays with the German daily *Tageszeitung*. Unfortunately, the experience ends one year later, in August 2001. Written in German and Turkish, *Perşembe* was the only newspaper for Turkish people to be distributed in Germany and not in Turkey. Indeed, *Perşembe* dealt mainly with migrant issues. The topic of integration was often tackled in evocative papers (« Das Kultur-Problem », issue 10; or « Überintegriert », issue 23), expert's articles (such as Faruk Şen, director of the Centre for research on Turkey in Essen, issue 25) or politician's point of view (interview of the MP Cem Özdemir on the practice of German language amongst the immigrants, issue 8). The naturalisation was also broadly evocated: most of the papers related to this issue referred to the *deutsche Pass* (the German passport), a symbol brilliantly taken up by Muhsin Omurca in

his caricatures of Kanakmān, a German-Turkish hero, published in the newspaper⁶. In so doing, *Perşembe* intended to demonstrate that Germany is a country of immigration and that the young people of migrant origin want a fully social, economic and political integration. The weekly also published papers in Turkish on the burials of the Turks in Germany (issue 25) and on the German fellows living in Turkey (issue 21). The point was to make the readers aware of the age of the German-Turkish relationships. Lastly, several articles were dedicated to racism and discrimination, through skinheads actions reports and a remembrance of the *Reichspogromnacht* of November 9-10, 1938 which gave the opportunity to organise public debates (issue 10). The extremely painful memory of the Jewish genocide in Germany allowed the German-Turkish journalists of *Perşembe* to bring a new and mature vision of the Armenian genocide (several articles in Turkish), as the presenters of Arc-en-Ciel have tried to do in France. This example also shows the interest of *Perşembe* in Turkey. Many articles, always in written Turkish and published in inner pages, dealt with the democratisation process or the candidature of Turkey to enter the European Union. *Perşembe* has been a unique experience thanks to its articles either in German or in Turkish which related both to home and to the host societies and helped to improve mutual knowledge and relationship.

Last but not least, television remains the Achilles' heel of these initiatives. As S. Bailly and D. Beaufort emphasise, the equipment and infrastructure needed to convey images require higher financial means than for a radio or a newspaper (S. Bailly & D. Beaufort 2000). However, some experiences have been done, especially in the Netherlands where young people of Turkish origin have created their own TV broadcasts.

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The ethnic media in the European countries of immigration have experienced an unprecedented profound change in the 1990s. On the one hand, the development of the Internet, rather than a challenge to the traditional newspapers (C. Sparks in J. Curran & M. Gurevitch 2000), contributes to the dynamism of the press production. On the other hand, the satellite broadcastings have for consequence the establishment of several Turkish and Kurdish

⁶ See also his website : <<http://www.omurca.de>>.

television channels in Europe. The link to the territory is disrupted while political and judicial issues are reinterpreted, especially those related to the Kurdish conflict. For the young people of Turkish or Kurdish origin, the perception of their territorial, cultural, social and political belongings evolves, as well as the transnational practices of the second generation (Levitt Peggy & Waters Mary 2002). Michael Billig (1995) wrote about the banal nationalism of the nation States. We can describe the contemporary practices of the migrants as *banal transnationalism*. « Culture is no longer simply about attachments, allegiances, loyalties, bonds, roots – in short, subjection » have said Kevin Robins and Asu Aksoy (2001: 688), but rather on exchange, experimentation and mobility. Since the young people from Turkish and Kurdish origin are born in European countries and often travel over frontiers, some of them claim European citizenship.

Globalisation affects citizenship in many ways (S. Castles & A. Davidson 2000). In this context, the migrants, thanks notably to their media but not only (G. Bertrand & I. Rigoni 2000), contribute actively to the reinterpretation of the notion and practices of citizenship. Cyberspace and satellite are becoming a vital link and meeting ground for a civic engagement and political mobilisation in polity (P. Dahlgren in B. Axford & R. Huggins 2001, K. Hill & J. Hughes 1998). A consequence of the « new media » is the « reworking of political reality », which is apparent in a number of trends, such as deterritorialisation of social relations, decentralisation, transnationalisation, significance of culture and identity, proliferation of political identities and actors, significance of information and communication technologies in the constitution of political life (B. Axford & R. Huggins 2001).

More concretely, two main questions should then be asked related to our case study. Firstly, how can and should the Turkish and Kurdish media adapt themselves to these changes? In his article on the severe financial crisis the Turkish press suffers since February 2001, Gürsel Köksal proposes to recover with a quality journalism, « new and serious ». How highlighting this writing independence and more implicate the migrants whose image remains pejorative in Turkey? Secondly, what is the participation of the migrants in the media scene of the host countries? If the ethnic media experiences are developing, they are often local oriented and mainly co-operative. Overall, the national media do not seem ready to integrate the conflicting voices of the Turkish and Kurdish migrants, neither young people nor elders.

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Tables

Table 1 – The Turkish newspapers en Europe

Newspapers	Trends	1rst ed. Eur.	Ex. Europe	Ex. Germany
Hürriyet	liberal, nationalist	1971	160 000	107 000
Türkiye	religious, nationalist	1987	65 000	40 000
Sabah	liberal	1996	40 000	25 000
Cumhuriyet	liberal, left-wing	1996	25 000	20 000
Tercuman*	religious, conservative	1971	-	19 000
Milliyet	liberal	1972	25 000	16 000
Yeni Günaydın*	liberal, conservative	1974	-	14 000
Zaman	conservative, religious	1990	16 000	13 000
Özgür Politika	left-wing, pro-Kurdish, nationalist	1995	15 000	10 000
Milli Gazete**	religious	1973		12 000
Emek***	left-wing	1996	12 000	8 000
Aydınlık*	left-wing kemalist	1992	-	5 000
Ortadoğu	right-wing nationalist	1996	-	3 000
Cumhuriyet-Hafta	liberal, left-wing	1990	5 000	5 000
Dünya-Hafta	scientific	1990	2 500	2 500

* Datas of 1993

** Only by subscription or in associations

*** Called Evrensel until the end of 1996

Sources : Zentrum für Türkeistudien (1997: 36); Yasemin Karakaşoğlu (1994: 452).

Table 2 – The Turkish satellite TV and its establishment in Europe

Transmitter	Owner	Satellites	Transm. in Tk	Transm. in Eur.	Target	Trend
atv	Diñ Bilgin, Onay Bilgin Medya Grup	Eutelsat II F2 Türksat 1C	06.93 to 10.96 since 10.96	06.93 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey	Commercial
atv- International	Diñ Bilgin, Onay Bilgin Medya Grup	Türksat 1B	-	04.96 to 10.96	Abroad	Commercial
Cine 5	Erol Aksoy	Eutelsat II F2 Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	03.94 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	03.94 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey	Commercial (coded)
Euro D	Groupes Doğan (60%) Doğuş (20%) Tekfen (20%)	Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	-	03.96 to 10.96 since 10.96	Abroad	Commercial
Euroshow	Erol Aksoy Hürriyet Sabah	Türksat 1B	-	04.95 to 10.96	Abroad	Commercial
HBB	Bilgi Hasoğlu (HAS-Holding)	Eutelsat II F3 Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	10.92 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	10.92 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey	Commercial

InterStar	Cem Uzan Rumeli Holding	Eutelsat II F2	since 10.90	since 10.90	Turkey	Commercial
Kanal 6	?	Eutel II F4-M Türksat 1B	11.92 to 11.94 since 11.94		Turkey	Commercial
Kanal 7	Kombassan-Hold. (20%) 80% other shareholders	Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	08.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	08.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey Abroad	Religious pro-Refah
Kanal D	Groupes Doğan (60%) Doğuş (20%) Tekfen (20%)	Eutel II F4-M Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	02.94 to 11.94 11.94 to 10.96 since 10.96	02.94 to 11.94 11.94 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey	Commercial
KanalMarket	Ahmet Özal	Eutel II F4-M	09.93 to 02.94	09.93 to 02.94	Turkey	Commercial (tv-shop.)
Kral TV	Cem Uzan	Eutelsat II F2	since 07.93		Turkey	Commercial (musical)
Med-TV, Medya-TV		Orion Eutelsat		since 03.95	Kurds	Pro-Kurdish
Number 1 TV		Eutelsat II F3	1996	1996	Turkey	Commercial (musical)
NTV	Cavit Çalar	Eutelsat II F2	since 12.96	since 12.96	Turkey	Commercial (musical)
Satel 2	Sabah Holding	Eutelsat II F2	since 11.94	since 11.94	Turkey	Commercial
Show TV	Erol Aksoy (100%)	Eutelsat II F2 Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	03.92 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	03.92 to 01.95 01.95 to 10.96 since 10.96	Turkey	Commercial
STV Samanyolu		Gorizont 22 Stasionar 12 Türksat 1B Türksat 1C	1994 to 1996 08.96 to 10.96 since 10.96	1994 to 1996 08.96 to 10.96 since 10.96		Religious (Fethullah Gülen)
Tele On	Cem Uzan	Eutelsat II F2	01.92 to 04.93	01.92 to 04.93	Turkey	Commercial
TGRT	Enver Ören Mucahit Ören İhlas-Holding	Eutelsat II F3 Eutelsat II F2	04.93 to 12.95 since 12.95	04.93 to 12.95 since 12.95	Turkey Abroad	Nationalist Religious (<i>Türkiye</i>)
TRT 1	State	Intelsat 604 Eutelsat II F1 Türksat 1C	1994-96	1996 26.09 to 25.10.96	Turkey	State
TRT 2	State	Intelsat 604 Eutelsat II F1 Türksat 1C	1994-96	1996 26.09 to 25.10.96	Turkey	State
TRT 3	State	Intelsat 604 Eutelsat II F1 Türksat 1C	1994-96	1996 26.09 to 25.10.96	Turkey	State
TRT 4	State	Intelsat 604 Eutelsat II F1 Türksat 1C	1994-96	1996 26.09 to 25.10.96	Tele- educati on	State
TRT-Int	State	Eutelsat II F1 Kabel Türksat 1C		since 02.90 since 01.04.91 since 10.96	Abroad	State

Sources : Zentrum für Türkeistudien (1997: 31-32); Stéphane de Tapia, Mohammed Charef & Catherine Gauthier (1997); documents of associations. See also A. Aksoy & K. Robins 2000.

Table 3 – Newspapers and magazines of Kurdish migrants from Turkey in Europe*

Newspapers**	Organisation / Publisher	Place of publishing	Language	Theme
Armanc (1979)	Kurdistan Democratic Workers Union	Uppsala (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Politics
Avasîn			Kurmancî, Turkish	Culture
Ayre (1985-88)	Ebubekir Pamukçu (ed.)	Sweden	Zaza	Culture, politics
Azadiya Welat (1996) ⁷		Istanbul (Turkey)	Kurmancî	Culture, politics
Berbang (1980)	Federation of Kurdistan Associations	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Sorani, Zaza	
Bergeh (1989)		Vällingy (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics, culture, sciences
Berhem (1988)	Mustafa Düzgün (ed.)	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Zaza, Turkish	Politics, history, culture
Berxwedan (1985)	PKK - Feyka	Bonn (Germany)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Bilan (1988)	Institut kurde de Bruxelles	Brussels (Belgium)	French	Culture, politics
Bîrnabûn			Turkish	Anatolian Kurds
Bulletin (1984-87)	Kurdish Institute in Bonn	Bonn (Germany)	German	Culture, politics
Bulletin de liaison et d'information (1983)	Institut kurde de Paris	Paris (France)	French and others	Press review
Bulletin trimestriel d'information (1989)	Institut kurde de Bruxelles	Brussels (Belgium)	French, English, Dutch, Turkish	Press review
Bultena Parlamenta Kurdistanê Li Derveyî Welat	Kurdish Parliament in exile		Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Bulletin du PSK (1995)	Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP)	Stockholm (Sweden)	French	Politics
Çira (1995)	Kurdish Writers' Association	Järfälla (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Sorani	Culture, literature
Çiya (1965-70)	Hemreş Reşo (ed.)	West-Berlin (Germ.)	Kurmancî	Politics, culture
Demokrasi			Turkish	Politics
Demokrat (1988)	D. Jeli (ed.), TSKP - Komkar	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Dengê Komkar (1979)	TSKP - Komkar	Köln (Germany) Huddinge (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Dengê Yekitiyê (1983)	Union der Demokraten Kurdistans	Ratingen (Germany)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics, culture
Dersîm		Turkey	Zaza	
Desmala Sure		Uppsala (Sweden)	Zaza, Sorani	Culture, literature
Didar	Kurdish Youth Federation	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Sorani	Kurdish youth
Dossier du Kurdistan	PKK - Feyka	Paris (France)	French	Politics
Dossier Kurdistan	Institut kurde de Bruxelles	Brussels (Belgium)	French, Dutch, English	Politics, culture
Dugir (1995)	Dr. Said Mele (ed.)	Hässelby (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Culture, literature
Feyka-Info	PKK - Feyka	Bonn (Germany)	German	Politics

⁷ - Follows Ülke and Welatê Me.

Helwest (1995)	Lokman Polat (ed.)	Spanga (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Culture, literature
Hêvi (1981)	Kurdistan Democratic Workers Union	Spanga (Sweden)	Kurmancî	For children
Hêvi (1983)	Institut kurde de Paris - Helkewt Hekim	Paris (France)	Kurmancî, Sorani, Zaza	Literature
Hêvi (1997) ⁸		Köln (Germany) & Istanbul (Turkey)	Turkish, Kurmancî	Information, politics
Hêviya Gel (1977-79)	Kurdistan Socialist Mvt	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Info-Blad (1988)	Institut kurde de Bruxelles	Brussels (Belgium)	Dutch	Culture
Informations Bulletin Kurdistan ⁹	Komkar	Köln (Germany)	German	Politics
International Journal of Kurdish Studies	Kurdish Library	New York (USA)	English	
Isot (1985)	Kurdistan Democratic Workers Union Mamoste (caricaturist)	Spanga (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Caricatures
Jîna Serbilind	PKK - Feyka		Turkish	For women
Jiyan (1986-88)	Association of the doctors of Kurdistan in Europe - Najat Mahwi (ed.)	West-Berlin (Germ.)	Kurmancî, German	Medecine, history, culture, politics
Jiyan	Komjin (Komkar)	Köln (Germany)	Turkish, Kurmancî, German	For women
Kine Em	Komciwan (Komkar)	Köln (Germany)	Turkish, German	For youngsters
Komkar Info	Komkar	Several countries	European languages	Politics
Kormiskan			Zaza	
Kurdish Newsletter	Kurdish Study Group at Deakin University	Melbourne (Australia)	English	Studies
Kurdish Observer (87)	Kurdish Cultural Centre (PKK - Feyka)	London (UK)	English	Politics
Kurdistan Heute		Bonn (Germany)	German	
Kurdistan Info	PKK - Feyka	Several countries	European languages	Politics
Kurdistan News	International Association for Human Rights in Kurdistan (IMK e.V.)	Bonn (Germany)	German, English	Human rights
Kurdistan Report (83)	ERNK - PKK - Feyka	Several countries	European languages	Politics
Kurdistan Rundbrief ¹⁰	PKK - Feyka	Berlin (Germany)	German	Politics
Kurmançî	Institut kurde de Paris	Paris (France)	Kurmancî	Culture
Mizgîn (1983-86)	Kurdish Institute of Bonn Red Cross	Bonn (Germany)	Kurmancî, German	Culture, society, health
Niştîman (1983)	KOÇ-KAK	Spanga (Sweden)	Kurmancî, Turkish	
Mamosta-y Kurd (1989)	Ferhad Shakely (ed.)	Sollentuna (Sweden)	Sorani	Culture, literature
Nû Bihar (1992)	Sabah Kara (ed.)	Istanbul (Turkey)	Kurmancî	Culture, art
Nûdem (1991)	Firat Cewerî (ed.)	Järfälla (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Culture, art

⁸ - Follows *Hazadi, Denge Hazadi* and *Ronahi*.

⁹ - Informations Bulletin Kurdistan: <[http://members.aol.com/Kurdkom kar](http://members.aol.com/Kurdkom%20kar)>. Since the issues 61/62 of Septembre 1995, the newspaper model looks like the one of Feyka's *Kurdistan Report*.

¹⁰ - Kurdistan Rundbrief: <R.Loetzer@TBX.Berlinet.de>; <<http://www.berlinet.de/kurdistan>>.

Nû Roj (1997)	TKSP	Dotmund (Germ.)	Turkish, Kurmancî	Info, politics
Özgür Halk			Turkish	
Özgür Politika ¹¹	HADEP	Ankara, Bonn, Brss.	Turkish	Politics
Pîr		Turkey	Zaza	Politics, culture
Piya	Ebubekir Pamukçu (ed.)	Skärholmen (Sweden)	Zaza, Turkish, English	Politics, culture
Rastiya Kurdistan	Union der Kommunisten Kurdistan	Köln (Germany)	Turkish	Politics
Rê (1988)	Hasan Özgül	Gross-Gerau (Germany)	Kurmancî, Turkish, German	Politics, racism
Rews'en			Kurmancî	Culture
Riya Azadî (Özgürlük Yolu)	TSKP - Komkar		Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics
Rızgari	Rızgari	Duisburg (Germ.)	Kurmancî, Turkish	Politics, culture
Roja Nû (1983)	Komkar	Stockholm (Sweden)	Kurmancî	Politics, culture, art
Ronahi			Kurmancî	
Stêrka Ciwan	PKK - Feyka		Turkish	Kurdish youth
Serxwebûn (1982)	PKK - Feyka	Germany	Turkish	Politics
Studia Kurdica (1984)	Institut kurde de Paris	Paris (France)	Kurmancî, Sorani, Turkish, French	Studies
Têkoşer (1979-87)	Union des travailleurs et étudiants kurdes	Brussels (Belgium)	Kurmancî, Turkish	
Tija Sodirî		Frankfurt (Germ.)	Zaza	
Türkei Kritisch (1989)	TÜDAY	Köln (Germany)	German	Human rights
Ware		Balersbronn (Germ.)	Zaza	
Yekîti (1983)	Kommunistischen Partei Kurdistans	Duisburg (Germany)	Kurmancî, Sorani, Turkish	Politics
Zülfikar	PKK - Feyka		Turkish	Politics (Zaza Alevi)

* This table is not exhaustive but provides a large description of the press of the Kurdish migrants from Turkey in Europe.

** The dates in brackets are those of the first and last editions.

Sources : Kurdish associations; websites including: Kurdish Library and Documentation Center (Stockholm) <<http://www.marebalticum.se/kurd/>>, Kurdistan Web <<http://www.Humanrights.de/~kurdweb/>>; Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung (ed.) (1991).

¹¹ - Özgür Politika: <<http://www.ozgurpolitika.org/>>.

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