

MEDIEN UND POLITISCHE KOMMUNIKATION –
NAHER OSTEN UND ISLAMISCHE WELT /
MEDIA AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION –
MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAM

Turkey, Greece, and the
“Borders” of Europe

Images of Nations in the
West German Press 1950–1975

Douglas Reynolds

F Frank & Timme

Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

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1. Introduction

The ongoing political debate regarding the admission of Turkey into the European Union and the widespread societal interest in the matter have made research concerning the relationship between this nation and Europe particularly desirable, as the debate both receives impetus from and resonates into the academic discussion. Factors such as separation of church and state, EU absorbing capacity in economic terms and the question of human rights play a significant, if not primary role. Supporters of EU expansion have viewed the Christian religion more as a result of historical developments in Europe than as a basis of the European community. Furthermore, the European Union is intended to be a pluralist entity: “The European Union does not define itself by a common religion, ethnicity, language or fixed territorial borders; considering these elements, the Union understands itself to be a pluralistic community.”¹ Nonetheless, concepts and perceptions of what is intrinsic to Europe and what is foreign, in many cases best summarized by the term *culture*², play a significant role in the debate: “At the center of the political debate about EU-membership for Turkey is not so much the issue of economic disparities between the EU and Turkey, but rather possible *cultural* differences.”³ Despite numerous instances of positive interaction between the Ottoman Empire and Europe over many centuries, present-day perceptions of Turkey and Europe often stem from a propagated or perceived historical clash/contradistinction of Orient and Occident, in which the dichotomy of Islam and Christianity constitutes a prominent factor. Indeed, Bülent Küçük has spoken of a present-day renaissance of Orientalistic and Occidental resources in European and Turkish identity construction⁴; the history of this perceived historical alterity continues to influence present European populations through secondary experience, in that it maintains or recreates mental maps, stereotypes, and prejudices. In addition to secondary experience steeped in historical cultural factors, there is primary experience based on interaction with Muslim Turkish minorities in European countries.

¹ Jürgen Gerhards: Europäische Werte- Passt die Türkei kulturell zur EU? In: Das Parlament. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte B 38/2004. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Berlin, 2004. p. 14. (Translation D.R.)

² Alexander Thomas defines culture as a typical system of orientation for a nation, society or group, which is comprised of, inter alia, symbols, values, norms, behavioral patterns and attitudes. See Alexander Thomas: Psychologische Aspekte interkulturellen Lernens im Rahmen wissenschaftlicher Weiterbildung. In: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache 22/1996. Iudicium Verlag. München, 1996. p. 128.

³ Gerhards: Europäische Werte, p. 15. (Translation D.R.)

⁴ Bülent Küçük: Die Türkei und das andere Europa. Phantasmen der Identität im Beitrittsdiskurs. Dissertation: Fachbereich Philosophie. Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Transcript Verlag. Bielefeld, 2008. p. 13.

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Confirmation of this in the machinery of EU expansion and integration can be seen in the fact that Greece’s entry into the European Community (EC) in 1981 was not accompanied by any debate of comparable magnitude. Geographical proximity, regionally determined similarities, and centuries of shared history made Greece the European country that resembled Turkey most before its admission into the EC in 1981. Yet the predominant religion of Greece is Christianity, and the association of the modern country with ancient Hellas and its corresponding designation as the cradle of Western civilization, constituted major factors in its relatively frictionless accession to the EC.

⁵ Jürgen Gerhards: Europäische Werte- Passt die Türkei kulturell zur EU? In: Das Parlament. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte B 38/2004. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Berlin, 2004. p. 14. (Translation D.R.)

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⁷ Gerhards: Europäische Werte, p. 15. (Translation D.R.)

⁸ Bülent Küçük: Die Türkei und das andere Europa. Phantasmen der Identität im Beitrittsdiskurs. Dissertation: Fachbereich Philosophie. Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, 2008. p. 13.

Given this discrepancy, comparison with image generation of Greece is of particular interest for analyses of European perceptions of Turkey, and will therefore be undertaken in this study.

Although positive and negative images of Turks existed over the centuries of interaction between the Ottomans and Europeans, Turks were generally viewed as culturally disparate from the onset of their appearance on the European continent, with successive conflicts between the Islamic Ottoman Empire and Christian states continually providing incitation for negative imagery. Yet a special, often overlooked element exists in the Turkish relationship with Germany, the strongest economic and financial contributor to the European Union. Admittedly, perceptions and mental maps from historical confrontations with the Ottoman Empire continue to exist in all European countries, yet the German relationship with Turkey, and likewise German perceptions of the Turks, constitute a special case. In the 19th century, a new era of bilateral relations between the Ottoman and German governments began, characterized by *Realpolitik*.⁹ The relations between the two countries improved from 1890 onwards, and eventually led to a military alliance during the Great War, effectuating hitherto unparalleled positive image generation of Turkey in a European nation. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and his subsequent reforms represented a profound break with the Ottoman past and a great step towards Europe. Among other things, the dismantlement of the Ottoman Empire gave the new country the chance to effectively implement European institutions and curb the influence of Islam. Relations with Germany remained good during the Weimar Period, and lucrative bilateral trade relations were maintained. Furthermore, certain intellectual currents in Germany praised the rebirth and strength of the Turks, highlighting the Westernization of the country. After 1933, critical trade interdependencies remained a pillar upon which good relations were maintained between Turkey and National Socialist Germany. Thus, from 1890 to 1944, a relative continuity of positive German-Turkish diplomatic relations existed, which acted as a catalyst for positive German image generation of Turkey. Complementing this was the fact that by the time real representational democracy was introduced in 1950, the Turkish elite had managed to convince many intellectuals that Turkey had become "Western".

In light of this exceptional relationship, as well as the intensified negotiations concerning possible Turkish EU accession, the acceptance of which would have enormous

⁹ Curd-Torsten Weick: Die Schwierige Balance. Kontinuitäten und Brüche deutscher Türkeipolitik. LIT Verlag, Hamburg, 2001. p. 23.

political and social consequences in Germany and Europe, analyses of German images of Turkey are extremely topical. Particularly so are analyses of image generation of Turkey during the period between the Second World War and the present, for although contemporary German perceptions of Turkey are widely considered to be negative, this was not clearly the case in the early- and mid-20th century. This study of German image generation of Turkey will begin with the year 1950, which witnessed the historic election by which the voice of the Turkish masses became a major factor in the country's politics for the first time. The analysis period, which spans from 1950 to 1975, is highly relevant for several reasons. During this period Turkey's democracy and Western orientation underwent several challenges, in which the loosened autocratic grip of the "Westernized" secular elites, rebounding "Oriental" or "Islamic" elements of the pre-Atatürk heritage, as well as economic, social, and demographic developments played a considerable role. In addition to these underlying and gradual developments, Turkish democracy was abruptly put on hiatus by military coup twice, in 1960 and 1971. Internationally, certain crises and conflicts concerning Cyprus brought Turkey into the spotlight of global interest in the context of an intra-NATO and therefore intra-"Western" feud, bringing some to question Turkey's place in the West. An intensifying relationship with Europe, well exemplified by Turkey's accession to the Council of Europe (1949), NATO (1952) and the OECD (1961), as well as its attempts to join the European Community, put the country under closer scrutiny in Western Europe. Furthermore, the initially strong political cooperation and self-perception of the "free" "Western" world loosened gradually during this period; while fear of the Soviet Union provided a strong binding element for non-communist and therefore "Western" nations in the 1950's, usage of the term Western or even European became less liberal over subsequent years. Developments in Western images of Islam, e.g. in the wake of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the resulting 1973 oil crisis, were a likely factor in image generation of Turkey as well, it being a predominantly Muslim country. Lastly, a considerable factor in the present discourse regarding Turkey's place in Europe concerns the Turkish community living therein; in Germany this dimension of interaction with Turks, namely that of first-hand contact on a societal level, was initiated by an influx of Turkish guest workers between 1961 and 1973.

Concentration upon a selection of major (West) German newspapers, as will be placed in this study, is highly expedient and useful for analyzing German images of Turkey and Turks during the period. The media's permanent presence in texts, images and audio, as well as its selective furnishing of information, part of the determination of

the public discourse, makes it a former and modifier of (collective) consciousness¹⁰ and public opinion. When one considers Walter Lippmann's view of the public, which he claimed did not see the world directly but rather through "pictures" (partial constructions of reality) that constitute public opinion(s) (pictures constitute public opinions of individuals, and those pictures that are acted upon by groups or in their name are *the* public opinion)¹¹, the importance of media images becomes clearer. While there has been much dispute over the nature and influence of the public, it, the public sphere from which it arises, and the public opinion which it participates in forming, are considered elements a democratic state cannot function without. In addition to the formative role media plays in the public sphere (an estimated 80 percent of human knowledge comes from media sources in modern democracies¹²), it is also generally considered a gateway between policy makers and citizens¹³; the publication and broadcasting of programs, intentions, demands and goals of both the public and government establishes communication between the two.¹⁴ Despite differing theories concerning levels of influence in the interaction between the public, media and government¹⁵, the media has enormous political significance. It influences the majorities that political power in a democracy is dependent on through its role in forming public opinion¹⁶, and enables the communication processes by which representative government is legitimized and held accountable to voters. In addition to enjoying broad powers in reporting, information-providing and intermediation, media also judges and evaluates.¹⁷ It orientates with news, something that occurs not only with the selective furnishing of information, but also with language

¹⁰ Rolf Stober: Medien als vierte Gewalt – zur Verantwortung der Massenmedien. In: Gerhard W. Wittkämper (Ed.): Medien und Politik. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Darmstadt, 1992. p. 29.

¹¹ Walter Lippmann: Public Opinion. Penguin Books. New York, 1946. p. 20.

¹² Hermann Meyn: Massenmedien in Deutschland. Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit Berlin (Ed.) . UVK Verlagsgesellschaft. Konstanz, 2001. p. 34.

¹³ Gerd Strohmeier: Politik und Massenmedien. Eine Einführung. Nomos Verlag. Baden-Baden, 2004. p. 179.

¹⁴ Markus Stöckler: Politik und Medien in der Informationsgesellschaft. Ein systemtheoretisch basierter Untersuchungsansatz. Studien zur Politikwissenschaft. Abt. B, Forschungsberichte und Dissertationen. Bd. 69 LIT Verlag. Univ. Dissertation. Münster, 1991. p. 26.

¹⁵ Some important theories are the political economy theory, social organization theory, the social theory of news-making, the cultural perspective theory, the news selection and construction theories. The political economy and social organization theories maintain that primary influence emanates from the state. The social theory of news-making and the cultural perspective theory emphasize the public's influence as preponderant. On the other hand, the media enjoys this influence in the news selection and construction theories. There is also the concept of the supersystem, in which the lines between the political system and the media become indistinct.

¹⁶ Dieter Fuchs: Eine Metatheorie des demokratischen Prozesses. Discussion Paper FS III 93–202. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. Berlin, 1993. p. 61.

¹⁷ Stober: Medien als vierte Gewalt, p. 29.

and image. The press, which is still considered the primary media organ¹⁸ and the manifestation of the discursive public sphere, is especially significant: It is the organ for monitoring and criticizing the political, economic and cultural life of the country.¹⁹ Like other media organs, the interests and viewpoints of newspapers and magazines are not only expressed through the selection of events and sources, but also through manipulative usage of words and images.²⁰ Another reason why the press remains particularly important is the fact that it has been ascribed structural advantages in the impartation of knowledge. For example, daily newspapers provide a high amount of information and allow the reader to determine the pace at which information is assimilated.²¹ Moreover, the voice of the media is openly perceptible in the newspaper commentary, which has particular influence on public opinion, especially with regard to politics.²²

The media's influence is not limited to domestic matters, as social discourses also encompass questions involving foreign policy and other international issues. Here it significantly impacts such discourses through its determination of which issues are discussed and which are not²³, and correspondingly it is involved in influencing foreign policy. In addition to its power to determine which foreign issues are discussed, the media can put pressure on policy makers through its role in the formation, articulation and representation of public opinion (policy makers can also influence foreign news coverage by enlisting media for public relations work pertaining to their foreign policy).²⁴ Policy makers generally receive less feedback from the public about foreign matters than they do about domestic issues, and hence they often resort to media to obtain it. The press is a preferred medium in this regard, distinguished newspapers with national circulation in particular. In research concerning news about foreign countries, for which the general public is especially reliant upon secondary information sources, such newspapers are of primary importance; they provide the most extensive coverage in

¹⁸ Strohmeier: Politik und Massenmedien, p. 28.

¹⁹ Reinhart Ricker / Christine Seehaus: Medienrecht. In: Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann / Winfried Schulz / Jürgen Wilke (Ed.): Fischer Lexikon Publizistik, Massenkommunikation. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2009. p. 267.

²⁰ Christiane Eilders / Friedhelm Neidhardt / Barbara Pfetsch: Die Stimme der Medien. Pressekommentare und politische Öffentlichkeit in der Bundesrepublik. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Wiesbaden, 2004. p.12.

²¹ Rainer Mathes: Was wissen wir von den Wirkungen der Presse? Wer Zeitung liest, weiß mehr. In: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung / Otto B. Roeggele (Ed.): Die Presse in der deutschen Medienlandschaft. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Themenheft 6. Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei. Bonn, 1985. p. 36.

²² Eilders / Neidhardt / Pfetsch: Die Stimme der Medien, pp. 12, 13.

²³ Kai Hafez: Die politische Dimension der Auslandsberichterstattung. Band 1 – Theoretische Grundlagen. Nomos Verlag. Baden-Baden, 2002. pp. 183, 184.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 184.

this area and send out opinion forming impulses to other media organs, as well as to those leading influential members of society who take interest in foreign affairs.²⁵ Thus, the continued significance of the press constitutes a strong argument for the expediency of analyzing images of Turkey in major newspapers.

1.1. Current State of Research

European images of Turks have been a topic of considerable interest in German and English language academic literature in recent decades. Indeed, with regard to those which existed between the Middle Ages and the 19th century, there exists a great quantity of literature. While most of these works concentrate on a particular pre-20th century period, there have been attempts to determine and interpret such images from the appearance of the Turks until the 20th century. Some of these studies are of relevance, as they provide overviews of relevant developments which continued into this study's period of analysis. One such study by Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu concluded that European images of Turks, which were characterized by a detestation of their religion and a fear of their military prowess from the Middle Ages to the second siege of Vienna in 1683, were later replaced by predominantly pejorative associations of Turks with weak colonized peoples in the 19th century. Yet she also claimed that positive bilateral relations between the late Ottoman Empire and European powers, the exemplary case being relations with Imperial Germany, could temporarily modify images of Turks. Of further interest is her conclusion that the positive image of Turkey (and Turks) won by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's reforms in the 1920's was undone by images of Turkish guest workers from the 1960's onwards, which were characterized by negative clichés (e.g. uneducated, conservative, mistrusting ghetto inhabitants).²⁶ In another study, Margaret Spohn concentrated on certain factors in image generation of Turks in the German-speaking areas of Europe, most notably religion, music, and travel literature. Her main conclusion emphasized the inveteracy of the negative images that clergy and aristocracy had generated in Central Europe from the 15th to the 17th centuries; positive developments in European images of Turks in the following two

²⁵ Kai Hafez: Die politische Dimension der Auslandsberichterstattung. Band 2 – Das Nahost- und Islambild der deutschen überregionalen Presse. Nomos Verlag. Baden-Baden, 2002. p. 10. See also: David D. Newsom: The Public Dimension of Foreign Policy. Indiana University Press. Bloomington / Indianapolis, 1996. p. 49.

²⁶ Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu: Die Wandlungen des Türkenbildes in Europa vom 11. Jahrhundert bis zur heutigen Zeit. Eine kritische Perspektive. Spur Verlag. Istanbul, 2000.

centuries, e.g. those resulting from curiosity about Ottoman Turkish lifestyles, were merely superficial.²⁷

When the spectrum is narrowed to Western images of Turkey in the 20th century, there are some relevant empirical analyses of literature mentioning Turkey or Turks which should be mentioned. For example, in his studies of images of Turkey and Turks in Western literature of the 20th century, Kamil Aydın came to a conclusion similar to that of Spohn, namely that such images were strongly connected to earlier literature in terms of themes, atmosphere and content. In addition to associations with characteristics historically projected onto Turks, they also tended to be depicted as filthy and smelly workers, terrorists, conspirators, or drug-producers/smugglers. Indeed, Aydın stated that the association with the drug phenomenon was the most prominent image in the texts from the later 20th century.²⁸ Another study of 20th century literature mentioning Turks was undertaken by Nazire Akbulut, who analyzed relevant German literature published between 1970 and 1990. One of her primary research results was that the resonance of the Turkish guest workers' presence in West Germany came later in German literature than it did in the German public. While Turks become scapegoats and objects of scorn for the German public during the 1960's, German literature first began to discuss the Turkish guest worker phenomenon in the early 1970's. When this occurred, the literature took a critical stance towards this treatment of the Turkish community in the country.²⁹

With regard to empirical analyses of the German press and its coverage of Turkey and/or Turks, there has been a considerable amount of interest in the topic, which has resulted in quite a few studies being published. A major reason for the increased interest in depictions of Turkey in the German press has been the process surrounding Turkey's attempts to join the European Union. Correspondingly, there are numerous analyses of German and other European media/public discourses concerning Turkish accession, most concerning the years 2002 and 2004, in which two milestones in the accession

²⁷ Margaret Spohn: *Alles Getürkt. 500 Jahre (Vor)Urteile der Deutschen über die Türken*. Diplomarbeit Universität Oldenburg. BIS Verlag. Oldenburg, 1993.

²⁸ Kamil Aydın: *Images of Turkey in Western Literature*. The Eothen Press. Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, 1999 ; Kamil Aydın: *A Popular Representation of Turkey into the 21st Century: From Verbal to Visual*. In: Mustafa Soykut (Ed.): *Historical Image of the Turk in Europe. 15th Century to the Present. Political and Civilizational Aspects*. The Isis Press. Istanbul, 2003.

²⁹ Nazire Akbulut: *Das Türkenbild in der neueren deutschen Literatur 1970–1990*. Wissenschaftliche Schriften-reihe Germanistik, Bd. 1. Verlag Dr. Hans-Joachim Köster. Berlin, 1993.

process occurred.³⁰ These studies all applied both quantitative and qualitative/interpretative methods to analyze European national discourses. The only analysis which did not compare two or more such discourses was carried out by Ellen Madeker, who analyzed issues from three major German newspapers and their Sunday editions from 2004 (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*), as well as those from two magazines (*Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit*). The primary qualitative objective was to determine and interpret exclusionary and inclusionary frames in the accession discourse, namely from the perspectives of religion, geography, historical-cultural similarity and universal values, with newspaper texts written by both European and Turkish discourse participants constituting the research material. She found that all frames were part of a master frame which assumed the existence of a collective European identity. Quantitative analysis of frames found that those which were exclusionary were far more present than inclusionary ones. Nevertheless, although voices critical of an EU accession were to be found in 60 percent of relevant *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* fragments, only 42 percent of *Die Welt* fragments contained such, and in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 54 percent of the fragments supported an accession in one way or the other.³¹ While Madeker included Turkish nationals' contributions to the EU accession discourse in German printed media, both Seref Ates and Bülent Küçük analyzed this discourse in both German and Turkish media. In addition to analyzing four heavyweights in the German press landscape (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Die Welt*), Seref Ates did the same with four comparably important newspapers in Turkey. From texts printed between January 1st and July 15th 2002, Ates was able to come to certain interesting conclusions. One of these was that while the Turkish military was a taboo topic in the Turkish press, in the German press it was discussed in almost half of the articles concerning Turkish EU-candidacy, and this in a positive context; the author judged this to have been part of a post-9/11 media strategy which attempted to legitimize military force as an instrument in foreign policy. Furthermore, the military was considered a guarantor of the established powers in Turkey. Yet the EU accession debate seemed to be of less interest to the German newspapers, which remained reserved towards Turkish internal matters and German-

³⁰ The first of these milestones was the Copenhagen Summit of the European Council and Turkey of December 12th/13th, 2002, in which the start of negotiations for accession was promised on the precondition that the Copenhagen Criteria be met. The second was the fulfilment of this promise, when the European Union agreed to open negotiations with Turkey in December of 2004.

³¹ Ellen Madeker: *Türkei und europäische Identität. Eine wissenssoziologische Analyse der Debatte um den EU-Beitritt*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Wiesbaden, 2008.

Turkish problems, an example being the fact that the Turkish press' and people's considerable efforts to create a dialogue concerning EU-accession were not considered newsworthy.³² Like Ates, Bülent Küçük examined major newspapers from both countries (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, die tageszeitung, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, and Zaman*), yet the analysis period included several years (1997, 1999, 2002, 2004). Küçük discovered certain interesting discrepancies between the accession discourses in the years analyzed. While the discourse was dominated by a supposed Turkish incapability of meeting the criteria for accession to the EU in 1997, difficulties with Greece being the most prominent reason, the years 1999 and 2002 revealed a culturalization of the discourse, particularly so in the latter year. During these years, Turkey was not only politically, but also culturally "suspicious", with its possible accession often being predicted to bring an overexpansion of the EU. The migrant discourse also exhibited interesting developments: In 1997 it was often predicted that integration would be made hopeless by Turkish accession, yet in 1999 the possibility of more Muslim migrants from Turkey was associated with a creeping Islamization, and in 2002 the emergence of an "internal Orient" was implied. Küçük also found that in the German newspapers analyzed, Christian-conservative voices were evident twice as often as those from social democrat, green, or socialist parties.³³

Other studies compared the Turkish EU-accession discourses in different European countries. One study compared the German, French, Italian and British discourses, examining two major newspapers from each country (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Le Monde, Le Figaro, La Repubblica, Il Corriere, The Guardian, The Times*) and fragments of other nationally distributed print media from the months of November and December 2002. Quantitative analysis found that the German and French newspapers discussed Turkey twice as often as the British and Italian newspapers. Moreover, qualitative analysis revealed discrepancies, the most interesting of which was the fact that only the French and German papers spoke of a historical/cultural commonality of Europe. Likewise, only they expressed concerns about the possibility of considerable migration of Turks after an accession.³⁴ Andreas Wimmel not only

³² Seref Ates: Der EU-Beitritt der Türkei und seine Spiegelung in der deutschen und türkischen Presse. In: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen, Nr. 10/2002. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Sankt Augustin, 2002. ; Edgar Auth (Ed.): Deutschland und die Türkei im Spiegel der Medien. Die Verantwortung der Medien in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen. Electronic Edition. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Bonn, 1999.

³³ Küçük: Die Türkei.

³⁴ Roberta Carnevale / Stefan Ihrig / Christian Weiß: Europa am Bosphorus (er-) finden? Die Diskussion um den Beitritt der Türkei zur Europäischen Union in den britischen, deutschen, französischen und italienischen Zeitungen. European University Studies. Series XXXI, Political Science. Vol. 510. Peter Lang Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 2005.

compared the Turkish EU-accession discourses in major French, German and British newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *The Guardian*, *Financial Times London*) in November and December of 2002, but also attempted to determine if a European discourse existed on the matter. Although Wimmel's research could not prove the existence of such, he ascertained that the content of the relevant German and French discourses was quite similar. The newspapers from these countries argued based on the assumption that a collective identity was necessary for further integration of the EU; while the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Le Figaro* spoke of Christian or cultural/historical commonality, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Le Monde* refrained from mentioning these concepts when advocating the necessity of common identity. These discourses contrasted sharply with the British discourse, which supported Turkey's candidacy and dismissed the concept of Christian identity as dangerous nostalgia.³⁵ Claudia Freilinger compared the discussion of Turkish EU-accession in certain nationally distributed German and Austrian papers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Presse*, *Standard*) in an analysis which concentrated on frames in relevant texts printed from October to December of 2004. The study's main findings were that the relevant discourse in the Austrian newspapers was more positive than that in the German newspapers, and that this discrepancy was also evident in the culture frame. Nonetheless, Freilinger conceded that cultural concerns definitely exist in Austria, and that a qualitative-linguistic analysis would be useful in assessing these.³⁶ Unlike the previously mentioned analyses of relevant discourses in European print media, Jochen Walter analyzed a period over forty years in length (1960 to 2005). Using a qualitative method in his discourse analysis of selected British and German printed media, Walter attempted to determine typical argumentation in inclusionary or exclusionary depictions of Turkey in the context of European/Western identity constructs. The German printed media selected for analysis consisted of the newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the magazine *Der Spiegel*. Walter's results can be very roughly summarized in the following sentences. In the 1960's Turkey was the object of inclusionary references based on the Cold-War geostrategic interests of Western countries, which could overshadow the negative image of the country and its

³⁵ Andreas Wimmel: *Transnationale Diskurse in Europa. Der Streit um den Türkei-Beitritt in Deutschland, Frankreich und Großbritannien*. Campus Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 2006 ; Andreas Wimmel: *Beyond the Bosphorus? Comparing German, French and British Discourses on Turkey's Application to Join the European Union*. Political Science Series. Institute for Advanced Studies. Vienna, 2006.

³⁶ Claudia Freilinger: *Der EU-Beitritt der Türkei im Spiegel der deutschen und österreichischen Presse*. Master-Studienarbeit im Master Studiengang Europäische Studien der Universität Osnabrück. Osnabrück, 2005.

people deducible from exclusionary comments about the political and religious cultures in Turkey. In the 1980's this inclusion was still evident, more so in the form of a discourse expressing a desire to include, yet this was weakened by the Soviet Union's demise, as well as increasingly strong perceptions of European self-identity; willingness to view Turkey as European also suffered as a result of the Iranian Revolution and the emergence of a *Feindbild* (image of an enemy) directed at "fundamentalist" Islam. The main result of his analysis of coverage from 1999 to 2004 was the ascertainment of ambivalence in argumentation, a tremendous "discursive battleground" pertaining to the construct Europe, repeatedly referred to by the author as an "essentially contested concept."³⁷ Yet while the long analysis period ostensibly filled a large gap in research of European/German media discourses concerning Turkey's place in Europe, Walter's analysis actually studied fragments (1960–1963, 1987–1989, 1999–2004).

Having discussed the relevant literature about discourses pertaining to Turkey, it is necessary at this point to give an overview of existing empirical studies that have concentrated on determining images of Turkey in the German press. The most recently published analysis was undertaken by Christiane Schlötzer, whose analysis period is likewise the most recent among the relevant literature presently available, namely a four week period in early 2009 (15.1.09–15.2.09). Schlötzer analyzed the *Mittelbayrische Zeitung* and the *Hamburger Morgenpost*, as well as various other regional newspapers, and found that their coverage depicted Turkey as a country which caused conflicts, was concerned with reconciliation (Armenian tragedy), and had close relations with Germany. Yet these conclusions were based on news topics which were only of particular relevance within the period analyzed, and the only conclusion of particular interest was that the different regional newspapers' coverage was highly similar, which Schlötzer attributed to the fact that these newspapers did not have the means to keep correspondents in Turkey.³⁸ Like most of the discourse analyses mentioned earlier, Miriam Freudenberger's qualitative and quantitative study of the image of Turkey in certain German newspapers concentrated on a relatively recent period. Her analysis of the newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *die tageszeitung*, and *Die Welt* concerned one calendar week in December of 2004, and six artificial weeks in early 2005. She found that coverage of Turkey largely

³⁷ Jochen Walter: *Die Türkei – ‚Das Ding auf der Schwelle‘*. (De-) Konstruktionen der Grenzen Europas. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Wiesbaden, 2008.

³⁸ Christiane Schlötzer: *Die Türkei in den deutschen Medien*. In: Kristina Kamp (Ed.): *Die Macht der Bilder. Medienverantwortung in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Istanbul, 2009.

concerned political matters, with the EU-accession and domestic policies constituting the main topics of interest. While positive depictions included emphasis on the present Western orientation of the country and the certainty of its continuance, or statements that Turkey was exemplary for the Arab world, negative depictions included claims that protection for minorities and respect for human rights were insufficient. Furthermore, although Turkish society and religion were noteworthy topics of interest for the German press, Freudenberger concluded that cultural topics and everyday life in Turkey were generally disregarded. She identified the German press' emphasis on political topics as the major reason for the negative image of Turkey as deducible from its coverage, and, citing studies by Orhan Gökçe and Mustafa Nail Alkan which shall be discussed in the next paragraphs, associated this concentration on intermittent events with a fundamental lack of interest in the country reaching back 40 years.³⁹

Of the studies with analysis periods in the 1990's and the 1980's, many found that domestic tensions with the Kurdish population influenced the image of Turkey in the German press. Gürsel Gür's primarily quantitative analysis of certain newspapers' (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*) coverage of Turkey printed between 1987 and 1995 found that the newspapers did not maintain continuous coverage of any particular topic, and instead reported in a highly selective manner centered on specific events, particularly domestic problems such as the Kurdish situation and human rights violations.⁴⁰ Siegfried Quandt also found that the image of Kurds was an important factor in the German press' image of Turkey; in his quantitative and qualitative analysis of fourteen newspapers' (among others the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) coverage of Turkey in the months of March and April 1995, Quandt found that 52% of the press articles analyzed were negative, the assessment of which was determined either by the depiction or nature of the event. As domestic issues in Turkey were preponderant, the volatile situation surrounding Kurdish separatism was of course a factor in this negative overbalance. Furthermore, Quandt summarized the German press' depiction of Turkey as a foreign and difficult country with opposing orientations, which exported its

³⁹ Miriam Freudenberger: *Das Türkei bild der deutschen Presse. Wie Tageszeitungen konstruieren*. VDM Verlag, 2008.

⁴⁰ Gürsel Gür: *Das Türkei bild in der deutschen Presse unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der EU-Türkei-Beziehungen. Eine Inhaltsanalyse für den Zeitraum 1987–1995*. Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1998 ; Gürsel Gür: *Das Türkei bild der deutschen Presse*. In: Siegfried Frech / Mehmet Öcal: *Europa und die Türkei*. Wochenschau Verlag, Schwalbach am Taunus, 2006.

domestic conflicts to Germany through its emigrants.⁴¹ Alexander Refflinghaus' analysis of German foreign policy towards Turkey from 1982 to 1998 also found the Kurdish situation to be of considerable importance; while not primarily an empirical study of the German press, Refflinghaus' analysis included a lengthy empirical segment on the image of Turkey in the German newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. His interpretative analysis concluded that the Turkish handling of the Kurdish situation was depicted very negatively, and torture was claimed to have been commonplace. Moreover, Turkish democracy was depicted to be insecure, vulnerable to political and religious extremists, and propped up by a political system and political parties that were weak. The military was a guarantor against extremists, yet was the major obstacle to Turkey achieving democracy on par with the Western standard.⁴² In another study which included some citations from German printed media coverage of Turkey in the 1980's and 1990's, Tamer Bacinoğlu claimed that coverage was dominated by reports about human rights violations, which again was in large part connected to domestic tensions involving Kurds. While not based on empirical study, Bacinoğlu claimed that the above contrasted reporting in the 1960's and earlier, which was said to have usually emphasized positive aspects of Turkey.⁴³ Lastly, Orhan Gökçe's mainly quantitative analysis of coverage of Turkey and Turks in 22 German newspapers concentrated on a shorter analysis period, namely the months surrounding Turgut Özal's state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1984. Concentrating on framing, negativism and relevance, Gökçe found that coverage at this time was dominated by news concerning conflicts, while Turks were associated with certain societal problems. Yet he also found that Özal's visit improved the newspapers' image of Turkey in certain regards. Despite the fact that the analysis was tied in with long-term topics, the exceptionality of Gökçe's wide selection of newspapers was limited by the relatively short research period.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Siegfried Quandt: Die Darstellung der Türkei, der Türken und Kurden in deutschen Massenmedien. Die Berichterstattung der Printmedien und Fernsehsender im März/April 1995. Justus-Liebig-Universität. Gießen, 1995. Quandt also analyzed the DPA (German Press Agency), as well as four broadcasting services.

⁴² Alexander Refflinghaus: Deutsche Türkeipolitik in der Regierungszeit Helmut Kohls, 1982 bis 1998. Regierung, Bundestag, Presse. Verlag Dr. Hans-Joachim Köster. Berlin, 2002.

⁴³ Tamer Bacinoğlu: The Making of the Turkish Bogeyman. A Unique Case of Misrepresentation in German Journalism. Graphis. Istanbul, 1998.

⁴⁴ Orhan Gökçe: Das Bild der Türken in der deutschen Presse. Eine Inhaltsanalyse der Berichterstattung zum Besuch des türkischen Ministerpräsidenten Turgut Özal im Herbst 1984 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag. Gießen, 1988.

There are a limited number of empirical studies which have analyzed German press image generation of Turkey prior to the 1980's. While Kai Hafez's qualitative and quantitative analyses of images of the Middle East and Islam in the German press (primarily *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Stern*, *Der Spiegel*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *die tageszeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Die Zeit*) mainly from the years 1955–1994 (case studies and random sample) did not concentrate specifically on Turkey, coverage of the country was also analyzed. In addition to ascertaining that the German press depicted Islam in a manner which conveyed the impression that very limited aspects of the religion constituted its entire reality, Hafez found that political topics dominated coverage of the Middle East, particularly after 1967, when the Middle East started to be regarded as a hot spot for political “hard news”, instead of a place of Oriental charm. As the great majority of articles about North Africa and the Middle East in the German press were either negative or neutral, and only three percent positive, the depiction of Middle Eastern life was said to be determined by negative or neutral coverage; the image of Oriental life, as deducible from the coverage analyzed, consisted of over 50 percent wars, catastrophes, revolutions, terrorism, crises, and tensions. Nonetheless, more continuous coverage of the Middle East increased from the 1970's onwards. His analyses also revealed that media concentration upon any particular country could be associated with its proneness to conflict, political importance, or cultural appeal, yet not its economic or demographic importance. Specifically concerning Turkey, it was one of the countries upon which the greatest concentration was placed by the German press, and this was reasoned to have been due to its political importance (NATO, EU), the Turkish minority in Germany, and its cultural importance to traditional Occidental interest in the ancient civilizations of Asia Minor.⁴⁵ Samir Aly also carried out a quantitative and qualitative analysis of German press coverage (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*) of the Middle Eastern region with a particular emphasis on its depiction of Islam, including coverage of Turkey in the process. His analysis period was much shorter however, it spanning from 1970 to 1981. With respect to his analysis of the depiction of Islam in the German press, Aly concluded that it was characterized by conscious or unconscious propagation of traditional images of the religion. Aly also found that

⁴⁵ Kai Hafez: *Die politische Dimension*, Band 2. ; Kai Hafez: *Imbalances of Middle East Coverage. A Quantitative Analysis of the German Press*. In: Kai Hafez (Ed.): *Islam and the West in the Mass Media. Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*. The Hampton Press Communication Series Political Communication. Hampton Press. Cresskill, NJ., 2000.

Turkey was among the countries which were discussed most often by the German press, although the newspapers analyzed showed variable frequency of coverage. Nevertheless, Aly's analysis determined that the coverage of Turkey was less event-oriented. He also concluded that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was often overemphasized in texts about Turkey in all newspapers analyzed. Furthermore, Turkey was depicted as a good NATO partner, as well as a politically and economically sound country capable of serving as a bridge to the Islamic world. However, the author stated that the Turkish minority in Germany was considered a particularity by virtue of its culture and religion, and was even depicted as a modern Turkish peril.⁴⁶

Empirical studies concentrating on German press coverage of Turkey before 1980 include Korkut Buğday's analysis of *Der Spiegel* issues from 1947 to 2001. Like most of the previously discussed studies concerning the 1980's and 1990's, Buğday claimed that the Kurdish situation worsened the depiction of Turkey substantially in the 1990's. He also claimed that the depiction of the Turkish minority in Germany was ambiguous, yet this was based on citations from magazines printed in the 1990's and 2000/2001. Far more interesting was his conclusion that the use of pejorative, contemptuous, or ridiculing expressions in references to Turkey and/or Turks, some of which could remind readers of the European-Ottoman confrontations of the 16th and 17th centuries, abated sharply after 1968 due to the fact that such became politically incorrect; while the main criticism of Turkey before 1968 concerned its reconciliatory steps with the Soviet Union and domestic suppression of freedom of opinion, it was sometimes accompanied by pejorative terminology or subtle overtones with similar meaning.⁴⁷ Mustafa Nail Alkan's study of the image of Turkey and Turkish guest workers in major German newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *BILD-Zeitung*) printed between 1960–1971 comes closest to this dissertation's research parameters, in that it applied a primarily interpretative-qualitative method to analyze a similar topic (including an emphasis on stereotypes) in similar newspapers over a similar research period. His qualitative analysis was structured on the attempt to prove or disprove five hypotheses, all of which expected negative depictions in the respective contexts. The author's particular interpretative analysis resulted in a confirmation of all five hypotheses. According to Alkan, Turkey was depicted as a distant and Oriental

⁴⁶ Samir Aly: *Das Bild der islamischen Welt in der westdeutschen Presse in den 70er Jahren. Eine Inhaltsanalyse am Beispiel ausgewählter überregionaler Tageszeitungen*. Band 1, Band 2. Verlag der Deutschen Hochschulschriften. Frankfurt am Main, 2002.

⁴⁷ Korkut Buğday: *The Image of Turkey Reflected in the German Magazine "Der Spiegel"*. In: Soykut (Ed.): *Historical Image of the Turk in Europe*.

developing country incapable of maintaining a properly functioning democracy. Furthermore, German-Turkish relations were often discussed in the context of German economic, military, or development assistance to Turkey, thus conveying the impression that the country was a financial burden to Germany. The general depiction of the country was also said to have worsened during the 1960's due to a cliché-laden concentration of coverage upon the Turkish guest workers living in Germany. Only the Turkish military was generally depicted in a positive light. Quantitatively speaking, Alkan claimed that the Turkish democratization process, the Turkish military, Turkish guest workers, German-Turkish economic relations, and cultural differences between the two countries constituted the main topics of interest in the newspapers analyzed.⁴⁸

While Selman Eriş Ülger published a book with a title which seemed to offer an analysis of a promisingly long and relevant period (1945–1984), the publication was simply a collection of contemporary articles from different newspapers without analysis.⁴⁹ Ülger also published a similarly titled publication concerning years prior to 1945 (1910–1944), which was likewise a collection of articles from the period.⁵⁰ However, there is one noteworthy study of German press image generation of Turkey during a pre-1945 period, namely Alexander Refflinghaus' qualitative-interpretative study of literature and press from the Weimar period (1919–1933). With respect to the latter, he analyzed twelve daily newspapers, which he broke up into three main categories: left-wing anti-democratic, democratic republican, and right-wing anti-democratic. His main analysis results were that the first group was primarily fixated on the Turkish national struggle and depicted Turkey as a victim of Entente imperialism, while the democratic and right-wing groups were almost exclusively pro-Turkish. Yet despite the fact that Refflinghaus' analysis period spanned fifteen years, there was a definite concentration on coverage from the early twenties, which in large part concerned the contemporary conflicts in Asia Minor.⁵¹

The depiction of guest workers in West Germany has been the subject of an extensive amount of analyses. However, those which attempted to make conclusions about specific nationalities are scarcer. Volker Beyer undertook a primarily qualitative analysis of “the

⁴⁸ Mustafa Nail Alkan: *Die Perzeption der Türkei im Spiegel der westdeutschen Presse von 1960 bis 1971*. Dissertation. Bonn, 1994.

⁴⁹ Selman Eriş Ülger: *Die Türkei in der deutschen Presse (1945–1984)*. Schulbuchverlag Anadolu. Hückelhoven, 1993.

⁵⁰ Selman Eriş Ülger: *Atatürk und die Türkei in der deutschen Presse (1910 - 1944)*. Schulbuchverlag Anadolu. Hückelhoven, 1993.

⁵¹ Alexander Refflinghaus: *Das Türkei bild im Deutschland der Weimarer Zeit*. Magisterarbeit Universität Bochum, 1993.

guest worker question” in over 40 German newspapers and magazines from the significant phase of guest worker migration (1961–1974), constructing his analysis inductively from the newspaper folders “labor market” and “foreigners” in the archive of the Hamburg Institute of International Economics. Although the image of guest workers as a whole was the main research objective, individual guest worker nationalities could also be mentioned in the analysis. With regard to Turkish guest workers, it was determined that although large numbers of Turks were already living in West Germany during the 1960’s, there was little echo in the press at that time. This changed in the early 1970’s, when Turkish guest workers were associated with considerable social problems, such as ghetto formation and subsequent immigration of family members. These topics were accompanied by political debate about integration from 1972 onwards, which also resonated in the press, for example in 1976, when it expressed deep concern about a possible “Turkish invasion” in the wake of an association treaty.⁵² Some previously mentioned publications also analyzed the German press for its image of Turkish guest workers in Germany. Korkut Buğday’s study included some *Spiegel* excerpts about Turkish guest workers and interpreted these to have been ambiguous, yet these sources were primarily from the 1990’s.⁵³ Samir Aly also analyzed press images of Muslim minorities in various countries not considered part of the Muslim world, including those of Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany. Yet the weight of Aly’s conclusions for this topic is marred by the fact that he cited fewer than 15 articles pertaining to Turkish guest workers.⁵⁴ Mustafa Nail Alkan’s dissertation analyzed the topic as well, as one of his fundamental hypotheses, that the image of Turkey worsened during the 1960’s due to a cliché-laden coverage of Turkish guest workers in Germany, depended on such. Alkan found that the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* depicted Turks positively as employees, with characteristics such as competence, eagerness to learn, and thrift. However, the image of the Turks as human beings was cliché-laden; they were depicted as uncivilized, lacking hygiene, and possessing criminal tendencies. From his analysis of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* he deduced that the Turkish guest worker was portrayed, among other things, as used to simple living conditions, untidy, ungroomed, industrious yet unskilled, unreliable, disinclined to work, and hot-blooded. Alkan came to the conclusion that Turks were seen positively as workers in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, yet the

⁵² Volker Beyer: Die ‘Gastarbeiter’-Frage im Spiegel der deutschen Presse (1961–1974). Schriftliche Hausarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistertitels der Philosophischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. Kiel, 1997.

⁵³ Buğday: The Image of Turkey.

⁵⁴ Aly: Das Bild der islamischen Welt.

human and social aspect of their existence in Germany was ignored. The author's results for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* were similar: Turkish guest workers supposedly had numerous children, and were depicted as unskilled labor unaccustomed to Western civilization. Lastly, the Turkish guest workers in the *BILD-Zeitung* were depicted as being from an underdeveloped country, unskilled, violent and jealous. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Alkan made these claims while citing only four relevant texts from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, six from the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and five from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Paradoxically, ten texts about Turkish guest workers were cited in the *BILD-Zeitung*, the one newspaper that did not contain enough coverage of Turkey for meaningful analysis of images of that country.⁵⁵

Other studies researched coverage of guest workers in a comparative context. The earliest such publication was Jesus Manuel Delgado's 1972 quantitative analysis of texts from numerous North Rhine Westphalian regional newspapers printed between 1966 and 1969. When considering guest workers as a single group, Delgado found that 31 percent of relevant texts were reports about crimes, which meant that crime was second only to the topic of the labor market; goodwill reports paled in comparison, making up roughly eleven percent of texts analyzed. In the comparative context, the frequency of reporting about Turkish guest workers was proportionally the highest among the different nationalities mentioned in the coverage, especially in negative categories. Quantitative data on socio-cultural descriptions was gathered utilizing a category system consisting of various positive and negative groupings; Turkish guest workers were mentioned most frequently in five of the eight negative terminology groupings, for example in the categories of "conservatism" and "inaptitude". Interestingly, Greek guest workers were the second most often mentioned group in the former category, while Turks were followed by Italian and then Greek guest workers in the latter. Although these quantitative results are interesting, especially in the comparative context, the author neither mentioned nor discussed individual passages, relying entirely on quantitative data for his argumentation.⁵⁶ Klaus Merten's study of several West German newspapers' (including the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) coverage of guest workers from January to August of 1986 also mentioned specific nationalities. His analysis found that Turkish guest workers were depicted negatively more often than were non-Turkish guest workers; this was largely

⁵⁵ Alkan: Die Perzeption der Türkei.

⁵⁶ Jesus Manuel Delgado. Die „Gastarbeiter“ in der Presse. Eine inhaltsanalytische Studie. Verlag Leske + Budrich. Opladen, 1972.