

**T.C.  
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION STUDIES DEPARTMENT**

**TURKISH WOMEN IMAGE IN GERMAN PRINT MEDIA:  
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS OF DER  
SPIEGEL MAGAZINE BETWEEN 2017-2020**

**Kübra GÜZELSOY**

**MASTER THESIS**

**Prof. Dr. Ahmet ESKICUMALI**

**JUNE - 2022**

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**“This thesis was defended online on 08/06/2022 and was unanimously accepted by the jury members whose names are below”**

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**Kübra GÜZELSOY**

**08/06/2022**

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## ABSTRACT

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After the second half of the 20th century, due to the labor shortage in post-war Germany, Labor Migration Agreement was signed between Germany and Turkey in 1961. As these groups of Turkish workers who came as guest workers stayed in Germany and thrived for generations. Turkish population of nearly one and a half million has been emerged in Germany as a result of this immigration. Thus, the position of Turks in the German media is significant.

Within the scope of this study, Turkish-origin women and Turkish women-themed news of Der Spiegel magazine related to the years between 2017 and 2020 were analyzed. Filtered articles are examined in detail in macrostructure analysis based on Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory. It is aimed to conduct an interdisciplinary analysis by making use of different fields such as translation, linguistics, semiotics, psychology, discourse analysis and imagology in order to evaluate images and discourses.

The results of the analysis have shown that there were 41 negative women representations while there were only 17 positive images of Turkish women. Turkish women are predominantly represented, as individuals who are exposed to male violence cannot stand on their ground by themselves, are under family pressure, cannot make decisions of their own free will, have still integration problems, and do not know the German language and culture. It is explicit that Turkish women were relatively represented in a negative way in Der Spiegel magazine based on the findings of this investigation.

**Keywords:** Der Spiegel, Critical Discourse Analysis, Turkish Women, German Press, Women Representation

## ÖZET

**Başlık:** Alman Basılı Medyasında Türk Kadın İmajı: Der Spiegel Dergisi'nin 2017-2020 Arasındaki Haberlerinin Eleştirel Söylem Analizi

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20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra, savaş sonrası Almanya'daki işgücü sıkıntısı nedeniyle 1961 yılında Almanya ile Türkiye arasında İşçi Göçü Anlaşması imzalandı. Misafir işçi olarak gelen bu Türk işçi grupları Almanya'da kalarak nesillerini burada devam ettirdi ve böylece bugünün Almanya'sında bir buçuk milyona yakın bir Türk nüfusu ortaya çıktı. Bu nedenle Türklerin Alman medyasındaki konumu önemlidir.

Bu çalışma kapsamında Der Spiegel dergisinin 2017 ile 2020 tarihleri arasında yayınlanan Türk kökenli ve Türk kadını temalı haberleri analiz edilmiştir. Teun A. van Dijk'in eleştirel söylem analizi teorisine dayalı makro yapı analizinde filtreden geçirilen makaleler ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir. İmge ve söylemlerin değerlendirilmesi için çeviri bilim, dilbilim, göstergebilim, psikoloji, söylem analizi ve imge bilim gibi farklı alanlardan yararlanılarak disiplinler arası bir analiz çalışması yapılması hedeflenmiştir. Araştırma kapsamında toplam 58 makale derleme kapsamına alınmıştır.

Araştırma sonucunda 41 adet olumsuz kadın temsili bulunurken, sadece 17 adet olumlu Türk kadını imajına rastlanmıştır. Türk kadınları ağırlıklı olarak erkek şiddetine maruz kalan, kendi ayakları üzerinde duramayan, aile baskısı altında olan, kendi özgür iradesiyle karar veremeyen, uyum sorunu yaşayan, Alman dilini ve kültürünü bilmeyen bireyler olarak temsil edilmektedir. Der Spiegel dergisinde Türk kadınının göreceli olumsuz bir şekilde temsil edildiği araştırma sonuçları tarafından ortaya koyulmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Der Spiegel, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Türk Kadını, Alman Basını, Kadın Temsili

# INTRODUCTION

## **Subject of Research**

During World War II, Germany was destroyed by the allied forces. This destruction was only revealed after the war. It is quite possible to see its effects on the state economy and workforce as well as the individual and society.

Western European states led by Germany became more in need of labor due to post-war economic deprivation and deaths caused by the war. For this reason, Germany has signed agreements with many countries. These agreements are respectively; happened in 1955 with Italy, 1960 with Spain and Greece, 1961 with Turkey, 1963 with Morocco, 1964 with Portugal, 1965 with Tunisia, and 1968 with Yugoslavia.

Although the migration of workers from Turkey to Germany started to intensify after the 1960s, a migration movement appeared in the 1950s through individual relations. This movement, which started in 1952, started when workers went to Germany to be employed in shipyards in the Hansestadt region (Genel, 2014). Hansestadt includes the cities of Hamburg, Kiel, Bremen and Lübeck. As these groups of Turkish workers who came as guest workers stayed in Germany and thrived for generations. Turkish population of nearly one and a half million has been emerged in Germany as a result of this immigration. Thus, the position of Turks in the German media is significant. The research is focused on the examination of Turkish women's representation in Der Spiegel online magazine volumes of 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. A total of fifty-eight news about Turkish women were analyzed.

## **Aim of Research**

The aim of this research is to reveal the representation of the Turkish woman mentioned in the news. It is aimed to reveal whether the image of the Turk, which was previously mentioned as "the other" or marginalized, continues today or whether this image differs.

This analysis is aimed to reveal the image and representation of the Turkish woman, which is intended to be given to the German society and the readers of Der Spiegel from all over the world. It has been given importance to keep the study up to date by

examining the news about the Turkish woman built for 4 years from 2017 to 2020. At the end of each news analyzed, it was determined whether the representation was positive or negative. In this way, it is aimed to reach a general judgment about the representations made separately for each year examined, and for the total representations made during the 4 years.

### **Importance of Research**

Although there have been studies in the literature about Turks in Germany, guest workers and their representations in the media, there has not been enough work on the representation of Turkish women in Germany. The studies carried out either cover a short period of time or are out of date. The most important point of this thesis is that the study covers a very wide period, by covering the dates 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020, which is very important in terms of revealing the image of Turkish women represented in the German media today.

The news published in Der Spiegel was not only analyzed in words and text, but also the way this news was reflected, the language used in the news, and the images chosen while creating the news were determined. As a result of this analysis, the effect that Der Spiegel newspaper, which has a readership from all over the world, wants to create on Turkish women, and the reasons such as social, religious, cultural, ideological, etc., are examined.

### **Method of Research**

For this purpose, the online version of Der Spiegel newspaper was examined, which claims to be liberal and has a higher circulation than other German magazines. In this review, fifty-nine news stories from Der Spiegel magazine about Turkish women in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 were analyzed. This analysis is aimed to reveal the image and representation of the Turkish woman, which is intended to be given to the German society and the readers of Der Spiegel from all over the world. It has been given importance to keep the study up to date by examining the news about the Turkish woman built for 4 years from 2017 to 2020. At the end of each news analyzed, it was determined whether the representation was positive or negative. In this way, it is aimed to reach a general judgment about the representations made separately for each year

examined, and for the total representations made during the 4 years.

Critical discourse analysis is a method and analysis model that examines how language is used through various contexts and sources. This should not be perceived as a model with boundaries drawn, but as a process that aims to reveal the ideological structures behind the discourses. Ideologies are constituted by language but legitimated through discourses. This technique is used to reveal the ideological distinctions behind the visible and even the class, ethnic, cultural, gender, etc. behind the visible. aims to discover inequalities (Dijk, 1993). The usage areas of this technique are interdisciplinary and can be functional according to the context used.



# **CHAPTER 1: TURKISH GUEST WORKERS AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE GERMAN MEDIA**

## **1.1. Turkish-German Labor Agreement (October 31, 1961)**

The word Gastarbeiter is a German definition that appeared in the 1950s when Federal Germany demanded workers (Gastarbeiter, n. d.). As of the period, it means “guest-worker” economically. Later, instead of this definition, the definition of “foreign workers” was preferred in the economic and sociological literature (Gastarbeiter, n. d.).

The Turkish-German Labor Agreement is considered the milestone in migration from Turkey to Germany. Migrations prior to this agreement were small-scale and informal, either personally or at the initiative of companies/intermediaries. A labor contract was signed between the Ankara and Bonn Embassies on 31 October 1961. Within the framework of this agreement, 6800 Turkish workers started to go to Germany in 1961 with the intention of working and saving a certain amount of wealth and returning. Migration did not decrease over time, on the contrary, it continued to increase. This process led to the formation of Turkish minority groups in Germany. The applicants were also selected to be sent to Germany after undergoing a strict health check. The selected Turks could only reach Germany with a three-day trip. When the trip was over, they told about the jobs they would do, and they placed in the dormitories by the translators in the companies they would work with. Workers who saved enough money could bring their spouses with them (Das Zeitung, 2016). This migration continued until the seventy-three’s.

There was no policy toward immigrants in Germany until 1973. The first decisions that would affect the lives of Turks living in Germany were taken in the early seventies. The Social Democratic Prime Minister of the time, Willy Brandt, in his statement at the beginning of 1973, was hinting at a policy that would be a turning point for the “guest workers”. “We now need to think very carefully about where our society is filling its capacity,” Brandt said (Duetsche Welle, 2011).

A large part of the Turkish workers who went to Germany had the idea of earning money, helping their families, and returning home as soon as possible. However, the establishment of order in Germany over time and the economic and political depression

in Turkey are some of the factors that make it not come back. For Turks in Germany, Germany is now a second homeland rather than a foreign country.

## **1.2. Turkish Guest Women Workers and the Perception of Turkish Women in Germany**

Following the Labor Migration Agreement signed between Turkey and Germany in 1961, approximately 1500 people were sent to Germany to work in the first year. In 1973, when the recruitment of workers was stopped, the number of Turkish workers in Germany reached 650 thousand. Approximately 139.000 of these workers were women. About 21 per cent of the Turkish workers who came to Germany until 1974 were women. The booming German economy also sought young female workers in addition to male workers, but they were often difficult to find in sending countries, resulting in long waiting times (Miller, 2018).

Most of the women who came to Germany to work were of urban origin, they were married; left their families, especially their children, and came to Germany. Germany was a foreign country for them, moreover, they did not know the language of this country. Traditional gender and family relationships had to be subverted. How could a woman travel alone to a foreign country without a male 'owner' or escort? At the same time, there was a concern about the moral risk of threatening women in distant lands. Pedraza's study found out the following:

The family of many migrant women had the assumption that the girls and spouses who were sent to Germany could soon earn a good income and take their male family members with them. (...) But among young single women, a thirst for adventure and a desire for independence also played a role (p.310).

Nimet Erişen, one of the first-generation immigrants who came to Germany to work at the age of twenty-five, tells that the first years were difficult. "We came here, we had nothing. We had neither the German language nor money on us. We were pushed into factories, at the head of the machines... And of course, we faced many difficulties. We had house problems. They did not give us a comfortable house it was expensive here. Then families split. I came alone, I brought my husband later. Unfortunately, I had to leave my two children in Turkey" (Deutsche Welle, 2011).

According to studies, 42 per cent of female "guest" workers were single or "considered

single”, meaning they went to Germany without a spouse. In 1960 Spanish and Turkish women left their husbands and children behind or brought them with them only later (Miller, 2018).

Their numbers grew steadily. According to Mattes, “Between 1960 and 1973, the number of foreign female workers in the Federal Republic increased sixteen-fold, from 43,000 to over 706,000. Their share in the total number of foreign employees increased from 15 per cent to over 30 per cent in this period” (2005). Between 1967 and 1973, one in three hired wage workers was a woman.

Migrant women were employed in the textile, clothing, food, and luxury goods industries. But they also worked in the electronics and metal industry, in hazardous workplaces such as Siemens. For example, in Berlin factories, migrant women sometimes made up more than half of the total workforce (Frauen bei Siemens, n.d.).

The targeted employment of female workers was extremely attractive to the capital in Germany. What was needed were skilled, cheap, and willing female immigrants that companies were even willing to accept six to nine-month waiting periods for mediation.

Their wages were paid according to the low-wage group and therefore their income was well below the average income. However, the use of migrant women was not limited to securing low-paying jobs, but employers' aim was to extend them to other sectors. Against this, a series of militant workplace struggles took shape in the 1970s, again led by women (Kizilay, 2020).

Even though the number of women who receive education, have a profession and work in the second and third generations, there are still some problems. Education is one of these problems. When we consider Turkish society in general, there is a visible development. Although Turkish women living in Germany have made progress in their social life and profession in the past 50 years, it cannot be said that this progress has been seen by the German society. Because it is a common belief in German society that Turkish women are under pressure from family, spouses, or society. When it comes to migrant women in Federal Germany, there is a prejudice that they are not completely, but mostly, wearing headscarves/veiled from Muslim countries and are far from modernity.

This negative image is due to the insufficient recognition of Turkish women and the misrepresentation of Turkish women in the media. Instead of approaching Turkish

women with prejudices, the potential created by the third and fourth generations should be evaluated. The propaganda of division is made over prejudices by making people forget the fact that all women workers and laborers living in this country have common problems. Again, when immigrant women are mentioned, those who lead their lives in a hurry to raise more jobs draw attention. Changes in social life are often ignored. Today, fortunately, with Germany being seen as a second homeland, immigrant women have ceased to be other income earners.

In these years, from the first days of labor migration, countless immigrant women managed to make a name for themselves in all areas of social life. The phenomenon of immigration, which is a step towards freedom for women, is now leaving its place to other things. There are new generations who were born here, studied here and learned a profession. Third and fourth- generation immigrant women stand for enormous potential.

### **1.3. Turkish Society in Germany**

Difficulties faced by the first generation is language, culture, education, nutrition, and shelter are the priority. Migrant Turks, called the second generation, are the children of the first Turks to go to Germany. First, they did not meet a problem such as adapting to a foreign country. The Turks, called the second generation, are divided into two groups. The first of these is those born in Germany, and the second is those who were taken to Germany by their families as a child or as young people from Turkey. Those who were born, raised in Germany, and started their education there naturally have a good command of German, and they dominate Turkish as Turkish is spoken at home. The Turks, who entered this group, managed to adapt to the environment more easily and consolidated their friendship with the Germans more easily.

“German in Turkey, the foreigner in Germany” (Sezer, 2017).

People make new friends based on location. As time progresses, people may think differently from the society in which they have been shaped, and in direct proportion to the education, they have received, they may begin to acquire different ideas by adopting the ideas presented to them as correct and close to his world. Children and young people

who were born in Turkey and later immigrated to Germany must have trouble abroad, and education comes first.

Turks in the third generation were kneaded with German dough. Most of them are people born and raised in Germany and integrated with German culture. Compared to the first generation, it can be said that the third and fourth generations are more educated and more compatible with the social and business life in Germany.

In 1988, 4.5 million foreigners in Germany made up 7.3 per cent of the total population. Of these, some 1.6 million were paid and salaried; 140,000 people were self-employed (Özcan, 2004). Greece had a special status in terms of freedom of movement due to its full membership in the European Community (Özcan, 2004). Spain and Portugal were able to reach this status only in 1992 (Özcan, 2004).

Most of the people who came to Germany as guest workers chose to stay here. Taking advantage of the right to family reunification, they took their wives and children with them. Over time, some politicians, such as Helmut Kohl, had electoral successes with promises to reduce the number of foreigners in the country. In 1983, even a special law was passed to encourage foreigners to return to their homeland. However, the guest workers and their families did not return. They evolved into foreigners, guest workers, immigrants, and citizens.

Another thing to consider here is that immigrants preserve their own culture in the place where they migrated. Especially in the context of Islamophobia, the reason the people who migrated from Europe did not react as much as Muslims seem to be culture. Religion and culture play a decisive role at this point. Religious differences revealed cultural differences and the fear that their own culture would be destroyed by the Germans took hold and xenophobia started. At this point, the September 11 attacks, the London, Madrid, and Paris attacks caused this fear to reach its peak (Göktürk, Gramling & Kaes, 2007).

Immigrants, who are the target of these actions, are seen as the main reason for the deterioration of the economic and socio-cultural structure. The low or high crime rate of immigrants can be ignored by far right thinking because the only reason is not the crime rate, but the sociocultural and economic reasons mentioned above. According to Wagener (2015), the AfD securitized migration and built its discourses on this. The

biggest reason for AfD's gaining power after 2015 is the Syrian refugee crisis. The xenophobia that has been going on for years has reached its peak with the immigration of Syrians to the country.

#### **1.4. Arson Attack in Solingen (May 28-29, 1993)**

As the representatives of Islam in Germany, first, second, third and even fourth generation Turks who went there as workers and settled there are seen in the first place. The problems faced by Turks as a sociological minority are also mixed with anti-Islamism.

Because of the immigration problem, on the one hand, anti-Islamism and rising nationalism on the other, political parties have also developed discourses in this area or parties that are fed solely by the Islam/Turkish opposition have been established. In 2014, a political movement was launched directly under the name of "Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West" (PEGIDA) and started to organize protest demonstrations. Likewise, in 2013, an ultra-nationalist/racist party called the "Alternative for Germany" (AfD), was founded entirely based on the anti-Islam and anti-Turkish thesis. Especially in the 1990s and early 2000s, racist, xenophobic groups called Neonazis organized protests and organized attacks and assassinations against Turks and other Muslims in the country.

On Saturday night, May 29, 1993, a building where Turks lived in the city of Solingen was set on fire by four far-right German youth. In the attack, 4-year-old Saime Genç, 9-year-old Hülya Genç, 12-year-old Gülistan Öztürk and 18-year-old Hatice Genç were burned to death. Bekir Genç, the 15-year-old son of the young family, and his 3-year-old granddaughter, Güldane İnce, survived with serious injuries (Der Spiegel, 1993). The treatment of Bekir Genç, who was in a coma for three weeks and had twenty-four surgeries to date, lasted for years (Der Spiegel, 1993).

The four Germans who perpetrated the arson were caught and tried at the Düsseldorf State High Court, three of whom were sentenced to 10 years and one to 15 years in prison. While the perpetrators of the attack were put behind bars, this attack, which shows how dangerous racism and Turkish hostility has taken after the reunification of Germany in 1990, and which is referred to as the 'Solingen Massacre' in the history books, is both

in Germany and Turkey despite the intervening 25 years. was not forgotten either. A memorial service is held in Solingen every year on 29 May.

### **1.5. Far /Extreme -Right Parties and AfD**

The increase in far-right movements and the adoption of violence by the far right in recent years in Europe has led to the intensification of studies on this issue. The fact that acts of violence are especially directed at immigrants has created unfamiliar problems. The increase in immigration to Europe has caused anti-immigrant discourses to intensify and turn into political violence movements. In the transformation to violence, the influence of the rhetoric of anti- immigrant far-right organizations in Europe is undeniable. Especially in Germany, the migration movements that started in the 1960s and the increasing number of immigrants, and the highest increase in immigrants in 2015, led to an increase in far-right violence (Kirmizi, 2016).

PEGIDA, which emerged with anti-Islamic and anti-foreign rhetoric and stands for "Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West", the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and the far-right National Democratic Party (NPD), which normally draw attention with its anti- foreign stances, while its supporters are decreasing and almost disappearing. They have started to gain strength again with the reemergence of the Syrian refugee crisis in the middle of Europe. In particular, the intense arrival of refugees in Germany has started to prepare the ground for such extremist formations, which are dependent on the tradition of doing politics by fueling concerns (Wagener, 2015).

Radical far-right parties, which have risen in European countries in recent years, are making themselves felt in Germany day by day. The fiscal crisis, which affected Europe, started to increase the reactions against centrist parties in Germany. A group of respected economists and journalists opposed the Merkel government's euro bailout package and founded the Alternative Party for Germany (AfD) five months before the 2013 general elections. Although the party in question is not against the European Union, it wants Germany to return to the "mark". In short, it strives to produce an alternative to Merkel's policy at the centre (Atikkan, 2014). According to Knight, although the AfD could not pass the five per cent threshold in the 2013 general elections, a newly formed party's enforcement of the threshold had a serious impact on the public (2017).

Although the AfD party, which has far right and populist rhetoric, often expresses its support for democracy, separation of powers and the rule of law, some of its party members are criticized for supporting Neo-Nazi ideas and using that language. According to Chase that the party deliberately targeted anti-Nazi taboos, especially to attract right-wing extremists (2017). As the federal elections on September 24 approaches, it is seen that the language used by the AfD has hardened. Recently, AfD Vice President and Prime Minister candidate Alexander Gauland addressed the party members during his election campaign in the city of Eichsfeld in the state of Thüringen, where he is harshly targeting the Turkish-origin Integration Minister Aydan Özoğuz, saying “She should be ‘disposed of’ to Anatolia.” used these words and received reactions from all other parties, especially the government and the opposition party SPD, and from the public (Ermittlungen gegen Gauland wegen Volksverhetzung, 2017).

Another issue that those who advocate the extreme right-wing view focus on is the clash of cultures. They thought that they were trying to keep their own culture alive in the Germany they immigrated to and that they were preventing integration into German culture by transferring this to future generations. Under this judgment, it would not be wrong to say that these people targeted Muslim immigrants. By emphasizing that the religion of Islam does not belong to Germany and the German society at every opportunity, they aimed to fuel the anti- foreign opposition in Germany.

Today, the discourse that the far right is on the rise in Europe is increasing its importance. The gaining importance of far-right parties in Europe and their success in the elections indicate that their acceptance in the eyes of the public has increased. Especially in the European Parliament, extreme right and hate speeches have started to be used more frequently today. It is also noteworthy that these discourses form the basis of thought in acts of violence and increase radicalization. Although organizations that conduct research to prevent the rise of the far-right in Europe have been established, acts of violence triggered by far-right thoughts continue to increase, especially in Germany as of the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020.

With the rise of the AfD, concerns began to increase in an especially important part of society. Hundreds of thousands of protests took place against rising racism. The point of



how and around which demands should be fought against this party has also started to be a matter of debate within the left, and it continues.

At this point, it should be accepted that the methods of protest racist-fascist movements will not be enough to put the AfD back down. Congress etc. trying to prevent their activities will not weaken them, but also blurs what should be done. A line of struggle should be developed to prevent the AfD, which is trying to organize as a part of a wing of the capital, from backing up by influencing the worker-laborer, unemployed-poor segments.

### **1.6. Der Spiegel and Turkey**

The first issue of Der Spiegel was published on January 4, 1947 (Fraser& Hoffmann, 2006). The first issue of the magazine, signed by the publisher Rudolf Augstein, was released with 15,000 prints (Esser &Hartung, 2004). On its cover, the Austrian ambassador to the White House, Dr Kleinwächter's success news took place. The first female politician to appear on the cover of the magazine was Berlin Metropolitan Mayor Louise Schröder in 1948 ("Six decades of quality journalism: the history of Der Spiegel", 2011). The magazine was published twice with only photographs without any title or text on its cover. One of them was the issue of the division of Berlin into east and west in 1958. The other was the news of the assassination of US President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Only Kennedy's photo was on the cover and no title was used ("Die Geschichte Der Spiegel-Gruppe", n.d.). Publisher Rudolf Augstein was detained because of a cover story the magazine gave in 1962. Augstein distributed 50.5% of the company's shares to his employees in 1974 (Esser, Hartung). In 1988, the first television news program format began to be broadcast under the name Spiegel TV. Spiegel online was launched in 1994 with its "International" addition which is in English (Schäffner, 2005). That helped the journal to reach their voices to worldwide readers. Almost 25 years later, in 2019, internet and print editorials merged and Spiegel Online became history ("Die Geschichte Der Spiegel-Gruppe", n.d.).

The attitude of the Western press towards Turkey has been causing significant debates recently. When analyzed chronologically, it is seen that the evaluations of the said media organs about Turkey are made based on certain stereotypes. The 2009 Davos crisis and the axis shift, the 2010 UN Iran embargo talks and the debates that Turkey

broke away from its traditional allies, Erdogan's authoritarian discourse during the 2013 Gezi Park Violent Actions, the 2014 local elections and the Presidential elections in August 2014, and finally DAESH and Turkey. Evaluating the recently strained relations with Germany in the light of this historical background will open the door to satisfactory analysis.

The 2000s witnessed structural transformations that would lead to the disappearance of traditional politics in Turkey. One of the most critical areas in which the paradigm shift has spread is undoubtedly Turkish foreign policy. The position of being a bridge country imposed on Turkey in the Cold War balances has evolved into being a centre and actor with this change. The language of discourse used by global media organs, which has a manipulative effect in creating perception, has been ideologically instrumentalized in the realization of some goals. Turkey's attempt to gain a central position in the international arena by developing an active policy was tried to be rasped, especially by some media groups. Crisis news about Germany, which is a current example, has recently been built with this instrumentality. From this point of view, the journalism language and discourse developed for Turkey in the Western media, on the one hand, shows an attitude far from the understanding of impartial journalism, on the other hand, it tries to achieve certain goals with ideological engagements.

Turkey's appearance in the world public opinion, both in domestic and foreign policy, has been tried to be manipulated by various media. The Western media, which is included in the mainstream media such as the New York Times, Time, The Guardian, and Der Spiegel and directs the international information flow, followed Turkey with great interest, especially during the 2009 Davos summit and afterwards, in parallel with Turkey's rising power (Prakash & Ilgit, 2017). However, it is obvious that the discourse developed by this interest and orientation in the media bears traces of the orientalist paradigm. In the journalism language of the newspapers and magazines, Turkey is portrayed as a country governed by a one-man model in an anti-democratic system, and a perception is created in this direction. The recent Erdogan debates and the media views of these debates are reflections of such an orientation. Considering that this anti-Turkey language, which is shaped by political and ideological opposition, has increased its dose compared to Turkey's power, it will not be surprising that a similar opposition will emerge in different forms in the future. In fact, when the chronological course of the

transformations that emerged in the recent historical path above is examined in the media, it will be seen that there is a profound change in quality.

Looking at the example of Der Spiegel, it can easily be said that the German press is trying to influence domestic politics in Turkey. These efforts to influence are clearly felt before the Gezi Park violence, the Presidential elections and finally the April 16 referendum. Before the Presidential elections held in August 2014, Turkey's witnessing of a new authoritarian debate was also heavily covered in the German media. It is possible to see the most concrete example of this in Der Spiegel's issue of 4 August 2014 titled "Erdogan State" (Der Spiegel, 2014). In the issue, the magazine appeared before its readers with a Turkish cover and an appendix whose ten pages were published in Turkish. Claiming that Turkey would become an "Erdogan state" if Erdogan goes to the mansion, the magazine tried to directly influence the presidential elections. The journal claimed that Turkey was moving away from democracy, with the comments that "Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan set out with democratic reforms but turned into a ruler in his struggle with the elites of the old period and the Gezi Park resistance fighters." Adopting an attitude toward influencing domestic politics in Turkey during the Gezi Park violence, the magazine appeared before its readers with a Turkish title for the first time in its history (Der Spiegel, 2013). Addressing its readers with a Turkish title as well as a special Turkish supplement and featuring a protester's "Beugt euch nicht / Boyun eğme" banner on its cover, Der Spiegel tended to keep its manipulative attitude (Mantel, 2013). The magazine, which carried the banner of submission on its cover, greeted the opposition figures in Turkey, with which it was in an implicit intellectual agreement, over this cover, and gave them the message that they should be figured out in their actions and fight.

## **CHAPTER 2: METHOD**

### **2.1. Aim**

The aim of this research is to reveal the representation of the Turkish woman mentioned in the news. It is aimed to reveal whether the image of the Turk, which was previously mentioned as "the other" or marginalized, continues today or whether this image differs.

For this purpose, the online version of Der Spiegel newspaper was examined, which claims to be liberal and has a higher circulation than other German magazines. In this review, fifty-nine news stories from Der Spiegel magazine about Turkish women in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 were analyzed. This analysis is aimed to reveal the image and representation of the Turkish woman, which is intended to be given to the German society and the readers of Der Spiegel from all over the world. It has been given importance to keep the study up to date by examining the news about the Turkish woman built for 4 years from 2017 to 2020. At the end of each news analyzed, it was determined whether the representation was positive or negative. In this way, it is aimed to reach a general judgment about the representations made separately for each year examined, and for the total representations made during the 4 years.

The journal's language is German; however, the news is analyzed in English. Herewith, the articles in German were translated into English and analyzed by making use of linguistic studies. The visual materials used in the news are not ignored, and it is aimed to examine each news in detail and in every aspect. The analyzed news has been translated into the source language to be understood as the main language of the magazine is German. In addition, in this study, in which the representation of Turkish women in the news in the journal Der Spiegel in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 is examined, it is aimed to conduct an interdisciplinary analysis study by making use of different fields such as "translation, linguistics, semiotics, psychology, discourse analysis, imagology" in order to evaluate images and discourses.

## **2.2. Importance**

Although the media is briefly defined as written, verbal, and visual mass communication tools, today this definition has expanded with the development of technology. Media tools now provide the opportunity to reach even a small tribe living in exceedingly small towns within seconds. On the one hand, it reveals the agendas and ideas of politicians, on the other hand, it can turn into an entertainment medium. However, accessing accurate and quality information is as important as accessing information. The media has the potential to mobilize the masses, guide societies, and have unlimited and increasing potential.

Although there have been studies in the literature about Turks in Germany, guest workers and their representations in the media, there has not been enough work on the representation of Turkish women in Germany. The studies carried out either cover a short period of time or are out of date. The most important point of this thesis is that the study covers a very wide period, by covering the dates 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020, which is very important in terms of revealing the image of Turkish women represented in the German media today.

The news published in Der Spiegel was not only analyzed in words and text, but also the way this news was reflected, the language used in the news, and the images chosen while creating the news were determined. As a result of this analysis, the effect that Der Spiegel newspaper, which has a readership from all over the world, wants to create on Turkish women, and the reasons such as social, religious, cultural, ideological, etc., are examined.

By examining the news between 2017 and 2020 about Turkish women, it was given importance to keep the study up to date. At the end of each news analysis, it was determined whether the representation was positive or negative. In this way, it is aimed to reach a general judgment about the representations made separately for each year examined, and for the total representations made during the 4 years. Due to these features, the thesis named "Turkish women image in German print media; critical discourse analysis of the news of Der Spiegel magazine between 2017-2020" will make a particularly important contribution to the literature with its comprehensive and up to date critical discourse analysis.

Media is an immensely powerful tool. Examining the words used in a news text is important in terms of revealing the ideological thought structures that are said and implied without being said in the content of that text. Every word used in the news text is especially important to construct an intended thought in the mind of the reader through a news text. This study is a key study in terms of understanding the ideological point of view that Der Spiegel Online newspaper's news about Turkish women aims to convey to the readers.

### **2.3. Theoretical Background**

Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis is a technique that aims to discover what reality is behind the discourses that build a social life and to what extent it affects the society it builds, through text, language, and practices (Dijk, 1997). This research model of Van Dijk allows for critical discourse analysis of news structures. Moreover, it gives the researcher the chance to interpret the model as he wishes. Changes can be made in the model proposed by the thinker so that media texts can also be analyzed. In the most general sense, power relations in the social structure, cultural hegemony, and values, and how identities that are legitimized by ideologies are linguistically constructed are the issues examined in this context. The thinker applies this technique, including macro and microstructures, in his field of study. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, examined documents, archives, files, audio, images, films, videos, documentaries, texts, literary works, news structures, etc. It is done by linguistic analysis of many imaginable contents by dividing them into macro and microstructures. The researcher begins to discover the essential structural reality by classifying the fact that he could not discover at first sight, in a context where language is circulated through speech, according to verb conjugations, word choices, and background knowledge.

Van Dijk divides texts into macro and microstructures and deals with them in two dimensions (Dijk, 1993). If it is necessary to make the subject concrete by explaining through examples, you must first examine the thematic structure of the video to reveal the discourses in the videos.

To review a video on YouTube, you must first select the title, tags, video description, etc. The features should be discussed, and it should be discussed whether it is suitable for the general expression and phenomenon of the video and whether it provides

informational information. In the macrostructure, the situation and narrative information are examined in the schematic structure. In the microstructure, word choices, active-passive or complex sentences, verb conjugations, background, context information and rhetoric are considered (Dijk, 1993).

Critical discourse analysis aims to reveal the ideology behind the discourses that are circulated through language. With this method, Van Dijk aimed to reveal how these meanings produced by the language and was accepted by the groups in the social environment it affects, and how they grow and ensure continuity in these environments (Dijk, 2005). Thus, the researcher aims to reveal the message that is meant to be conveyed (Dijk, 2006).

#### **2.4. Literature Review**

Özdemir's article titled "The Image of Turkish Women in the German Press" is crucial for this study. In this study, Özdemir aims to reveal how the image of Turkish women is represented in the German press (Özdemir, 2015). Macro and microanalysis of the news about Turkish women published in Der Spiegel International online magazine during July, August, September, October, November, and December 2011 is analyzed within the framework of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis (Özdemir, 2015). By using different disciplines, such as translation studies, Özdemir wanted to reveal the ideology that was hidden in the discourse (Özdemir, 2015). Three negatives, zero positive and zero neutral news was eliminated. As a sample of the study, a total of three news was analyzed in detail (Özdemir, 2015). As a result, it is concluded that the image of the Turkish woman was trying to build in a negative way (Özdemir, 2015). Because Özdemir's study has comparable results to this thesis's findings, it confirms the accuracy of the results. According to Özdemir, in the last month of 2011, Turkish women are portrayed as individuals who are exposed to male violence, could not stand on their own feet, were humiliated undeservedly, and could not decide with their own free expression (Özdemir, 2015).

In this study, Uysal aimed to reveal the relationship between the reflections of the Turkish population in Germany in the media and the German perception of Turkey's entry into the European Union (Uysal, 2011). He emphasized that the opinion of Turks about Turkey's involvement in Europe is outstanding, which is the largest minority

group in Germany (Uysal, 2011). In this study, to reveal the depiction of Turkish immigrants in the print media, Uysal focused on the literature as a resource (Uysal, 2011).

According to Cakir, relations between Turkey and Germany have a long history that includes cooperation and partnership in many fields (Cakir, 2021). Especially after the Turkish labor migration to Germany in the 1960s strengthened this bilateral relationship (Cakir, 2021). In this study, which examines Turkish-German relations and Turkish lessons given in Germany, Cakir investigates the cultural and language problems experienced by Turks (Cakir, 2021). In this study, which examines the image of Turkish women in the newspaper *Der Spiegel*, Cakir's study, which examines the language and cultural problems faced by Turks in Germany, is a significant source for this thesis (Cakir, 2021). According to Cakir, Turkish and Turkish Culture course needs to be improved so that Turkish children living in Germany can learn their language of origin at a proficient level and be more successful in their academic life so that they can gain proficiency in both Turkish and German language (Cakir, 2021).

In this study, Yeşil aimed to determine the discrimination and exclusion perceptions of Turkish students living in Germany (Yesil, 2020). The participants of the research are eighteen students who attend public schools (*grundshcule*, *mittelschule*, *realschule* and *gymnasium*) in the Schwaben region of the German state of Bayern in the 2017-2018 academic year (Yesil, 2020). The research was conducted using a semi-structured interview form (Yesil, 2020). The interview form included eighteen questions that would allow students to explain their thoughts on exclusion and discrimination, afterwards the data obtained from the interviews were analyzed and interpreted by content analysis (Yesil, 2020). As a result of the interviews, two separate themes emerged which are discrimination based on religion and social-cultural exclusion, and discrimination and exclusion based on spatial exclusion codes (Yesil, 2020). As a result of this study, Yesil states that Turkish children living in Germany are excluded from social, cultural, and spatial aspects (Yesil, 2020). Yesil's research has been an important source of literature for this thesis, as this study sheds light on the understanding of the socio-psychological situation of the Turks in Germany.



Gayirnal and Gündoğmus aimed to address the identity transformation processes of Turkish immigrant women who migrated to Germany after Turkish labor migration (Gayirnal & Gündoğmus, 2021). This field study is carried out in three important cities where mostly Turks live (Gayirnal & Gündoğmus, 2021). It is aimed to measure women's general identity perceptions, collective identity perceptions and cultural identity perceptions, by considering generational differences (Gayirnal & Gündoğmus, 2021). According to the research results of Gayirnal and Gündoğmus, it is revealed that there are no significant differences between the four generations who went to Germany from Turkey and that women from Turkey are trying to protect their cultural and collective identities against the German culture and identity (Gayirnal & Gündoğmus, 2021).

According to Aydin, Turkish workers who migrated as guest workers (Gastarbeiter) and later settled in Germany with their families with family reunifications in the following years had later integration problems (Aydin, 2021). For diaspora women, the situation has become even more difficult from a social point of view (Aydin, 2021). The experiences and narratives of women about immigration and integration problems have been discussed in sociology and history-based oral history studies, so archives created on women's memory and discourses have increased the visibility of women in the context of gender (Aydin, 2021). In Aydin's research, the integration problems, diaspora women's discourses and Nil Yalter's project named "Su gurbetçilik zor zanaat" are analyzed (Aydin, 2021). Nil Yalter has carried out various projects, generally using digital and video techniques (Aydin, 2021). In her project "Su gurbetçilik zor zanaat", she made interviews with immigrant families coming to Germany from Turkey in 1977 and brought up the issues of women, identity, belonging and integration (Aydin, 2021). In terms of drawing attention to the problems of Turkish immigrant women in Germany of the period, it has been a key literature resource for this thesis.

## **2.5. Methodology**

In the purposive sampling type, the items are selected from the study population due to their specific characteristics or according to the researcher's own decision (Patton, 2002). In this type of sampling, it is tried to select unique case studies that will be informative for research. The important thing for the researcher is to reach people who

have experience on the subject to be examined, information and data (Patton, 2002). For this purpose, the researcher can determine certain criteria within the framework of the research topic and include cases that meet these criteria in his sample. Purposive sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This type of purposive sampling is also called criterion sampling. It is especially used in public opinion polls (Berger, 2000). It is a convenient method that is not very costly and can be applied in an abbreviated time. It is not possible to generalize about the universe. The universe must have been concentrated in a narrow geographical area (Berger, 2000).

In this study, using the words mentioned under the heading 2.9 data collection, a total of fifty-nine news items that fit the spirit of the research were examined. In this sample, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 have been selected and analyzed separately, thematically, and schematically, under the macro structure analysis, with Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. With the purposive sampling method, the news involving Turkish women was sorted with the help of keywords, and accurate and necessary data were obtained. This extracted news was included in the sample, with the researcher's own decision, in accordance with the subject of the research. Recurring news stories was not included in the research sample as attention was paid to being informative and unique.

## **2.6. Research Questions**

The research questions of this study are listed below;

1. How are Turkish women represented in German print media?
2. What is it like growing up in a family that has Turkish roots for Turkish women in Germany?
3. What are the experiences or struggles Turkish women faced in Germany?
4. Are Turkish women represented in a negative or positive way in Der Spiegel magazine?
5. The sub-questions of this study are listed below;

6. How are Turkish women represented in Der Spiegel publications dated 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020?
7. What is the process of Turkish women's integration in Germany and its reflection in Der Spiegel magazine?
8. What kind of words and phrases did Der Spiegel magazine use when talking about Turkish women?
9. What kind of words and phrases did the German media use when talking about Turkish women?
10. What kind of changes has been experienced in the image of Turkish women from past to present in this news published by Der Spiegel newspaper between 2017-2020?

## **2.7. Scope and Limitations**

This study is limited to Der Spiegel Online newspaper. In addition, only the years 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 are taken as a basis. It is limited to online Der Spiegel volumes published only during this 4-year period. Moreover, this news is analyzed separately thematically and schematically under the macrostructure analysis within the framework of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. However, a microstructure analysis of the news has not been done.

## **2.8. Samples**

The sample of this study is the news about Turkish women published in Der Spiegel Online magazine in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. Fifty-nine related news filtered using the words in the data collection title with the title 2.9 formed the sample of this thesis study. In this sample, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 were examined. With the purposive sampling method, the news involving Turkish women was sorted with the help of keywords, and accurate and necessary data were obtained. These extracte news was included in the sample, with the researcher's own decision, in accordance with the subject of the research. Recurring news was not included in the research sample as attention was paid to being informative and unique.

## 2.9. Data Collection

In this thesis study on "Turkish Women Image in German Print Media; Critical Discourse Analysis of The News Of "Der Spiegel" Magazine Between 2017-2020", news about Turkish women in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 were filtered. The news is filtered in the online version of Der Spiegel newspaper. While doing this filtering, the following words are used.

- Türkeistämmige ..... People of Turkish origin
- Deutschtürkin..... German-Turkish
- Türkischer Einwanderer..... Turkish immigrant
- Migrantinnen..... Migrant women
- Muslimin..... Muslim woman
- Türkin ..... Turkish woman
- Türkische Mädchen ..... Turkish girls
- Türkische Frauen ..... Turkish women
- Türkischstämmige..... Turkish descent
- Türkische ..... Turkish
- Deutsch-Türkischen..... German-Turkish
- Einwanderinnen ..... Immigrant
- Frauen ..... Women

By using these words, the news of the online magazine Der Spiegel between 2017 and 2020 has been examined. As a result of this analysis, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 was examined. Thus, with the purposive sampling method, fifty-nine news items that fit the research spirit were reached. This news was then analyzed in detail with Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method.

## 2.10. Data Analysis

By using these words, the news of the online magazine Der Spiegel between 2017 and 2020 has been examined. As a result of this analysis, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 were examined. Thus, with the purposive sampling method, fifty-nine news items that fit the research spirit were reached. This news was then analyzed in detail with Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method. In the framework of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, it has been examined separately, thematically, and schematically, under the macrostructure analysis. However, a microstructure analysis of the news has not been done. The analyses were also presented in the form of tables, making it easier for the reader to understand the news selected by the researcher.

## 2.11. Definition of Terms

- Türkeistämmige ..... People of Turkish origin
- Deutschtürkin..... German-Turkish
- Türkischer Einwanderer..... Turkish immigrant
- Migrantinnen..... Migrant women
- Muslimin..... Muslim woman
- Türkin ..... Turkish woman
- Türkische Mädchen ..... Turkish girls
- Türkische Frauen ..... Turkish women
- Türkischstämmige..... Turkish descent
- Türkische ..... Turkish
- Deutsch-Türkischen..... German-Turkish
- Einwanderinnen... Immigrant
- Frauen ..... Women

## CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS

### 3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of 2020 "Der Spiegel" Online Magazine News; Teon Van Dijk's Macrostructure Discourse Analysis

In this study, firstly, a macro analysis of the news covered in the "Der Spiegel" magazine has been made to examine the image of Turkish women. In the macro analysis, the main and subtitle of the news, the main theme of the news and the schematic structure of these themes, the context information of the events, the evaluations of the event witnesses about the event, if any, etc. will be examined in terms of dynamics.

During the year 2020, six news is selected with the purposive sampling method, which is a qualitative research method. This news has six negative, zero positive judgments.

**Table 1:** Critical Discourse Analysis of 2020 "Der Spiegel" online magazine news; Teon Van Dijk's macrostructure discourse analysis

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
1	Aylin's mother is afraid for her because Aylin speaks out against racism - here she answers her mother	According to Hanau: "Security is our right"	No visual material was used.
2	"I pushed my Turkish side aside for a long time"	Formerly a good pop poet, now a self-determined emo rapper: After burnout and an identity crisis, the German-Turkish singer Elif has an exciting fresh start.	Two stage pictures of singer Elif's in a completely two distinctive styles and one of her photos taken from a photo shoot.
3	Turkey is wrestling with women's rights	In 2012, Turkey was the first parliament to ratify the Istanbul Convention for the Protection of Women's Rights. However, she never implemented many measures. Now the AKP wants to withdraw from the agreement.	There is a photograph of Turkish women with purple masks taken from the protest.
4	"We don't belong, no matter how hard we try"	Four young people tell how their parents prepared them for a life in Germany.	No visual material was used.
5	Integrated but lonely	What good is studying and social advancement if you remain an outsider? In Deniz Ohde's remarkable debut novel "Streulicht", a German-Turkish worker's daughter talks about her gloomy everyday life.	There is a photograph of Deniz Ohdes that takes a close look at her face.
6	Headscarf, so what? Why it sucks to judge people by their clothes	And why it can even be dangerous.	Video was used as visual material.

**Source:** Created by author

### **3.1.1. Analysis of Article 1 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.1.1.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The title has some specific words such as racism and fear which are come to the fore and provide preliminary information about the text. In addition, the reader could say that it is an article that follows another news or article since a part of the title is " ...here she answers her mother" (Karabulut, 2020). With this title, the reader can understand Karabulut responds to her mother's fear, worries and concerns.

The introduction of the article is short. In the intro of the news, the Hanau incident is mentioned. It is also clear to understand that the word taken from Aylin Karabulut, because it's written in quotation marks. The Hanau event is explained under the following title of the schematic analysis (see title 1.2.1). There is a noticeably short, unexplained, coded news intro that is difficult to relate to readers who are unfamiliar with the Hanau event. In this article which is titled "Aylin's mother is afraid for her because Aylin speaks out against racism - here she answers her mother", no photography or visuals were used (Karabulut, 2020).

#### **3.1.1.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The article numbered one is a response to the concerns of her mother by Aylin Karabulut. The title, which gives an idea about the main event, briefly mentioned the event itself, namely Hanau, in the first paragraph of the news. After giving a piece of brief information about the Hanau case the editor of the news gave information about Aylin Karabulut (Karabulut, 2020). From this point of view, the reader interprets that Aylin is 26 years old and works as a research assistant at the University of Duisburg-Essen and that she specifically conducts research on racism in schools (Karabulut, 2020). Although the semantic structure of discourse, is not clearly explained here, giving information about the main event, Hanau, as a reminder to the reader, highlights the source of the problem and its historical dimension of the news. In the content of the news, Aylin Karabulut enhanced the accuracy of the news by referring to the anti-racist

tweets she posted on her Twitter account. The most important part of this article is that Karabulut, who is obviously of Turkish origin, said that "Germany must meet its responsibility and protect us. This is our home. We should be safe here" at the end of the article (Karabulut, 2020). By saying that, Karabulut stated that Germany is her home, but she does not feel safe because of racist attacks like Hanau (Karabulut, 2020). Just as Karabulut's mother is worried about her daughter, she has stated that she does not want to explain to the children in the future that there are people who want to kill them only because of their race. "Today I ask myself: How do you teach your child that there are people who want to kill them? How do you stay hopeful and still give courage? To this day I do not know how you did it" (Karabulut, 2020).

In this open lettered form article to which Karabulut addressed her mother, the words racism, fear, home, extreme right-wing violence, immigrant women are frequently used. Since Karabulut and her mother are represented in this news as Turkish immigrant women who have been exposed to racism and have been fighting against it for years, a negative image has been given to the reader.

### **3.1.2. Analysis of Article 2 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.1.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main title of the news to be analyzed, dated 03.09.2020 at 9.01 pm, is "Pop singer Elif" (Borcholte, 2020). "I pushed my Turkish side aside for a long time", which belongs to Elif, is used as the subtitle (Borcholte, 2020). The content of the news is divided into paragraphs, but no other subtitles are used. The part of the interview is positioned right in the middle of the news, "I was looking for identity: Who am I now? Am I Turkish, am I German?" (Borcholte, 2020). The sentence is written in bold and highlighted. The content of the news, on the other hand, is the changing style of the singer and the search for identity as the main theme. How and why Turkish-German singer Elif, who previously had a romantic and country style, turned into an emo rapper by choosing her own destiny, and 'this exciting new beginning' is the subject of the interview (Borcholte, 2020). The most important reason this news is the subject of this



research is that Elif D. is in a search between her German and Turkish identity and the way it is presented in the German media.

In addition, the lyrics that Elif wrote previously were selected and shared in this text. This has enhanced the reality of the article. Taking the song "Alles Helal" as a reference, the editor emphasized that the Turkish singer breaks Islamic rules, by smoking and drinking alcohol, and does not prefer to hide her body (Borcholte, 2020). Here, Elif has presented to the reader a portrait of a rebel heroic Turkish girl who fights against these taboos, and even a German girl who has abandoned her Turkish identity.

In the news, there are two photos of Elif taken on stage and one half-faced photo from her back. The two styles of stage photography are different from each other. In the first scene photo, the reader sees Elif with her hair and dress style, which is more romantic and country style. In the second scene photo, she appears with slightly more emo and distinctive style with her short haircuts. Moreover, in the third photograph that is positioned at the beginning of the news, Elif is in her backless black dress with short hair; far from that romantic, country style. The editor has strengthened the content of the text by choosing a photograph that will reveal Elif's changing style over time.

### **3.1.2.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In the first paragraph, attention was drawn to the short documentary about Elif, and a link was left for the reader for easy access. The news first focused on Elif's changing style, "Who knows... I've become a trendsetter." It is mentioned that the singer Elif's family did not accept this change and that she was stuck between her Turkish and German identities (Borcholte, 2020). Hence, the reader draws the image of a 29-year-old woman born in 1992, who is still under the psychological pressure of her family and cannot make her own decisions and continues to live dependent on her family.

In the continuation of the news, the singer mentioned that she received psychological support due to her search for identity and stated that she finally found herself and pushed the Turkish side aside already (Borcholte, 2020). She has often ignored part of her identity in the past, having too often taken the path of least resistance: "I pushed my Turkish side aside for a long time. I was looking for identity: Who am I now? Am I

Turkish, am I German? I went to the other extreme, and then my music also sounded so German."

After sharing a post with a sports bikini on Instagram, she mentioned that the singer's father called her directly and that she was a source of embarrassment for the family (Borcholte, 2020). By the author of the news, she was portrayed as a girl seeking freedom as the daughter of a Muslim and traditional family.

Elif is 'My father must deal with it; I did not undress for 'Playboy'. I like my body; I look pretty." She stated that the incident was brought up by her father. A mother figure stands out, stating that her mother, who is Muslim and Turkish like her, did not have the courage in her time, but that she could not act as bravely as Elif, but always supported her daughter (Borcholte, 2020). She said, "My mother has often told me, Elif, that if I were you, I would do it ten times more blatantly, she just doesn't dare" (Borcholte, 2020). From this point of view, the image that Turkish women are traditional, Muslims, who are oppressed under the role of their husbands or boyfriends and who survived this, is given to the reader.

At the end of the news, the author questions whether the Turkish-born singer Elif, who has become a trendsetter, will be a role model for other young and refugee women (Borcholte, 2020). From here, a negative image about the Turkish family structure is drawn by telling the reader that a Turkish and Muslim mother who is Turkish and Muslim and cannot stand up to the identity she wants to be, supports her daughter, but the father, who is on the contrary, prevents or tries to prevent it. The father is represented as a closed-minded, traditional, and closed-to-change individual. Because of this, Elif's psychological treatment and her feeling happy and free by finally embracing her German identity gives the reader the image that all Turkish women want to throw their identities aside and 'to be free'. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.1.3. Analysis of Article 3 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.1.3.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In this article, numbered three in table 1, 08/08/2020, 3:48 pm. dated news has been examined. The main title is "Turkey is wrestling with women's rights" (Hassenkamp, 2020). From this point of view, the reader's perception will be that Turkish women living in Turkey will fight for their rights. The reader, who has not yet started to read the news, understands that Turkey has problems with women's rights and its implementation. Only one sub-title is used in this news, which started with a negative picture. The news was divided into paragraphs and analyzed under the theme of schematic analysis. The only sub-title is water; "a completely distorted understanding of violence" (Hassenkamp, 2020). Here, there is a distorted understanding of violence in Turkey, moreover, there is the impression that violence is a theme in Turkey. In the introductory text at the beginning of the news, it is written: "In 2012, Turkey was the first parliament to ratify the Istanbul Convention for the Protection of Women's Rights. However, she never implemented many measures. Now the AKP wants to withdraw from the agreement" (Hassenkamp, 2020). In this text, the reader is informed that Turkey signed the Istanbul agreement in 2012 to protect women's rights. Although the introduction was informative, he later stated that the country never implemented these measures and practices. Moreover, it is aimed to make the reader question the problem of women's rights in Turkey by adding that she wanted to withdraw from this agreement. This negative image formed in the mind of the reader is reinforced by this frame of protest made by dozens of Turkish women for the Istanbul Convention and women's rights at the beginning of the news (Hassenkamp, 2020). Women are fighting for their rights, otherwise, they are in danger of being deprived of their rights. The female figures in this photograph, with their heads covered, with their heads uncovered, hair orange, green, black, yellow, in assorted styles, give a positive impression to the reader in terms of reflecting different female profiles in Turkey.

### **3.1.3.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main event of this news is that people in Turkey, especially women, go to the streets against violence against women and protest for the continuation of the Istanbul convention. Supported by a photograph from the protest, the news continued, emphasizing the femicide deaths, which strengthened his argument. It has been stated that Pinar Gültekin, who was killed by her ex-boyfriend and then our President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's tweet about the incident were not taken seriously by women's rights organizations; "...Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan wrote on Twitter: "I curse all crimes against women" (Hassenkamp, 2020). He does not doubt that "the murderer whom Pinar Gültekin will receive the heaviest sentence he deserves" (Hassenkamp, 2020). More women's rights organizations think his tweet is a mockery" (Hassenkamp, 2020). Later, the reporter editor, who gave the meaning of the word femicide and the figures of femicide deaths in Turkey statistically, also talked about the death rates of different years to present the increasing number of female deaths year by year to the reader. The use of "Federation of Women Associations of Turkey" as a source while talking about these rates increases the accuracy of the news and provides statistical information to the reader. In the continuation of the news, the editor explains the Istanbul contract, where the name of the contract comes from, how and why it was signed between the countries and gives the reader comprehensive information on the subject (Hassenkamp, 2020). In addition, by stating that the Council of Europe does not approve of the high number of child marriages in Turkey, it is presented to the reader that there are concerns about children's rights as well as women's rights in Turkey. In this news, which focuses on the concerns of Turkish women and their children about human rights in general, various statistical information is used and information about the Istanbul Convention is given to the reader. Although it was mentioned that AKP wanted to withdraw from this agreement, the reasons for this were not discussed. When the reader reads this news, he will see the problems about the rights and security of Turkish women and create a negative image in his mind. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.1.4. Analysis of Article 4 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.1.4.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news dated 18/06/2020, 5:25 pm, coded with the number 4 in Table 1, will be examined (Röhlig, 2020). The title of the article is "We don't belong, no matter how hard we try" (Röhlig, 2020). It is not clear in the title who, why and where they do not belong. First title makes it clear that the main topic of the new is about racism; "How do you behave among whites" (Röhlig, 2020)? In the following sub-headings, the name, surname, age, and occupation information of the people who talk about their firsthand experiences are given. Under each sub- heading, the person concerned shared his thoughts on the subject. The issue that concerns our thesis topic in this article is that a Turkish woman is included in this article. This person is a 35-year-old teacher of Turkish origin named Bahar Aslan (Röhlig, 2020). This word that Aslan said was highlighted in the middle of the article, with the colour orange, which is the main colour of the magazine; "My father made it clear to me that if the next German of Turkish descent is not hired, it will be my fault" (Röhlig, 2020). In the introduction to the news, it is written that "Four young people tell how their parents prepared them for a life in Germany" (Röhlig, 2020). However, with this introduction and main title, the reader might not understand what the content of the article is. People who are prepared for life in Germany by their families and do not belong to the place they are mentioned, but in no way, words, and phrases such as racism, discrimination, exclusion are not used in the main title and intro. No visual material has been found in this article. It can be said that the editor did not feel the need to strengthen this article with any visuals in this article, whose accuracy has already been proven based on the experiences of people.

#### **3.1.4.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Although it is not clear from the title and content of the news that the subject is about a Turkish woman, Bahar Aslan, who is afraid of being censored because she is Turkish in the content of the news (Röhlig, 2020). Although the article started by focusing on the

troubles Black people had in America and the George Floyd incident, the ideas of people of different races living in Germany were included afterwards (Röhlig, 2020). Aslan, as a 35-year-old teacher, draws a successful profile of Turkish women. However, after she stated that her family had warned her about the injustices she might face in her daily life since she was noticeably young, this image turns into a Turkish woman living in Germany who suffers from racism; "...I was told that I had to make a lot more effort than other children to be seen at all. It was not enough to get good grades, it should be the best" (Röhlig, 2020). Aslan, who says that she does her best to integrate into the society she is in, but that the society does not accept this integration, plays the victim role here. This word of Aslan is also used as the main title of the article. However, in this part of the article, he did not give information about when, why, and how Aslan and his family came. For this reason, the reader may find it difficult to analyze Aslan's situation. Aslan then says that his family spent all their money to buy a house in Turkey, and if they are not wanted in Germany one day, they want to use it for a shelter for emergencies (Röhlig, 2020). The image that the reader will make of a Turkish woman here is a Turkish woman who still has not completed her integration until the age of thirty-five, and who does not feel happy and safe in the society she is in. Since the source of the news is based on the experiences of the people, the credibility of the article is high. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.1.5. Analysis of Article 5 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.1.5.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article dated 16/09/2020, 9:33 pm, coded with the number 5 in Table 1 will be examined (Schmitter, 2020). The title of the article is "Integrated but lonely" (Schmitter, 2020). From here, it is understood that there is integrated but still feels alone, but the reader has no idea about this person and people yet. The article has only one subtitle, "A class story? Yes and no" (Schmitter, 2020). The reader cannot have any information about the article from the titles alone, because no information is given about what, when, where how and about whom the subject is. This is the intro of the news;

"What good is studying and social advancement if you remain an outsider? In Deniz Ohde's remarkable debut novel "Streulicht", a German-Turkish worker's daughter talks about her gloomy everyday life" (Schmitter, 2020). As can be clearly understood from here, it is understood that this article is about the first published novel of Deniz Ohde, a worker girl. Here, the Turkish woman image that the reader will create in his mind will be this, the person who still feels alone, alien or prefers to isolate himself even though he is integrated. However, the image of a successful, able-bodied woman promoting Deniz Ohde's first novel here cannot be ignored. Only one photograph is used in this article. The photograph belongs to the author Deniz Ohde. She has a portrait photograph (Schmitter, 2020). Although it gives a well-groomed image with its raft and curly natural hair on its neck, the seriousness of its facial expression should not be ignored. This emotionless expression, which is called poker face, gives the reader the impression that the writer Ohde does not author joyful stories before even reading the content of the article.

#### **3.1.5.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In the first paragraph of the article, the reader can access the information about Deniz Ohde who is the author of the story and was born in 1988, Germany (Schmitter, 2020). At the same time, describing the year 1988 as "the year the houses were set on fire", the reporter editor states that Ohde went to elementary school when racist acts were on the rise and gives information about the period when the story writer was (Schmitter, 2020). At the same time, he strengthened his argument by giving the places where these racist acts took place, together with the dates; "...born in Germany in 1988, an elementary school student at the time "when the houses were on fire".s Mölln 1992, Solingen 1993, Lübeck 1996" (Schmitter, 2020). Then the article focuses on Ohde's book. Here, the story writer inspired this story from her own life. The plot of the novel is centred around a girl whose mother is Turkish and whose father is a German worker (Schmitter, 2020). The unhappy marriage of the family, feeling of alienation, inability to feel belonging, the psychological statement of Ohde and her family is emphasized by using words and phrases such as stress (Schmitter, 2020). Here, the reader is presented with a German-Turkish family's daughter, who still feels like a foreigner even though she was born in

Germany, and her depressive state afterwards. It is mentioned that she left his roots behind, left his Turkish identity, but still could not find a new home for herself (Schmitter, 2020). Whether she was born in Germany or Turkey, whether she completed the integration process or not, she still gives a negative image of a Turkish woman who has difficulty in accepting Germany as her home and feels alien and unhappy. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.1.6. Analysis of Article 6 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.1.6.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Headscarf, so what? Why it sucks to judge people by their clothes" dated 01/01/2020, 5:03pm has been analyzed in terms of macro thematic (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). The subtitle of the article follows the main title. The following reads "And why it can even be really dangerous" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). In the introduction of the news, a video welcomes the reader. The content of this video will be discussed in the macro-schematic structure of the article.

In the second title of the article, it is stated that Kayikci is uncomfortable with people being judged based on their clothes (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). Although a Turkish reader can easily understand by the name Merve that this person is a Turkish woman, it might be exceedingly difficult for a German or European reader to understand this without watching the video. Therefore, the reader who reads only the text will create the image of a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf in his mind.

The article also has a title called "opinion" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). Under this title, it has been stated that the comments and ideas given in the video do not belong to the editorial team of the whole magazine, but that they support different ideas as the editorial team of the magazine.

"What you read or watch here is the opinion of an author. Such a comment does not have to correspond to the opinion of the entire editorial team. We think it is important to reflect different opinions" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). Here it is



understood that the magazine Der Spiegel wanted to remain neutral about the ideas or statements made in the video. At the end of the article, a word that was said in the video was quoted again abundantly. It says, "In the video, I tell why the "clothes make the man" thinking annoys me - and when it can even be really dangerous" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020).

### **3.1.6.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 1; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Headscarf, so what? Why it sucks to judge people by their clothes" dated 01/01/2020, 5:03 pm has been analyzed in terms of schematic analysis regarding the macro structure (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). In the video, there is a Turkish woman figure Merve Kayikci (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). She wears a headscarf and has brought up the problems and issues she faced with it. This video was published in the new sub-magazine of Spiegel magazine called "Bento"; called in German "Das junge Magazin vom Spiegel"; but it was published in Spiegel as well (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020).

In the video, Kayikci begins by saying that; "Stop judging others by their clothes. You can look at people's clothes, but not in your head" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). In the continuation of the video, she tries to draw attention to the fact that it is extremely easy to change the image she gives by changing his appearance with distinctive style accessories and that this does not reflect the person herself most of the time (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). First, she puts on her glasses, saying that "depending on what I wear, you might think, for example, that I am a mipster who is at home parties and protests and whose only goal is to revolutionize the Islam" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020).

Afterwards, she wears a shawl, as today's Turkish women often use. She says " when I wear it like that, I am sometimes asked how many children I have. Or whether I am the housekeeper. Or whether my husband is forcing me to wear it. Then I say I am single" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). The humorous demeanor of Kayikci here also draws attention. She wanted to emphasize that such comments are very funny and unacceptable. In the continuation of the video, she finally dresses in blacks and covers her head in a way like Arab culture. She says this; " This is how I look to some as if I

was married. Namely with a rich sheikh who took me to Germany for shopping" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020).

It can also be understood from this statement that Kayikci is more comfortable in environments where she should not wear any clothes and does not face prejudices about where she comes from or what religion she espouses, "Imagine meeting me in the sauna. If I am not wearing anything, not even a headscarf; would you then see that I am a Muslim? That part was not stapled to my head. And no matter what I wear, I am always the same person" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020).

By emphasizing the importance of clothes at the end of the video, Merve Kayikci emphasizes also how inappropriate and unacceptable the false comments and prejudices about herself, her culture and religion are (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020). "But clothing can also be used specifically for manipulation. And that is precisely why it is not only annoying but can also be dangerous to let yourself be too dazzled by clothing. So, what do you think when you see me Best of all, nothing at all at first" (Kayikci & Dworak, 2020)!

The reader who reads this news has the figure of a victim who is bullied because of the appearance and clothing choices of a Muslim Turkish woman. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis of 2019 "Der Spiegel" Online Magazine News; Teon Van Dijk's Macrostructure Discourse Analysis**

In this study, firstly, a macro analysis of the news covered in the "Der Spiegel" magazine has been made to examine the image of Turkish women. In the macro analysis, the main and subtitle of the news, the main theme of the news and the schematic structure of themes, the context information of the events, the evaluations of the event witnesses about the event, if any, etc. will be examined in terms of dynamics.

During the year 2019, sixteen news is selected with the purposive sampling method, which is a qualitative research method. The news has eleven negative, five positive judgments.

**Table 2:** Critical Discourse Analysis of 2019 "Der Spiegel" online magazine news; Teon Van Dijk's macrostructure discourse analysis

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
1	"I'm always asked where I come from"	She became known to a wide audience as the "Tatort" police officer. Before the start of the new series "Bullets", Sibel Kekilli tells what prejudices annoy her - and why they irritate broken characters.	A frame from Sibel Kekilli role as a police officer named "Tatort". A photo album with nine photos including Kekilli's scenes from different movies and series.
2	Jihadist is suing for repatriation to Germany	The German Islamist Deniz B. joined the IS years ago - today he is in Kurdish captivity. His lawyers now want to force the federal government to bring the jihadist home.	A photo of suspected jihadist Sibel H. with her partner Deniz B.
3	Sunflower seeds, protective covers and Kolonya: How it feels to grow up as a German-Turkish woman	# Let us talk about us! Episode 2: Merve and Nil in conversation	A video clip from Merve's und Nil's interview
4	"It's remarkable how quickly this escalates"	Frank Plasberg wanted to know whether Germany was a home "only for Germans or open to everyone". An extremely annoying question.	A photo from the discussion tv program.
5	Dispute over dual citizenship	How dogged and unrealistic political discussions often are in Germany became abundantly clear at the beginning of 1999. The Union fought vehemently against dual citizenship and received applause from the Republicans and the NPD. The ruling coalition opposed this and declared the double pass to be the ultimate in integration. SPIEGEL TV spoke to children of Turkish immigrants about he debate.	Video
6	Turkish culture magazine: What is "renk"?	A conversation with founder Melisa Karakuş about coffee houses and parallel worlds.	No visual materials were used in the article.
7	Elif Shafak on Turkey; "The repression has increased"	Elif Shafak is the most famous author in Turkey. At the Frankfurt Book Fair she spoke about the political situation under Erdogan, the abandonment of literature - and about Peter Handke.	There is a photograph of Elif Safak giving a speech at the Frankfurt book fair.
8	Raising Muslim boys; "Mom, shut up at last"	What is wrong with raising boys in some Muslim families? Education professor Ahmet Toprak sees the parents as "macho doers" and advises clear statements.	No visual materials were used in the article.
9	Violence against women in Turke; A murder case puts Erdogan under pressure	A man kills his ex-wife, the crime is filmed: The case has sparked a debate in Turkey about violence against women. President Erdogan also must put up with allegations.	There is a photo from the protest against femicide in Ankara.

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
10	Turkish organization Kadem; A women's movement entirely in Erdogan's sense	The organization Kadem wants to create a new women's movement in Turkey. It is not about equality - the association is entirely on the AKP line. Vice-president is Erdogan's daughter Sümeyye.	There is a photo from the wedding of Sümeyye Erdogan and Selcuk Bayraktar.
11	Feminism pioneer Nil Yalter; The art guerrillera	Gender codes, migration, exploitation: the Turkish artist Nil Yalter was already negotiating issues that are burning today in the 1970s - now her works can be seen in Cologne.	No visual materials were used in the article.
12	Killed Emine B.; Erdogan for reintroduction of the death penalty	The violent death of Emine B. shakes Turkey. President Erdogan has now spoken out in favor of reactivating the death penalty, which was abolished 15 years ago.	There is a photo of Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan
13	Shoes as a cultural conflict; Foot shame - a part of the leading German culture	Can you ask guests to take off their shoes in their own apartment? Migration backgrounders have an advantage when it comes to this question: We do not interpret our obsession with cleanliness as philistine.	There is a representative photo of shoes standing in front of the door.
14	Erdogan in the end? How young Turks are now planning the future	Turkey is facing a possible political turnaround - and that because of a mayoral election. In Istanbul, voters were called on Sunday to appoint a new city chief. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had hoped that the candidate from his camp would get the job. But Ekrem Imamoglu - the Erdogan critic - won by a large margin.	There is a photograph of a young Turkish girl taken from a protest.
15	Repression under Erdogan; Dilek Dündar left Turkey secretly	Despite being banned from leaving the country, the wife of the journalist Can Dündar, who was in exile in Germany, left Turkey. She was held there as a "hostage", and now she is with her husband in Germany.	There is photo of Dilek Dündar, wife of Turkish journalist Can Dündar.
16	Heard - latest music; Home as a prison	The German-Turkish rapper Ebow defends herself and her culture against hipsters and hatred. Also: hardcore punk for New York's precariousness, a big band against Brexit and a colorful English rose.	No visual materials were used in the article.

Source: Created by author

### 3.2.1. Analysis of Article 1 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis

#### Model in Macro Structure

#### 3.2.1.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure

Under this title, the news titled "I'm always asked where I come from", dated 01/11/2019, 3:27 pm is analyzed (Stamer, 2019). This article is an interview with Sibel Kekili, a German actor of Turkish origin. At the beginning of the news, a photo album consisting of nine photographs greets the reader (Stamer, 2019). Before even starting to

read the news, the reader understands from the title that this news is about racist statements faced by Turkish- German Sibel Kekili. From the intro of the news, it is stated that Kekili does not like the prejudices about himself; "Sibel Kekilli tells what prejudices annoy her - and why they irritate broken characters" (Stamer, 2019).

No subtitles are used in the content of the news. The article is created with the questions of the correspondent editor Sabine Stamer and the answers of Sibel Kekili (Stamer, 2019). When the nine photographs are analyzed separately: the reader notices Kekili's different photo frames representing different characters taken from movie and TV series scenes. The reader concludes that she can play distinct roles and is confident in herself.

### **3.2.1.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Since Sibel Kekili is an actor, the interview started about her acting and the characters she has played so far (Stamer, 2019). However, as can be understood from the title of the news, the interview proceeded after a while based on Kekili's Turkish origin and the prejudices he faced for this reason (Stamer, 2019). It is understood that Kekili stated that she was constantly offered the role of a Turkish woman by the producers due to his Turkish origin, but that he always rejected it, that he looked at acting professionally and that he could take on distinct roles. However, the fact that she plays a veiled Cecen woman in the TV series "Bullets" strengthens this argument (Stamer, 2019). Here, the reader understands that Sibel Kekili has no problem playing the role of a Turkish woman or a woman with a headscarf but wants to experience herself in distinct roles. Kekili, who did not hide his Turkish identity in any part of the interview, also emphasized the feeling of racism and alienation he encountered in Germany (Stamer, 2019). From this, it is understood that a woman of Turkish origin, although she speaks that language well and has a command of the culture, always remains a foreigner and her roots are always asked.

"...Here I am constantly asked where I come from. If I then answer that I come from Germany, from Swabia, then you immediately want to know where my parents were born, what my native language is and whether I am going back to my country. This then means Turkey. That always makes me sad. This has often given me the feeling that I am a guest and not a welcome one. I do not assume that anyone who

is not blond and blue-eyed cannot be German. In the country where I was born, where I live, choose, pay taxes, I do not want to have to answer these questions for decades. I find these questions an affront. That is also everyday racism" (Stamer, 2019).

Kekili states that she has a voice as a female actor, and she will use it for honour killings and women's rights till the end (Stamer, 2019). By saying that she gives the reader the image of a successful Turkish-origin German actor who stands behind her ideas, uses her voice and fights for it. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.2. Analysis of Article 2 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Jihadist is suing for repatriation to Germany", 06/05/2019, 5:53 p.m. news is reviewed ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). In the intro of the news, it is mentioned that the German Islamist Deniz B. wanted to return to Germany ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). The part that concerns this study is Sibel H., the wife of the Islamist German Deniz B. As can be understood from the content of the news, Sibel H. is a 31-year-old woman of Turkish origin, born in Alzenau/Bavaria ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). At the beginning of the news, there is a photograph of Sibel H. and Deniz B. Sibel in the photo. She wears an outfit called "chador", which covers every part of his body except his eyes. Therefore, Deniz B.'s face is blurred in the photograph, but Sibel`s face, whose face cannot be identified due to her clothes, is left clear in the photograph. From here, the image of a Turkish-German woman, who the reader might misunderstand, is someone who supports a German Islamist and is called "fanatic" and described as dangerous. In addition to giving the reader a negative impression, this article may lead to an incorrect generalization about the appearance and clothing preferences of Turkish women.

### **3.2.2.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The news is about the German Islamist Deniz B. joining IS and his wife, a German woman of Turkish origin, defending and supporting Deniz B. There is also the effort made for Deniz B's return to Germany, which is her country ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). However, in this study, specifically, the representation of Sibel H. is being discussed. It has been specifically stated that Sibel H. is of Turkish origin, even if it has nothing to do with the text ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). It is also stated that the reason Sibel H. was friends with Deniz B. was that Sibel H. needed a company to go to Syria ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). One government security official put it this way: "She was specifically looking for a man in Germany who accompanied her to IS. She is a fanatic" ("Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland", 2019). "IS" is the abbreviation form of Islamic State. It is an armed group in Iraq called IS.

The news is also strengthened by basing on the statements of state officials. Of course, the portrait of a Turkish-German woman who draws such a negative image will not leave a good perception in the mind of the reader. Here, the reader may think that Turkish women are "fanatics". This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.3. Analysis of Article 3 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.3.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This title is golden, with this title "Sunflower seeds, protective covers and Cologne: How it feels to grow up as a German-Turkish woman", 18/04/2019, 2:20 p.m. dated news has been examined (Tran Thi, 2019). In the subtitle of the news, there is an explanation supporting the explanation of the main title; "# Let us talk about us! Episode 2: Merve and Nil in conversation" (Tran Thi, 2019). This video is the second video of the "Let's Talk about us" video series (Tran Thi, 2019). The title clearly explains the content of the video. This video series aims to explain the immigrant backgrounds and their

perspectives of people living in Germany but coming from different roots (Tran Thi, 2019).

Short explanations are included in the article. In terms of the importance of this study, the video will be discussed specifically under the headline of macro-schematic analysis. In the introduction to the news, brief information is given about the interviewer, Nil and Merve; their ages and where they came from etc (Tran Thi, 2019). The purpose of the video is to understand whether these two people who grew up in two different immigrant populations have different perspectives on the interview questions.

"Nil, 29, and Merve, 24, both grew up German-Turkish - and yet quite different. The Nile grew up in Hamburg, a city with a high proportion of migrants. Merve comes from a small town in Baden-Württemberg where migrants like each was an exception" (Tran Thi, 2019).

### **3.2.3.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The article focused on the video more than the article. The video review for this article is more important in terms of the importance of the study. In the video, Merve and Nil represent two different Turkish women. Merve wears a headscarf, but Nil does not. The theme of the video is their discussion about German-Turkish identities (Tran Thi, 2019). The video starts with dishes from Turkish culture such as Revani, Turkish Antipasti, Sütlac (Turkish Milk Rice) etc. There is a friendly and warm atmosphere. There are questions in a jar that written on a piece of papers, and Nil and Merve ask these questions to each other.

The first of the questions is "What is home to you" (Tran Thi, 2019)? While Nil responses "My home would be more like Hamburg" (Tran Thi, 2019), Merve responds by saying "I am my home" (Tran Thi, 2019). Here, the fully integrated Nil and the self-confident Merve welcome the reader. The next question is "What role does religion play in your life" (Tran Thi, 2019)? Merve responds by showing her headscarf, "It plays a very big part in my life as you can see" (Tran Thi, 2019). "... You can be Muslim however you want. But if you are only interested in general, or you just want to get rid of this question, then use Google" (Tran Thi, 2019).



There are also Turkish TV serials, comedian guessing games that are entertaining. At the end of the video, this question is crucial for the study, "What was the most hurtful prejudice you have ever faced" (Tran Thi, 2019)? Nil responses.

"Well, I am from Hamburg then I went to Hildesheim to study and there I've had encountered with one. Because I do not look that typically Turkish now, friend of mine said that we should not go to that club because of Assi-Turks would be in there without knowing my Turkish origin. Then I thought like, what kind of statement is that? You really must go there" (Tran Thi, 2019).

Here, the profile of the Nil, which, despite being fully integrated into the language and culture, still feels excluded due to its Turkish origin, will give the reader the image that the integration problem is not only caused by Turkish immigrants. Especially this representation of the Nil can be evaluated as positive image for this study.

### **3.2.4. Analysis of Article 4 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.4.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

"Hart aber Fair", the weekly German political talk show, is the main theme of the article (Frank, 2019). Under this title, "It's remarkable how quickly this escalates" titled, 02/26/2019, 01.03

a.m. dated article is reviewed (Frank, 2019). The intro of the article is, "Frank Plasberg wanted to know whether Germany was a home only for Germans or open to everyone. An extremely annoying question" (Frank, 2019). As it can be understood from the news's introduction, the subject of where the immigrant background feels themselves is the subject of a TV program. From this point of view, the reader may think that this issue is controversial. These are the other sub-titles of the news; " Can you talk about it openly" (Frank, 2019), "When the home term is booming" (Frank, 2019). Sub-headings, which complement the main headline, also reinforce that the content of the news is the subject of immigrants' homes. The image of the news is taken from a part of the weekly German political talk show called "Hart aber Fair" (Frank, 2019). In the photo, moderator Plasberg and his guests are having a heated discussion. This gives the reader

the impression that the issue of immigrants' houses is important, a big problem, which should be discussed in this way.

#### **3.2.4.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the article is the "Heimat Deutschland" (Homeland Germany) episode of the weekly German political talk show called "Hart aber Fair" (Frank, 2019). This is the basic question asked "'Heimat Deutschland - only for Germans or open to everyone" (Frank, 2019). The important part for the study is Idil Baydar, a Turkish-German female comedian. Born in 1975, known as "Razor Ayşe" in Germany, İdil Baydar is a comedian, actor and a social media phenomenon (Frank, 2019). Baydar was deemed worthy of the Harmony and Tolerance award in Berlin in 2015 (Frank, 2019).

In the article, the background and context information are also given to the reader by including the comments of the AfD party, which has an extreme right-wing, anti-immigrant policy (Frank, 2019). Replying to AfD, Baydar says, "I am meant when the AfD says I should be disposed of!" (Frank, 2019). Later, she explains; "I feel not protected in my immigrant- German existence" (Frank, 2019). Baydar also says these things, "I was born here! Am I responsible?" (Frank, 2019). "Do you say something like: Siggi, you are not German enough for me" (Frank, 2019)? This reaction of Baydar also explains how she is tired of the prejudices and comments against the subject of integration.

Thanks to Idil Baydar, even a Turkish woman who received an integration award, was born and grew up in Germany, can speak German well and has completed her integration, still feels like a foreigner, and moreover, it is possible to make her feel that she is a foreigner. This unfortunately gives the reader a negative impression of the Turkish-German woman.

### **3.2.5. Analysis of Article 5 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.5.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title; The article “20 years ago; Controversy over dual citizenship” dated 02/04/2019, 09:28 am was reviewed (Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, 2019). This news is a video news. It consists of a main title, introduction, and video. Introduction of the news; "At the beginning of 1999, it once again became all too clear how dogged and unrealistic political discussions in Germany often are. The Union fought vehemently against dual citizenship and was applauded by the Republicans and the NPD. The governing coalition countered this and declared the dual pass to be the ultimate in terms of integration. At the time, SPIEGEL TV spoke to children of Turkish immigrants about the debate" (Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, 2019).

#### **3.2.5.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the video that shared in the news will be examined. The main subject of the video, as can be understood from the main title, is about dual citizenship given to Turks and opinions of 3 German women of Turkish origin. In the video, musicians Selma Mutlu and Derya Mutlu, and student Meral Düzgün were interviewed (Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, 2019). All three young women were born and raised in Germany and stated that they speak German better than Turkish and express themselves better. They said that they are fully integrated, but they do not want to throw out their Turkish identity, so the dual citizenship law is particularly important in such a transition (Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, 2019). They also stated that they are not as free in Turkey as they are in Germany, that they adopt Germany as their home because they can live in Germany as they wish, but that they do not want to ignore their Turkish identity (Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, 2019). All three young Turkish women live separately from their families. This video news will give the Der Spiegel reader the image of a fully integrated Turkish woman who speaks German very well but still does not want to renounce her Turkish identity and thinks that the issue of dual

citizenship is important for the integration of the dual transition. This will be considered as a positive image for this study.

### **3.2.6. Analysis of Article 6 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.6.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Turkish culture magazine: "What is `renk`" titled, 16/12/2019, 10:33 a.m. dated article was reviewed (Gontek, 2019). In the introduction of the article is written, "A conversation with founder Melisa Karakuş about coffee houses and parallel worlds" (Gontek, 2019). As it can be understood from the introduction and intro of the article, the news is about the interview with Melisa Karakus on what `renk` is (Gontek, 2019).

In addition, the introduction of the article gives enough information about the content and subject of the article. No other subtitles were used in the article, but it proceeded with the questions and answers of the interview. In addition, no visual material was used.

#### **3.2.6.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The interview was published in `Bento`, the youth sub-journal of "Der Spiegel" magazine (Gontek, 2019). The main theme of the interview is to reveal the ideas of Turkish-German Melisa Karakus about coffee houses and the parallel world (Gontek, 2019). The article first begins by giving information about the appearance of Karakus; "A lock below the left wrist, a key below the right: These are only two of a few tattoos Melisa wears, but they stand out when she extends her hand in greeting" (Gontek, 2019). This will give the reader the impression that Karakus has a contemporary appearance, not wearing a headscarf. The article is about the socio-cultural journal of Karakus called "renk". In addition, the reporter editor informs the reader by explaining that the word "renk", which means colour in Turkish (Gontek, 2019).

At the beginning of the article, Karakus's appearance was mentioned, while in the middle of the article, Melisa's being sincere and affectionate was mentioned, giving the reader a positive image of a German woman of Turkish origin; "Melisa is warm and direct, she laughs a lot and speaks quickly" (Gontek, 2019). One of the questions that stand out in the interview is "Do you get to feel these prejudices and clichés yourself?" (Gontek, 2019). Melisa Karakus answers this question in this way; "Yes, I've always encounter it. As a child, I just did not understand it. I took it as a compliment when someone said to me: Melisa, you do not look that Turkish at all" (Gontek, 2019). Here, there is a Turkish-German woman who tries to hide her identity, even it is partially, and takes it as a compliment when she is mentioned with other identities. This gives the reader the impression that Turkish women are afraid of their Turkish identity being revealed and that they do not want to be known as Turkish. In addition, Karakus expressed her reaction when she is speaking about the segment addressed by the magazine. She said that they did not appeal to AfD supporters with extremist right-wing and anti-immigrant policies; "Not the typical AfD supporter. We want to be a strong dissenting voice, which is also motivating. Otherwise, the first to the fifth generation of German Turks who still feel excluded and are looking for role models" (Gontek, 2019).

At the end of the interview, Karakus states that he wants to give more space to integration problems, excluded immigrants and discrimination stories in "renk" magazine. He said, "We want to open up to more `People of Color` who live in Germany in the next two years. The discrimination stories of people who are here in the first, second or third generation are often the same. There is still a long way to go, but we want to and will `renk`. Make it a little more colourful and we are looking forward to it" (Gontek, 2019). Der Spiegel reader will see a Turkish woman who looks for solutions to current potential problems of Turkish population in Germany, and who is enough aware of what's going on between two populations. This news will be evaluated as a positive Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.7. Analysis of Article 7 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.7.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "The repression has increased", 19/10/2019, 7:35 p.m. news will be examined ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). From the title of the news, it is not clear who and what the subject is about. In the intro of the news, it is written; "Elif Shafak is the most famous author in Turkey. At the Frankfurt Book Fair, she spoke about the political situation under Erdogan, the abandonment of literature - and about Peter Handke" ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019).

In this intro, who is Elif Safak, where and what kind of explanations she has made are presented to the reader clearly. No other subtitles were used in the article. A picture of Safak speaking at the Frankfurt Book Fair was shared ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). The facial expression in the photograph is not incredibly happy. The explanation under the photograph explains Safak's current psychological state. Under the photograph is written, "Elif Shafak at the book fair: 'I'm not optimistic'" ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). Even though it is a successful representation of a Turkish-woman image with the identity of the author, the reader can infer a negative meaning in this negative context due to his complaints about Turkey.

#### **3.2.7.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In the first paragraph of the article, it is mentioned about "Unheard of Voices", a novel that Elif Safak wrote recently due to her authorship ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). Information is also given about the plot of the novel; "Elif Shafak tells the oppressive story of Leila, a transsexual sex worker in Istanbul whose body was desecrated" ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). Later, the main theme of the article continues instead of the book fair, with Safak's lack of freedom of political thought in Turkey and her discomfort with it. These words of Safak are self-explanatory; "Minorities are more strongly oppressed in Turkey today" ("Die Repression hat zugenommen" ,2019). Safak's explanation of the situation in Turkey cannot be expected

to have a positive effect on the mind of the reader. At the end of the interview, Safak said that he felt lucky to have been raised by both his mother and grandmother; “It was thanks to the two women that on the one hand, she had a modern and urban upbringing, on the other hand, she got to know Turkish tradition” (“Die Repression hat zugenommen” ,2019). At the same time, by saying that it is not possible for a person growing up in Turkey to be an optimist, Safak here gives the reader the image that Turkish women in Turkey are in an unhappy environment and cannot remain optimistic in the country they live in. It gives to the reader the impression of a negative Turkish women image. By associating her being a pessimist with her growth in Turkey, she gives to the reader the perception that every Turkish woman who grows up in Turkey is a pessimist. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.8. Analysis of Article 8 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.8.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Raising Muslim boys", "Mom, shut up at least", 19/10/2019, 5:37 p.m. news will be reviewed (Elger, 2019). This is the intro of the news; "What is wrong with raising boys in some Muslim families? Education professor Ahmet Toprak sees the parents as `macho doers` and advises clear statements" (Elger, 2019). The article has no other subtitles. It is an interview text. It is a dialogue between the correspondent editor and education professor Ahmet Toprak. In addition, no visual material was used in the article.

#### **3.2.8.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

As can be understood from the content and title of the news, education professor Ahmet Toprak criticizes the macho and spoiled upbringing of the sons of Muslim families while raising their sons. The part of this news that concerns this thesis is the story Toprak tells about a 17-year- old boy of Kurdish origin (Elger, 2019). It was stated that this boy named Fatih was disrespectful even to his mother just because he was a woman.

In addition, since this story is a story that Toprak tells based on her experiences, it strengthens Toprak's argument. The mother's silence about this disrespectful behaviour was also criticized (Elger, 2019). This gives the reader a negative image of a Turkish woman who is despised even by her sons and made to feel worthless.

This is how Toprak explains the incident of her mother taking off her headscarf after she came to Germany; "She had only worn the headscarf because it was customary in the country and not for religious reasons. You could also see her hairline under the loosely curved scarf. I know a photo of my mother who wears a miniskirt and still a headscarf. We are Alevi`s, but our family has never been particularly religious" (Elger, 2019). The reader can think that Turkish women and women living in Turkey cover their heads not because of their wishes, but maybe because of family and social pressure. At the same time, mentioning the labor migration of Toprak's family to Germany and the process during the interview also gives the reader background and context information; "In 1969 your father went to Germany as a guest worker, your mother followed a year later, and it was not until 1980 that you were brought up" (Elger, 2019). This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.9. Analysis of Article 9 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.9.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Violence against women in Turkey, A murder case puts Erdogan under pressure", 27/08/2019, 6:47 p.m. news will be reviewed (Schneider, 2019). The intro of the article is, "A man kills his ex-wife, the crime is filmed: The case has sparked a debate in Turkey about violence against women. President Erdogan also must put up with" (Schneider, 2019). As it can be understood from the main title and the intro, a murder of a woman in Turkey and the protests after it is the main subject of this news. The article consists of two subtitles: "Hundreds of murders of women every year" and "Fear for ultra-conservative voters" (Schneider, 2019). There is a photo from the protest at the beginning of the news.



The protest movement is in Turkey / Ankara. Turkish women show their impulses by holding the photograph of Emine B., who was killed by her ex-husband, in their hands (Schneider, 2019). In addition, women also carry the inscriptions "We are not standing still" (Schneider, 2019). Although there is an image of a conscious Turkish woman who expresses her reactions, goes out on the street, and does not remain silent about this situation, the fact that Emine B. was killed by her ex-husband and could not be protected by the police presents a negative representation of Turkish women to the reader. Accordingly, the titles associated with femicide, and women's deaths reveal the seriousness of the situation.

### **3.2.9.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is to try to draw attention to the violence and murder of women in Turkey. Even though the murder of Emine B., who was killed by her ex-husband, and the reactions that followed, were handled as the main subject (Schneider, 2019). The attitude of the leading party AKP towards this situation was criticized in the continuation of the news. The news has been analyzed in a political context by shifting from its main theme.

In the sub-title "Hundreds of murders of women every year", the excess of femicide was presented to the reader based on official data (Schneider, 2019). In the article also given the statistical number of femicide murders in Turkey; " Last year 440 women were murdered by their partner or a family member in Turkey, according to the organization `We Will Stop Femicide`. By the end of July, the organization had counted more than two hundred cases" (Schneider, 2019). These data, taken from official sources, reveal the seriousness of the situation. In addition, the murder of Emine B. was reminded in the news and the reader was informed. For any reader living in Germany, the case of Emine B., who was murdered in a public place by her ex-husband, in front of her 10-year-old daughter, will question the safety of Turkish women living in Turkey.

"B. and her husband had been divorced for four years. Even before the fatal meeting in a café in the town of Kirikkale, around 80 kilometres east of Ankara, the young woman is said to have reported to the police that she felt threatened by every ex-husband" (Schneider, 2019).

Moreover, the judicial system of the government will also be the subject here. With this news, the reader should not be expected to have a negative representation of a Turkish woman.

### **3.2.10. Analysis of Article 10 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.10.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, titled "Turkish organization Kadem: A women's movement entirely in Erdogan's sense", 07/27/2019, 12:48 p.m. dated news has been examined (Schneider, 2019). The intro of the article is, " The organization Kadem wants to create a new women's movement in Turkey. It is not about equality - the association is entirely on the AKP line. Vice-president is Erdogan's daughter Sümeyye" (Schneider, 2019). Based on this main title and the speaker, the reader will understand that the association that strives for women's rights and equality is under political and political forces. This makes the freedom and impartiality of these and similar institutions in Turkey questioned. In addition, the fact that KADEM wants to start a new movement, but this is not about equality but in line with the wishes of the AKP party will make the reader question the reliability of institutions in Turkey. There are two subtitles named "Ideologically in line with the AKP" and "Sexism also affects Kadem" (Schneider, 2019). The content of these sub-titles has been examined under the 16b numbered title. There is one photograph in the article. This photo was taken from the wedding of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's daughter Sümeyye Erdogan with Selcuk Bayraktar (Schneider, 2019). The couple looks happy while waving to the guests in the photo. The description below the photo is "Wedding of Sümeyye Erdogan and Selcuk Bayraktar: women are socially positioned in the family" (Schneider, 2019). The visual material which unrelated with the article creates a negative perception. Because it gives the reader the image of a Turkish woman whose position in social life has already been determined and who has no choice.

### **3.2.10.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is that the women's rights organization KADEM is politically advancing in the same ideology as the AKP, which is inconsistent with the mission and vision of the association. The article started with a quote from Recep Tayyip Erdogan, “‘You cannot equate people. That goes against nature`. This statement by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan made international headlines in 2014” (Schneider, 2019). Also, Recep Tayyip Erdogan' s daughter Sümeyye Erdogan is Kadem' vice president (Schneider, 2019).

Former president of Kadem is Emine Sare Aydin Yilmaz, who is also a member of AKP (Schneider, 2019). Certainly, when the reader reads this article in this flow, it is possible to think that it is an organization is not free and has to follow a certain ideology politically. The correspondent editor also referred to the news of Emine B., who was killed by her ex-husband, and stated that femicide and the problem of equality came to the fore again (Schneider, 2019). The editor, who briefly touched upon the murder of Emine B., strengthened the background and context of the news. Under the sub-title "Sexism also affects Kadem", it has been stated that since the work Kadem institution has moved on the same line with the AKP, it has moved away from the principle of equality (Schneider, 2019). In addition, the definition of `perverse tendency` about same-sex attraction does not comply with Kadem's vision and mission. The reader who reads this article will witness the negative representation of the concepts of Turkish women, equality, same-sex attraction, freedom, and sexism in the example of Turkey at the end of the article. Der Spiegel, who presents the women's rights organization in Turkey to the reader by evaluating it from a political point of view, gives a negative image to the reader about women's rights and equality in Turkey.

### **3.2.11. Analysis of Article 11 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.11.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "Feminism pioneer Nil Yalter; The Art Guerrilla" dated 03/08/2019, 3:17 p.m was analyzed (Padtberg, 2019). The introduction of the news is "Gender codes, migration, exploitation: as early as the 1970s, the Turkish artist Nil Yalter was dealing with topics that are hot today-her works can now be seen in Cologne" (Padtberg, 2019). Two subtitles are used in the article. These are "Fighter on all fronts in the seventies", "LBGTQ pioneer with Middle Eastern biography" (Padtberg, 2019). No visual material was used in the article.

#### **3.2.11.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The article is about the exhibition of Turkish conceptual artist Nil Yalter, who was born on January 18, 1938, in Cairo, Egypt (Padtberg, 2019). She performs interdisciplinary art by bringing together various media such as video, installation, photography, painting, and writing (Padtberg, 2019). Nil Yalter, one of the leading representatives of the French feminist art movement and video art in the 1970s, grew up in Turkey even though she was born in Cairo (Padtberg, 2019). This article is a detailed review on the exhibition and Yalter's artwork. Within the scope of this study, it will be evaluated as a positive representation of Turkish women.

### **3.2.12. Analysis of Article 12 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.12.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Killed Emine B.: Erdogan for the reintroduction of the death penalty", 30/08/2019, 3 p.m. dated news has been examined (Schneider, 2019). The intro of the news is "The violent death of Emine B. shakes Turkey. President Erdogan has now spoken out in favour of reactivating the death penalty, which was abolished 15 years

ago" (Schneider, 2019). As it can be understood from the title and content of the news, it is understood that it is related to the murder of Emine B. mentioned earlier in the previous news. The ideas of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on this subject and his approach to this situation are discussed (Schneider, 2019). Although the reader appreciates that the president of the country did not remain silent about such a murderous murder of a woman, there is a negative representation of a Turkish woman figure, as there is the murder of Emine B., who was killed by her ex-husband, in front of her 10-year-old daughter in question. In addition, there are two separate subheadings in the article, "Constitution should be changed" and "Would finally end the EU accession process" (Schneider, 2019). However, since this thesis does not cover the study area, only the part of the article was examined. There is a photograph of Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the article. The president's face, which draws attention with his serious stance in the photograph, was taken closely. The description of the photo is " President Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "I believe in the voice of my conscience on this issue" (Schneider, 2019).

### **3.2.12.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The news is about the process after the previous murder of Emine B. and the decisions taken by the president of the country on this issue. Recep Tayyip Erdogan states that he listened to the voice of his conscience regarding this case and that the death penalty, which was abolished 15 years ago, is in question (Schneider, 2019). Here the reader realizes the seriousness of femicide in Turkey. In the content of the news, the reader was informed in detail about the murder as if he had no idea about the murder of Emine B.; "B. was stabbed to death by her ex-husband on August 18 in Kirikkale, a town about eighty kilometres east of Ankara. Less than a week later, a video of the crime surfaced on the Internet, sparking a nationwide debate about violence against women" (Schneider, 2019). The correspondent editor has made the event more understandable by presenting context information to the reader. In addition, the murder was videotaped by a witness and posted on social media (Schneider, 2019). The other two sub- headings of the news were not examined as they are not related to the study area of this thesis. This

news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.2.13. Analysis of Article 13 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.13.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title the article titled; "Shoes as a cultural conflict; Foot shame - a part of the leading German culture", 25/07/2019, 4:09 p.m. date will be examined (Ataman, 2019). The intro of the article is, "Can you ask guests to take off their shoes in their apartment? Migration backgrounders have an advantage when it comes to this question: We do not interpret our obsession with obsession as philistine" (Ataman, 2019). This article is taken in the scope of this study because it was written by Ferda Ataman, a German of Turkish origin. As it can be understood from the title and introduction of the article, middle eastern /Turkish, traditions are discussed in this article (Ataman, 2019). For this reason, it was published under the title of

`Culture` in the newspaper "Der Spiegel" (Ataman, 2019). There are two subtitles; "Pushes do nothing to the Anatolian masculinity" and "The shoe question is slowly growing into a cultural conflict" (Ataman, 2019). From the titles, the reader may associate this shoe issue with Anatolian masculinity, which will be examined under the title 21b.

There is one representative photograph in the article. In this photograph, two women's, two men's shoes and two flip-flops are left regularly in front of the door. The description of the photo is, "Taking off your shoes in front of the door - is that typically German? Or Turkish?" (Ataman, 2019). It is a photograph that overlaps with the content of the article and will help the reader to understand the subject.

#### **3.2.13.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In this news, made by the reporter editor "Ferda Ataman", a German of Turkish origin, attention was drawn to the cultural differences that distinguish Turks from Germans and

Europeans (Ataman, 2019). In particular, the issue of not entering the house with shoes worn on the street has been discussed. Ataman, who started her article by stating her identity; "because as a woman from the Turkish tribe, the question of street shoes in my apartment has been with me for a lifetime" (Ataman, 2019). However, she describes herself as such later in the article; "As an integrated, half-hipster Turko-German, I only have five pairs, including simple hotel slippers and - especially for my potato friends - Birkenstock sandals" (Ataman, 2019). The way she describes her friends, German, as "potato" adds some humour to the article. Here, there is a representation of a Turkish-German woman who respects the cultural backgrounds of her Turkish and German friends and prepares shoes that they can wear at home however they want (Ataman, 2019). Since this image given by Ferda Ataman gives the impression that women of Turkish origin are open and respectful to diverse cultures, there is a positive representation of Turkish women.

### **3.2.14. Analysis of Article 14 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.14.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Erdogan in the end? How young Turks are now planning the future", 25/06/2019, 11:34 a.m. dated news has been examined (Röhlig, 2019). The intro of the news is "Turkey is facing a possible political turnaround - and that because of a mayoral election. In Istanbul, voters were called on Sunday to appoint a new city chief. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had hoped that the candidate from his camp would get the job. But Ekrem Imamoglu - the Erdogan critic - won by a large margin" (Röhlig, 2019). Although the news has a political content, it has been examined within the scope of this study because of its visual material that includes photographs and comments of Turkish women. As can be understood from the main headline of the news, the reporter editor, who wanted to include the opinions of young people, included the views of three different Turkish youth under the subtitle of "But what remains after the party? Is the Erdogan system over?" (Röhlig, 2019). The most striking element of the article is a photograph of a Turkish girl used as a visual material. Presumably to be between the ages of 17-25, this girl has no headscarf and is wearing a red crop top. The most

important item here is the Turkish flag, which is tied around her neck. In the photograph, the young girl is shouting, raising her hands up as a peace sign. The photograph was taken during a demonstration or a protest. It leaves a positive perception to the reader as it gives the image of a Turkish woman who is free, has the right to speak and uses her voice.

### **3.2.14.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In this news, three different Turkish youths in Istanbul were asked about this, "But what remains after the party? Is the Erdogan system over?" (Röhlig, 2019). In the article 3 young Turkish people is mentioned; "Eren Can Arslan, 27 years old, personal trainer; Ipek Pinar, a 25-year-old business economist and Cagatay Öner, a 27-year-old politics student" (Röhlig, 2019). The age range being between 25 and 27 is especially important in terms of presenting the viewpoint of especially young people to the reader. The main theme of the news is AKP, which lost Istanbul, where sixteen million people live, in the last local elections (Röhlig, 2019). Since the scope of this study is the image of Turkish women, only Ipek Pinar's comments will be examined here. Pinar first expresses her satisfaction with the outcome of the elections; "On election night I was in Beşiktaş. Right after the voting results were published, I heard party noises and hoots outside and went straight out. Beşiktaş was overcrowded and it was just a genuinely friendly atmosphere! People were dancing and singing together" (Röhlig, 2019). Later, she does not support partisan politics and talks about the importance of creating diversity in terms of democracy (Röhlig, 2019). She says, "Parties and politicians are only temporary. The election showed that again. We want the parties we support to work sustainably and create diversity, not hostility and one-sidedness. Like in a real democracy!" (Röhlig, 2019). Representation of Turkish women who care about her country's democracy, equality and diversity positively affect the reader here. In addition, including the ideas of young people from Istanbul increases the credibility of the article. The fact that the source of the news is the people of Istanbul randomly selected from the society plays a key role. The reader will notice a Turkish woman who stands behind her thoughts out and has a voice. This news will be evaluated as a positive Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.



### **3.2.15. Analysis of Article 15 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.15.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Dilek Dündar left Turkey secretly", 14.06.2019, 3:02 p. m. dated news has been examined (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist, 2019). The intro of the article is "Despite being banned from leaving the country, the wife of the journalist Can Dündar, who was in exile in Germany, left Turkey. She was held there as a `hostage`, and now she is with her husband in Germany" (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist, 2019). It is possible that the Turkish journalist's wife, Dilek Dündar, who is being kept as hostage due to her conflicts with the government, leaves a negative image about Turkish women in the reader. No subtitles were used in the article. The photograph of Dilek Dündar sitting on an armchair has been shared (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist, 2019). She is wearing a blue sleeveless dress and is well-groomed. However, she did not have a happy facial expression.

#### **3.2.15.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the article is the confiscation of the passport of the wife of Can Dündar, the writer of the newspaper "Cumhuriyet" published in Turkey (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist, 2019). The reporter editor, who also touched upon who Can Dündar is, provides background and context information to the reader; "... Can Dündar, as the ex- editor-in-chief of the newspaper `Cumhuriyet` in Turkey, has also been charged with terrorist and has lived in German exile since the late summer of 2016" (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist, 2019).

This representation of a Turkish woman who had a hard time due to her husband's problems, left alone from Turkey, and had to stay away from her husband and children states; "I'm not allowed to leave my country, but I have to get out of the house where I was forced to live alone" (Dilek Dündar offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist,

2019). It would not be wrong to evaluate this news negatively in terms of the image of Turkish women presented to the reader.

### **3.2.16. Analysis of Article 16 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.2.16.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Home as a prison", 02/04/2019, 5:44 p.m. dated news has been examined (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). The intro of the news is "The German-Turkish rapper Ebow defends herself and her culture against hipsters and hatred. Also: hardcore punk for New York's precariousness, a big band against Brexit and a colourful English rose" (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). Although the main title of the news does not provide information about the theme of the article, the reader who reads the intro of the news can understand that it is about Turkish-born German rapper Ebow (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). The subtitles of the news make the theme of the article more understandable. Under each sub-title, there is a singer, rapper or music group and their album. Subheadings are like this; "Ebow - `K4L` (Problembär Records / Rough Trade, since March 29th)", "Show Me the Body - `Dog Whistle` (Concord Loma Vista/Caroline, since twenty-nine. März)," "The Matthew Herbert Big Band - `The State Between Us` (Caroline/Universal, since twenty-nine. März)," "Connie Constance - `English Rose` (AMF Records / Caroline, since March 22nd)" (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). No visual material was used in the article.

#### **3.2.16.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 2; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

As it can be understood from the title and content of the news, this article is about singers, rappers and music groups that express their secret ideologies in their songs. In terms of the importance of this study, only this title, which is the first subtitle, will be examined; "Ebow -

`K4L` (Problembär Records / Rough Trade, since March 29th)" (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). Ebru Düzgün, known as Ebow or Ebow X, was born on February 8, 1990, in Munich (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). This article was analyzed

because of Ebru Düzgün is a German woman of Kurdish origin (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). In her songs, she draws attention to the issues of the current problems of immigrants, integration problems, and exclusion as a foreigner. The correspondent editor of the magazine later covered the problems of people with a migration background, like Ebru, who has a university degree, born in Germany, can speak the German language, knows German culture well, and has no integration problems (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019). The correspondent editor states that; “The last three years in particular have been a bitter lesson for many Germans with a migration background: even if they are third-generation Germans, if they have a university degree, like 29-year-old Ebru, and are courted by the left-wing intellectual white milieu - they feel alienated and treated like strangers” (Borcholte & Moldenhauer, 2019) . The reader who reads this article realizes that the integration problem is not just about speaking the language of that country perfectly or getting used to its culture completely. There is a negative representation of Ebru Düzgün, who still feels alien at the age of twenty-nine and expresses these problems in her songs. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis of 2018 "Der Spiegel" Online Magazine News; Teon Van Dijk's Macrostructure Discourse Analysis**

In this study, firstly, a macro analysis of the news covered in the "Der Spiegel" magazine has been made to examine the image of Turkish women. In the macro analysis, the main and subtitle of the news, the main theme of the news and the schematic structure of themes, the context information of the events, the evaluations of the event witnesses about the event, if any, etc. will be examined in terms of dynamics.

During the year 2018, seventeen news is selected with the purposive sampling method, which is a qualitative research method. News has eleven negative, six positive judgments.

**Table 3:** Critical Discourse Analysis of 2018 "Der Spiegel" online magazine news; Teon Van Dijk's macrostructure discourse analysis

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
1	Integration in Germany; "I'm terribly angry. But I draw strength from it"	Germany is their home, they are professionally successful, you could say: social role models. Even so, these five women sometimes feel uncomfortable. Why? And what should change?	There is a photograph with pictures of the five women mentioned in the article.
2	AfD Hustle; Mr. Gauland and the disposal	Alexander Gauland likes to provoke, most recently with his "Vogelschiss" derogation of the Nazi era. But if he rushes, he should be taken at his word - and punished. Thomas Fischer analyzes.	There is a picture of Alexander Gauland.
3	Local history: How I became a German Turk	For a few years it was quiet about the Turks in Germany - now they are being debated again. Especially the new right-wing populists with their caraway bashing bring back memories of the past and feelings of home.	There is a street scene in Berlin-Kreuzberg.
4	Terrorism: Germany flies IS children home	The federal government has the children of German Islamists in custody expelled. According to SPIEGEL information, three children were brought back from Iraq at the end of October, and a good dozen more are to follow.	There is a picture of women and children in Mosul. Also, there is a video of Merve Aydin's interview.
5	Lichtenberg; Racist attack with a dog in Berlin	In Berlin, two men chased their attack dog on a couple. It is the second xenophobic attack of its kind in a fleeting period.	No visual materials were used in the article.
6	ECJ ruling on family reunification; German rules for Turks conform to EU law	Due to a lack of German language skills and a lack of a visa, the German authorities refused entry to a Turkish woman by joining her spouse. The European Court of Justice regards this procedure as permissible.	There is a picture of European Court of Justice.
7	Broken family: The mother who had to leave her child behind	A woman from Duisburg flies to Lebanon for a funeral. When she wants to go back after three weeks, she learns: She is allowed to enter again, her little son is not. How is that possible?	There is a photo of Bedriye Bana holding the picture of her son Mohammed Issa.
8	Feminist artist Gülcin Aksoy; Declaration of war on the patriarchy	Gülcin Aksoy was arrested during the Turkish military dictatorship. Today she processes the experience with her art: She fights the patriarchy in her home country by ironicizing it.	There is a photo gallery of five pictures, called "The art of Gülcin Aksoy"
9	Green Kurdish wins in Munich; "For many I am a provocation"	The Greens won six direct mandates in the Bavarian state elections. Gülseren Demirel won one thing in Munich- Giesing - and clearly. How did she, do it?	There is a photo of Gülseren Demirel. A photo album of fourteen pictures from the mention election and two videos.
10	Turkish Photographer Eylül Aslan; "My models used to be scared"	Eylül Aslan left her home country because her pictures were misunderstood as pornography in Turkey. In an interview, she talks about feminism, art, and the renewed election success of President Erdogan.	There is a photo gallery of seventeen images called "Turkish photographer Eylül Aslan: hiding faces"

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
11	Why the racist arson attack in Solingen is still so important today	"A shame for our country"	There are three representative photographs of the place where the attack took place and the funeral in Solingen. There is also a photograph of Mevlüde Genç, who is the mother, grandmother, and aunt of the victims, with Angela Merkel.
12	Islam and Enlightenment; Mr. Seehofer, read this book!	Islam and western values are incompatible? In Istanbul, women were already fighting for more rights in the 19th century. The orientalist Christopher de Bellaigue traces the Muslim Enlightenment in his book.	There is one representative pic of the writer Christopher de Bellaigue.
13	Women against Erdogan; "Our resistance is unbroken"	Feminists in Turkey are leading the protest, President Erdogan. They call for mass demonstrations on International Women's Day. Can Feminism Save Turkey's Democracy?	There is a photo of Selime Büyükgöze, Turkish women's rights activist.
14	Housing association: Selma Demirelli turns women into owners	19 years ago, Selma Demirelli lost her husband in an earthquake in Turkey. What followed then made her a fighter for women's rights.	There are two pictures of Selma Demirelli while serving foods and chocolates to the kids.
15	Press freedom in Turkey; "I'm not defending myself. I am accusing."	At least 150 journalists are in prison in Turkey. They did nothing but do their job. SPIEGEL ONLINE portrays three of them.	There is one photo of Ahmet Sik, Turkish journalist, writer, and politician.
16	Mesale Tolu on her detention in Turkey; "You'll be back mommy, yeah?"	The German journalist Mesale Tolu was in Turkish custody for months - with her little son. How did she explain that to her child and how are they today?	There is a photo of journalist Mesale Tolu in Istanbul and a picture of car flags that made by the German community to support her.
17	Turkey's religious authority thinks girls are marriageable from the age of nine	There is no introduction.	One representative photograph is used in the article. This is a photo taken from behind of a young couple watching the view of the Bosphorus in Istanbul.

**Source:** Created by author

### **3.3.1. Analysis of Article 1 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.1.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Integration in Germany; I'm terribly angry. But I draw strength from it" titled, 08/06/2018, 3:19 p.m. dated news is examined (Höhne, 2018). The intro of the article is "Germany is their home, they are professionally successful, you could say: social role models. Even so, these five women sometimes feel uncomfortable. Why? And what should change?" (Höhne, 2018). As the intro and title of the news tell, this news is about the stories of people living in Germany but not of German origin. It is a discourse on why these people do not feel like they belong to Germany (Höhne, 2018). Five different women and their stories were mentioned under one main subheading of the article. This subheading is "Here the five women explain what experiences they have had in the past - and how Germany feels to them today" (Höhne, 2018). Two photographs are used in the article. The first photograph is located at the beginning of the news, right under the intro. There are photographs of five different women smiling in five separate frames. These people are those five women who have voiced their opinions in this article. The second photo is an enlargement of the same photo of Sun-Ju Choi that has already been shared in the first photo. The point that may attract the attention of the reader is that women have quite different appearances. Sharing these photos in the same frame is crucial in terms of stating the diversity in Germany to the reader.

#### **3.3.1.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This article is an article on the inability of non-Germans to feel completely belonging to Germany, by drawing attention to the diverse cultures, religions and backgrounds living in Germany (Höhne, 2018). Although this article includes the ideas of five remarkably successful women, only the interpretations of Meltem Kulacatan, who is of Turkish origin, will be examined under this title in terms of the importance of this study. Meltem Kulacatan, 42 years old, is a political scientist and religious educator (Höhne, 2018).

The fact that she begins her speech by saying; "I am very angry and horrified" reveals the seriousness of the situation (Höhne, 2018). Hence, the reader may interpret any Turkish woman whose anxiety has now turned into fear. Later, she shared her ideas about AfD, which is known for its extreme leftist, anti-immigrant policies; "For me, the AfD did not come as a surprise. Anti-Muslim resentment, xenophobia and political currents that legitimized the unspeakable up to then existed before. Nevertheless, I was incredibly demoralized when they entered the Bundestag with more than twelve percent" (Höhne, 2018).

Referring to the fact that she was exposed to different behaviours as a child due to her Turkish identity. Kulacatan talked about her efforts to reject her Turkish identity and become as German as possible; "There was a time in my youth when I really rejected the Turkish part of myself. I wanted to be more German than German. I always thought that would make my search for my place in the world easier" (Höhne, 2018). From this point of view, the reader will witness the struggle given by women of Turkish origin who thinks that they have integration problems. The fact that the integration will be successful if the integration is completed at the same time with the person and the society is presented to the reader once again with the example of Kulucatan. For this reason, although this article has a negative context with its content, the struggle of a Turkish woman on the path of integration is mentioned that will help the reader to look at the integration problem from a distinct perspective. However, because of the context, this news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.2. Analysis of Article 2 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "AfD Hetze; Mr. Gauland and the disposal", 06/03/2018, 10:41 a.m. dated news has been examined (Fischer, 2018). The intro of the article is "Alexander Gauland likes to provoke, most recently with his `Vogelschiss` derogation of the Nazi era. But if he rushes, he should be taken at his word-and punished. Thomas Fischer analyzes" (Fischer, 2018). At the beginning of the news, there is a photograph of

Alexander Gauland. This is a photograph taken while he was giving a speech. This article is a review article consisting of seven different subtitles. These are the subtitles; "In the Eichsfeld", "The sedition", "Brief subsumption", "No. 1: Invitation to violence or arbitrariness?", "No. 2: Violation of human dignity?", "freedom of speech", "Dealing with bait" (Ficher, 2018).

This article was written by Thomas Ficher. Thomas Ficher was formerly the presiding judge of the second criminal chamber of the Federal Court of Justice and has numerous columns on criminal law issues (Ficher, 2018). In this article examining Gauland's speech, each subtitle touches on a different theme related to Mr. Gauland's speech.

### **3.3.2.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of this article is Gauland's statement about Aydan Özoguz in his speech at a public election campaign event of the party "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) (Ficher, 2018). Aydan Özoguz is a Bundestag member and integration commissioner of the federal government, Minister of State.

The reason is that Aydan Özoguz previously in the interview she gave to the magazine called "Tagesspiegel" said that; "Beyond the language, a specifically German culture is simply not identifiable" (Ficher, 2018). Gauland replied, "That's what a German-Turkish woman says. Invite her to Eichsfeld and tell her what specifically German culture is. After that, she will never come back. And then, thank God, we will be able to dispose of her in Anatolia" (Ficher, 2018).

In this article, Thomas Fischer made comments in favour of Aydan Özoguz, who is of Turkish origin but German, by examining the validity and accuracy of the discourse of Mr. Gauland under different titles and in different legal frameworks (Ficher, 2018).

"Anatolia is a part of Turkey. Özoguz is a German citizen. The German state is not allowed to dispose of German citizens either in Anatolia or abroad; Article 16, Paragraph 1, Clause 1 of the Basic Law prohibits this: `German citizenship may not be withdrawn` (Ficher, 2018). These and similar explanations, which highlight Aydan Özoguz German rather than her Turkish identity, are particularly important in terms of giving an unfamiliar perspective to the reader.



However, the reader will also experience the representation of a German woman of Turkish origin, in the role of a victim who is exposed to a racist discourse by a German bureaucrat. This should also be evaluated negatively in terms of the importance of this study. Moreover, giving the mentioned laws under separate themes and titles makes the article more understandable for any reader. On top of that, references to the laws are also bullet points in terms of providing background and context information. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.3. Analysis of Article 3 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.3.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Local history; How I became a German-Turk", dated 07/04/2018, 2:23 pm has been examined (Ataman, 2018). The subtitle is, "The real Caraway Turks live in East Germany" (Ataman, 2018). The intro of the article was edited by reporter editor Ferda Ataman, saying that; "For a few years it was quiet about the Turks in Germany - now they are being debated again. Especially the new right-wing populists with their caraway bashing bring back memories of the past. And feelings of home" (Ataman, 2018). As it can be understood from the content and title of the news, Ferda Ataman talked about her Turkish identity and the population of Turks in Germany in the article (Ataman, 2018). One photograph is used in the article. The photo is a street scene taken in Berlin-Kreuzberg. There are women in the photograph, whom we can think of as more than one Turkish-Arab-Middle Eastern due to their way of dressing. They are dressed mostly in black/ dark and have headscarves. This photograph is presented to the reader as a visual material representing the Turkish population in Germany.

#### **3.3.3.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the article includes the comments and views of Ferda Ataman, a reporter and editor of Turkish origin, who was born and raised in Germany, like herself. Referring to the departure of foreigners and Turks who came to Germany, Ataman

mentioned that there was an extra treatment against Turks and that he experienced this himself; "Turks used to be the prototype of foreigners: Anatolians unwilling to integrate, who speak nothing German, but have many children who then also speak nothing German and only cause problems. That changed about ten years ago" (Ataman, 2018). She stated that with the increase in the population of Turks in Germany due to the Gezi events in Turkey and the increasing Islamist AKP power, there was a state of panic in Germany; "Are they now waging their conflicts on German streets again? Is the number of Muslims in the country increasing? Alarm, alarm, alarm" (Ataman, 2018). Ferda Atman also referred to the definition of "Kümmeltürkken", in English as "Caraway Turks" (Ataman, 2018). Ferdan Ataman, who states that she had problems with finding her own identity since her childhood, although she tried to define herself as German on the contrary to populist parties such as AfD, so eventually defined herself as German-Turkish (Ataman, 2018). "Of course, I was not born a German-Turkish. At first, I thought I am an Aberdeutsche: I am German, but my parents are from Turkey. But since I was a child, right-wing extremists and everyday racists have reminded me that for them I am not German" (Ataman, 2018). At the end of the article, she said that she adopted Germany as her home despite everything; "...and I realize: Home is where I am a German-Turkish citizen" (Ataman, 2018). Hence, the reader sees a Turkish woman who does not have a problem with integration but cannot accept herself again with the identity that society has chosen. In this article, Ferda Ataman gives the reader the image of a single woman who struggles with the integration problems that occur outside of herself. Here, the reader discerns that reintegration does not end with the individual, but only with the acceptance of the community. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.4. Analysis of Article 4 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.4.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "terrorism; Germany flies IS children home" dated 07.12.2018, 4.38 pm was analyzed (Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim, 2018). The intro of the news is "The federal government has the children of German Islamists in custody

expelled. According to `Der Spiegel` s information, three children were brought back from Iraq at the end of October, and a good dozen more are to follow" (Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim, 2018). The main visual material of the article is video. The video is about how parents of BÜsra Aydın tried to bring their daughter back, who is joined IS and fled from Germany to the campsite (Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim, 2018). In the video, BÜsra´s mother Merve Aydın speaks about the issue. From the title and intro of the news, the reader cannot understand that Merve Aydın is of Turkish origin. However, it is stated somewhere in the context of the article that "The German-Turkish woman from Bremen traveled to the area of the `Islamic State` (IS) together with her husband at the time" (Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim, 2018).

#### **3.3.4.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main subject of the news is Turkish-born Merve Aydın, who is currently living in a camp in Iraq and was born in Germany. Merve, who was called a German jihadist/Islamist in the news, lived in Bremen, Germany. Merve, who wants to return from Syria, where she and her husband went voluntarily, is currently under captivity. The video presented in the article describes the struggle of Merve Aydın's parents to bring their daughter to Germany. This video is in the style of a short film. The complete process from Germany to the camp in Iraq has been shown to the reader. Hediye Ö., the Turkish mother of her who cries throughout the video and tries to bring her daughter back home to Germany (Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim, 2018). Mom and dad express their feelings in German in the video. This video and news give the reader the image of a Turkish-German woman who runs after the man she loves. Unfortunately, then lives a prisoner life in Syria with her two young children and cannot return to Germany represents a negative image. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.5. Analysis of Article 5 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.5.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Lichtenberg; Racist attack with a dog in Berlin" titled, 21/03/2018, 11:20 a.m. dated news is analyzed (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). The introduction of the news, "In Berlin, two men chased their attack dog on a couple. It is the second xenophobic attack of its kind in an abbreviated period" (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). The subtitle of the article is "Crime scene Friedland" (Rassistische Kampfhund- Attacke in Berlin, 2018). No visual material was used in the news. The title of the news gives information about the event and where the mentioned attack took place. In addition, the fact that this xenophobic attack is not the first reveals the seriousness of the situation. However, the reader is unaware from the title and intro of this news that the attack was made against a Turkish origin or a Turk.

#### **3.3.5.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The content of the news is an attack with a dog against a 36-year-old woman of Turkish origin by persons whose identity could not be determined (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). The attack took place in the East Berlin district of Lichtenberg (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). Also, according to the statements of the police, these people argued in the same xenophobic manner in front of a cafe the previous evening (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). The person who ordered to a Pitbull to bite the 36-year-old woman of Turkish origin, ran away when the people run to help (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). When the article is evaluated in terms of background and context, it is stated that this type of xenophobic attack is not the first and there was another attack a brief time ago (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). This gives the reader more information about the attack. The location of the attack, the age and gender of the victims, the complete story is given clearly. However, readers encounter a Turkish woman image in a negative context. A person who is subjected to a violent (with Pitbull) and planned xenophobic

attack may give to the reader the image of a Turkish woman who is not safe or does not feel safe in Germany because of being subjected to racist attacks (Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin, 2018). This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.6. Analysis of Article 6 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.6.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "ECJ ruling on family reunification; German rules for Turks conform to EU law", 08/07/2018, 7:25 pm dated is examined (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). The intro of the news is "Due to a lack of German language skills and a lack of a visa, the German authorities refused to allow a Turkish woman to join her husband. The European Court of Justice regards this procedure as permissible" (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). There is only one subtitle in the article: "Case from Stuttgart" (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). In addition, no visual material was used other than the photograph of the representative European Court of Justice building. As it can be understood from the main title and intro of the news, the reader encounters a Turkish woman who does not have a valid visa to be in Germany and cannot not speak German.

#### **3.3.6.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of this news is a Turkish woman whose name and age information are not given, but who is stated to be of Turkish descent and applied to Germany to come to her husband (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). Not many details were given in the news, but it is known that the husband of this person has come to Germany to work since 1995 and his wife was staying in Turkey (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). However, besides the fact that this person does not have a valid visa, additionally she also does not speak the German language (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). For these

valid reasons, her request to come to Germany was rejected by the European Court of Justice (Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht konform, 2018). Not enough background and context information has been given to the reader. Due to the lack of information, the reader, who cannot fully evaluate the news from all aspects, may have a negative image of a Turkish woman who does not speak the language and cannot meet the criteria for obtaining a valid visa. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.7. Analysis of Article 7 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.7.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Broken family; The mother who had to leave her child behind", 07.03.2018, 3:19 pm dated is examined (Neufeld, 2018). The intro of the news is as follows; "A woman from Duisburg flies to Lebanon for a funeral. When she wants to go back after three weeks, she learns: She is allowed to enter again, her little son is not. How is that possible?" (Neufeld, 2018). The article has one subtitle: "Not without my son" (Neufeld, 2018). There is a photograph in the article which belongs to Bedriye Bana (Neufeld, 2018). In this picture, Bedriye Bana is holding a photograph of her son. She looks quite sad and exhausted.

#### **3.3.7.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main subject of the news is Bedriye Bana, who was of Turkish origin but was born in Germany and flew to Lebanon but could not return with her son at the airport under passport control while returning (Neufeld, 2018). Bana stayed in Lebanon for three weeks for the funeral ceremony (Neufeld, 2018). Flying there was no problem, but on her return her son, Mohammed Issa was not allowed to pass, because he did not have a valid visa to enter Germany borders (Neufeld, 2018). Bedriye Bana is of Turkish origin and her husband is of Lebanese origin, but both were born and raised in Germany (Neufeld, 2018). However, Bedriye Bana did not have a valid residence permit in Germany for 22 years; "But Bana was never able to make a living in Germany: She did not get a

permanent residence permit in 22 years in Germany, which, according to the immigration authorities, was mainly due to the fact that as an adult she never had a permanent job" (Neufeld, 2018). In this article, the reader encounters the image of a single woman who, despite being born in Germany, does not have a valid residence permit, does not have a solid career and education, does not have a grasp of German laws, and therefore must be separated from her son. At the end of the article, it was stated that Bana found a decent full-time job and tried to have the right to live legally in Germany; "Bana has had a permanent full-time job since September, cleaning stairs and offices. They hope that this will increase their chances of being granted the right to stay in their home country, Germany" (Neufeld, 2018). In this context, Bana is a Turkish woman who is legally a foreigner and unregistered in her own country gives to the reader a 28-year-old Turkish woman who does not have a regular career, residence permit or visa. This may create the perception that Turkish women have children without a regular income, career, and legal leave. Since every detail about the story is given to the reader, this article has well informed the reader in detail in terms of background and context. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.8. Analysis of Article 8 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.8.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Feminist artist Gülcin Aksoy; Declaration of war on the patriarchy", dated 23/12/2018, 11:06 pm is analyzed (Popp, 2018). The intro of the article is "Gülcin Aksoy was arrested during the Turkish military dictatorship. Today she processes the experience with her art: She fights the patriarchy in her home country by ironizing it" (Popp, 2018). Two subtitles are used in the article: "Subtle criticism" and "Video diary from Istanbul- My life under Erdogan (debate 2015)" (Popp, 2018). In the article, a photo album consisting of five photographs in which Gülcin Aksoy's artworks are exhibited is shared.

### **3.3.8.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main subject of the article is the artist and academician Gülcin Aksoy (Popp, 2018). Aksoy's works of art and his battle with the patriarch system in Turkey is also mentioned (Popp, 2018). Aksoy, who also calls herself a feminist, stated that women deserve to be in powerful positions in every field and that she does not advocate masculine domination; "Aksoy describes herself as a feminist. She is bothered by the fact that, as she says, all social life in Turkey is dominated by men. `Of course, there are many strong women in Turkey, but at the top of the institutions, whether in politics, in culture or in private, there is always a man, as in many other countries` she criticizes. Every family has its own Erdogan" (Popp, 2018).

Gülcin Aksoy, who was also in Berlin after being awarded a scholarship by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), talked about her experience in Germany (Popp, 2018). In addition, Aksoy, who was arrested when she was young and kept in solitary confinement a few times, stated that her trauma experiences further strengthened her art (Popp, 2018). Gülcin Aksoy, 53 years old, is an artist and academician who is famous for her political art in Turkey (Popp, 2018). With this strong stance and feminist attitude, Der Spiegel gives its readers the image of an educated, successful, creative, and strong Turkish woman. The portrayal of Gülcin Aksoy is crucial for this study, as it is a positive representation.

### **3.3.9. Analysis of Article 9 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.9.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Green Kurdish wins in Munich; "For many, I am a provocation" dated 19/10/2018, 1:42 pm is reviewed (Höhne, 2018). The intro of the article is "The Greens won six direct mandates in the Bavarian state elections. Gülseren Demirel won one thing in Munich-Giesing - and clearly. How did she do it?" (Höhne, 2018). No other subtitle was used in the news. In the article 2 videos, one photo and an album of fourteen photos were used as visual material. The photo belongs to Gülseren



Demirel (Höhne, 2018). She looks cheerful in the photo. The photo album is titled as "Election Parties of the parties: stage diving with the Greens, silence with the CSU" (Höhne, 2018). The photos in the album are taken from the mentioned election.

The videos are titled "How Patrick Friedl defeated the CSU in Würzburg" and "Video on the power option of the Greens: `CSU can choose their partner`" (Höhne, 2018). However, videos and photo albums are not included as they are not within the scope of the study. Since the subject of the study is the representation of Turkish women in *Der Spiegel* magazine, only the portrayal of Gülseren Demirel, of Kurdish origin, was examined.

### **3.3.9.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The news is about Gülseren Demirel, of Kurdish origin, who won the Bavarian state election (Höhne, 2018). Additionally, the reader is comprehensively informed about the election with rich visual materials. Within the scope of the analysis and context, the reporter editor did not leave a question mark in the minds of the reader about who Gülseren Demirel is, where she came from, and her work so far (Höhne, 2018). In addition, the percentages and figures shared about the election increase the credibility of the news; "She will not sit on the city council for long, because last Sunday she won the direct mandate in the state elections, 30.9 per cent of the people from Giesing voted for her. That was not close, not even a little. The man from the CSU got just 22.6 per cent" (Höhne, 2018). Although Demirel's motto is "for a diverse Bavaria", she said that she was the target of some criticism because of her Kurdish identity (Höhne, 2018). "For many, I am and my appearance is a provocation," says Demirel (Höhne, 2018). Although there are negative statements about some racist comments on Demirel, as a representative of a successful Turkish-German woman who is of Kurdish origin and won the Bavarian state election by a wide margin, Gülseren Demirel gives a positive image to the reader.

### **3.3.10. Analysis of Article 10 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.10.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Türkische Photography Eylül Aslan; "My models used to be scared" dated 26/06/2018, 4:45 pm has been analyzed (Schneider, 2018). There is a photo album of seventeen photos. The title of the album is, " Turkish photographer Eylül Aslan: hiding faces" (Schneider, 2018). Photographs taken by Eylül Aslan is included in the album. The intro of the news is " Eylül Aslan left her home country because her pictures were misunderstood as pornography in Turkey. In an interview, she talks about feminism, art, and the renewed election success of President Erdogan" (Schneider, 2018). There is an interview text between Aslan and the correspondent editor. For this reason, the article flowed in the form of question and answer, and there is no subtitle.

#### **3.3.10.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This article is an interview text with Turkish photographer Eylül Aslan (Schneider, 2018). The reader was well informed by giving information about Eylül Aslan's life, age, and career; "Eylül Aslan, born in 1990, was born in Istanbul. She started taking photos when she was 17 (Schneider, 2018). She wanted to become a teacher, so she studied French and literature (Schneider, 2018). She now lives and works as a photographer in Berlin (Schneider, 2018)."

Eylul Aslan's biggest problem is that her art and photographs are not understood in Turkey (Schneider, 2018). Stating that she was brought up by her liberal mother and therefore a feminist (Schneider, 2018). Aslan said that she was more unrestrained in Berlin and found more models (Schneider, 2018). Complaining that nudity and pornography are mixed up in Turkey and their work is not comprehended, Aslan stated that she prefers not to photograph the faces of her models for this reason; "In Turkey, women who show a bit of skin or pose as models are quickly branded. They are then considered to be easy to get. When I started, I took photos of a lot of friends. They were

often afraid of the consequences and did not want to be recognized. So, to protect them I did not show any faces" (Schneider, 2018).

Hence, although the reader sees the image of a successful Turkish woman photographer, they also see a Turkish woman running from Turkey to Berlin to exhibit more original and free works. The fact that the source of the news is the artist herself and that her ideas are based on her own experiences increases the credibility of the news. However, the conversation is particularly important in terms of giving place to Turkish women who have different views in terms of this study. With this interview context, the reader will see the existence of women with diverse ideas, talents, and perspectives in Turkey. This news will be evaluated as a positive Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.11. Analysis of Article 11 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.11.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Why the racist arson attack in Solingen is still so important today" titled, 29/05/2018, 4.14 pm the dated article has been examined (Schlösser, 2018). There are five subtitles in the news. These are "What happened?", "What happened after the attack?", "What are the survivors of the attack doing today?", "How does Solingen remember the victims?", "What do we learn from action?" (Schlösser, 2018). As it can be clearly understood from the main headline and sub-headings of the news, it is an article about the racist attack against Turkish origin people in Solingen on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1993, and about the survivors of from the mentioned arson attack (Schlösser, 2018). Five different visual materials were used in relation to the article. The first of these is the photograph of the crowd gathered at the scene after the racist attack (Schlösser, 2018). The second photograph is the photograph of the coffins and the funeral ceremony in front of the house where the attack was (Schlösser, 2018) (Schlösser, 2018). In the third one, there is a photograph of Mevlüde Genc, who survived the attack and lost five family members of her (Schlösser, 2018). In the fourth photo, there is the photograph of the building in Solingen, which was built in memory of those who lost their lives in this racist attack (Schlösser, 2018). In the last photograph, there is a photograph of Mevlüde

Genc with Angele Merkel, who was back then the chancellor of Germany (Schlösser, 2018).

### **3.3.11.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This article is news of a racist arson attack that has happened in 1993 (Schlösser, 2018). The attack was made against a Turkish house in Solingen in 1993; "Four right-wing extremist young people between the ages of 16 and 23 carried out an arson attack on the house of the Young family of Turkish origin. They killed three girls and two young women and seriously injured seventeen others. The arson attack in Solingen is considered one of the most momentous racist acts in Germany" (Schlösser, 2018). As can be understood from the titles, such questions were addressed like why did this attack happen, what happened after, and did people learn their lessons from it (Schlösser, 2018)? 78-year-old Mevlüde Genc has been campaigning against racism ever since. Mevlüde Genc, who lost her two daughters, two grandchildren and a niece in this racist attack, was awarded the Federal Cross of Merit for her work (Schlösser, 2018).

In this article, the difficulties that Turkish origin people faced in Germany during their emigration have been brought to the fore (Schlösser, 2018). The seriousness of the crisis is given to the reader with statistical numbers; "The murder once sparked horror around the world. But right-wing extremist attacks are still taking place in Germany today. In 2017 alone, the authorities registered 2,219 attacks on refugees and refugee shelters. That is more than six a day on average" (Schlösser, 2018). The source of the news is the correspondent editor, Mevlüde Genc, and the archives of the Der Spiegel magazine (Schlösser, 2018). In addition to these, it can be said that publishing three similar news on Solingen in a row is a successful action in terms of drawing an attention of the Der Spiegel reader on the subject. This news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.12. Analysis of Article 12 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.12.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "Islam and Enlightenment; Mr. Seehofer read this book!", dated 21/04/2018, 6:35 pm, was reviewed (Heinrich, 2018). Subtitle of the article is "Self- imposed isolation" (Heinrich, 2018). As visual material, only one photograph was used. The photo belongs to British journalist Christopher de Bellaigue (Heinrich, 2018). The introduction of the article is "Islam and Western values are incompatible? In Istanbul women fought for more rights as early as the 19th century. The orientalist Christopher de Bellaigue traces the Muslim Enlightenment in his book" (Heinrich, 2018). The reason this article is included in the scope of the study is that the Ottoman Turkish writer Fatma Aliye was mentioned in the context (Heinrich, 2018). Apart from the general context, the part where Fatma Aliye is mentioned is specifically examined under the following title.

#### **3.3.12.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The article was written by the reporter editor in response to the words of German politician Horst Lorenz Seehofer, with reference to the latest book by British journalist Christopher de Bellaigue (Heinrich, 2018). According to Horst Seehofer, "Islam does not belong to Germany" (Heinrich, 2018). However, with reference to Bellaigue the editor responded as; "Islam, according to Bellaigue in `The Islamic Enlightenmen`, has undergone a painful, but at the same time exhilarating change over the past two centuries, including reforms, innovations and counter-movements" (Heinrich, 2018). The importance of this article for this thesis is that the Ottoman Turkish writer Fatma Aliye Topuz is mentioned in the context of the article (Heinrich, 2018). In the journal of Progress of Muslim Women she stated that; "Are we not in a position to acquire knowledge and skills? Are we not human? Nobody who is endowed with common sense accepts this" (Heinrich, 2018). In the article, it is explained to the reader that Turkish women were fighting for women's rights, equality, and human rights in the early 19th

century, with reference to Aliye who did numerous studies for this (Heinrich, 2018). Aliye, who has been defending equal rights for a long time, is confronted with a positive image of a Turkish woman thanks to her representation. In the remaining part of the article, the modernization process of Islam is mentioned by giving examples from other Middle Eastern countries. However, this subject has not been examined because it is not within the scope of the thesis.

### **3.3.13. Analysis of Article 13 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.13.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Women against Erdogan; "Our resistance is unbroken" dated 8/03/2018, 8:53 am was analyzed (Popp, 2018). The photograph of Turkish women's rights activist Selime Büyükgöze was shared in the article (Popp, 2018). Büyükgöze, who looks exhausted in the photo, is sitting in a cafe. These subtitles are used in the article; "Thousands of demonstrators are expected", "Feminists as pillars of democracy", "Authoritarian and patriarchal politics", "Civil society still alive" (Popp, 2018). The subtitles were analyzed under the section of 23b. The intro of the news is "Feminists in Turkey lead the protest against President Erdogan. They call for mass demonstrations on International Women's Day. Can feminism save Turkish democracy?" (Popp, 2018).

#### **3.3.13.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

In this article, the works, demonstrations, and organizations of the women's rights activist Selime Büyükgöze are mentioned; "Recep Tayyip Erdogan had just been re-elected as the Turkish head of government when he introduced one of his most controversial laws in 2012: women, he announced, should no longer be allowed to have abortions in Turkey. To show how serious he was, he compared abortions to a massacre of civilians by soldiers" (Popp, 2018).

Talking about the big steps taken for feminism in Turkey thanks to Selime Büyükgöze, the reporter editor also stated that every year more women participate in the feminist

demonstrations in Turkey; "For 16 years, women have taken to the streets in Istanbul on March 8th. The demonstration grew bigger every year. In 2017, more than 10,000 people took part in March" (Popp, 2018)

The reporter editor, who supports his argument with statistical numbers, clearly presents the data by clarifying the situation to the reader. In addition, when the article is being analyzed in terms of background and context, the reader is being well informed in every sense by giving historical background information about women's rights in Turkey; "Twelve years after the founding of the republic in 1923, women occupied five per cent of the seats in the Turkish parliament - one of the highest quotas in the world at the time" (Popp, 2018). Although the government system in Turkey was criticized and the inadequacy of women's rights was emphasized, Selime Büyükgöze was represented as a strong Turkish woman figure who could influence a large feminist group. For that reason, this article evaluated as a positive Turkish women image.

### **3.3.14. Analysis of Article 14 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.14.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news article "Housing cooperative; Selma Demirelli turns women into owners" dated 8/03/2018, 12:02 pm is analyzed (Yinanç, 2018). Two photographs of Selma Demirelli were shared in the news (Yinanç, 2018). In the first photo, she has a pose taken while handing out chocolates to the children around him. At the second one, Selma Demirelli is handing a meal to a girl at the picnic. No subtitles are used in the article, but it consists of texts divided into paragraphs. The intro of the article is "19 years ago Selma Demirelli lost her husband in an earthquake in Turkey. What followed then turned her into a campaigner for women's rights" (Yinanç, 2018). The title and introduction of the article present the content of the article to the reader.

#### **3.3.14.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The article is about Selma Demirelli, who lost her husband in the 17 August Turkey earthquake and later devoted her life to helping women and children (Yinanç, 2018).

Demirelli talks about her struggle as a woman in Turkey after loosing her husband to get the properties left by him; "In the end, Demirelli was able to enforce her legal right to the house, but the realization that not all women have this luck led her to find the country's first housing cooperative and to empower women as property owners" (Yinanç, 2018). In addition, Demirelli, who started to help people that lost their loved ones in the earthquake, started the "Water Lily Women's Cooperative"; "Today, the Water Lily Women's Cooperative is no longer about childcare. Mothers also use their free time to take part in finance, business development, and entrepreneurship training programs that enable them to enter the labor market" (Yinanç, 2018). Recently, Demirelli has devoted herself to her works and projects against violence against women (Yinanç, 2018). The figure of Selma Demirelli, who turned the tragedy of her husband's death into great power and tried to help women, children and people, is an example of a positive representation of Turkish women. Der Spiegel gives the readers the image of a successful, powerful single woman with Demirelli example. "The 1999 earthquake may have destroyed Demirelli's world, but not herself. The woman turned the tragedy into something that made better lives possible for so many people" (Yinanç, 2018). This news will be evaluated as positive Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

### **3.3.15. Analysis of Article 15 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.15.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Freedom of the press in Turkey; `I am not defending myself. I am indicting`" titled, 14/02/2018, 6:03 pm dated article has been analyzed (Yinanç, 2018). There is a photograph of Turkish journalist Ahmet Sik, which is presumed to be taken in Bosphorus, Istanbul (Yinanç, 2018). Three different Turkish journalists are mentioned in the article (Yinanç, 2018). There are three different subtitles with the names of these journalists. These are "Ahmet Sik", "Zehra Dogan", "Sahin Alpay" (Yinanç, 2018). The intro of the news is "At least 150 journalists are in prison in Turkey. They did not do anything other than their job. Spiegel Online portrays three of them" (Yinanç, 2018). The title matches with the content of the article. The representation of Turkish woman journalist Zehra Dogan will be examined in detail under the title numbered 26b.



### **3.3.15.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Within the scope of this study, only the title of the article, which is about Turkish journalist Zehra Dogan, will be examined (Yinanç, 2018). The article is about Zehra Dogan being imprisoned because of the photos and news she published about ISIS and PKK (Yinanç, 2018). Dogan is also one of the successful Turkish journalists who won one of the prestigious journalist awards in 2015 (Yinanç, 2018). In the article, the correspondent editor makes the reader question the freedom of press in Turkey. Moreover, by stating that Dogan is 28 years old, attention was drawn to her early age (Yinanç, 2018). Talking about the awards she received, it was stated that she was a successful journalist and a painter, but despite this she was in prison in Diyarbakir (Yinanç, 2018). She is prosecuted not only for her journalist identity but also for her pictures/drawings and social media posts; "The PKK carried the war into the cities. In a painting that has since become famous, Dogan documented how the city of Nusaybin, on the Turkish-Syrian border, was destroyed in battles between the army and rebels. The judiciary is now accusing her of this picture and her social media posts" (Yinanç, 2018). With this article, the reader of Der Spiegel is confronted with the representation of a young and talented artist and journalist Turkish woman who is imprisoned. In addition, Dogan who is expected to stay in prison for at least two more years, unfortunately, gives the reader a negative portrait of a Turkish woman who is imprisoned and does not have the freedom to say what she wants to draw or share online.

### **3.3.16. Analysis of Article 16 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.16.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Mesale Tolu on her imprisonment in Turkey; "You're coming back, Mommy, will you?" Titled, 12/01/2018, 6:33 pm dated article is analyzed (Popp, 2018). Turkish-born, German journalist Mesale Tolu's two photographs are used in the article (Popp, 2018). The first photograph is the photograph taken by journalist Mesale Tolu

standing on a street with her hands tied. In the photograph, Tolu has a profoundly serious facial expression. The title of the photograph is "Mesale Tolu in Istanbul: `Pre-trial detention is being used to punish government critics`" (Popp, 2018). The second photograph is a photograph of the car flags that made to support Mesale Tolu. There is a photo of Tolu on the flags. The title of the photograph is this; "Tolu car flag: `It helped to feel that I am not alone`" (Popp, 2018). The introduction of the article is as follows: "The German journalist Mesale Tolu spent months in Turkish custody - with her young son. How did she explain this to her child, and how are you today?" (Popp, 2018). The thing that will catch the reader's eye in the main title and the introduction is that Tolu has a young child, and she survived the whole judgment process with his son.

### **3.3.16.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The news is about the arrest of journalist and translator Mesale Tolu and her husband in Turkey (Popp, 2018). By giving information about Mesale Tolu's age, spouse and where she was born, the reader was well informed about Mesal Tolu in terms of background and context (Popp, 2018). This is how Tolu explained the reason she was imprisoned; "The Turkish judiciary accuses me of membership in a terrorist organization. I face up to 20 years imprisonment" (Popp, 2018).

She states that about how she was arrested; "My son and I were still sleeping when police officers pounded on our apartment door around 4:30 in the morning. They were not just police officers, but members of a special unit of the anti-terrorist department. They broke open the door, threw me on the ground, pointed their submachine guns at me. They searched our home for three and a half hours. When the police saw my German passport, they cursed me as an agent. Then they took me away in front of my son" (Popp, 2018).

In the interview, which proceeded with emphasis on Tolu's son, psychology and how her son survived this process were also emphasized (Popp, 2018). Tolu is also detained in Diyarbakir/ Turkey, but Tolu stated that she is in better conditions than her husband. She mentioned that she could not find a toy for her son despite these good conditions, and the complicated process during his detention. "Serkan was not the only child in Bakirköy; almost eighty children lived there during my detention. I tried to make his life

as comfortable as possible. But that was not easy, there were hardly any toys and even coloured pencils were forbidden" (Popp, 2018). In this article, the reader of *Der Spiegel* notices the difficulties that Mesale Tolu, as a representative of a Turkish woman, faced during the judicial process in Turkey as a journalist and a mother. The representation of Mesale Tolu is presented to the reader in a negative context, with a negative image. From this point of view, it is possible for the reader to have negative thoughts about the Turkish judicial system and freedom of the press.

### **3.3.17. Analysis of Article 17 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.3.17.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 17 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Turkish religious authority thinks girls are marriageable from the age of 9" titled, 4/01/2018, 3:53 pm dated article is analyzed (Röhlig, 2018). One representative photograph is used in the article. This is a photo taken from behind of a young couple watching the view of the Bosphorus in Istanbul. The young woman has a headscarf and a long skirt on her. There is no introduction in the article, the context started directly from the first paragraph. There are three subheadings. These; "What is Diyanet", "For Info", "What is to be made of the back and forth?" (Röhlig, 2018). Under the first subtitle of "What is Diyanet" the official institution dealing with religious affairs in the Republic of Turkey, has been explained, the reader has been informed (Röhlig, 2018). In the title, Germany's marriage age laws are mentioned and compared with Turkey (Röhlig, 2018). The reader, who encounters this representative photograph and headline, will have the perception that every woman is veiled in Turkey and marriage at child age is seen and accepted as normal by society, state, and religion.

#### **3.3.17.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 17 in Table 3; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The reason for including this news in the scope of this thesis is not the representation of a specific Turkish woman, but the representation of women in Turkey in general. The subject of the news is that Diyanet, the official institution dealing with religious affairs in Turkey, has changed the age of marriage to nine for girls and twelve for boys

(Röhlig, 2018). The article is summarized as; "Turkey is further easing the regulations for child marriages - and incapacitating the parents. That shows a new recommendation of the highest Turkish religious authority Diyanet. On the website of the Turkey's religious authority it has been said since Tuesday that girls are marriageable from the age of nine, boys from the age of twelve" (Röhlig, 2018). Afterwards, brief information about Diyanet is given; "The highest religious authority in Turkey. It reports directly to the Prime Minister and determines how religious regulations are to be implemented in society" (Röhlig, 2018). It is aimed to inform the reader by giving background and context information. In addition, by presenting some results based on statistical data, the argument was strengthened; "As early as 2015, at least one partner was 16 or 17 years old in more than five per cent of all marriages in Turkey, says Erdemir. In absolute numbers: 31,000 It resulted out of a total of almost 603,000 marriages" (Röhlig, 2018). Ruling party AKP and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan were also being criticized; "Erdogan wants to please conservative voters in particular and thus secure his power-he also promotes easier marriages for minors" (Röhlig, 2018).

It cannot be said that it will leave a positive impression of Turkish women on Der Spiegel's readers. The reader may think that marriages at an early age are welcomed by society, religion, and the state. This news will be evaluated as negative Turkish women image within the scope of this study.

#### **3.4. Critical Discourse Analysis of 2018 "Der Spiegel" Online Magazine News; Teon Van Dijk's Macrostructure Discourse Analysis**

In this study, firstly, a macro analysis of the news covered in the "Der Spiegel" magazine has been made to examine the image of Turkish women. In the macro analysis, the main and subtitle of the news, the main theme of the news and the schematic structure of these themes, the context information of the events, the evaluations of the event witnesses about the event, if any, etc. will be examined in terms of dynamics.

During the year 2017, nineteen news is selected with the purposive sampling method, which is a qualitative research method. News has thirteen negative and six positive judgments.

**Table 4:** Critical Discourse Analysis of 2017 "Der Spiegel" online magazine news; Teon Van Dijk's macrostructure discourse analysis

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
1	Her family worships Erdogan - however Tuba fights against it	No introduction has written.	There is a video of Tuba explaining the assumptions about Turkish people in Germany, in a friendly and cheerful way.
2	A student must take off her headscarf at the university - but there are protests	No introduction has written.	There is one representative picture of a girl with headscarf from the behind of her, while looking at a school blackboard.
3	I am German-Turkish - but against Erdogan. Finally get it!	I do not want to be your quota Turkish anymore.	There is a photo album of six photos with the theme of identity, prepared by the young journal of Spiegel, Bento
4	"Dispose in Anatolia"; Özoguz reacts to Gauland's insult.	"Why in Anatolia, why me?" The insult by Gauland would have "shocked her badly," says integration officer Özoguz. She is happy about ads against the AfD top man - but she also puts her own statements into perspective.	There is a one representative picture of Aydan Özoguz while smiling and greeting.
5	Verdict in the Hatun Sürücü murder case; Court acquits brothers due to lack of evidence	More than twelve years ago, the murder of Hatun Sürücü sparked a debate about so-called honor killings in Germany. Her brothers, who are said to have ordered the murder, are now leaving the Istanbul courts free.	There is a Hatun Sürücü's photo album of five pictures. Album's title is "Crimes in the Name of Honor: The Murder of Hatun Sürücü."
6	Chronology; The Murder of Hatun Sürücü	Twelve years ago, the Turkish-German Hatun Sürücü was murdered in Berlin. Two of her brothers have now been sentenced in Istanbul. A chronology.	There is one representative picture from Hatun Sürücü's funeral. It's titled; "Commemoration of Hatun Sürücü on Oberlandstrasse in Berlin."
7	Resistance against hate citizens When Merve fought back	Merve is used to bullying on the S-Bahn, and the German-Turkish woman usually does not react - like her fellow German passengers. But on this day, everything is different: she is insulted as a bomber.	There is a photo of Merve Kayikci.
8	Integration; Why students of Turkish descent do poorly	Pupils of Turkish origin rarely excel in the German education system, even if they were born here, have committed parents and study ambitiously. Why is that?	There is portrait photo of Ahmet Özdemir and Selma Henrichen.
9	Imamin founds women's mosque in Berlin - and is now attacked by radicals	There is no introduction.	There is a photograph of Seyran Ates laying a prayer rug.
10	Women's rights activist founds mosque; "Don't leave our religion to the backward"	With Islam against Islamism: Seyran Ates opens a liberal mosque in Berlin. In an interview, the Berlin lawyer explains how she wants to work against radicals with tolerance, education and demonstrations.	There is photo Seyran Ates on the TV show "Anne Will". There is also photo of "The Berlin St. John's Church will house the Ibn Rushd-Goethe Mosque in the future."

No	Title	News Intro	Visual Materials
11	Special award for Turkish presenter	Reports, photos, and solidarity with imprisoned journalists: the 2017 Henri Nannen Prize was awarded in Hamburg. The Turkish TV presenter Banu Güven received a special award.	A portrait photograph of Banu Güven is used in the article.
12	Feminism in Turkey; Women against Erdogan	Turkey is not only Erdogan. In Istanbul and other cities, thousands of women took to the streets against sexism and for democracy. Turkish feminists increasingly claim influence in politics.	There are three different photos of Turkish women from the demonstration.
13	Women against Erdogan; "We are the other 50 percent"	Turkey is not only Erdogan. In Istanbul and other cities, thousands of women are taking to the streets against sexism and for democracy. What drives feminists like Nisan Atalay?	There are three different photos of Turkish women from the demonstration. It's titled; "Feminism in Turkey: Women against Erdogan."
14	Turkish women against Erdogan; protests and arrests	Thousands of women took to the streets in Istanbul to campaign for a "no" vote in the referendum. In the southeastern Turkish city of Sanliurfa, however, a protest march was prevented, and the police arrested numerous women.	There is a video of women getting arrested forcibly by the police.
15	That became the demonstrators in Gezi Park	There is no introduction.	There is an album of nineteen photos. It's titled; "Lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transsexuals in Turkey are fighting for their rights."
16	This is how a Turkish activist fights against the LGBT ban	There is no introduction.	There is photo of Turkish women while demonstrating. There is also an album of nineteen photos. It's titled; "Lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transsexuals in Turkey are fighting for their rights."
17	Itir Esen; Miss Turkey fired for coup attempt tweet	Turkish beauty pageant winner Itir Esen has lost her title over a controversial post. The 18- year-old is said to have commemorated the opposition putschists - with the blood of her period.	There is a photo of Itir Esen. It's titled; "Dethroned Miss Turkey: Itir Esen and the ideal of beauty."
18	Hate postings on social networks; "You B*tch"	Women are often met with sheer hatred on social networks. They are defamed, given repulsive photos and threats of rape. The method has a system: sexism is making a comeback.	There is a photo of Selma Dagdelen. It's titled; "Member of the Bundestag Dagdelen."
19	Runner at the 2012 Olympics, firstly second, then first, then disqualified	Chaos surrounding the women's 1500 metre final in London: Gamze Bulut initially won gold afterwards because the actual winner was doped. Now the Turk herself has been convicted.	There is a photograph of four athletes, including Gamze Bulut and Asli Cakir Alptekin, while running.

Source: Created by author

### **3.4.1. Analysis of Article 1 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.1.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article "Her family worships Erdogan - like Tuba fights against it" titled, 11/22/2017, 6:29 p.m dated is analyzed (Gerlach, 2017). There is one video in the article. In the video, Tuba criticized the prejudices of the Germans about the Turks candidly and funnily (Gerlach, 2017). For example, she stated that contrary to Germans prejudices, her father also helps with the housework, her mother is a businesswoman, they are not a family with many children, she is the only child in the family, she uses alcohol, and when she was not a vegetarian, she had no problem with consuming pork (Gerlach, 2017). There is no introduction in the article, the news starts directly from the first paragraph. The article was created with sections taken from an interview with Tuba (Gerlach, 2017). Six subtitles are used in the article. These; "Tuba wants to uncover such imbalances", "The criticism she gets is mostly positive", "For her family, Tuba is German, and that's not a compliment", "Tuba is inspired in her work by Lena Dunham, the producer of the US series `Girls`", "The topic: her Erdogan-loving relatives", "Tuba is the only one in her family who criticizes Erdogan" (Gerlach, 2017). Although Tuba focuses on prejudices and stereotypes in the video, the political views of Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Tuba were emphasized in the interview. In the video, Tuba's cheerful and sincere behavior gives the message that the generalizations and prejudices of the Germans about the Turks are found ridiculous and unacceptable by the Turks.

#### **3.4.1.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 1 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This article belongs to a Turkish-German woman named Tuba (Gerlach, 2017). Tuba, whose grandfather was a guest worker who came to Germany, describes herself as German, not Turkish (Gerlach, 2017). The content of the news is that Tuba is not being a sympathizer of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Gerlach, 2017). The news proceeded through the interview with Tuba. Tuba stated that, unlike her family, she was

less traditional and more German; "For her family, Tuba is German, and that's not a compliment" and states, "I want to tell the young German Turks not to give in immediately if something doesn't suit the Turkish family" (Gerlach, 2017). The news about her, her school, her education level will also help to make a profile about Tuba for Der Spiegel readers; "Tuba Sarica, 28 years old, is studying German in Cologne. She lives in the Lataeng district, the city's bar district" (Gerlach, 2017). In the article, numerical data are also given about the Turkish population in Germany, which will support the context statistically; "About three million Germans of Turkish origin (BAMF) and another one and a half million Turks live in Germany" (Gerlach, 2017). From this point of view, the news is sufficient in terms of background and context information and Tuba, and her family give sufficient information to the reader. In the content of the news, it is mentioned that Tuba's political view is judged by her family and relatives, by emphasizing that how much Tuba is integrated into German society and staying away from religious and political definitions (Gerlach, 2017). Here, the reader encounters the representation of a Turkish-German woman who stands on her feet independently of her family and culture and stands behind her ideas and beliefs. Therefore, she gives a positive image to the reader.

### **3.4.2. Analysis of Article 2 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse**

##### **Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "A student has to take off her headscarf at the university - but there are protests" dated 10/28/2017, 3:19 p. m. has been examined ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). There is no introduction in the news. Two subtitles are used in the article. These are "The German-Turkish woman did not leave the incident uncommented either", "Such ignorance is inexcusable" ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). There is a representative photograph of a girl wearing a headscarf in the article ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). The photo was taken from the back, and the girl is looking at a blackboard. Since the event took place in a university, the representative photograph



fully corresponds to the news. Although there is no introduction to the news, the title and the representative photograph give the reader the necessary information about the content of the news.

#### **3.4.2.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 2 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is a 19-year-old Turkish girl at the University of Würzburg, who is forced to take off her headscarf by her teacher during class ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). Only the age of the victim who was described as a Turkish girl in the news was given; "A 19-year-old student of Turkish origin" ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). In addition, the university where the incident took place was also stated and the background context information was shared with the reader ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). The answers of professor, whose name was not mentioned in the incident was also included ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). However, the professor canceled the lesson as other students left the lesson as a reaction to the incident ("Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest", 2017). Unfortunately, there is a negative representation of Turkish women because a 19-year-old Turkish girl is the subject of such a news story. However, her classmates, media and the university supported the Turkish girl. In this respect, it gives a positive image to the reader. However, due to the subject of this study, this news will be evaluated as an example of negative Turkish women representation.

#### **3.4.3. Analysis of Article 3 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.3.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "I am German-Turkish - but against Erdogan. Finally get it!" titled, 06.07.2017,10.08 a.m. dated article has been examined (Düzgün, 2017). The intro of the news; "I don't want to be your quota Turkish anymore" (Düzgün, 2017). Eight subtitles are used in the article. These are "Tell me, why are so many of your compatriots who

live here in Germany actually supporters of Erdogan?", "What is the AKP?", "What does life mean, what do I want to make of it? More about identity: ", "That's why I have not had anything to do with the AKP for a long time", "I am against this policy, I am against Erdogan and his AKP", "German Turks and Erdogan", "Nevertheless: generalizations about German Turks must stop!", "I am German. And Turkish. And vegetarian" (Düzgün, 2017). No video or visual material was used in the news. The main and subheadings of the news gave enough information to the reader about the article.

#### **3.4.3.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 3 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is about the experience of a German woman of Turkish origin named Begum Düzgün with another German (Düzgün, 2017). Since the event is based on the personal experience of Düzgün, it is convincing to the reader in terms of context and background knowledge. In fact, the event brought the stereotypes about Turkish people to the fore (Düzgün, 2017). On the cliché that all Turks are sympathizers of the ruling party AKP (Düzgün, 2017). The answer of Düzgün and the wrong generalizations about Turks in Germany are explained; "Not again! Another person who thinks I can answer questions about any Erdogan supporters. Again, someone who reduces me to my German-Turkish roots " (Düzgün, 2017). Under the title of "What is AKP", information about the ruling party in Turkey and the President has been given; "A party in Turkey, its full name is: Justice and Development Party. Translated, this means: `Party for Justice and Development`. It is chaired by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, President of Turkey (Düzgün, 2017)". Under the same subtitle Düzgün states that, "I was born in Wiesbaden and grew up sheltered. My mother came to Germany at the age of nine as the daughter of guest workers, my father emigrated from Turkey at the age of nineteen to tour Europe as a jazz musician" (Düzgün, 2017). Under the title of "German Turks and Erdogan", the voting results about the Turkish population in Germany and the authoritarian presidential system were shared with the reader (Düzgün, 2017). By giving the generalizations that made about the political views of all Turks living in Germany, this article has a positive representation because it gives the reader of Der Spiegel

detailed information about the existence of Turks who have different ideas and views in Germany.

#### **3.4.4. Analysis of Article 4 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

##### **Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.4.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse**

###### **Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, "Dispose in Anatolia, Özoguz reacts to Gauland's insult" titled, 09/07/2017, 11:43 am dated article is analyzed ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). The introduction of the article is, "Why in Anatolia, why me? The insult by Gauland would have shocked her badly" says integration officer Özoguz. She is happy about ads against the AfD top man - but she also puts her own statements into perspective" ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). There is a representative photograph of Aydan Özoguz, in which she smiles and greets.

##### **3.4.4.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 4 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse**

###### **Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The underlying theme of the article is the racist interpretations of AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) politician Alexander Gauland, who is known as far-right, against SPD leader Aydan Özoguz ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). Özoguz says these in May 2017 `Tagesspiegel`; "Aside from the language, a specifically German culture is simply not identifiable" ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). Gauland says this in reaction to these words; "That's what a German-Turkish woman says (...) We will then also be able to dispose of them in Anatolia" ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). Two news that is a repetition of this article has not been included in the scope of this thesis. Özoguz states "It would be completely absurd to say that there is no German culture" ("Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung", 2017). Unfortunately, in this article, the reader of Der Spiegel sees the representation of a politician who wants Turks to be disposed of in Anatolia with a harsh and racist approach and, a Turkish woman politician is being exposed to this. This representation will be evaluated as a negative representation within the scope of the study.

### **3.4.5. Analysis of Article 5 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis**

#### **Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.5.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This is the news of Hatun Sürücü who was killed on February 7, 2005. Since the whole story is shared chronologically in news no. 5, this news has been taken into consideration together with news no. 6.

Under this title, the article titled "Chronology; Der Mord an Hatun Driver" and dated May 30, 2017, 3:49 p.m. was analyzed ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). In addition, the article numbered five, titled "Verdict in the Hatun Sürücü murder case; Court acquits brothers due to lack of evidence", dated 05/30/2017, 5:58 p.m, was also examined together, since the topics were similar ("Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei",2017). The introduction of news 5; "More than twelve years ago, the murder of Hatun driver sparked a debate about so-called honour killings in Germany. Her brothers, who are said to have ordered the murder, are now leaving the Istanbul courts free" ("Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei",2017).

##### **3.4.5.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 5 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This news has been analyzed together with news six. The main theme of the news is Hatun Driver, who was being shot three times in the head by her brother on February 7, 2005. The driver's brother alleges that he killed his sister to save "family honour" ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). Sürücü, who was married to a relative from Turkey with the comments of his family, has a child from this marriage ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). But then he ended his unhappy marriage and returned to his family home in Berlin ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). With his traditional and conservative family, she cannot agree with her family about her lifestyle and wishes ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). Her older brother Ayhan Sürücü was sentenced to 9 years and three months in prison, and later deported and sent to Turkey ("Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei",2017). In Turkey, he was acquitted in January 2016 ("Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei",2017). This

painful and tragic massacre has been presented to the reader in this article, chronologically ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017).

### **3.4.6. Analysis of Article 6 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.6.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This is the news of Hatun Sürücü who was killed on February 7, 2005. Since the whole story is shared chronologically in news no. 5, this news has been taken into consideration together with news no. 6.

The introduction of news no. 6; "Twelve years ago, the Turkish-German Hatun Sürücü was murdered in Berlin. Two of her brothers have now been sentenced in Istanbul. A chronology" ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). No subtitles are used in the text no. 5, the main text is divided into paragraphs. However, since article 6 gives chronological information, the article is divided into sub-headings with dates. This allows the reader of Der Spiegel to understand the news in a more comprehensive. Background and context information is given to the reader in a remarkably effortless way by dividing them into headings. An album of five photographs was shared in the news no. 5 ("Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei", 2017). In this album, there are photographs of Hatun Sürücü, her funeral and her tombstone. In news number 6, there is a photograph titled "Commemoration of Hatun Driver on Oberlandstrasse in Berlin" ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017). It supports the text and provides background and context information to the reader, as it is representative photographs and photographs of Hatun Sürücü.

#### **3.4.6.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 6 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This news has been analyzed together with news five. The main theme of the news is Hatun Driver, who was being shot three times in the head by her brother on February 7, 2005. The driver's brother alleges that he killed his sister to save "family honour" ("Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü", 2017).

Giving every detail about the massacre together with chronological explanations gives the reader comprehensive background and context information. Unfortunately, the reader of *Der Spiegel*, who reads this news, sees a portrait of a young Turkish woman murdered by her brother under the name of family honour. This will give the *Der Spiegel* reader the image of Turkish women who cannot have a say in their own lives, cannot live their own free choices, and can even be killed by their family members. The reader reading this may create the perception that all Turkish women are oppressed by their families, marry under the force of their families, and cannot live their own choices. This will create a negative perception about Turkish women and the family structure in the mind of the reader.

### **3.4.7. Analysis of Article 7 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.7.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled as; "Resistance against hate citizens; When Merve fought back", 03/24/2017, 1.30 p.m. dated is analyzed (Ehlers, 2017). The introduction of the news is "Merve is used to bullying on the S-Bahn, and the German-Turkish woman usually doesn't react - like every fellow German passenger. But on this day, everything is different: she is insulted as a bomber" (Ehlers, 2017). No subtitle was used in the article. There are several photographs of Merve. Merve gives the image of a smiling, sympathetic Turkish girl in this photograph. The title of the news, its introduction and the visual shared with the reader provide sufficient and correct information about the content of the article before the reader even reads the news.

#### **3.4.7.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 7 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of this news is about the verbal harassment, racist attack and the events that took place because of a Turkish girl named Merve with a headscarf (Ehlers, 2017). With personal information such as Merve's age, place of residence, family occupation, the department she studied, the reader is sufficiently informed in terms of background and context; "Merve Kayikci is a bright young woman who lives with her parents and

four younger siblings in Korntal-Münchingen near Stuttgart, home of the Evangelical Brotherhood, once called the 'Rome of Pietism'" (Ehlers, 2017). "She is Muslim and has been wearing the hijab since fifth grade. Merve's mother comes from Turkey, her father is a lawyer, whose parents, in turn, came from Anatolia as guest workers" (Ehlers, 2017). In the article, it is mentioned that in her daily life, Merve, unfortunately, encounters bullying from people she does not know, both verbally and spiritually (Ehlers, 2017). However, this time it is verbal abuse. Accused of being a bomber by a stranger because of her appearance, Merve drew attention on social media with her tweet, "Every tweet was liked over 2000 times and shared almost 400 times" (Ehlers, 2017). "Complete strangers stood up for me, where have they been all these years?" (Ehlers, 2017). As a Turkish woman who stands behind her rights and does not remain silent about this ugly accusation, although Merve is a positive image, she is exposed to a racist and Islamophobic attack. Therefore, it will be evaluated as a negative representation for this study.

#### **3.4.8. Analysis of Article 8 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.8.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Integration; Why students of Turkish descent do poorly", dated 13.07.2017, 7.40 a.m. has been examined (Klovert, 2017). No subtitles are used in the article. The introduction of the article is "Pupils of Turkish origin rarely excel in the German education system, even if they were born here, have committed parents and study ambitiously. Why is that?" (Klovert, 2017). Portrait photographs of two Turks were used in the article. The first photograph is for the childhood of Turkish-German Ahmet Özdemir, who was born and raised in Germany (Klovert, 2017). The third photograph belongs to Selma Henrichsen (Klovert, 2017). Like Ahmet in Selma, he is of Turkish origin, born in Germany. As it can be understood from the main title and the introduction of the news, the article was written on the reasons why Turkish youth and their children are unsuccessful at school and on integration problems.

### **3.4.8.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 8 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main subject of the article is to examine the reasons why Turkish youth and children are not successful enough in their education life (Klovert, 2017). In addition to making use of subjective experiences in the article, scientific data and scientific studies on the subject are also included, thus providing the reader with information. Caner Aver from the Center for Turkish Studies and Integration Research states that "This affects the second and third generation more severely because they are better integrated and therefore have higher expectations in terms of participation and equal opportunities" (Klovert, 2017). Since the subject of this thesis is the representation of Turkish women in the German media, the part of the article about Selma Henrichsen has been examined. She said that; "Selma Henrichsen remembers a physics teacher who said to her on a class trip that she always had to reckon with poorer oral grades because she had dark hair" (Klovert, 2017). Selma and Ahmet here represent two Turkish youth who, due to their Turkish identities, are discriminated against in their education and later careers, who must show themselves more and work more than their fellows. This representation has been evaluated as a negative image in terms of this thesis.

### **3.4.9. Analysis of Article 9 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.9.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the articles numbered 9 and 10 is examined together as they are a continuation of each other. This is the main title of news eighteen; "Imamin founds women's mosque in Berlin - and is now attacked by radicals" (Röhlig, 2017). There are two subheadings in the article. These are "The mosque was opened on Friday – since then Ates has been hostile to many Muslims", "where does the hate come from" (Röhlig, 2017). A photograph belonging to Seyran Ates was used in the article. In the photo, Seyran Ates is wearing religious clothes and is laying a prayer rug. The introduction of the news is "Women's rights activist Seyran Ates had a fairly innovative idea: a liberal mosque for modern Muslims. Full veils with burqas or niqabs are



forbidden in this place of worship; the prayers are led not only by men but also by women" (Röhlig, 2017). The title, image and introduction of the news supply sufficient information about the subject in an obvious way for the reader.

#### **3.4.9.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 9 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The articles numbered nine and numbered ten are analyzed altogether since they are a continuation of each other. In both news, Berlin St. The reactions of Seyran Ates, who had the idea of opening a liberal mosque in Jon's Church, during this process and the struggle he gave for this were mentioned (Reimann, 2017). While there are opposing views in news number 9, the response of Seyran Ates to these allegations is given in news number 10. This is important in terms of presenting the news to the reader in a biased way. Here, the reader can deduce his own judgment from the articles by reading both news. In news no. 10, a news box with the title "To Person" was shared for Der Spiegel readers who do not know who Seyran Ates (Reimann, 2017) is. It is especially important in terms of background and context information. Here, the reader is introduced by giving information about who she is, what she does, her profession, the books she wrote and her career life; "Seyran Ates, born in Istanbul in 1963, came to Germany with her parents when she was six. She grew up in a traditional extended family", "Ates has published several books, including *The Multicultural Error* (2007) and *Islam Needs a Sexual Revolution* (2009)" (Reimann, 2017). This is one of the highlights of the interview; "Why is more religion your answer to problems like Islamism and intolerance?" (Reimann, 2017).

Ates, a female imam, who opposes the supremacy of men in Islam and defends liberal Islam, expressed her ideas as follows; "I'm not calling for more religion, I'm calling for the left to deal more with religion. It was the failure of the left to believe that the world is better without religion. It is not. The question of God Everyone, including atheists. We must not leave our religion and the study of it to the backward" (Reimann, 2017).

### **3.4.10. Analysis of Article 10 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.10.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the articles numbered 9 and 10 is examined together as they are a continuation of each other. News no. 10 is an interview text of Seyran Ates published in response to the news no. 9. The main title of the news; "Women's rights activist founds mosque; "Do not leave our religion to the backward" (Reimann, 2017). Since the article is an interview text, the text proceeds with the questions and answers of the reporter editor and Seyran Ates. No subtitles are used. Two visual materials are used. The first one is This is Seyran Ates`s photograph taken from the TV show "Anne Will" (Reimann, 2017). The second is the photograph of the Ibn Rushd-Goethe Mosque that Seyran Ates plans to open in Berlin's St. Jon's Church (Reimann, 2017). The introduction of the news is "With Islam against Islamism: Seyran Ates opens a liberal mosque in Berlin. In an interview, the Berlin lawyer explains how she wants to work against radicals with tolerance, education, and demonstrations" (Reimann, 2017).

#### **3.4.10.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 10 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The fact that Seyran Ates`s interview was included in the news no. 10 and that the subject was discussed with the reporter editor and presented to the Der Spiegel reader, increased the impartiality and truthfulness of the news. Sharing the ideology and ideas of Seyran Ates himself with the reader instead of the Correspondent Editor is a particularly crucial element in terms of the impartiality of the news. This interview text and news will be evaluated positively within the scope of this study since Seyran Ates gives the image of a Turkish woman struggling for her own ideologies.

### **3.4.11. Analysis of Article 11 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.11.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Henri Nannen Prize 2017; Special award for Turkish presenter" and dated 04/28/2017, 12:18 am has been examined ("Sonderpreis für türkische Moderatorin", 2017). The introduction of the news is "Reports, photos and solidarity with imprisoned journalists: the 2017 Henri Nannen Prize was awarded in Hamburg. The Turkish TV presenter Banu Güven received a special award" ("Sonderpreis für türkische Moderatorin", 2017). No subtitles were used in the article, but Banu Güven's work so far has been divided into sub-headings by the reporter editor and presented to the reader. "Best report, best reportage photography, best staged photography, best investigate achievement, best documentation, best web project" are used as subtitles ("Sonderpreis für türkische Moderatorin", 2017). A portrait photograph of Banu Güven is used in the article.

#### **3.4.11.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 11 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The news is about the Turkish reporter, news presenter and columnist Banu Güven receiving the Henri Nannen Journalism Award ("Sonderpreis für türkische Moderatorin", 2017). By giving information about Banu Güven's award-winning fields and earlier works, Der Spiegel reader is informed in terms of background and context. The reporter editor wrote the news with the aim of informing, away from interpretation. In addition, the areas in which she won awards are specified specifically. The source of the news is the reporter editor. The Der Spiegel reader who reads this article sees nothing but the image of a successful Turkish woman. Therefore, a positive Turkish woman image will be evaluated within the scope of this study.

### **3.4.12. Analysis of Article 12 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.12.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "Feminism in Turkey; Women against Erdogan", dated 03/17/2017, 11:20 a.m. was analyzed ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). The news consists of an album of three photographs. Each photograph in the album is explained with short notes. This is the introduction of the news; "Turkey is not only Erdogan. In Istanbul and other cities, but thousands of women also took to the streets against sexism and for democracy. Turkish feminists increasingly claim influence in politics" ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). Since the article consists of an album, no subtitles or text were used. The first two photos are taken from the March 8, 2017, International Women's Day parade in Turkey. Including the photograph of young people in the first photograph and a middle-aged woman with a scarf in the second photograph is also important in terms of presenting the examples of Turkish women from various groups to the reader. The last photograph is of feminist activist Nisan Atalay ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). The descriptions of the photographs are analyzed under the heading 25b.

#### **3.4.12.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 12 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is the protests and demonstrations in Turkey on March 8, International Women's Day ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). The article is not evaluated on a text, but on an album of three photographs. In the first photograph, there are Turkish women who protest with their banners on women's day. This is the description of the photograph; "The demonstrators in Istanbul demanded full social, economic, cultural and political equality for women" ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). In the second photo, a photo taken from another show, in which the middle-aged segment was in the foreground, was shared. The photograph draws attention to a Turkish woman with a headscarf, protesting and shouting. This is the photo's clarification note; " `Neck Bend down` - `Bozun egme` reads this placard carried by a protester in Istanbul's Taksim Square in 2013. The protests of the time politicized many young Turks" ("Frauen gegen

Erdogan", 2017). The fact that the photos belong to different age groups gives the reader of Der Spiegel the image that these diverse groups in Turkey are united for a purpose. In the third photograph, there is the photograph of Nisan Atalay, a feminist activist, and the founder of the first independent feminist organization, `Yeryüzü Kadınlar`, taken in a café ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). This is the description of the photograph; "Two years ago, Nisan Atalay co-founded "Yeryüzü Kadınlar" (English: Women of the World), the first independent feminist organization in Turkey" ("Frauen gegen Erdogan", 2017). Turkish women who protest for women's rights, a more equal world and Turkey and do not remain silent, give the reader of Der Spiegel the image of Turkish women who are conscious and defend their rights. This will be evaluated as a positive representation of Turkish women within the scope of the study.

### **3.4.13. Analysis of Article 13 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.13.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title the news article "Women against Erdogan; "We are the other 50 per cent" " dated 03/17/2017, 11:20 a.m. has been analyzed (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). Two subtitles are used in the article. These; "Erdogan can criminalize leftists, Kurds. But women?" ", "Violence against women has increased under the Erdogan government" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). This is the introduction of the news; "Turkey is not only Erdogan. In Istanbul and other cities, thousands of women are taking to the streets against sexism and for democracy. What drives feminists like Nisan Atalay?" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). In the news, an album consisting of three photographs used in news number 25 was shared (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). The explanations of the photographs are the same. For a detailed explanation about the photographs, please see the headings 25a and 25b. However, using the same album in two separate articles with similar but different content may confuse the Der Spiegel reader.

### **3.4.13.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 13 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is feminist activist Nisan Atalay's comments and views on the current political situation in Turkey and its effects on Turkish women (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). Informing the reader of Der Spiegel about who Atalay is especially important in terms of background and context; "Atalay, 22, a law student, is sitting in an Istanbul café that she runs with other women. She wears sneakers, jeans, long brown hair" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). It is aimed to inform the reader by giving information about the organization of which Atalay is the founder; "Two years ago, Atalay co-founded "Yerüzü Kadınlar" (English: Women of the World), the first independent feminist organization in Turkey. The "Yerüzü Kadınlar" were among the most important initiators of the demonstration on March 8th" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). She discusses her ideas on Turkish politics and thinks that President Erdogan's policies increase violence against women; "Violence against women has increased under the Erdogan government. Last year 397 women were murdered in Turkey" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). Atalay tried to explain the seriousness of the situation by comparing this struggle against sexism in Turkey with the organization "Earth Women" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017).

"For Atalay, the fight against sexism is inseparable from the fight for democracy in Turkey" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017). This struggle of Turkish women was evaluated positively by the reporter editor with this statement; "They laughed, they danced. They sent images out into the world that, at least in the West, had not been seen for a long time and were almost unthinkable: images of a happy, progressive, pluralistic Turkey" (Poop & Schmolke, 2017).

However, this news gives the reader of Der Spiegel the image of Turkish women's struggle against sexism, for equality and democracy in 2017, that Turkish women still do not have these rights, that they must fight, unite, and take their voices out to the world. For this reason, it will be considered as a negative representation within the scope of this study.

### **3.4.14. Analysis of Article 14 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.14.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "Turkish women against Erdogan; protests and arrests", dated 03/05/2017, 5:14 p.m., was analyzed ("Proteste und Festnahmen", 2017). The introduction of the news is "Thousands of women took to the streets in Istanbul to campaign for a "no" vote in the referendum. In the southeastern Turkish city of Sanliurfa, however, a protest march was prevented, and the police arrested numerous women" ("Proteste und Festnahmen", 2017). Two videos were used in the article ("Proteste und Festnahmen", 2017). In this video, it is shown that in the province of Sanliurfa, found in the southeast of Turkey, women were blocked and bullied during their protest. There is no text and subtitles in the news.

#### **3.4.14.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 14 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

As it can be understood from the title and introduction of the news, it is about the bullying arrest of Turkish women demonstrating against the President of the Republic of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and the prevention of the protest ("Proteste und Festnahmen", 2017). It was also told in the introduction of the news that women performing the same demonstration in Istanbul did not experience such a problem, but in the southeast of Turkey, in Sanliurfa, women were arrested and were not allowed ("Proteste und Festnahmen", 2017). The reader of Der Spiegel may have the impression that women in the south and west of Turkey have equal rights. But people may think that women in Turkey cannot freely protest their ideas and thoughts and that this is blocked by the police forces. Within the scope of this study, it will be evaluated as a negative representation of Turkish women.

### **3.4.15. Analysis of Article 15 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.15.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "That became the demonstrators in Gezi Park" and dated 08.02.2017, 3.30 p.m has been analyzed (Huesmann, 2017). The intro of the news is "Istanbul, May 2013: A few dozen activists have gathered in Gezi Park, in the centre of the city. The park is to make way for a shopping mall. The demonstrators want to prevent that. The police arrive with water cannons and tear gas, the public order office sets fire to the protesters' tents" (Huesmann, 2017). Six subtitles are used in the article. These are "What's left of it?", "Ferhat Talan, football fan and activist", "Melis Özbakır, former squatter", "Sedef Çakmak, LGBT activist and Beşiktaş City Council Member", "Ali Ergin Demirhan, a journalist for the union- affiliated online magazine Syndicate.org", "Ayser Ali, Literary Agent" (Huesmann, 2017). In addition, an album of nineteen photographs entitled "Lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transsexuals in Turkey are fighting for their rights" was used in the article (Huesmann, 2017).

#### **3.4.15.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 15 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

As it can be understood from the main title and intro of the news, it is a discussion-style article in which the views of different people about the 2013 Gezi Park protest are included (Huesmann, 2017). The protest started on 27 May at Gezi Park and lasted until 15 June 2013 (Huesmann, 2017). It spread throughout the country, targeting President Erdogan, who was the Prime Minister at that time, and the government (Huesmann, 2017). At the beginning of the news, the Gezi Park protest was mentioned to the reader, and background and context information was shared with the reader. Since this study is an analysis of Turkish women's representation in the German media, only the subtitles of "Melis Özbakır, former squatter", "Sedef Çakmak, LGBT activist and Beşiktaş City Council Member" and "Ayser Ali, Literary Agent" will be examined (Huesmann, 2017). As it is understood in the sub-headings of the news, brief information is given about the names, surnames, titles, and generations of the people who presented their opinions on



the subject. Concisely Melis Özbakir, Sedef Cakmak and Ayser Ali, who are disturbed by Turkey's current politics, government, and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, are not happy and do not want to raise their children in such a country in the future (Huesmann, 2017). Ayser Ali states; "And society is becoming more and more religious and conservative", additionally, "Many former activists are now fully focused on their work and personal lives. I am considering whether to emigrate. I do not want to leave. I am at home here. But if I ever have a child, I will emigrate. I do not want to raise a child in this uncertainty" (Huesmann, 2017). Turkish women, who are ready to emigrate from their country of origin, unhappy, and feel that their social rights and freedoms are restricted, will of course leave a negative image of Turkish women in the reader.

### **3.4.16. Analysis of Article 16 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.16.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the article titled "This is how a Turkish activist fights against the LGBT ban", dated 22.11.2017, at 07.00 was analyzed (Poop, 2017). This is the intro of the news; "To give up? Be silent? Sevval Kilic laughs aloud. `Never! ` she says. `We've been fighting all our lives. We are not going to stop now` (Poop, 2017). One subtitle was used in the article; "LGBTI activists fought for freedom:" (Poop, 2017). Corresponder editor states that "for Kilic, as for the entire queer scene, the protests in Istanbul's Gezi Park marked a turning point" (Poop, 2017). Kilic states that "We became visible and self-confident. Many conservatives do not like that" (Poop, 2017). Moreover, she says; "People are slowly beginning to understand that it's not about the interests of individuals, ...", "... but that we all must fight together for a just, pluralistic society" (Poop, 2017). There is an album of nineteen photographs. The title of the album is "Lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transsexuals in Turkey are fighting for their rights" (Poop, 2017).

#### **3.4.16.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 16 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

This article is about the Turkish government banning LGBTQ events in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, and the events that followed (Poop, 2017). The march called "Pinkes Leben Queer Festival" was co-organized by the German Consulate in Ankara (Poop, 2017). The Turkish government claims that this ban was made for public safety (Poop, 2017). Pride Week, which is held every year, is planned as a week that is not limited to the Pride Parade but includes many panels, plays, concerts, exhibitions, workshops, interviews, information meetings, and is always open to everyone's participation (Poop, 2017). Holding the Pride Parade for a long time for LGBTI+ citizens in Turkey, who have become targets while exercising their freedom of peaceful assembly and demonstration, and are faced with discriminatory discourses, hate speech/acts and discriminatory policies, results in prohibitions and interference by law enforcement officers (Poop, 2017). Turkish activist Sevval Kilic says, "To give up? Be silent? Sevval Kilic laughs aloud. "Never!" she says. "We've been fighting all our lives. We are not going to stop now", "We will defend ourselves against this ban", "Turkish civil society is alive" (Poop, 2017).

"Kilic, 46, is considered one of the most well-known representatives of the Turkish queer movement. She co-founded the LGBTI organizations "Lambda Istanbul" and "Istanbul LGBTT" and co-organizes the Gay Pride Parade in Istanbul" (Poop, 2017). However, she told that despite her efforts, it was difficult to find a job in Turkey as a transgender person and she had to work as a sex worker for a while to maintain her own life (Poop, 2017). Unfortunately, the reader of *Der Spiegel*, who reads about the difficulties faced by LGBTQ citizens, does not meet a positive representation. In this study, it will be considered as a negative image.

### **3.4.17. Analysis of Article 17 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.17.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 17 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Itir Esen; Miss Turkey fired for coup attempt tweet", dated 09/22/2017, 7.30 p.m. was analyzed. ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017) No subtitles are used in the article. The introduction of the news is "Turkish beauty pageant winner Itir Esen has lost her title over a controversial post. The 18-year-old is said to have commemorated the opposition putschists - with the blood of her period" ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). In the article, there is a photograph of Itir Esen taken at the Miss Turkey Beauty Contest.

#### **3.4.17.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 17 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main subject of the news is the event of Itir Esen's crown being taken back after the tweet she posted about the 15 July coup attempt that took place in 2016, and the reactions that followed ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). This is Itir Esen's tweet; "I got my period on the morning of July 15, on the day of the martyrs. I mark the day bleeding, standing for the blood of the martyrs" ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). In Turkey, on July 15, 2016, a military coup attempt was made by a group affiliated with the Fetullah Terrorist Organization (FETO), led by Fetullah Gülen, who lives in the US state of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of its members in the TAF. The coup attempt, which has been determined to have killed 240 people so far, has been unsuccessful with the exemplary resistance of the Turkish nation to humanity and the opposition of other elements of the state ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). The fact that such a coup attempt was not taken so seriously, even mocked, could not be accepted by the Miss Turkey team, and Esen's crown was taken back hours later ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). The reporter editor, who also shared information about the 15 July coup in the news, informed the reader sufficiently

in terms of background and context; "Around 250 people were killed in the failed coup d'état in Turkey last year. The government around President Recep Tayyip Erdogan blames the movement of the Islamist preacher Fethullah Gülen for the coup" ("Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt", 2017). Unfortunately, this representation of a Miss Turkey winner in Miss Turkey will leave a negative image of a Turkish woman in the minds of Der Spiegel readers. This study, it will be evaluated as a negative representation of Turkish women.

### **3.4.18. Analysis of Article 18 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

#### **3.4.18.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 18 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Hate postings on social networks; "You Bitch" " dated 02/13/2017, 12:54 p.m has been analyzed (Nezik, 2017). The introduction of the news is "Women are often met with sheer hatred on social networks. They are defamed, given repulsive photos and threats of rape. The method has a system: sexism is making a comeback" (Nezik, 2017). Two subtitles are used in the article. These are "What does that do to those affected - and how can you deal with the hatred?", "About the author" (Nezik, 2017). The photograph of Sevim Dagdelen was shared, a member of the Bundestag (Nezik, 2017). The other photograph is by Margarete Stokowski, with the caption "Author Stokowski" (Nezik, 2017). The last and last photo belongs to author Stefanie von Berg, which is shared with the title "politician Berg" (Nezik, 2017). In addition, a video of Stefanie von Berg is shared at the end of the article. The title of the video is "I won't let my mouth be banned" (Nezik, 2017).

#### **3.4.18.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 18 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

As can be understood from the rich visual material and various subtitles shared, the article is a very comprehensive to inform the reader. However, since the scope of this study is the representation of Turkish women in the German media, specifically in the magazine Der Spiegel, only the part about Sevim Dagdelen will be examined (Nezik, 2017). Dagdelen is a Bundestag deputy from the Democratic socialist and left-populist

political party Die Linke, a journalism student born in 1975 (Nezik, 2017). The main subject of the news is the hate speech and comments Dagdelen has met on social media (Nezik, 2017). The article begins with Dagdelen's comments on Facebook from July to September (Nezik, 2017).

Dagdelen, who was insulted because of her Turkish identity, conveys her feelings like this; "Most of the members of the Bundestag of Turkish origin were threatened and insulted in the weeks after the Armenia resolution, but the Green Party leader Cem Özdemir and I were particularly affected", "I was defamed as an enemy of the state on Turkish television, and photos of me were taken shown, which had the character of wanted posters" (Nezik, 2017). The politician's encounter with such hate speech shows the fact that integration is not the only problem of the Turkish influence in Germany. Regardless of the title of her, there is a Turkish woman politician, who is being mentioned with racist attacks and hate speech. Therefore, within the scope of this study, this news will be evaluated as a negative image.

#### **3.4.19. Analysis of Article 19 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

##### **3.4.19.1. Thematic Analysis of Article 19 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

Under this title, the news titled "Runner at the 2012 Olympics; First second, then first, then disqualified"; dated 03/29/2017, 2:54 p.m. is analyzed ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). This is the introduction of the news; "Chaos around the women's 1500 metre final in London: Gamze Bulut initially won gold afterwards because the actual winner was doped. Now the Turk herself has been convicted" ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). No subtitle was used in the article. There is a photograph of four athletes, including Gamze Bulut and Asli Cakir Alptekin ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). The title, the photograph and the introduction supply sufficient information to the Der Spiegel reader.

#### **3.4.19.2. Schematic Analysis of Article 19 in Table 4; Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model in Macro Structure**

The main theme of the news is about the use of doping by two Turkish athletes named Asli Cakir Alptekin and Gamze Bulut ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). First, the reporter editor says that; "Gamze Bulut, who finished second in London, initially won gold afterwards, but has now been banned herself for taking illegal funds and has to return the medal" ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). Gamze Bulut, who was exposed to illegal funds after winning the gold medal, had to return the medal as told ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). Although Asli Cakir Alptekin initially won the competition both athletes were blocked by the World Athletics Association (IAAF) until 29 May 2020 due to the emergence of doping use ("Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert", 2017). The reader of Der Spiegel, who reads this news, unfortunately sees the examples of two Turkish athletes who won the competition with using doping and illegal funds and had to return their medals. Since the examples of two Turkish athletes are negative, this news will be evaluated as a negative Turkish woman image within the scope of this study.

## CONCLUSION

The research is focused on the examination of Turkish women's representation in Der Spiegel online magazine volumes of 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. A total of fifty-eight news about Turkish women were analyzed. Forty-one of them are negative and seventeen of them are evaluated as a positive representation of Turkish women. The reviewed fifty-eight articles are sorted by using filters given under the title 2.9. Repeated and associated articles are not included in the sample of research. In addition, the choice of news and its evaluation as positive/negative is given to the researcher's decision.

When these 4 years are evaluated within themselves, there is not much difference between the total number of articles. The sample of research covers six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017. The reason for decreased number of articles in 2020 is because of the increased number of Covid-19 pandemic news. Covid 19 pandemic has been outstripping the other news in the global media since the last days of 2019.

The reviewed six articles of 2020 all hold negative representations of Turkish women. Therefore, no news that gives a positive image was found. In 2019, while 11 news items included negative representations of Turkish women, five articles are evaluated as positive. In 2018, seventeen news items are analyzed. Eleven of these seventeen articles have negative and six positive representations of Turkish women's images. In 2017, 13 news about Turkish women with negative images were included in the scope of the analysis, while six news with positive images were analyzed. The remarkable year in these data is 2020, which does not have any article amplifying positive Turkish women's image. However, since the number of news items analyzed for 2020 is almost half as less as in other years, it would be wrong to evaluate this year alone and conclude that 2020 is the year of hate of discourse. As mentioned before in 2020 it was a priority to inform German society and the world about the Covid-19 pandemic.

In this study, the news about Turkish women was published in Der Spiegel Online magazine in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. Fifty-nine related news filtered using the words in the data collection title with the title 2.9 formed the sample of this thesis study. In this sample, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19

news from 2017 were examined. As a result of this study, it is clear to say that Turkish women were negatively reflected in the journal *Der Spiegel* based on the findings of this investigation.

The results of this study give results that are directly proportional to the results of Özdemir's study. As a result, Özdemir concluded that the image of the Turkish woman was trying to build in a negative way (Özdemir, 2015). According to Özdemir, in the last month of 2011, Turkish women are portrayed as individuals who are exposed to male violence, could not stand on their own feet, were humiliated undeservedly, and could not decide with their own free expression (Özdemir, 2015).

Uysal focused on the weekly *Der Spiegel* magazine on explaining how Turkish immigrants were "othered", and as a result, it was revealed that attention was drawn to Turkish immigrants' unsuccessful integration and incorrect generalizations were made (Uysal, 2011). Uysal's specific analysis of *Der Spiegel* newspaper and concentrating on Turkish immigrants is important literature for this thesis; moreover, this thesis determined similar findings as to the research results.

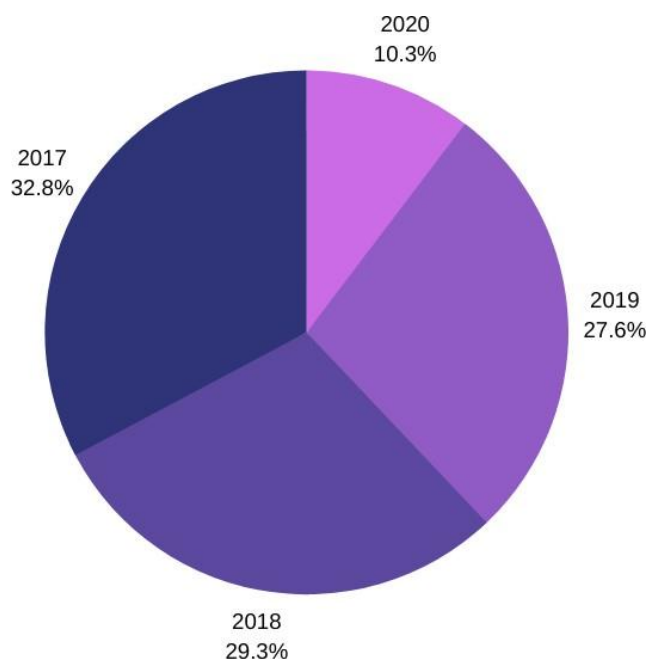
Yeşil aimed to determine the discrimination and exclusion perceptions of Turkish students living in Germany (Yesil, 2020). As a result of this study, Yesil states that Turkish children living in Germany are excluded from social, cultural, and spatial aspects (Yesil, 2020). Yesil's research has been an important source of literature for this thesis, as this study sheds light on the understanding of the socio-psychological situation of the Turks in Germany.

Gayıral and Gündoğmus aimed to address the identity transformation processes of Turkish immigrant women who migrated to Germany after Turkish labor migration (Gayıral & Gündoğmus, 2021). This study supports the claim that Turkish women still have integration problems in German society, which is also represented in the news of *Der Spiegel* online magazine. Therefore, the study of Gayıral and Gündoğmus is critical literature in terms of adding a unique perspective to this thesis.

According to Aydın, Turkish workers who migrated as guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) and later settled in Germany with their families with family reunifications in the following years had later integration problems (Aydın, 2021). In this study, in which *Der Spiegel*'s news is analyzed, Aydın's work has been very useful in understanding and interpreting



the articles, since there are judgments supporting this opinion in the majority of articles. There have been many studies recently in the field of media and communication studies, more specifically about guest workers and their representations in the media. However, there has not been enough work on the representation of Turkish women in Germany. The studies carried out either cover a short review period or out of date. The most important point of this thesis study is that the study covers a very wide period, covering the years 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020 and is very important in terms of revealing the image of Turkish women represented in the German media today. The news published in Der Spiegel was not only analyzed in words and text, but also the way this news was reflected, the language used in the news, and the images are chosen while creating the news were figured out. As a result of this analysis, the effect that Der Spiegel newspaper, which has a readership from all over the world, wants to create on Turkish women, and the reasons such as social, religious, cultural, ideological, etc., are examined. In this study, using the words mentioned under the heading 2.9 data collection, fifty-nine news items that fit the spirit of the research were examined. In this sample, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 will be selected and analyzed separately, thematically, and schematically, under the macrostructure analysis, with Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. With the purposive sampling method, the news involving Turkish women was sorted with the help of keywords, and correct and necessary data were obtained. The extracted news was included in the sample, with the researcher's own decision, following the subject of the research. Recurring news stories were not included in the research sample as attention was paid to being informative and unique.



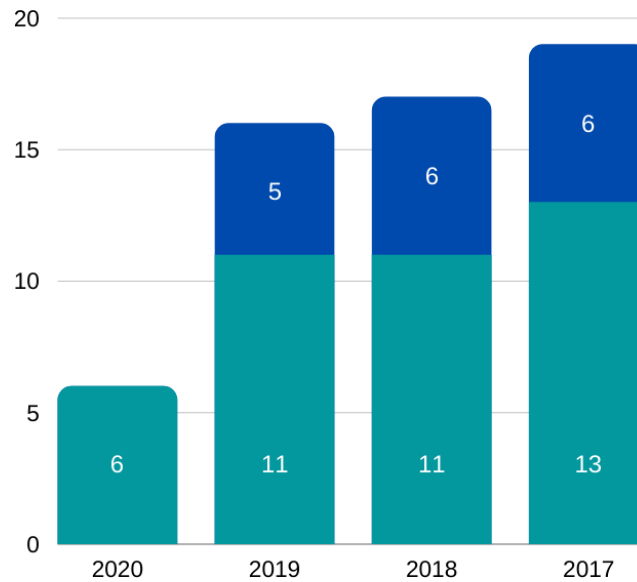
**Figure 1:** Total Number of News Distribution in Der Spiegel Magazine subjected Turkish Women between 2017- 2020

**Source:** Created by author

The sample of this study is the news about Turkish women published in Der Spiegel Online magazine in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. Fifty-nine related news filtered using the words in the data collection title with the title 2.9 formed the sample of this thesis study. In this sample, six news from 2020, 17 news from 2019, 17 news from 2018, and 19 news from 2017 were examined. With the purposive sampling method, the news involving Turkish women was sorted with the help of keywords, and correct and necessary data were obtained. This extracted news was included in the sample, with the researcher's own decision, under the subject of the research. Recurring news stories were not included in the research sample as attention was paid to being informative and unique.

As a result of this study, it is clear to say that Turkish women were negatively reflected in the journal Der Spiegel based on the findings of this investigation. As a result of a news examination that has been investigated for 4 years, while there were forty-one negative women representations, there were only seventeen positive images of Turkish women. Turkish women are represented as individuals who are exposed to male violence, cannot stand on their own feet, are under family pressure, cannot make

decisions with their own free will, have integration problems if they live in Germany, and do not know the German language and the culture. Even though, there are positive representations of Turkish women as well, but they are less in comparison to negative ones, which can be seen clearly in Figure 2.



**Figure 2:** Total Number of Negative and Positive News Distribution in Der Spiegel Magazine Subjected Turkish Women between 2017 and 2020

**Source:** Created by author

\*Positive news represented by blue while green color represents the negative news.

Therefore, it would not be correct to make an inductive criticism by claiming that the representations of Turkish women in the German media had changed positively or negatively from 2017 to 2020. Within the framework of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, each article was analyzed separately, thematically, and schematically under the macrostructure analysis. Critical discourse analysis aims to reveal the ideology behind the discourses that are circulated through language. The critical discourse analysis reveals the meanings produced by the language that occur through discourses. Hence, it is aimed to reveal the message that is wanted to be given by hiding behind the discourse. It would be wrong to say that the German media or Der Spiegel magazine has a mission to show Turkish women negatively to manipulate the German society and their worldwide readers. The problem that is wanted to be proved here is the distortions created by prejudged, dangerous and widespread daily life politics, which have emerged because of the mentality of today's media.

The news holding negative Turkish woman image constitutes 71% of this study. The main reason there is more news about the negative image of Turkish women is that they attract the attention of the reader more. These images are commonly shaped around honor killings, psychological or physical violence, integration problems, and language and cultural conflicts.

These women are victims and unfortunately attract more attention. As can be glimpsed in the findings section of the study, among the most repeated and remarkable news is Turkish origin German journalist Mesale Tolu and the psychological pressure that she experienced during her detention in Turkey. Another remarkable piece of news would be Turkish-origin pop singer Elif and her integration process or Merve Kayikci, who was exposed to racist rhetoric in the subway, or the Turkish girl who was forced to open her headscarf with the Islamophobic statements of her professor.

The rate of successful women's news is limited to only 29%. Here, Turkish women are not well represented in Der Spiegel magazine in a positive image manner. The basic problem is the inability of women to take a sufficient place in decision-making mechanisms. Even if women play an active role in this process, there is an expectation that they will act in line with the roles that belong to the male identity. Unfortunately, the judgment that Turkish women are only stay-at-home spouses, they can't speak well the German language, can't overcome integration problems has not been broken yet.

The fact that the media reinforces this judgment with presentations that support this judgment every day, unfortunately, creates a negative belief of management in German society and the readers of Der Spiegel magazine. On the other hand, in the visual materials of the examined articles, there are the images of women who have headscarves, victims, sad, rebellious, asking for help, and having to defend their rights in protests. It can be concluded that Turkish women or women of Turkish origin are not well transferred to the visual culture of Der Spiegel magazine. Another important process within these factors is the perception of Turkish women, which is entrenched in the mindset of Der Spiegel media workers. Turkish women are reduced to mere images. Therefore, the representation of Turkish women in the media is a low-profile representation. Even though there is a Turkish woman born and raised in Germany, the magazine continued to focus on integration problems. Based on these results, it can be

said the following about the problem of women's representation in the media; a Turkish woman would be on the news only when she is involved in a scandal, getting attacked, exposed to violence, getting abused, getting killed or have integration problems.

Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to generalize the results of this study to all German press. This study, in which only Der Spiegel magazine's news on Turkish women in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 were analyzed, can be discussed again in future studies with different date ranges so that more up-to-date results can be reached. Moreover, only the macrostructural analysis of the articles was made within the framework of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. In future studies, a micro-analysis of these articles can be made and further investigated. Herewith the results of micro and macro analysis can be verified.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX 1: Examined News Links of Der Spiegel Magazine for the Year 2020

1. Karabulut, A. (2020, March 6). Aylin's Mutter hat Angst um sie, weil Aylin sich gegen Rassismus äußert – hier antwortet sie ihrer Mutter. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/rassismus-und-hanau-sicherheit-ist-unser-recht-a-16dd1a1d-05e2-411b-bd7c-10eff8bb5b9a>
2. Borcholte, A. (2020, September 3). Ich habe meine türkische Seite lange weggedrückt. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/musik/pop-saengerin-elif-ich-habe-meine-tuerkische-seite-lange-weggedrueckt-a-a8793d15-3aa6-4f9d-bea4-e79e440aeb24>
3. Hassenkamp, M. (2020, August 8). Die Türkei ringt mit den Frauenrechten. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/ausland/tuerkei-denkt-ueber-einen-austritt-aus-der-istanbul-konvention-zum-schutz-von-frauenrechten-nach-a-930fc5f9-3822-4f74-8948-eb90a9d22e21>
4. Röhlig, M. (2020, June 18). Wir gehören nicht dazu, egal, wie sehr wir uns anstrengen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/deutschland-wie-people-of-color-auf-ein-leben-mit-rassismus-vorbereitet-werden-a-9475f941-d876-4977-b8fd-f36869fe3de6>
5. Schmitter, E. (2020, September 16). Integriert, aber einsam. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/deniz-ohde-romandebuet-streulicht-integriert-aber-einsam-a-2ea5fa2e-7efd-41b1-bb49-3c99a6ded30d>
6. Kayikci, M. & Dworak, I. (2020, January 01). Kopftuch, na und? Warum es nervt, Menschen nach der Kleidung zu beurteilen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/vorurteile-gegen-kopftuch-und-co-warum-es-nervt-menschen-nach-der-kleidung-zu-beurteilen-a-2fdbfb0b-5baf-4518-b753-a2388e57b96b>

## APPENDIX 2: Examined News Links of Der Spiegel Magazine for the Year 2019

1. Stamer, S. (2019, December 1). Ich werde ständig gefragt, woher ich komme. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/leute/sibel-kekilli-ueber-alltagsrassismus-werde-staendig-gefragt-woher-ich-komme-a-1298602.html>
2. Dschihadist klagt auf Rückholung nach Deutschland. (2019, June 5). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/islamischer-staat-is-dschihadist-klagt-auf-rueckholung-nach-deutschland-a-1271033.html>
3. Tran Thi, H. P. (2019, April 18). Sonnenblumenkerne, Schutzhüllen und Kolonya: Wie es sich anfühlt, als Deutsch-Türkin aufzuwachsen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/deutsch-tuerkische-identitaet-merve-kayikci-und-nil-idil-cakmak-im-gespraech-a-90785d7b-98a8-480e-87d4-9ca9ba5958c3>
4. Frank, A. (2019, February 26). Bemerkenswert, wie schnell das hier eskaliert. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/tv/hart-aber-fair-zu-heimat-bemerkenswert-wie-schnell-das-hier-eskaliert-a-1255016.html>
5. Streit um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft. (2019, February 4). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/video/vor-20-jahren-streit-um-die-doppelte-staatsbuergerschaft-video-99023260.html>
6. Gontek, F. (2019, December 16). Türkisches Kulturmagazin: Was ist eigentlich "renk. "?? *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/berlin-ein-gespraech-ueber-tuerkischen-kaffee-vorurteile-und-das-kulturmagazin-renk-a-391e7061-b918-4be0-ade1-e741f07b0ad4>
7. Die Repression hat zugenommen. (2019, October 19). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/elif-shafak-spricht-auf-der-buchmesse-in-frankfurt-ueber-die-tuerkei-a-1292382.html>
8. Elger, K. (2019, October 19). Mama, halt endlich die Klappe. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/erziehung-in-muslimischen-familien-mama-halt-endlich-die-klappe-a-1292145.html>

9. Schneider, A. S. (2019, August 27). Ein Mordfall setzt Erdogan unter Druck. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/tuerkei-mord-an-emine-b-befeuert-debatte-ueber-gewalt-an-frauen-a-1283887.html>
10. Schneider, A. S. (2019, July 27). Eine Frauenbewegung ganz in Erdogans Sinn. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/tuerkei-organisation-kadem-praegt-das-frauenbild-im-sinne-der-akp-a-1278918.html>
11. Padtberg, C. (2019, March 08). Die Kunst-Guerillera. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/nil-yalter-feminismus-pionierin-in-koeln-a-1256752.html>
12. Schneider, A. S. (2019, August 30). Erdogan für Wiedereinführung der Todesstrafe. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/tuerkei-recep-tayyip-erdogan-ist-fuer-wiedereinfuehrung-der-todesstrafe-a-1284394.html>
13. Ataman, F. (2019, July 25). Fußscham - ein Teil deutscher Leitkultur. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/strassenschuhe-fussscham-ein-teil-deutscher-leitkultur-a-1278728.html>
14. Röhlig, M. (2019, June 25). Erdogan am Ende? Wie junge Türkinnen und Türken jetzt die Zukunft planen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/istanbul-wie-junge-tuerken-nach-der-buergermeisterwahl-ueber-die-zukunft-denken-a-08a826fc-418c-4f91-a2ed-395f054f8ccb>
15. Dilek DüNDAR offenbar heimlich aus der Türkei ausgereist. (2019, June 14). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/tuerkei-dilek-duendar-offenbar-heimlich-nach-deutschland-ausgereist-a-1272492.html>
16. Borcholte, A. & Moldenhauer, B. (2019, April 02). Heimat als Gefängnis. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/musik/ebow-show-me-the-body-matthew-herbert-big-band-connie-constance-neue-musik-bei-abgehört-a-1260740.html>

### **APPENDIX 3: Examined News Links of Der Spiegel Magazine for the Year 2018**

1. Höhne, V. (2018, August 06). Ich bin sehr wütend. Aber ich ziehe Kraft daraus. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/integration-in-deutschland-was-laeuft-schief-in-diesem-land-a-1219469.html>
2. Herr Gauland und die Entsorgung. (2018, June 03). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/alexander-gauland-und-die-volksverhetzung-debatte-von-thomas-fischer-a-1210885.html>
3. Ataman, F. (2018, April 07) Wie ich Deutschtürkin wurde. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/wie-ich-deuschtuerkin-wurde-kolumne-von-ferda-ataman-a-1201639.html>
4. Deutschland fliegt IS-Kinder heim. (2018, December 07). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/islamischer-staat-deutschland-holt-is-kinder-zurueck-a-1242523.html>
5. Rassistische Kampfhund-Attacke in Berlin. (2018, April 21). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/berlin-lichtenberg-maenner-hetzen-pitbull-auf-deuschtuerkisches-paar-a-1204126.html>
6. Deutsche Regeln für Türken sind mit EU-Recht conform. (2018, August 07). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/europaeischer-gerichtshof-einreiseregeln-fuer-tuerken-sind-mit-eu-recht-konform-a-1222109.html>
7. Neufeld, D. (2018, March 07). Die Mutter, die ihr Kind zurücklassen musste. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/duisburg-junge-darf-nach-einer-libanonreise-nicht-nach-hause-zurueck-a-1196568.html>
8. Poop, M. (2018, December 23). Kampfansage an das Patriarchat. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/guelcin-aksoy-die-arbeit-der-kuenstlerin-ist-eine-kampfansage-ans-patriarchat-a-1242869.html>
9. Für viele bin ich eine Provokation. (2018, October 19). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/guelsen-demirel-wie-eine-gruene-kurdin-in-bayern-gewann-a-1233967.html>

10. Schneider, A.S. (2018, June 26). Früher hatten meine Models Angst. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/tuerkische-fotografin-eyluel-aslan-frueher-hatten-meine-models-angst-a-1214244.html>
11. Schlösser, R. (2018, May 29). Warum der rassistische Brandanschlag von Solingen heute noch so wichtig ist. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/solingen-das-solltest-du-ueber-den-brandanschlag-vor-25-jahren-wissen-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000002442525>
12. Heinrich, K. (2018, May 21). Herr Seehofer, lesen Sie dieses Buch!. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/islam-und-aufklaerung-horst-seehofer-lesen-sie-dieses-buch-a-1201274.html>
13. Popp, M. (2018, March 08). Unser Widerstand ist ungebrochen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/tuerkei-frauen-gegen-recep-tayyip-erdogan-unser-widerstand-ist-ungebrochen-a-1196946.html>
14. Yinanc, B. (2018, March 08). Selma Demirelli macht Frauen zu Eigentümerinnen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/tuerkei-selma-demirelli-macht-frauen-zu-wohnungseigentuerinnen-a-1196596.html>
15. Popp, M. (2018, February 14). Ich verteidige mich nicht. Ich klage an. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/tuerkei-und-pressefreiheit-journalismus-ist-kein-verbrechen-a-1193064.html>
16. Popp, M. (2018, January 12). Du kommst wieder, Mami, ja?. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/mesale-tolu-ueber-ihre-haft-in-der-tuerkei-a-1187530.html>
17. Röhlig, M. (2018, January 04). Türkische Religionsbehörde denkt, Mädchen seien ab 9 Jahren heiratsfähig. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/tuerkei-religionsbehoerde-empfehl-heit-heiratsalter-bei-maedchen-ab-9-jahren-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001986377>

#### APPENDIX 4: Examined News Links of Der Spiegel Magazine for the Year 2017

1. Gerlach, S. (2017, November 22). Ihre Familie verehrt Erdogan – wie Tuba dagegen kämpft. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/tuerkei-tubas-familie-unterstuetzt-recep-tayyip-erdogan-das-treibt-sie-in-den-wahnsinn-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001865459>
2. Eine Studentin muss in der Uni ihr Kopftuch ablegen – doch es gibt Protest. (2017, October 28). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/wuerzburg-studentin-muss-kopftuch-ablegen-professorin-unterbricht-vorlesung-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001801031>
3. Düzgün, B. (2017, July 06) Ich bin Deutsch-Türkin – aber gegen Erdogan. Versteht das endlich! *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/tuerkei-und-deutsch-tuerken-ich-bin-gegen-recep-tayyip-erdogan-und-die-akp-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001483987>
4. Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung. (2017, September 07). Özoguz reagiert auf Gaulands Beschimpfung. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/in-anatolien-entsorgen-aydan-oezoguz-reagiert-auf-alexander-gauland-a-1166487.html>
5. Gericht spricht Brüder aus Mangel an Beweisen frei. (2017, May 30). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/ehrenmord-prozess-hatun-sueruecue-istanbuler-gericht-spricht-brueder-frei-a-1149842.html>
6. Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü. (2017, May 30). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/chronologie-der-mord-an-hatun-sueruecue-a-1149867.html>
7. Ehlers, F. (2017, March 24). Als Merve sich wehrte. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/stuttgart-wie-eine-muslimin-als-bombenlegerin-beschimpft-wurde-a-1139646.html>
8. Klovert, H. (2017, July 13). Warum Schüler türkischer Herkunft schlecht abschneiden. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/integration-warum-schueler-tuerkischer-herkunft-schlecht-abschneiden-a-1152964.html>

9. Röhlig, M. (2017, June 22). Imamin gründet Frauenmoschee in Berlin – und wird nun von Radikalen angefeindet. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/liberale-moschee-von-seyran-ates-wird-angefeindet-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001442155>
10. Reimann, A. (2017, June 12). Unsere Religion nicht den Rückständigen überlassen. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/seyran-ates-warum-die-frauenrechtlerin-eine-moschee-gruendet-a-1151177.html>
11. Sonderpreis für türkische Moderatorin. (2017, April 28). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/henri-nannen-preis-2017-auszeichnung-fuer-panama-papers-a-1145204.html>
12. Frauen gegen Erdogan. (2017, March 17). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/feminismus-tuerkei-frauen-gegen-recep-tayyip-erdogan-fotostrecke-145886.html>
13. Popp, M. (2017, March 17). Wir sind die anderen 50 Prozent. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/tuerkei-frauen-gegen-recep-tayyip-erdogan-a-1139139.html>
14. Proteste und Festnahmen. (2017, March 05). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/video/frauen-protestieren-in-der-tuerkei-gegen-das-referendum-video-1747794.html>
15. Huesmann, F. (2017, February 08). Das wurde aus den Demonstranten im Gezi-Park. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/tuerkei-was-wurde-aus-den-demonstranten-im-gezi-park-in-istanbul-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001175469>
16. Popp, M. (2017, November 22). So kämpft eine türkische Aktivistin gegen das LGBT-Verbot. *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/tuerkei-lgbti-aktivistin-sevval-kilic-kaempft-fuer-eine-offene-gesellschaft-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000001871101>
17. Miss Turkey wegen Tweet zum Putschversuch abgesetzt. (2017, September 22). *Der Spiegel*. <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/leute/tuerkei-miss-turkey-istir-esen-wegen-tweet-zum-putschversuch-abgesetzt-a-1169440.html>



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<https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/soziale-netzwerke-frauen-schlaegt-oft-der-blanke-hass-entgegen-a-1134145.html>
19. Erst Zweite, dann Erste, dann disqualifiziert. (2017, March 29). *Der Spiegel*.  
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## BIOGRAPHY

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<b>Education Information</b>	
<b>Bachelor</b>	
<b>University</b>	Sakarya University
<b>Faculty</b>	Faculty of Science and Literature
<b>Section</b>	History
<b>Articles and Papers</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Eskicumali, A., Öztunc, M. &amp; Güzelsoy, K. (2018, September 01). The Effects of Using Smartphones on the Feeling of Loneliness: The Case Study of Sakarya University. <i>The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology, Vol.1</i>, 870-881, ISSN: 2146-7242.</li><li>2. Isman, A. &amp; Güzelsoy, K. (2019, September 08). <i>Diffusion of YouTube in Turkey</i>. International Conference on New Horizons in Education (INTE) &amp; International Trends and Issues in Communication &amp; Media Conference (ITICAM), 03-05 July, Prague, Czech Republic.</li></ol>	