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## Table of contents

|                                                    |           |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>                          | <b>4</b>  |
| <b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>                 | <b>6</b>  |
| Acculturation .....                                | 6         |
| Cultural Proximity .....                           | 7         |
| <b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>                     | <b>9</b>  |
| Migration .....                                    | 9         |
| Labour Migration .....                             | 10        |
| Labour Migration from Turkey to Europe.....        | 11        |
| Labour Migration from Turkey to Austria .....      | 13        |
| Changes in Migration Patterns .....                | 14        |
| From Traditional Media to New Media.....           | 15        |
| Digitalization of News.....                        | 17        |
| News Consumption .....                             | 18        |
| Generational Differences in News Consumption ..... | 21        |
| News Consumption of Migrants.....                  | 22        |
| <b>METHODOLOGY .....</b>                           | <b>23</b> |
| Research Questions .....                           | 25        |
| Research Method .....                              | 26        |
| <b>FINDINGS .....</b>                              | <b>28</b> |
| <b>CONCLUSION.....</b>                             | <b>38</b> |
| <b>REFERENCES .....</b>                            | <b>42</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX (INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS) .....</b>   | <b>48</b> |
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>                              | <b>69</b> |
| <b>ZUSAMMENFASSUNG.....</b>                        | <b>70</b> |

## INTRODUCTION

Migration is a growing area with its causes along with its economic, political and social consequences for societies. Against the backdrop of the 21st century's pervasive globalization and evolving integration policies, migration studies have also diversified as the social and behavioral tendencies of migrants and/or minorities have turned into an important pillar of scholar studies along with the migration concept itself. Scholar work conducted on migrants and/or minorities in light of the concepts such as assimilation, integration and acculturation in the host country (and vice versa) have been on the agenda for years. However, with the increasing interest in migration studies, the expansion of these concepts through a more transnational manners and their transcendence beyond state policy level, has paved the way for diversified studies in the field (Scholten, Pisarevskaya and Levy, 2022).

As the Europe witnessing a surge in the number of migrants and refugees from the Global South and particularly the Middle East since the 2010's, amplified by factors such as rising political instability and declining economic prosperity (Poddar, 2016), the continent has become an important hub for migration studies, as the number of migration studies on Europe has increased at least threefold since the starting of the 2000s (Zapata-Barrero, Yalaz, 2018). With the growing scholarly interest in migrants, one of the key fields of research, particularly on integration practices, which encompasses the increasing digitalisation and access to digital environments, is the relationship between migrants and Information and Communication Technologies - ICT. Along with the Internet, smart-phones, radio and satellite television, migrants' usage to technologically diversified news media and/or news sources also stand out as significant fields of scholar work (Leurs and Prabhakar, 2018).

Despite the growing interest in migrants' relationship with ICT and their usage of different mediums, this area remains significantly under-researched in terms of global migration studies (McGregor and Siegel, 2013). The growing number of migrants in the European continent has brought the migrants' media use and integration policies to the fore (Alencar and Deuze 2017). Nevertheless, the ICT and media (news) consumption of migrants in Europe also stands out as a relatively under-researched field (Ponzanesi and Leurs, 2014). Furthermore, it has been so far

observed that the majority of these studies on the media and news consumption habits of migrants in Europe are predominantly comparative in nature, largely fed by different theoretical frameworks and, as a result, do not provide a consistent or coherent paradigm.

This study, which aims to contribute to the studies on migrants and their news media consumption, will focus on Turkish migrants, who constitute one of the largest migrant groups in Europe currently, firstly came to the continent with labour migration agreements (Abadan-Unat, 2017) and which are also a part of ongoing wave of migration towards the Europe at the present time (Yılmaz, 2022). Austria, the Central European country that hosts the highest number of Turkish people after Germany and France (Fleck and Richter, 2023; Euronews, 2022), was selected for the study. With this, a total of 10 in-depth interviews were conducted with Turkish individuals who had arrived in Austria at different points in time, as well as with younger Turks born in Austria. An interview study has been designed to gain insight into the generational differences on news consumption habits of Turkish migrants<sup>1</sup> in Austria, particularly in light of the increasing digitalization of the news media. While there has been similar work (MENA, 2021; Hajek and Siegl, 2012; Potkanski and Yildiran, 2010) on the media preference and the news consumption habits of Turkish people living in Austria, it was noted that these inquiries often overlook the differences between generations and neglect to interrogate the rising phenomenon of digital news consumption, which has garnered prevalence recently, especially among younger generations (Eurobarometer, 2023; Geers, 2020; Russmann and Hess, 2020). The theoretical framework of the study consists of the theories of "acculturation" (Berry, 1997) and "cultural proximity" (Pool, 1977; Straubhaar, 1991, 2003), which have been also used in some previous studies (Berg, 2020; Alencar and Deuze, 2017) in the field.

This thesis will initially examine the two different theories within the framework of the study. Subsequently, the concept of migration and the general structure of the Turkish population in Austria will be reviewed in detail, with a particular focus on the migration concept and the labour migration that laid the foundations of Turkish people's presence in Austria along

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<sup>1</sup> During the research conducted for the study, it was found that there are different words used for migrants in the literature. In order to achieve a consistent definition within the text, this study will use the word "migrant".

with other European countries. In the second layer of the study, which forms the general object of analysis, the digitalisation in the media/news environment and its impact on news consumption habits will be addressed. Finally, the methodology and findings of the study will be shared and the findings will be discussed in the conclusion part.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Scholar work on media (news) consumption habits of migrants was reviewed as part of the preliminary research conducted for this study. With this, it was deemed appropriate to make use of two different theoretical approaches that could shed light on the review of literature and interview insights of the study. Similar studies previously conducted within the scope of these two theories was also considered as a significant factor.

### **Acculturation Theory**

One of the leading studies on migration, integration and the repercussions of these processes is Canadian social-psychologist scholar J.W Berry's "acculturation model" (1980). The concept of "acculturation", which pioneered Berry's theoretical model, was first defined by Redfield, Lintonn and Herskovits (1936) as "those phenomena which result in when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups". Defining the previous approach as "one-dimensional" and incapable of explaining the complex processes of migration and cultural interaction, Berry (1980) introduced the concept of "two-dimensional acculturation" and addressed the concept within a more comprehensive approach. According to Berry's paradigm, minority groups and/or migrants try to preserve their own culture and identity while trying to establish and make broader connections with host societies and the new cultural norms of them (Saygın & Hasta, 2018).

In this vein, Berry (1980) argues that four different outcomes may occur as a result of the whole adaptation process for migrants. The first of these is "assimilation", which brings about the alienation of individuals from their own cultural norms and values by fully embracing the new values of the host society. The second situation is defined as "integration" as migrants

internalize the new cultural values of the host society while also sticking on their own values and norms, resulting in a bicultural identity. The third outcome is "separation" in which migrants refuse to interact with the culture of the host country while retaining their own cultural values. In the last outcome, defined as "marginalization", migrants lose their own cultural values and fail to establish cultural ties with the host country. Berry (1997), who examined different outcomes of acculturation processes in his previous study, later extended this and tried to explain different processes during acculturation. Based on this, he put forward that two questions are determinant for migrants during their integration on host society culture and norms. The first of these is the extent to which those who migrate to another country wish to maintain their own culture as it's important in terms of measuring the level of "cultural continuity". The second query is based on the willingness and continuity of migrants or minorities to establish broader relations with the host society, particularly to assess the current state of adaptation.

While Berry's theoretical approach launched the role of various social institutions, from public activities to use of media tools in shaping the acculturation process, he primarily focused on behavioral aspects and sociological yields of acculturation. Yet, some further studies (Kline and Liu, 2005; Kim, 2008; Alencar and Deuze, 2017) use Berry's modeling of acculturation, provide important findings on the correlation between acculturation and media consumption, including news media. In particular, Alencar and Deuze's (2017) study, based on interviews with migrant communities in Spain and the Netherlands, is one of the first and key studies to examine the acculturation model in terms of migrants' news consumption habits on their integration process, as declared by them.

### **Cultural Proximity Theory**

Another theory that will shape the study analysis is the "Cultural Proximity Theory", initially proposed by Pool (1977) on individuals' local content preference through entertainment media in television and then conceptualized through a more comprehensive media preference approach by Straubhaar (1991, 2003). Therefore, in specific to this study, it would be more accurate to address this approach within the conceptual framework of Straubhaar's paradigm. According to this, the theory mainly posits that individuals tend to favor

media products that are more familiar to their own cultural norms, values, and proper experiences. As stated by Espina (2013), in his broader definition of cultural proximity, Straubhaar has proposed that individuals from lower socioeconomic classes tend to prioritize local media products, whereas those from higher classes exhibit a more transnational media consumption culture. Moreover, in a more general sense, the media consumption preferences of individuals are shaped by their “cultural capital”, as a combination of personal and social characteristics.

In this regard, examining media consumption habits among migrant or minority groups paves the way for the identification of cultural or regional tendencies and thus makes it more accurate the observations related to practices among different layers of society (Christensen, 2004 as cited by Berg, 2020). Considering this, the primary sources that migrants and/or minorities living in another country will turn to for media (news) consumption will be sources that provide news in their own language (Pool, 1977; Straubhaar, 1991, 2003).

Previous studies in the communication and media field have demonstrated a robust correlation between cultural proximity and media use (Espina, 2013). Additionally, some studies (Davis, 2003 as cited by Espina, 2013) have identified a direct and interactive relationship between media preferences and cultural proximity level of individuals. Nevertheless, the main focus of the scholar's interest on cultural proximity have been based on television and entertainment media, following Pool's paradigm rather than media (news) consumption habits (Espina, 2013). In parallel with the focal points of this study, one of the most recent studies is Berg's (2020) qualitative study on the perceptions of Turks living in Germany, on television shows (e.g films or series) broadcasted in the country. Focusing on the media (television) consumption patterns and the perception of people of Turkish origin living in Germany related to the variety of shows, the study evaluated the findings through the cultural proximity approach, revealing that Turks in Germany who mostly follow Turkey-produced television content, are culturally more proximit to Turkish TV content..

As stated above, this thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature by evaluating the arguments posited or confirmed under these theories within the scope of a comprehensive literature review below and the findings of the case study that will follow.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Migration

The fact that the migration has fluxional economic, social, psychological, political and historical causes along with consequences and is therefore of common interest to different disciplines, makes it difficult to make a clear and sharp definition of the concept itself (Özcan, 2022). Historically, along with early waves of migration such as the Migration of Tribes and the migration to Anatolia, regarding the origins and spread of modern migration, Crosby (1972) highlighted that Christopher Columbus's voyages to the Americas in 1492 and following Columbian Exchange facilitated transatlantic migration era and the accompanying cultural exchange period. The voyages of discovery by European civilizations in the 15th and 16th centuries brought forth concepts such as “new lands” and the variety of “different people” , initially triggered global waves of migration and colonization that will follow (Parry, 1963).

In his pioneer study, *The Laws of Migration*, the German-British geographer Ernst Ravenstein (1885) defined migration as a phenomenon that generally occurs over short distances, mainly due to economic reasons in addition to other environmental factors (force of nature, different scale wars and conflict e.g.). What is more - initiated subsequent migration theories and paved the way for the diversification of studies regarding migration, Ravenstein's work has been recognized as the first comprehensive theoretical work on migration. In this vein, the "push and pull theory" put forward by the American geographer Everett Lee (1969) stands out as another pivotal study regarding initial migration studies. Expanding on Ravenstein's studies, Lee defined migration as the permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, excluding the concept of migration from such determinants as individuality (rather collectivity) or distance. According to Lee, migration occurs when people are pushed-away from their home places by some external factors - as poverty, political changes or natural disasters. Whereas the second pillar of Lee's approach, pulling phase, consists of growing economic opportunities, stable political order and fair living conditions accordingly.

Regarding more diversified and inter-disciplinary approaches on the concept of migration, the American geographer Zelinsky (1971), in his "Mobility Transition Hypothesis" emphasizes that migration movements in overall could not be assess without considering historical, social and economic ties within the "modernization process" led to comprehensive changes during the 20th century. In this vein, the frequency and patterns of migration could be associated with technological developments in everyday life, human and society modernization projects and wavering demographic factors brought by World Wars 1 and 2. Some scholars such as Wallerstein (1974) and Piore (1979) have similarly asserted that migration definitions and examples have undergone some changes within new economic systems - so called "welfare states" and modernization attempts during this era. Thus, it has begun to shift towards from undeveloped to developed countries. While both draw attention to the political-economic aspects of migration, they argue that migration has transformed and massified with the enlargement of the "global capitalist order".

## **Labour Migration**

As mentioned earlier, throughout the centuries, economic opportunities stand out as the most prominent factor that triggers temporary or permanent migration, independent from the varying regional balances. In this context, labor migration movements through developed or developing countries constituted a notable part of mass migration for the last few decades for Castles and Miller (2019) as they define labor migration as:

"the movement of individuals across national borders for the purpose of employment, typically in response to demand for labor in destination countries. It involves the temporary or permanent relocation of workers seeking economic opportunities and livelihoods" (Castles and Miller, 2019).

The primary factors that unveiled and spread the labor migration movements are wage differentials, employment prospects, and economic disparities between sending and host countries. With these, the triggering factor of the households to send relatives abroad to work is not only to increase the family's income in absolute terms, but also to improve their income situation relative to other households by reducing their relative deprivation (Stark, 1991).

Historically, the first large-scale labor migrations occurred during the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America in the 18th and 19th centuries as rural people migrated to urban industrial centers to work in factories, mines and other industrial enterprises (Polard, 1981).

However, the 20th century was a period of change and transformation in labor migration as it was the case for any sort of mass migration movements. Emerging new migration corridors with the globalization of technological developments and economic ties, together with the rise of nation-states that began to change global demographics around globally growing migrant communities were triggering factors behind (Cohen, 1997). Particularly after the Second World War, European and North American countries seeking to strengthen their post-war economies, imported migrant workers from different regions, either permanently or temporarily, designating that these migrants would contribute to the reconstruction and development in every sense (Castles and Miller, 2019).

### **Labour Migration from Turkey to Europe**

The latest figures shared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (2024) illustrated that at least 7.5 million Turkish citizens currently live abroad. Indeed, with a circulation of approximately 10 million people, the labour migration history of the country is the most important pillar of this migration chain, including almost 4 million people who lived abroad in the past - mostly as guest workers - and returned to Turkey.

In this vein, in specific to this study, it is first necessary to consider the flow of labour migration between Turkey and Western European countries. As stated by Abadan-Unat (2017), after World War II, European countries, the United States and also some developing Middle Eastern countries imported labour from foreign countries, especially to be employed in the industrial area within the post-war economic growth. Western European countries, particularly Germany and France, have mostly met their labour needs from Turkey, Yugoslavia and North Africa, whereas the United States has facilitated labour migration particularly from Mexico and the Caribbean. In Europe, these workers were designated as “guest workers” (German for “*gastarbeiter*”). In the United States, they were referred to as “*bracero*” (one who works with arms) in Spanish, due to the significant influx of Mexican migrants. Following the Second

World War, Western European countries such as Germany and France, which were experiencing a shortage of industrial workers at the time, implemented a policy of recruiting "guest workers" exclusively from Southern European countries, such as Spain and Italy, until the early 1960s. However, due to their inability to provide workers after a certain point of time, Germany then agreed to import guest workers from North African countries as well as Turkey, which it had previously vetoed. (Akgündüz, 2012).

The initial plan conceived at the time when Turkey decided to send workers to Germany was based on the premise that the guest workers would return after a while and included two strategic points. The first was to send as many unskilled and semi-skilled workers as possible abroad, and through these people, who would return to Turkey with the experience of working in Europe, to fill the shortage of qualified workers that the country needed for its own industrial development. Secondly, over the assumption that the workers who would go to European countries would send part of their wages to their families back in Turkey, the plan was to boost the foreign exchange income within the country and to use it for development. Thus, a systematic improvement in employment was to be achieved. Depending on the number of workers going abroad, labor migration was also expected to contribute to the country's cultural modernization process (Akgündüz, 2013).

Drafted in Turkey after the military coup in 1960, with the Constitution of 1961, labor migration was initiated in line with the fundamental right granted to Turkish nationals to travel abroad freely (Abadan-Unat, 2017) and the Turkey-Federal Germany Labor Agreement signed in 1961 following this. In the first year of the agreement, a total of 6.700 people left Turkey to work in Germany as "gastarbeiters" (Gökdere, 1978). Towards the 1970s, labor migration from Turkey to Germany increased exponentially, reaching its peak in 1973 with 103,709 workers going to Germany from Turkey. The economic stagnation caused by the oil crisis that erupted in 1973 affected the whole world as it pushed countries that relied on labor migration, especially Germany, to reduce the number of guest workers (Abadan-Unat, 2017). As Akgündüz (2013) points out, the essence of labour migration from Turkey changed as a result of the oil crisis and the following global economic stagnation. In addition to those who have already returned to Turkey, guest worker migration has gained a new identity by turning into a permanent

movement for Turkish nationals as it has become a historical period that paved the way for the irrevocable linking of Turkey and European countries.

The number of Turks in Germany increased from 1,077,100 in 1975 to nearly 2 million in 2002 (Abadan-Unat, 2017; Ünver, 2002). While this number was reported to be 1,312,778 in 2022 (Statista, 2022), some studies forecasted that the number of Turkish citizens living in Germany has reached 3-3.5 million as of 2020's (Zestos & Cook, 2020), with the increasing brain drain, particularly of younger generations, new births within Germany and those who have acquired German citizenship instead of Turkish (Yücel, 2022).

### **Labour Migration from Turkey to Austria**

Austria, one of the major countries in the Central European region, served as a host to significant migratory inflows, notably during the periods of the 1960s and 1990s. Hosting thousands of migrants from a wide spectrum of countries ranging from former Yugoslavia to Latin American countries (Bischof and Rupnow, 2017), Austria notably boasts the distinction of accommodating one of the largest contingents of Turkish citizens worldwide, following Germany and France (Euronews, 2022). The Turkish community living in Austria, first arriving in the country as guest workers in the early 1960s and whose population has grown to around 120,000 as of today (Fleck and Richter, 2023) has been the subject of an on-going migration wave towards Europe for years.

Following the labour migration agreement signed with Germany, Turkey proceeded to sign similar agreements with a number of other European countries, including Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Sweden. One such agreement is the labour migration agreement signed with Austria in 1964 (Gökdere, 1978). In this context, a total of 36,600 workers, 32,403 men and 4,557 women, were sent from Turkey to Austria between the years of 1962 and 1974, along with the countries of the former Yugoslavia, which constituted the largest mass of migrants in the country before the Turks. Following 1973, Austria, in a similar vein to Germany, implemented various measures to restrict the intake of migrant workers. However, there were no legal obstacles to family reunification, and as a result, the number of Turkish migrants continued to increase throughout the 1980s. The restrictions on family reunification and the

cessation of migrant worker recruitment that were introduced in the 1990s led to a gradual reduction in the number of migrant workers in the country. By the mid-1990s, it had become impossible to recruit any further migrant workers (Gelekçi, 2014).

While the majority of migrant workers returning to Turkey tend to stay in Austria thereafter, especially due to restrictive legislation making family reunification more difficult, according to the most recent figures from 2009 only around 5,000 people moved from Turkey to Austria to work as workers. Following Austria's accession to the European Union (EU) in 1995, the migration chain was expanded to include skilled workers and those migrating for educational purposes (Gelekçi, 2014).

### **Changes in the Migration Patterns**

As previously stated, the foundation of migration from Turkey to Europe, including Austria, was established predominantly through labour migration. However, with the alterations in the economic and social structure of Turkey throughout the 21st century and onwards, the demographic structure and migration patterns of Turkish nationals migrating to Europe and Austria have also undergone subsequent changes (Yılmaz, 2022). Following the labour migration agreements, one of the milestones in terms of the number of Turkish nationals in Europe was the military coup in Turkey on 12 September 1980. In the aftermath of the coup, approximately 350 thousand people moved from Turkey to Europe, mostly as political refugees (Polat, 2021).

As of 2000's, there has been a recent shift in the migration patterns from Turkey to other countries. Rather than labour migration, there has been an increase in the number of skilled workers and education migrants recently. In line with this, the number of people from Turkey who migrated abroad almost doubled from 2016 to 2019. A review of the age groups of the migrant population reveals that the largest proportion of migrants are young people aged 25-29. The countries to which Turkish nationals migrate the most are Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria and the USA. The presence of 6.5 million people of Turkish origin in Europe, the need for a labour force in these countries, the fact that the migration agreements between Turkey and Western European countries have facilitated a huge Turkish community

there before, and the higher purchasing power in these countries compared to Turkey are the driving factors in this migration chain (Yılmaz, 2022).

According to MENA Research Center (2021), there are approximately 282,800 people of Turkish origin living in Austria, of whom 160,300 are first generation migrants and 122,500 are second generation migrants born in Austria. This number is most likely based on various projections in Austria, where dual citizenship does not apply, as more recent and global sources (Fleck and Richter, 2023) put the number at around 120,000. Nevertheless, some unofficial sources and members of the Turkish community in Austria also confirm that the number may be considerably higher, particularly with subsequent generations of migrants who have renounced their Turkish citizenship and who only obtained Austrian citizenship as they were born and raised in Austria.

### **From Traditional Media to New Media**

In addition to the concepts of migration and labour migration, the second main part of the study is the examination of "new media " experiences, so-called digitalisation in the media. For this study on news media consumption habits, one of the most crucial aspects to be examined is the change in media content and the mediums through which it is disseminated through digitalisation and easing access to digital channels over time.

As long as the last two decades are concerned, there has been a significant shift towards a more digital-centric media landscape, propelled by the continuous advancements of digital devices along with more affordable prices, increased network connectivity, and the proliferation of digital media content. In broader terms, while the consumers of traditional media tools, especially the print outputs, have been on the decline, there also has been a significant surge in the amount of time individuals spend engaging with digital media tools and content (Nielsen, Cornia and Kalogeropoulos, 2016). Indeed, one of the first and most important steps of this is the increasing integration of the Internet into daily life. Linked to this, 1995 was dubbed the "year of the Internet" as computers became more accessible to everyone and the speed of internet services expanded along with global economic developments in the 1990s. In the United States, the amount of time people spent with digital content doubled between 1996 and

2006 (Willman, 2009). With the increasing popularity of computers and the Internet, the diversification of communication tools and media content has led to the Web 2.0 era, which includes the so-called User Generated Content (UGC) and Social Networking Sites (SNS) and defines the current Internet system (Chadwick & Howard, 2008). As Web 2.0 technologies have become increasingly prevalent and the number of users of these tools has grown, individuals have taken greater control over the production of media content by creating their own private networks, rather than relying on the top-down approach of traditional media (Bright, 2011).

Another important pillar of the transition from the traditional media to the digital media world was the launch of the first smart-phone model, the iPhone, by the US-based technology company Apple in 2007 (Meeker, 2016) and the introduction of smart-phones with Android, a Linux-based operating system, in 2008 (Salaverría, 2019). The advent of smart-phones, which eliminated all barriers to internet usage on mobile devices and also facilitated the use of new social networks, transformed user habits globally. In the United States, for instance, mobile media usage increased from 8% in 2010 to 25% in 2015. Computer use, which was 25% in 2010, declined to 22% in 2015, marking the first instance of a decline in computer use relative to mobile media use (Meeker, 2016). As a consequence of these, internet technology, which was previously accessible exclusively via computers, is becoming accessible to smart- phones as well. Consequently, users are now able to perform a wide range of digital activities, including surfing the internet, reading the news, and shopping online, through a single device. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as "media convergence" by US communication scholar Henry Jenkins. He defined media convergence as:

"The flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want" (Jenkins, 2006, as cited by Hicks, 2016).

As Hicks (2016) argues, Jenkins not only implied a convergence between media tools and purposes of use, but also suggested that the primary reason for this technological infrastructure-driven convergence is a repercussion of participatory cultures in which users want to take full control over their media content. Bachmann, Correa & Gil de Zúñiga (2012) similarly

emphasized that with the widespread use of the internet and the emerging social media platforms, the one-way flow of information and content and the limited participation opportunities offered by traditional media to users have changed, and that a double-way flow of information has begun to prevail in the media environment, and as a result, users have begun to take a more “non passive role” in the process of information and the production of the media content.

## **Digitalization of News**

The emergence of Web 2.0 has notably transformed online news along with media content, primarily through the integration of video streaming alongside traditional text and visual formats on news media (Irene, 2014). In this regard, Hong Kong journalism scholar Yuen Ying Chan (2014) stresses that in the midst of all this chain of digitization, the primary impact of it on news and journalistic outputs predominantly revolves around the processes of news gathering and distribution rather than directly changing the patterns and the quality of news. The majority of news content still originates from traditional sources such as major press agencies, briefings, and other internal channels. Instead, what has transformed is the dissemination system of news with the advent of hypermedia. News content originating from traditional news sources is now disseminated through the websites of news platforms and getting public through social media platforms, predominantly Facebook, Twitter and recently Instagram.

On the digitization of traditional news, according to Spanish communication scholar Ramon Salaverria (2019), it is currently impossible to determine the number of media outlets and/or news sources globally that operate via the web or social media, as there are no studies on this scale. However, the number of newspapers and organizations that operate into the medium of the internet just before and after the 21st century provides important insights. In 1994, a total of 60 newspapers in the U.S. had their own websites. By 1998, there were between 1,600 to 2,000 newspapers with their own websites (Greer and Mensing, 2006). And by 2002, the number of newspapers that started to operate online had grown further around 3,500 only in the U.S. and 2,000 outside the U.S. (Gunter, 2003). Similarly, Ju et.al (2014) asserted that the newspaper's social media presence and their audience have significantly grown and that

their audiences there have differentiated from print or website editions since 2009. In conjunction with the advancements in Web 2.0 and the escalating user base on social media platforms, this concomitantly posed alterations to the traditional news sector. The emergence of news consumers assuming roles as influential news purveyors has catalyzed the formulation of new journalistic terms such as “interactive journalism” (Singer, 2010), “citizen journalism” (Stuart Allan, 2013), and “participatory journalism” (Samantha Henig, 2005). But how does the digitization of news interact with traditional media channels and outputs? As stated by media and consumer scholar Cham-Olmsted,

“the Internet provides an alternative distribution channel for traditional media products and strengthens the position of the existing media with their readership and audience, while competing with legacy media for the consumer’s attention and resources” (Cham-Olmsted, 2004, p. 2).

According to widespread public opinion and some related studies (Bakker and Sadaba, 2008; Rajendran and Thesinghraj, 2014), the digital production of news and its dissemination through digital media channels, in the context of negative correlation, marks the gradual end of traditional media approach. Yet some studies (Bar-Gill et al., 2020; Ren et al., 2024) assert that regarding the news content that circulates through both social media and traditional media channels, social media frequently correlates positively with the consumption of traditional media products. It doesn't siphon viewership away from the traditional media but it boosts the attention towards news sources from the traditional media era and amplifies engagement with news content. What is more - some further studies (Sylvie and Chyi 2007; Chyi 2011) even point to a strong correlation between the print circulation of news sources such as newspapers and magazines and the click-through rates of their websites.

## **News Consumption**

The dichotomy between the heritage of traditional media and the digital media that offers a completely new user experience presents a significant opportunity for insights into the area of communication studies, particularly in the context of news consumption habits. British philosopher Onora O’Neill (2002) describes the act of news consumption as “cornerstone of

civic life” and the key for the “maintenance of democracy”. The conventional perspective on the act of news consumption suggests that individuals actively pursue precise and impartial information to obtain (Xiang and Sarvary, 2007).

As Salaverria (2019) notes, the introduction of the internet, computers, laptops and later smart-phones has changed the public focus and research on how we interact with media and how media content is consumed. As a consequence, there has been a significant increase in studies on the interaction of multimedia formats with journalistic activities along with the news consumption habits and their effects on our habits. Andrew Currah, a scholar from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, defines this shift as follows:

“The digital revolution is transforming the character and scale of news consumption. The emerging generation of ‘digital natives’ exhibits a very different view of media compared to the ‘digital immigrants’ of older generations. This raises the possibility of a structural discontinuity in the news media: in other words, the long-running conversion of younger consumers into reliable consumers of news could be disrupted by the emergence of an alternative media ecology, defined by choice and participation, not scarcity and passivity.” (Currah, 2009).

Surčulija-Milojević (2014), on the other hand, argues that the new approaches and patterns that accompanied digitalization have drastically changed citizens' attitudes towards news content. As mentioned in the previous sections, citizens are considerably more active in receiving news with digitalization than in the traditional period, and they embrace each new medium and technological device as part of their news consumption habits. Geers (2020) emphasizes the importance of categorizing news consumers. Taking into account both offline and online news and mediums, in their latent class analysis, Strömbäck, Falasca, and Kruikemeier divide news consumers into five different categories: minimalists, public news consumers, local news consumers, social media news consumers, and popular online news consumers. (Strömbäck, Falasca, & Kruikemeier, 2017 as cited in Geers, 2020). In their seminal work on news audiences, Fletcher et al. (2019) closely examine both the online and offline news consumers and reveal that individuals exhibit “partisan selective exposure” which means they mostly prefer news sources that align with their political leanings. Further, in the era of digital

media, the increasing abundance of news sources pushes digital news consumers to adopt a more polarized attitude in the selection of sources and news pieces, unlike offline media audiences.

This leads us to some new systematics that are more often observed within digital media literacy. Defined by Sunstein (2009), “echo chambers” is a term implying a media environment where online and sometimes offline (Beam and Kosicki, 2014) media consumers are mainly exposed to information that reinforce their existing viewpoints and stances. As put forward by Pariser (2011), the notion of “filter bubbles” stands out as personalized information ecosystems created by algorithms in online platforms in which users are often exposed to content that aligns with their pre-existing ideas while considerably filtering out opposing viewpoints.

Along with the leading concepts and existing literature on news consumption, current statistics on the preferences and orientations of news consumers hold a vital place in terms of addressing the issue comprehensively. In this regard, three different large-scale studies conducted in 2023, the findings of which will be shared below, provide concrete data on news consumption. The latest data in the Eurobarometer (2023) survey, regularly published by the European Parliament, reveals that television is still the most important medium for European Union citizens to receive their news with 71%. Online channels (websites) of media organizations come second with 42%, while social media platforms come third with 37%, along with radio. Print media (magazines and newspapers) ranked fourth with 21%. It is noteworthy that the use of social media platforms for news consumption increased by 11% compared to the last survey conducted in 2022. On a similar scale, according to the survey conducted by Pew Research Center (2023) for the United States (USA), 58% of Americans access their news on digital devices. The most preferred digital mediums are news websites and apps at 25%, followed by search engines at 15%, social media at 12% and podcasts at 6%. In contrast to the Eurobarometer survey, the share of people who prefer television as a source of news is 27%, a significant decrease of 8% since 2020.

In parallel with the scope of this study, the news consumption habits of the Austrian public, as reported in the annual Digital Media Report (Newman et al., 2023) by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism also provide important findings. Accordingly, the Austrian

public primarily accesses news from online sources, including social media, with 70%. TV comes second with 59%, while print sources such as newspapers and magazines come third with 40%. The report also emphasizes that Austria has long been one of the top countries in the world in terms of print newspaper and/or magazine readership.

### **Generational Differences in News Consumption**

Do these new trends in information and news consumption habits apply equally to everyone? Considering the results of the three major studies referenced in the section above, it is noticeable that generational differences in news consumption habits are still striking. The Eurobarometer (2023) survey indicates that respondents aged 15-24 and 25-39 mainly use social media for news consumption, with 59% and 51% respectively, compared to 35% and 24% for those aged 40-54 and 55+. It is also striking that youth and young adult age groups increasingly use video platforms such as TikTok and YouTube (37%) for news consumption whereas older EU citizens outside these groups are still more likely to use traditional mediums (TV, radio, print).

A similar trend is evident in surveys conducted in the US by the Pew Research Center (2023). While 89% of 18-29 year old Americans consume their news through digital mediums, this rate is on a steady decline to 77% in the +65 age group. While 69% of younger age groups use social media for news consumption, this rate drops to 40% and 34% in the 50-64 and 65+ age groups. While 41% of younger groups use television and 24% use print sources to access news, these rates increase systematically with age, reaching 85% and 55% respectively in the +65-age group. The 2023 Digital Media Report reveals that this general trend is also valid for Austria. While 66% and 59% of respondents aged 18-24 and 25-34, respectively, state that their main source of news is online sources (social media, internet, smartphones, video sites), this percentage drops from 52% for the 35-44 age group to 24% for the 55+ age group. Conversely, news consumption through offline sources (TV, radio, print) is measured at 76% in the +55-age group, while this rate decreases with age groups to 34% in the 18-24 age group.

Furthermore, several scholars work in Europe (Geers, 2020; Hasebrink et al., 2021) and Austria (Russmann and Hess, 2020) have also confirmed that there are some generational

differences in news consumption habits as younger generations mainly use new media mediums, predominantly social media via smart-phones to receive their news. Regarding the systematics behind such tendencies, Marchi (2012) states that, instead of relying on one-way authoritative media (traditional media) for news consumption, today's youth harness technological advancements to express their personal viewpoints and transcend conventional news frameworks by curating content tailored to their individual interests. The opportunity to share news and related opinions via social networking sites not only affords them recognition of their ideas within their social circles but also fosters the sharing of their perspectives through various engagements with their social circles. Describing this very phenomenon, Huang (2009) remarks that the most prudent expectation of younger generations towards any news piece is that it should be shorter, more quickly consumable and integrated into their social lives. Molyneux (2018, as cited in Klopfenstein et al., 2024) refers to this news consumption habit, which is primarily driven by digital algorithms, as "news-grazing", while Costera Meijer and Kormelink (2015, as cited in Klopfenstein et al., 2024) conceptualize it as "news-snacking".

### **News Consumption of Migrants:**

As will be discussed in the relevant research section of this study and the findings that follow, studies on the news consumption habits of migrants and/or minorities shed light on both integration practices and the functionality of communication and media tools in the adaptation and integration of migrants to the host country (Kim, 2008). However, as noted by Kondor et al., (2022), most of the studies at the nexus of immigration and media have been conducted on measuring the public reactions on migration and migrants, and most of them have concluded that migration is often framed negatively. And in the limited number (Ponzanesi and Leurs, 2014; McGregor and Siegel, 2013) of studies on migrants' media use and/or news consumption, it has been noticed that certain patterns cannot be identified as most of these studies are based on different theoretical backgrounds.

Examining migrants' consumption of news media from a transnational perspective elucidates on their diverse media consumption habits. Prior studies in the field revealed that the host countries' media can enhance migrants' sociocultural adaptation towards the host country as it facilitates various interaction opportunities (Alencar and Deuze, 2017). Besides, according

to other relevant studies, keeping up with news from both their home and host countries can assist migrants in preserving their identity while engaging with new cultures and embracing different norms (Kline and Liu, 2005; Lin et al., 2010 as cited by Alencar and Deuze, 2017).

In line with the scope of this work, a review of some studies on the news consumption habits of Turks living in Austria also revealed that these studies are either outdated or do not sufficiently regard the generational differences in the growing digital media environment. Potkanski and Yildiran (2010) conducted a study on the internet use of Turkish teenagers and young adults living in Austria. While 64% of the respondents stated that they mainly consume news from the internet, approximately 30% stated that they follow news through German-language news websites. A similar percentage stated they follow news in both languages, but only around 10% follow Turkish news websites. In a study conducted by Hajek and Siegl (2012) in cooperation with the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs, it was revealed that 88% Turks living in Austria follow the news on television, 68% on the internet and 49% via printed newspapers.

A more recent study by the MENA Research and Study Center (2021), which surveyed 400 people of Turks Living in Austria as well as Germany, stands out as a significant work as it includes digital media notions and also focuses on generational differences. According to the findings, young Austrian Turks between the ages of 18-29 follow the news mostly in German, while the older group of first- and second-generation migrants follow the news mostly in Turkish. Similarly, while older groups access news mainly through television, young people prefer social media platforms. The only point where the two groups overlap is that they mainly follow news about Turkey.

## **METHODOLOGY**

Overall, the growing academic interest in migrants has been a parallel process with the diversification of migration studies. In this context, the ways and motivations in which migrants

use information and information technologies in the processes of getting closer to the culture, values, and norms in the host countries, as well as in the processes of maintaining their own culture and standing together as minorities, are also part of the increasing academic interest. In the last decade, while comprehensive changes could be observed in terms of migration worldwide, migration to Western countries, particularly to European countries has brought new focal points to the studies on migrants.

Especially since the 2000s, the diversification and proliferation of digital technologies on the Web 2.0 interface and the convergence of digital tools have had a decisive impact on the use of media and information technologies. While one of the areas where these changes are most evident is in entertainment media, news media is also one of the areas that has undergone major changes as a result of digital transformations. Increased access to digital tools and the greater integration of Internet technologies into everyday life have also begun to change the products of the news media and the relationships people have with the news flows. The fact that younger generations, in particular, consume media and news through digital media rather than through so-called “traditional media habits” is a difference that has long been observed by communication and media scholars.

In this regard, the relations that migrants and the minorities or diasporas they form in the countries to which they migrate have established with the news media have also brought with them the process of shedding light on their integration and cultural adaptation in the host countries. In academic sense, most of the studies on the intersection of migrants and the media to date examine the perceptions of citizens in host countries or national or transnational media towards recent migrant flows, and frame the migrant-media nexus within this approach. However, the few studies on migrants' media and, consequently, news consumption habits have focused on migrants' perceptual differences between their host and home countries, using different conceptual frameworks and methods.

In recent years, Austria, a Central European country, has also become one of the most important destinations for migrant flows to Europe and migration flows within Europe (the breakup of Yugoslavia and the recent Russian-Ukrainian war). After migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, Turkish people, who constitute the largest migrant and

minority group in Austria, have long been at the center of migration studies in the country. However, it has been observed that most of these studies largely exclude the wave of migration in the 2010s and the increasing changes in media consumption between generations, and that studies on migrants in Austria were handled within a limited statistical perspective. The situation is similar for studies on Turkish migrants in Austria.

## **Research Questions**

As a result of the extensive literature review above, a number of links were identified between the methodological approach of the thesis and the existing literature, and an explanatory interview study was envisaged through questions with different focus points. The following research questions were identified as a means of elucidating the target audience's news consumption habits, their perspectives on the news coming from different mediums, and the main motivations behind these inclinations.

*RQ1: What are the differences between the news consumption habits of the younger and older generations of Turks in Austria?*

*RQ2: Do different generations of Turks in Austria show the same level of interest in local and global news outside Turkey?*

*RQ3: Do different age groups of Turks in Austria prefer the different languages when following the news?*

*RQ4: Is there any correlation between the age of Turks in Austria and the mediums they prefer for receiving news?*

*RQ5: Do different generations of Turks in Austria show the same level of trust towards the news they follow?*

## **Research Method**

The research method was determined as in-depth interviews within qualitative research methods. This method was chosen to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the similarities and differences in motivations regarding news consumption habits. Thus, the interviews were organized as semi-structured interviews and aimed to not only address the research questions but also to include unique perspectives and insights that could encourage future research. The number of interview participants, which was initially thought to be in the range of 15-20, was later reduced to 10.

All of the 10 interviewees were selected from Vienna, the capital of Austria. The participants in the study were carefully selected to ensure a broad representation of the Turkish community in Austria and it was aimed to achieve diversity in characteristics such as gender, age and educational background.

The three individuals, aged between 21 and 28, were selected from the "third generation" of Turkish migrants born and raised in Vienna. This terminology was used to distinguish migrants arriving (or born and raised) in the host country by age, in accordance with the scope of the study. Two of the participants indicated that their grandfathers had migrated to Austria from Turkey under the terms of a labour migration agreement between Austria and Turkey. One participant stated that he is Turkish but that his family had relocated to Vienna from abroad in order to work in international institutions. The remaining seven participants, aged between 30 and 76, indicated that they had migrated to Austria from different parts of Turkey for various reasons and at different points in time.

A total of seven participants were interviewed in person, while two participated in the study via audio call feature of the social media site - Facebook and one interview conducted via audio call on messaging application - WhatsApp. Four interviews were conducted in the 10th district of Vienna (Favouriten), which is predominantly inhabited by the Turkish community in Austria, while the other interviews were conducted in the 7th and 22nd districts of Vienna. The first interview was conducted face-to-face on March 15 and the last interview was conducted via telephone on April 12.

The interviews, which lasted an average of 15 minutes, commenced with an inquiry into the participants' age, marital status, educational background, occupation, language proficiency, and migration history. This was followed by an examination of their news consumption habits, preferred news language, preferred news country and an attempt to identify their perspectives and levels of trust in the news. In different sessions, additional questions were asked to participants to obtain further information and to facilitate comparisons. This was based on the background information provided by participants, the answers they gave and the prominent topics that were emphasized. Along with additional questions that shaped by the responses and comments from participants, a list of fixed questions asked to each participant during the interviews were determined jointly by the study owner and the supervisor as follows:

*Q1: How old are you?*

*Q2: Where were you born?*

*Q3: Where do you live?*

*Q4: What is your marital status?*

*Q5: What is your educational background?*

*Q6: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?*

*Q7: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?*

*Q8: How much time per day do you spend following the news?*

*Q9: What is your main motivation for following the news?*

*Q10: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?*

*Q11: Which news sources do you rely on and why?*

*Q12: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?*

*Q13: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)*

*Q14: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?*

*Q15: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?*

All 10 interviews were conducted in Turkish, in accordance with a joint decision by the study owner and participants and all interview responses were recorded in a notebook. The interviews were also audio-recorded via a smart-phone to facilitate a full transcript of the interviews, which could then be re-evaluated after the interviews. All participants were informed of this prior to the interviews. While the interviews were ongoing, the full transcriptions of the completed interviews were transcribed through audio recordings listened to on a computer. The full transcriptions of the completed interviews were then translated from Turkish into English.

## **FINDINGS**

The interviews were analyzed in detail based on the research questions prepared in advance. In this context, the body of findings, which are shared below under subheadings, was formed by analyzing the perspectives and motivations revealed by the research questions. In the interviews, while the main focus was on news consumption, relatively more attention was paid to the participants' media preferences, news language and the countries they follow the news.

Table I. Demographics of participants

| ID      | Home Country     | Age | Year of arrival in the host country | Education                  | Employment       |
|---------|------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| Woman 1 | Vienna, Austria  | 21  | Born and raised                     | Bachelor's student         | -                |
| Woman 2 | Vienna, Austria  | 27  | Born and raised                     | Bachelor's student         | -                |
| Male 1  | Vienna, Austria  | 28  | Born and raised                     | Master's graduate          | Employee         |
| Woman 3 | Istanbul, Turkey | 30  | 2014                                | Bachelor's graduate        | Employee         |
| Male 2  | Izmir, Turkey    | 39  | 2016                                | High school graduate       | Employee         |
| Woman 4 | Aksaray, Turkey  | 40  | 2004                                | Elementary school drop-out | Employee         |
| Male 3  | Izmir, Turkey    | 50  | 1989                                | High school graduate       | Employee         |
| Woman 5 | Ankara, Turkey   | 61  | 2003                                | Bachelor's graduate        | Employee         |
| Male 4  | Istanbul, Turkey | 72  | 1988                                | Master's graduate          | Retired Employee |
| Male 5  | Ankara, Turkey   | 76  | 1984                                | Bachelor's graduate        | Retired          |

Two participants, who have been residing in Austria for over 35 years and have professions related to the media, asserted that the news consumption habits of the Turkish community in Austria have undergone some changes over time. The participants indicated that the distribution of Turkish newspapers in Austria constituted the initial threshold, followed by the advent of satellite technologies, which enabled the broadcasting of Turkish television channels in Austria. The opening of private TV channels was also of note in this process. Finally, the widespread use of the internet and social media brought about comprehensive changes in news consumption habits, according to these participants.

In the early days, there was not even satellite broadcasting. The Austrian public service broadcaster, ORF, used to broadcast every Sunday for half an hour for migrants from (former) Yugoslavia and half an hour for migrants from Turkey in their own language, reporting the news about the developments in their own countries. We were following this closely, but we still didn't know much about Turkey at that time. Later on, some Turkish newspapers started to be distributed twice a week in Vienna. I was living outside Vienna at that time, but every Sunday I traveled to Vienna by train to buy those newspapers. However, things started to change after 1995. Especially the switch to satellite television in Turkey and the establishment of private television channels was a milestone for us. When these channels started to broadcast for us, our options to get our news also increased. Firstly, three different channels were broadcasting regular news programs. At that time, Turkish citizens here would gather in crowded houses, follow the news carefully and discuss the news for hours after it was over. However, the discussions could not be that in-depth because we still could not fully understand the news agenda. In the later period, of course, television channels in Turkey started to open TV channels specific for Turks in Europe (Male 3, 50).

Until the mid-1980s, there was no access to Turkish newspapers here. When I arrived here, all of us were watching Austrian TV channels. Then a second period began. Turkish newspapers gradually started to be distributed here. Then, Turkish TV channels started to be broadcast here after the start of television broadcasts via satellite TV. Until then, people had been following news content in German, but with the arrival of Turkish TV channels, this obligation disappeared, and this also eliminated the necessity to learn German in order to follow the news agenda. Thus, people declined a lot in terms of improving their German. Later, with the advent of the internet, people here more turned to Turkish news content. The second and third generations are particularly interested in social media (Male 5, 76).

### ***Tangible differences between generations***

The interviews confirmed some of the findings on the news consumption habits of different generations, which were also mentioned in the literature review above. Accordingly, younger generations, in comparison to older generations, do not follow news for the purpose of following news. What they do is combine their news consumption with their homepage on their social media accounts and follow the news in this way. Furthermore, they primarily do this through their smart-phones rather than computers or other digital devices. In other words, following the news seems to be an integral part of the “screen-scrolling habits” of younger generations. However, on the topics they are specifically interested in, they engage in further research and attempt to follow more news. In contrast, for older generations, following the news is a more concrete component of their daily lives.

I don't follow news specifically, but for example, I follow the accounts of some newspapers on social media platforms such as Instagram. If I spend about 2-3 hours a day on Instagram, I also check the news during that time (Woman 1, 21).

I read the news I come across while scrolling the screen on social media and especially on Instagram, so it's not much. I probably look at the news for a maximum of 1 hour a day (Woman 2, 27).

I usually follow the news for 20-25 minutes in the morning. Most of the time I also do some research on information I see in the news and thus I reach 1 hour. But it's not specifically "following the news". It's my routine within my social media time (Male 1, 28).

Using smart-phones to follow the news is a habit not only for younger generations up to the age of 30, but also for respondents aged 40 and over. However, respondents over the age of 50 excluded smart-phones from their news consumption habits, stating that they follow news mostly via computer, television or printed newspapers.

I mostly read news on my smart-phone via Facebook (Woman 4, 40)

I mainly use social media and especially Twitter on my smart-phone. Secondly, I can say it's television (Male 2, 39)

Older respondents who indicated that they had previously consumed news media through traditional mediums, such as television or print newspapers, emphasized that they have recently started to switch to digital platforms, specifically internet websites or social media pages of the same television channels or newspapers they had previously followed. This shift reflects a broader trend of media consumption among older generations as the sources of information remain consistent, but the mediums have evolved due to technological advances and increased access to digital devices.

I use the internet (computer) the most, but I do not find social media very reliable. I read news through newspapers' own websites. I used to read only printed newspapers. I still buy printed newspapers, but I do not read them as much as I used to. I started to read the same newspapers online. I have not watched television for news for 15 years (Male 3, 50).

The habit of following the news through television was almost never observed among the younger generation of participants. Nevertheless, participants from diverse age groups indicated that they primarily utilize television for entertainment and leisure activities, such as television series or movies, rather than for news consumption.

Watching television is not on my agenda. Zero (Woman 2, 27).

I don't particularly switch on and follow the news on TV. Sometimes a news program appears on TV just when I am eating and I watch it (Male 1, 28).

I don't watch the news broadcasts via television at all. Television is just a means of watching films for me (Woman 5, 61).

However, for almost all respondents aged 30 and over, television is still a reliable medium for receiving news.

I usually watch television through Austrian news channels (Male 5, 76).

Secondly -after the smart-phone- I follow the news via television, but I mostly prefer Turkish news channels (Woman 4, 40).

I watch the prime-time news (in Austria) on television and also follow various morning programs (Woman 3, 30).

### ***Education determines the level of interest in news outside of Turkey***

The interviews did not reveal a clear pattern in terms of the interest of Turks in Austria in news about Austria, Turkey and the world and the influence of their age on this. Younger generations of respondents were primarily interested in news about Austria and the world (specifically Western countries), whereas all but one of the respondents aged 40+ were less interested in news about Turkey as it was the case for the youngest generations. On the other hand, respondents between the ages of 30 and 40, especially those who had migrated to Austria more recently than others, were found to primarily follow news about Turkey.

I mostly follow the hot topics. Specifically, I follow news from Austria (Woman 1, 21).

Firstly, I am more interested in global news, then respectively the USA, Austria and Turkey. In the past, even until 2013, I used to follow the news in Turkey. I liked reading newspapers to improve my Turkish. Now I don't read them anymore because I don't know which newspaper or news organization I can trust there (Male 1, 28).

Recently, I have been paying more attention to the news about the EU countries. I used to follow Turkey a lot, but especially in the last 5 years, I do not pay as much attention to the news about Turkey as I used to. This is actually a natural process.

After a certain point, you move away. I think that some things do not interest me as a person living here in Austria. (Male 3, 50)

When there is news about Turkey in the Austrian press, I sometimes check them via Turkish sources out of curiosity, but the news in Turkey bores me in general and therefore I try not to be interested. It feels like a waste of time (Male 5, 76).

However, younger generation participants born and raised in Austria stated that their family and friends of Turkish origin in their age range also primarily follow Austrian and world news. In this regard, the findings indicated that third or fourth generation migrants born and raised in Austria exhibited a reduced interest in news about Turkey compared to previous generations of Turkish migrants.

The older members of my family, such as my mother and my aunt, mostly follow news about Turkey. However, those younger than me, such as my younger siblings or cousins, mostly follow news about Austria and Western countries. Third and fourth generation Turks here are more interested in news from Austria (Woman 2, 27).

Furthermore, the findings show that individuals with higher levels of education, including migrants and their children, demonstrated a greater interest in news from Austria and global news than in news from Turkey, regardless of age. Participants who identified themselves as having advanced English language skills expressed a stronger inclination to follow news about Austrian and global news instead of news about Turkey. In particular, younger participants provided concrete examples of news sources they follow, including those pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which has been ongoing since October 7, 2023.

What is more - two participants stated that when they are alone, they are primarily interested in news about Turkey. However, when they are with their Austrian family members, they tend to follow and discuss news about Austria.

It is a very difficult question. When I am on my own, I check more at the news about my own country, Turkey. When I'm together with my husband, we follow more at Austrian and global news in order to have common ground (Woman 3, 30).

I only follow the news about Turkey. Mostly, my husband shares the Austrian news with me (Woman 5, 61).

### ***Language proficiency is significant in the preferred news language***

The interviews revealed that the language preference used while following the news does not vary with age, but firstly with the proficiency in the language and secondly with the country in which the relevant news occurs. Those participants who had attained an advanced level of German proficiency indicated that they exhibited a greater interest in German news, regardless of age. In parallel with this, younger generation participants, who were born and raised in Austria and mostly follow Austrian and global news, stated that Turkish-language news comes after German and English-language news content for them. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that the participants have a tendency to follow news from a particular country in the native language of that country.

Since I follow the news about both countries, I follow the news about Turkey in Turkish and the news about here (Austria) in German, but if I need to make a ranking, I can say that the first is German and the second is Turkish for me (Woman 2, German level: Native)

When I look at the average, I probably follow the news more in German. The family factor is also important here, but even before I married my Austrian husband, I was reading news in German (Woman 3, German level: Advance)

A younger generation participant posited that the news and the preferred language of the news are aligned with the political views of the person and/or the family, and that the concept of integration plays a decisive role in this process.

I have observed that my friends who live here but coming from a more nationalist and right-wing families are not very interested in Austria, instead they are more interested in Turkish news and Turkey. I think that although they were born and raised here, they do not feel that they belong here and are not very interested in the news from here. I think this is a little bit about integration (Woman 2, 27).

### ***Younger generations have a preference for multiple news forms***

As a significant tendency, the interviews revealed that younger generations exhibit a more fluid motivation for consuming news across different formats, whereas the majority of older participants indicated that they think written news is more understandable and that they prefer it over visual or audio news. However, it is noteworthy that for this group, television remains a tangible means of receiving news.

I find written news much more understandable (Male 2, 39).

Of course I prefer written news more. Visual and video news are easily forgotten. However, reading is an effort, so you forget it more difficult (Male 3, 50).

New media such as podcasts or YouTube are a waste of time for me. What I can read in three minutes, I can follow in 10 minutes there. This makes me tired. I prefer reading instead of listening (Woman 5, 61).

I prefer written news maybe because I'm more used to it, I grew up with it. Video news include too much of the person involved who is delivering the news. The person speaking delivers a lot of subjectiveness whereas written news include it but not as much. When a written news item does not attract your interest, you have the chance to skip it, but this is not the case with visual news. Besides, you have the chance to read the written news again and again, but it is more difficult to watch something over and over again. In addition, of course, I also follow video and visual news. For example, I watch MSNBC a lot. I'm also following the podcasts. Especially interview podcasts draw my attention (Male 4, 72)

Younger participants, on the other hand, predominantly stated that they decide which format of news they follow according to the situational context they are in and that they adopt a more random approach.

Sometimes I do further reading about the information I get from a video news.

Sometimes I watch the broadcasts I see while researching something I read. One does not dominate over the other for me. It varies a lot (Male 1, 28).

It actually changes a lot depending on the news. I don't listen to podcasts at all. I watch daily routine news on TV. I read political news more. In the news programs I follow on YouTube, I try to read the comments below regularly (Woman 3, 30).

### ***Almost all migrants seek to question the news they consume***

Regardless of age, participants expressed a high degree of skepticism about the news, emphasizing the importance of questioning the veracity of news sources and doing further research. This sentiment was expressed regardless of the trust placed in the news sources. In other words, there was no strong correlation between age, news platforms and trust in news. The majority of participants indicated a preference for following news from a variety of sources or those with opposing stances to their own views.

There is no such thing as objective news. For example, I'm a big fan of the opinion columns but I never read the columns of the writers who have same stances with me. I follow the opinions of the opposite side. I follow them because I can learn from them. Sometimes I dismiss what I read but sometimes I think, "Okay, this is interesting" (Male 4, 72).

I can say that I don't believe in any news. That is why I try to look at how different issues are handled by news organizations with opposing views. Even experienced journalists can make mistakes somehow. Even in my own profession, I hesitate to

stick to a single source. I do not trust any information or news completely (Female 5, 61).

Most news items use exaggerated language even if they are based on real information. I think the news in general is deceptive (Female 4, 40).

I definitely look at the news, especially the ones I am interested in, from other sources. I think every news outlet is based on an algorithm that gives people what they want and tries to make them happy. For example, in line with my own beliefs, I cannot trust a news piece that uses a negative language against the people in Gaza. I also feel the need to research the news close to my own views. and I do not trust the first source I read in any way. I can say that I trust mainstream or global news outlets more (Male 1, 28).

### ***Disinformation and migrant news not in a focus point***

Another noteworthy finding of the interviews was the absence of any mention of the concept of "disinformation news," which is frequently encountered, particularly on social media platforms. In general, participants expressed a low level of trust in the news, indicating a desire to escape from echo chambers and the abundance of their news sources.

With regard to the Austrian and Western media's approach towards migrants, only one participant (Male 3) provided concrete examples of news coverage of migrants and the neutrality of the language used in these news pieces.

## **CONCLUSION**

The aim of this thesis was to shed light on news consumption habits of Turkish citizens who migrated from Turkey to Austria and third and fourth generation young Turks born in Austria, through featured theories related to cultural and social integration of migrants. As a result of the findings of the in-depth-interviews conducted to closely analyze migrants with

different backgrounds, it was revealed that in addition to age, language, level of education and the amount of time spent in the host country are also of vital importance in terms of news consumption patterns and cultural integration.

In the theoretical framework of the study, the concepts of "cultural proximity" and "acculturation" were found to be particularly relevant and that these were found to be influenced by a number of factors, including language level, education level and the time spent in the host country. In accordance with the acculturation theory proposed by Berry (1980), an analysis of the acculturation levels of migrants in relation to their news consumption habits revealed that these levels increased with the proficiency in the language of the host country, the level of education and the time spent in the host country. Furthermore, the participants demonstrated a preference for Austrian news content and German news with the increase of these determinants.

A comparable yet not entirely identical pattern was also evident in the "cultural proximity theory" proposed by Straubhaar (1991, 2003). Two female participants (Woman 3, Woman 5) who migrated from Turkey to Austria at different dates noted that when they were on their own, they only followed news about Turkey. However, when they spent time with their Austrian spouses and/or friends, they followed and discussed Austrian news. In other words, the formation of local friendships and romantic relationships by migrants, may facilitate their adoption of the host country's media and news flow and increase their cultural proximity towards the country. This finding reinforces Straubhaar's assertion that cultural proximity is largely shaped by cultural capital and provides a tangible illustration of the correlation between cultural capital and media preferences in the context of news media.

The study revealed that the news consumption patterns of different generations of migrants are similar to those observed in previous studies (Geers, 2020; Russmann and Hess, 2020; Hasebrink et al., 2021). While younger generations of migrants rely on digital media platforms for news consumption, they allocate less time for news on a daily basis and integrate news consumption into their social media usage habits. Furthermore, younger generations of migrants indicated that they do not adhere to a single medium when consuming news as they expressed interest in audio/visual news in digital media as well as written format of news. In contrast, older generations stated that they prefer written news and find it more comprehensible.

In accordance with some European and international studies (Eurobarometer, 2023; Pew Research Center, 2023), television remains a significant source of news for individuals aged 30 and above, while younger generations of migrants have indicated that they do not utilize television at all or only to a limited extent in their news consumption.

In parallel with the theoretical framework of the study, the high interaction between migrants' language proficiency, educational levels and time spent in the host country, and their preferred news language and countries of interest in the news was one of the most notable findings. In addition, it was observed that respondents with a higher level of proficiency in German were more interested in Austrian news and German-language news content, regardless of their date of arrival in the host country and level of education. Additionally, the date of arrival in the host country and the level of education were found to be significant factors influencing preferences for German and Turkish news, although to a lesser extent than language proficiency.

Furthermore, the information provided by two participants (Male 1, Male 4) indicated that migrants with a higher level of education and experience of living, studying and working in Western countries other than Austria, are more interested in news from Western countries, especially the USA, and have a more transnational news consumption habits. Conversely, individuals with no prior experience of residing, working, or studying abroad except in Turkey or Austria were observed to adhere more closely to either Austrian (or German) or Turkish news and sources, in conjunction with their proficiency in German and English languages and the duration of their stay in the host country.

## **Future Research**

Overall, in terms of news consumption habits, Turkish migrants living in Austria demonstrated similar tendencies on news consumption observed in other studies conducted across different age groups and continents. Independent from the definitive conclusions regarding the underlying causes of these similarities, further and broader research on this topic

may prove useful in identifying the media (news) consumption habits of migrants and the performance of the host country in terms of integration.

Similar to Berg's (2020) study on Turkish migrants living in Germany, comprehensive findings may be attained by conducting larger-scale studies, particularly surveys, encompassing media consumption habits, including a wide-ranger cultural productions, such as TV series and films, in addition to news consumption habits. An approach that would facilitate the integration of news and entertainment media, could provide significant insights for migrant and minority communities at a time when consumers' relationship with media outputs is undergoing a shift towards two-way interactivity and the convergence in digital tools.

Finally, in countries with high levels of political and social polarization, such as Turkey (Somer, 2019), further research on the topic based on the political stance or political knowledge held through family or other independent factors may be useful to reveal news consumption patterns more comprehensively and shed light on the integration of migrants more accurately.

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## APPENDIX: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

### Woman 1:

Q: How old are you?

21

Q: Where were you born?

Vienna.

Q: Where do you live?

Vienna.

Q: What is your marital status?

Single.

Q: What is your educational background?

Bachelor's, Radiology.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

I was born here and I'm living here with my family.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

German is my native language. My English is advance. I went to Ireland when I was in high school, where I got English language education and got the B2 English certificate. My Turkish level is a bit lower.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

I don't follow news specifically, but for example, I follow the accounts of some newspapers on social media platforms such as Instagram. If I spend about 2-3 hours a day on Instagram, I also check the news during that time.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

I mostly follow the hot topics. Specifically, I follow news from Austria. Currently, I'm following the news related to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

Mostly the social media.

Q: Is it just Instagram or do you also look at other pages or sources via Twitter or Google?

Prominently Instagram, yes. But if I want to get further information related to a subject that I saw while following the news, I'm searching it through Google and other news sources as well.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

Mostly the Zeit im Bild, Der Standart, Al Jazeera. I also follow the sources such as The Guardian ve The New York Times.

Q: Are there any Turkish news sources that you regularly follow?

Not really but sometimes I see the news content from TRT.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

It depends on the situation. I mostly prefer reading the news instead of watching them. But it also depends on the moment. For example, if I'm doing makeup at the time, I prefer to listen. If I'm traveling by tram, I would love to read the news.

Q: And do you think it's the same around you?

Good question. I think it changes. It varies by half. But for the most part, I would say that they also read written news rather than visual or audio.

Q: Similarly, some people say that they can't pay attention to audio-visual news? Is this also the case with you?

Yes, it is the same with me. I can't watch something that lasts for a long time, I can't pay attention to it. When I read it, I can both see it and read it in my head, so I can keep it in my mind more easily.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

I mostly follow the German news and then the English-language news.

Q: What about the news content in Turkish?

Of course, I read it if I come across it on TRT but I can say that I follow the German version of TRT more.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I do not trust them in any way, I question them. If I have doubts about a subject, I try to look at other sources. This situation varies according to the level of newspapers/news sources. I mostly try to follow from popular sources.

**Woman 2:**

Q: How old are you?

27

Q: Where were you born?

Vienna.

Q: Where do you live?

Vienna.

Q: What is your marital status?

Single.

Q: What is your educational background?

Bachelor's. I'm studying in the Radiology Department. I'm in my 5th semester.

Q: Do you have a Turkish citizenship? What is your reason for being in Austria?

I am only an Austrian citizen. I was born here and live here with my family.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

German and Turkish are at the level of my mother tongue, English is one or two levels below them, but I can still write and understand it.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

Indeed, I read the news I come across while scrolling the screen on social media and especially on Instagram, so it's not much. I probably look at the news for a maximum of 1 hour a day.

Q: So, is it a part of your social media time?

Yes, I don't follow it specifically to follow the news, except if I have come across a very important news.

Q: But I guess you still look at the news when important events like elections or earthquakes are on the agenda? What is your main motivation for following the news?

Actually, to follow the agenda. It can be in every field: It can be politics, it can be an important event, it can be a natural disaster. It doesn't matter. I read every news item. The reason for this is to be informed about current events.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

Mostly via my smart-phone.

Q: What about watching the television for the news?

Watching television is not on my agenda. Zero.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

Mostly, I follow Zeit im Bild (Instagram), I follow Kurrier a lot, I follow Der Standart, and in Turkey I follow TRT.

Q: Do you follow any other media in Turkey?

I follow the Instagram accounts GZT and BPT.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

I think I like and prefer reading written news more, but there should be visuals too. Not video, but photographs.

Q: You don't follow YouTube news or podcasts then?

Actually, I look at them sometimes, but I prefer reading more.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

I follow the news from Turkey and Austria equally. We can say 50 per cent per both.

Q: And how do you think the people around you are about this? Are they different to you?

I think I'm a bit different from them. The older members of my family, such as my mother and my aunt, mostly follow news about Turkey. However, those younger than me, such as my younger siblings or cousins, mostly follow news about Austria and Western countries. Third and fourth generation Turks here are more interested in news from Austria.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Since I follow the news about both countries, I follow the news about Turkey in Turkish and the news about here (Austria) in German, but if I need to make a ranking, I can say that the first is German and the second is Turkish for me (Woman 2, German level: Native)

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I feel the need to question the news I follow. If a news item does not seem very convincing to me, I feel the need to Google that news item. I look at what other sources have shared about the news item in question. For example, especially nowadays, I feel the need to research the historical information given in the news on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Q: So, is this related to your own preference or does the media give you a feeling of insecurity?

The media gives me a feeling of insecurity, that's why I feel the need to research.

Q: Well, about the habits of the Turkish society here in terms of following the news, you gave an example from your own family and said that there is a difference between the younger generations and the older generations. Are there exceptions to this in your circle?

I think there are exceptions. I have observed that my friends who live here but coming from a more nationalist and right-wing families are not very interested in Austria, instead they are more interested in Turkish news and Turkey. I think that although they were born and raised here, they do not feel that they belong here and are not very interested in the news from here. I think this is a little bit about integration.

**Male 1:**

Q: How old are you?

27.

Q: Where were you born?

Vienna.

Q: Where do you live?

Vienna.

Q: What is your marital status?

Single.

Q: What is your educational background?

Masters in Machine Engineering.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

I was born here, in Vienna, as a dual citizen. But I only have an Austrian passport.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

My English and German is native. My Turkish is advanced.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

I usually follow the news for 20-25 minutes in the morning. Most of the time I also do some research on information I see in the news and thus I reach 1 hour. But it's not specifically "following the news". It's my routine within my social media time.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

We can say that it's catching-up with the world. I'm not specifically interested in a single country.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

The medium I use the most is the smart-phone. Then maybe a computer. I also have subscriptions to newspapers and the world's leading press organizations.

Q: What about television?

I don't particularly switch on and follow the news on TV. Sometimes a news program appears on TV just when I am eating and I watch it (Male 1, 28).

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

I can say that the New York Times is the one I read the most rather than the one I trust the most. For a different view, I read The Economist. I used to follow the BBC, but after the recent events, I cooled down a bit but I still use it to get accurate information. I decide a little bit according to the source and its stance.

Q: How is your relationship with the news about Turkey?

In the past, even until 2013, I used to follow the news in Turkey. I liked reading newspapers to improve my Turkish. Now I don't read them anymore because I don't know which newspaper or news organization to trust there. Both my Turkish and my knowledge about Turkey are not enough for me to choose the right source. I don't know which one I can trust and which one I can't, so I started to follow less.

Q: Could this have something to do with the extensive changes in the Turkish media?

Yes. I visit Turkey especially in the summer and the sources recommended to me change every time I visit. I cannot follow the developments enough from here.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

Sometimes I do further reading about the information I get from a video news. Sometimes I watch the broadcasts I see while researching something I read. One does not dominate over the other for me. It varies a lot.

Q: Does it depend on the content?

No, not according to the content but sometimes it depends on the stance and attitude of a news organization. For example, if we take the recent Israel-Palestine issue as an example, I follow the news in exactly the way I just mentioned.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

Firstly, I am more interested in global news, then respectively the USA, Austria and Turkey. Actually, I'm not very interested in political news in Austria. I can say a bit puppets politics here. It has not a very global effect and is not very relevant to daily life. Since we are in a historically social country, we do not see any tendency to radicalize to any side. I don't think there is a harsh polarization like in the U.S. I read to understand the daily life in Austria, but I don't get too deep into it.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

I follow it mostly in English, then German and finally Turkish.

Q: News in the language of the country you live in?

Of course, I also follow German news from ORF and Der Standart.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I definitely look at the news, especially the ones I am interested in, from other sources. I think every news outlet is based on an algorithm that gives people what they want and tries to make them happy. For example, in line with my own beliefs, I cannot trust a news piece that uses negative language against the people in Gaza. I also feel the need to research the news close to my own views. and I do not trust the first source I read in any way. I can say that I trust mainstream or global news outlets more.

**Woman 3:**

Q: How old are you?

Q: Where were you born?

İstanbul, Turkey.

Q: Where do you live?

Vienna.

Q: What is your marital status?

Married and have a kid.

Q: What is your educational background?

I'm currently finishing my master's thesis.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

University education. It has been 10 years.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

Turkish is native. I have a C2 German certificate and C1 English certificate.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

At least 1 hour per day.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

I come from a political family, which has a great influence. Seeing my mother constantly reading the news, following the main news and constantly watching discussion programs at home, this has become my daily routine. At the same time, my husband is Austrian. Therefore, I have not lost this habit here either. I have time to follow the news both during the day and at the end of the day.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

I follow Turkey's agenda mostly through social media channels.

Q: What about the Austrian agenda?

I follow the news here (Austria) mostly on TV.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

Social media pages such as Siyah Şerit, SolcuGazete, Diken, Fatih Altaylı (YouTube). For Austria, I follow ORF, Zeit im Bild, Wien Heute and various morning programs. I follow Zeit im Bild closely on Instagram. Maybe also Kreuner Zeitung. I have two newspaper subscriptions here.

Q: Do the people around you have different news following habits than you?

My friends consist of people over the age of 40. I talk about Turkey with my friends of Turkish origin here. Some of my friends and I regularly share news with each other on Instagram.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

It actually varies a lot depending on the news. I don't listen to podcasts at all. I watch daily routine news on TV. I read political news more. In fact, I try to read the comment sections at the bottom of the news programs I follow on YouTube regularly.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

It is a very difficult question. When I am on my own, I look more at the news about my own country, Turkey. My husband and I look more at Austrian and world news in order to have common ground. However, when we look at the average, I probably follow Austria the most, then Turkey and the world news.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

When we look at the average, I follow the news mostly in German. The family factor is also important here, but before I married my Austrian husband, I was reading news in German, but I did not use the television for news consumption, for example. After having a husband and a child, my news consumption habits have changed a bit.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I think 70% per cent or 80% of the news I follow is accurate because I read the news from sources I believe to be true. I think they have confirmed it. I try to verify the news I doubt by sharing it with my friends and then doing my own research.

Q: Have you noticed any differences in the news consumption habits of people living in Turkey and Austria since you migrated here?

For example, in Turkey, there was no home delivery of printed newspapers. Here, thanks to subscriptions, newspapers are delivered directly to the home. There is no need to go out and make an effort.

Q: Do you think it increases people's news literacy?

Yes, definitely. One of the differences here is that daily newspapers and magazines are left in cafes, restaurants and subways and they can be read for free.

Q: Did this increase your news following rate after you moved here?

Of course, absolutely. If newspapers were not delivered to my door, I would be too lazy to go out every day to buy a newspaper.

**Male 2:**

Q: How old are you?

40.

Q: Where were you born?

Izmir, Turkey.

Q: What is your occupation?

I work as a waiter in a Turkish restaurant.

Q: What is your marital status?

I'm married.

Q: What is your educational background?

I stopped studying in my first year of university.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

I don't like the policies of the current government. That's why I came here to live 8 years ago.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

German A2. English A2. Turkish is my mother tongue.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

Two hours.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

I usually follow the news to follow the political and football agenda.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

I mainly use social media and especially Twitter on my smart-phone. Secondly, we can say television. Lastly, I occasionally check the printed newspapers.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

HaberTürk. CNN. Milliyet. A News. A Spor. All Turkish.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

I find written news much more comprehensible.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Mostly Turkish. Second is German.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

In order: Turkey, Austria, USA and Russia.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

For Turkey in particular: News and news sources are divided into "pro-government" and "anti-government". I also feel the need to question these two sharp ends and I cannot fully trust either side.

**Woman 4:**

Q: How old are you?

40.

Q: Where were you born?

In a village in Aksaray province of Turkey.

Q: What is your occupation?

I work as a chef and waiter in a restaurant

Q: What is your marital status?

I am married.

Q: What is your educational background?

I left primary school in my third year. I could not continue my education.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

First my husband came to Austria as a worker. I came here 20 years ago with family reunification.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

I speak Turkish and Kurdish. I can also understand German, but only on a working level.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

Since I am working, I can spare half an hour or an hour at most. The local citizens here love to read but we don't have time to do it because we are mostly working.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

Since I live here (Austria), I would say it is mostly to follow the developments here.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

I mostly read the news via Facebook on my smart-phone. I follow the Facebook pages of news organizations here that use Turkish. Secondly, I follow the news via television, but I mostly prefer Turkish news channels.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

I follow the news websites of Manşet Haber, Viyana Haber and Der Virgül.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

I find the news on TV more comprehensible. We are used to it that way. I inevitably look for visuals.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Turkish.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

I mostly follow the local news in Austria. When I look at the news in Turkey, my psychology deteriorates. The situation in Turkey has deteriorated, I see horrible news.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? What do you think about reliability?

Most news reports use exaggerated language, even if they are based on real information. I think the news in general is deceptive.

**Male 3:**

Q: How old are you?

50.

Q: Where were you born?

Izmir, Turkey.

Q: What is your occupation?

Technical worker and journalist.

Q: What is your marital status?

Currently single.

Q: What is your educational background?

I graduated from high school in Turkey and from a vocational school and a journalism academy here.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

I have been here since 1989. I migrated here for economic reasons.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

English is low, Turkish is my mother tongue and German is advanced. I should also say that my German writing skills are low.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

Before I started my media and journalism activities, I used to spend 5-6 hours a day even when I was working in a technical field. It is probably more than that now.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

My main motivation is to be informed. I feel incomplete when I can't catch up with the agenda because I also determine my own behaviors accordingly.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news?

I use the internet (computer) the most, but I do not find social media very reliable. I read news through newspapers' own websites. I used to read only printed newspapers. I still buy printed newspapers, but I do not read them as much as I used to. I started to read the same newspapers online. I have not watched television for news for 15 years.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

BBC Turkish, DW Turkish, Der Standart. Die Presse. I prefer to read sources I know and recognise. I like the fact that they are objective. Here, press can accuse the prime minister of lying. You cannot do that in Turkey. I also like the approach of these newspapers to the migrant issue. They use a more natural language.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

Of course I prefer written news more. Visual and video news are easily forgotten. However, reading is an effort, so you forget it more difficult.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

Recently, I have been paying more attention to the news about the EU countries. I used to follow Turkey a lot, but especially in the last 5 years, I do not pay as much attention to the news about Turkey as I used to. This is actually a natural process. After a certain point, you move away. I think that some things do not interest me as a person living here in Austria.

Q: What is the reason for your decreasing interest?

Following too much means being interested and you feel obliged to be interested. Being overly interested in a country I don't pay taxes to started to seem pointless. If my profession was different, I think I would not read any news about Turkey.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Firstly German. Secondly, naturally, Turkish. I also use English, but I make use of translation tools.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? What do you think about their reliability?

I am interested in philosophy and I like to see what is going on in the background, for example the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I follow the news there by combining it with the realities I see in my life in Austria. The news we read prepares us for a process, our reading ability improves and with that knowledge we can more easily understand whether the news we read is true or false.

Q: As a media worker who has lived here for 35 years, what would you say about the changes in the news reading habits of Turks here over time?

In the early days, there was not even satellite broadcasting. The Austrian public service broadcaster, ORF, used to broadcast every Sunday for half an hour for migrants from (former) Yugoslavia and half an hour for migrants from Turkey in their own language, reporting the news about the developments in their own countries. We were following this broadcast closely, but we still didn't know much about Turkey at that time. Later on, some Turkish newspapers started to be distributed twice a week in Vienna. I was living outside Vienna at that time, but every Sunday I traveled to Vienna by train to buy those newspapers. However, things started to change after 1995. Especially the switch to satellite television in Turkey and the establishment of private television channels was a milestone for us. When these channels started to broadcast for us, our options to get our news also increased. Firstly, three different channels were broadcasting regular news programs. At that time, Turkish citizens here would gather in crowded houses, follow the news carefully and discuss the news for hours after it was over. However, the discussions could not be that in-depth because we still could not fully understand the news agenda. In the later period, of course, television channels in Turkey started to open TV channels for Turks in Europe.

**Woman 5:**

Q: How old are you?

60

Q: Where were you born?

Ankara, Turkey.

Q: Where do you live?

I moved to Vienna approximately 20 years ago.

Q: What is your marital status?

I'm married.

Q: What is your educational background?

Bachelor's, faculty of politics.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

It's a love story.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

Turkish is my native language. I can speak German but it is either B2 or C1. And my English is B1 or B2 level.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

Around 2-3 hours.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

I can say that I want to be in life. I usually read the news about Turkey and I follow what is going on in Turkey, where I spent 40 years of my life. I want to know what kind of things they live in their daily lives. I want to know how much inflation they live with. There was a period of bombings, I don't want to miss that kind of news.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news?

I follow the news entirely by reading. I mostly read the websites of newspapers on my computer. I also try to read the news on my Twitter home page.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

Since I used to be a journalist, I follow journalists and columnists whose objectivity I trust. Apart from these, I follow news sources such as T24, BirGün, Diken and Yeni Şafak.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

New media such as podcasts or YouTube are a waste of time for me. What I can read in three minutes, I can follow in 10 minutes there. This makes me tired. I prefer reading instead of listening.

Q: Do you experience a loss of attention when following visual or audio news?

I don't watch news programs here and I don't watch the news broadcasts via television at all. Television is just a means of watching films for me.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

Only Turkey.

Q: Are there any other countries or regions whose news you are interested in?

I mostly follow the world news. For example, I almost never follow the news in Austria because things are going on here in a good or bad way, the system is going on somehow. I don't worry about it; my husband mostly tells me the news here.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Turkish and German respectively. I almost never read English news. German newspapers come home every day, but I collect them and read them all together.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I can say that I don't believe in any news. That's why I try to look at how different issues are covered by opposing news organizations. Even experienced journalists can make mistakes somehow. In my own profession, I am also reluctant to rely on a single source. I don't trust any information or news 100 per cent.

Q: So, you feel the need to confirm the news?

I do intellectual follow-up, yes. When I read a news story, I try to check not only how it is reported on news websites, but also the related posts of official institutions, ministries or different individuals and organizations.

Q: As a migrant who has lived in Turkey before, do you notice any sharp differences in the way people here and people in Turkey follow the news? For example, someone I interviewed before said that having a newspaper at home increased the rate of news reading?

I am talking about politics in particular: Here, politics is a social and ordinary issue, just like the opening of a new restaurant. In Turkey, on the other hand, it is something that covers the whole of life. Every day there is a new development that affects people's lives. Here, however, something happens "every now and then". For example, when people get together for a meal here, they talk about the exhibitions they have been to or the holidays they are going on. If there is a current and important news item, they briefly mention it. People can spend time with each other without talking about news and politics.

Q: As part of your profession, you are also in contact with Turkish citizens here and spend a lot of time with them. While spending time with them, do you notice anything about their news consumption habits?

I can't say that I have, I don't know, we never talk about such things. Maybe it is briefly mentioned in important events such as elections, but generally we do not talk about news.

**Male 4:**

Q: How old are you?

72

Q: Where were you born?

Istanbul, Turkey.

Q: Where do you live?

Mostly Vienna, I'm at Bodrum in summers.

Q: What is your occupation?

I am a professor of economics at a university. I used to work for the United Nations.

What is your marital status?

Divorced.

Q: What is your educational background?

Masters of Philosophy.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

To work. I moved here to work for the United Nations.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

Turkish and English are at native level. German is at beginner level.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

5 to 6 hours per day.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

I have multiple motivations. Firstly, I like to know what is going on. Secondly, I want to know where the world is going because I have children. Thirdly, I am a university professor and I follow developments in my field.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news?

Mostly mobile apps and websites of the news sources. Sometimes, print newspapers.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

The New York Times, Washington Post, BBC. And for the Turkish news, I follow AI Monitor and Gazete Oksijen. Except for these, I don't read Turkish newspapers. I follow the news related to Turkey mostly via global sources. I try to read sources that, I think, rightly or wrongly, are more objective.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

Written news, texts.

Q: Why?

I prefer written news maybe because I'm more used to it, I grew up with it. Video news includes too much of the person involved who is delivering the news. The person speaking delivers a lot of subjectiveness whereas written news includes it but not as much. When a written news item does not attract your interest, you have the chance to skip it, but this is not the case with visual news. Besides, you have the chance to read the written news again and again, but it is more difficult to watch something over and over again. In addition, of course, I also follow video and visual news. For example, I watch MSNBC a lot. I'm also following the podcasts. Especially interview podcasts draw my attention.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

USA. I'm also following Turkey news but not that often. The thing is I can get more reliable news in the USA than Turkey. It's about reliability.

Q: Why not Austrian news?

Basically, I don't care about it.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

English. Sometimes Turkish. German never.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

There is no such thing as objective news. For example, I'm a big fan of the opinion columns but I never read the columns of the writers who have the same thoughts as me. I follow the thought of the opposite side. I follow them because I can learn from them. Sometimes I dismiss what I read but sometimes I think, "Okay, this is interesting". For example, I follow them from The New York Times but I don't follow FOX News, which is known as conservative.

**Male 5:**

Q: How old are you?

76.

Q: Where were you born?

Ankara, Turkey.

Q: Where do you live?

Vienna.

Q: What is your marital status?

Married.

Q: What is your educational background?

Bachelor's, back in Ankara, Turkey.

Q: As a Turkish citizen, what is your reason for being in Austria?

I came 40 years ago with political asylum.

Q: How do you evaluate your Turkish, German or English levels?

Turkish is my mother tongue. My German level is advanced. I don't speak English.

Q: How much time per day do you spend following the news?

At least 1 hour. Sometimes 2 hours.

Q: What is your main motivation for following the news?

It is very variable. I have different interests and they are constantly changing. It varies a lot from politics to social news. In general, we can say to follow the political and social agenda.

Q: Through which mediums do you mostly follow the news (TV, computer, smartphone, etc.)?

I usually watch TV and look at Austrian channels.

Q: Which news sources do you rely on and why?

First of all, we can say ORF. I also follow Zeit im Bild, and Bild, one of the German newspapers, and I also read Profil magazine.

Q: What about the news about Turkey?

I am not very interested in the news about Turkey. When there is news about Turkey in the press here, I sometimes follow the news from Turkish sources out of curiosity, but the news in Turkey bores me and therefore I try not to be interested. It feels like a waste of time.

Q: Which do you find more comprehensible, written news or visual/video news?

I usually try to follow online. When I see a news item, I feel the need to research it from 3-4 different places.

Q: Does it make more sense for you to read or watch a news item?

Usually reading. When I watch, I don't have the chance to do additional research on the news, but this is easier with written news.

Q: Which country are you most interested in news about? (Turkey, Austria or other countries of the world)

Since I live here, I try to follow Austrian news closely.

Q: In which language do you prefer to follow the news?

Only German.

Q: To what extent do you think the news you read is accurate or based on real information? Do you feel the need to question the news?

I feel the need to question the news, even if it is from the most reliable source.

Q: As a social worker who has been living here for almost 40 years, what would you say about the changes in the news consumption habits of Turks here over time?

Until the mid-1980s, there was no access to Turkish newspapers here. When I arrived here, all of us were watching Austrian channels. Then a second period began. Turkish newspapers gradually started to be published here. Then, Turkish channels started to be broadcast here after the start of television broadcasts via satellite TV. Until then, people had been following news content in German, but with the arrival of Turkish channels, this obligation disappeared, and this situation also eliminated the necessity to learn German in order to follow the news agenda. Thus, people declined a lot in terms of improving their German. Later, with the advent of the internet, people here more turned into the Turkish news content. The second and third generations are particularly interested in social media. Simultaneously with all these processes, some media outlets for Turkish migrants here started to emerge. We can characterise these media organs as some small newspapers that were directed from Turkey and published here legally. While these newspapers initially published in favour of Turkey, some radical Islamist publications started to emerge later on. What is more interesting is that these publications receive financial support from the Municipality of Vienna.

## Abstract

In recent years, with the increase in waves of migration, especially to Western countries, the processes of migrants' adaptation to host countries and their integration into different cultures there have become an important field of study. The increasing impact of technologicalization in all areas of daily life, particularly in the changes it has brought about in media ecosystems, has led to extensive innovations in the relationship between societies and the media and news consumption as well as between migrants and the media and their news media consumption habits. This study, which focuses on Turkish migrants in Austria, a central European country, examines the news consumption habits of Turkish migrants living in Vienna, the capital of the country, through a nexus between digitalization and news media consumption, with a particular focus on generational differences. In this regard, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 Turkish individuals from different age groups who had arrived in the country at different times, including the younger generation of Turkish people born and raised in Austria. The findings indicate that younger generations of migrants tend to consume news predominantly through digital media and digital patterns, in contrast to older migrants. In addition to age, other variables, such as language proficiency, level of education and the amount of time spent in the host country, were also found to create certain patterns in the news consumption habits of Turkish migrants. This study revealed that the news consumption habits of Turkish migrants living in Austria are generally consistent with similar studies in different scopes and it is anticipated that the research will encourage further studies that can explain these similarities in more comprehensive terms.

*Keywords: migrants, Turkish migrants, digital media, news consumption, digital news*

## **Zusammenfassung**

In den letzten Jahren sind mit der Zunahme der Migrationswellen, insbesondere in die westlichen Länder, die Anpassungsprozesse der Migranten an die Aufnahmeländer und ihre Integration in die dortigen Kulturen zu einem wichtigen Untersuchungsfeld geworden. Der zunehmende Einfluss der Technologisierung in allen Bereichen des täglichen Lebens, insbesondere in den Veränderungen, die sie in den Medienökosystemen bewirkt hat, hat zu weitreichenden Neuerungen in der Beziehung zwischen Gesellschaften und Medien und dem Nachrichtenkonsum sowie zwischen Migranten und den Medien und ihren Gewohnheiten beim Nachrichtenkonsum geführt. Diese Studie, die sich auf türkische Migranten in Österreich, einem mitteleuropäischen Land, konzentriert, untersucht die Nachrichtenkonsumgewohnheiten türkischer Migranten, die in Wien, der Hauptstadt des Landes, leben, anhand eines Nexus zwischen Digitalisierung und Nachrichtenmedienkonsum, mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die Unterschiede zwischen den Generationen. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden halbstrukturierte Interviews mit 10 türkischen Personen aus verschiedenen Altersgruppen geführt, die zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten ins Land gekommen waren, darunter auch die jüngere Generation der in Österreich geborenen und aufgewachsenen Türken. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass jüngere Migrantengenerationen im Gegensatz zu älteren Migranten dazu neigen, Nachrichten vorwiegend über digitale Medien und digitale Muster zu konsumieren. Neben dem Alter wurden auch andere Variablen wie Sprachkenntnisse, Bildungsniveau und die im Gastland verbrachte Zeit festgestellt, die bestimmte Muster in den Nachrichtenkonsumgewohnheiten türkischer Migranten hervorrufen. Diese Studie hat gezeigt, dass die Gewohnheiten des Nachrichtenkonsums von in Österreich lebenden türkischen Migranten im Allgemeinen mit ähnlichen Studien in verschiedenen Bereichen übereinstimmen. Es ist zu erwarten, dass die Untersuchung weitere Studien anregen wird, die diese Ähnlichkeiten umfassender erklären können.

*Schlüsselwörter : Migranten, türkische Migranten, digitale Medien, Nachrichtenkonsum, digitale Nachrichten*