



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

DOING DIGITAL NEWS MEDIA

A TURKISH-GERMAN COMPARATIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

ANNA-KATHARINA TUBBESING

PROF. DR. ASKER KARTARI

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, APRIL 2018

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Kadir Has University
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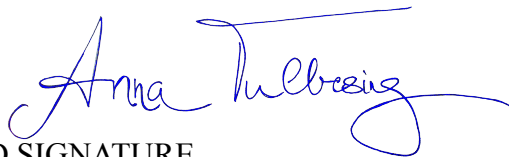
I, ANNA-KATHARINA TUBBESING,

hereby declare that this Master's Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources.

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08.05.2018

DATE AND SIGNATURE

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Anna Tubbesing". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke extending from the top of the "T".

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

ANNA-KATHARINA TUBBESING

DOING DIGITAL NEWS MEDIA

A TURKISH-GERMAN COMPARATIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

MASTER'S THESIS

Istanbul, April 2018

This thesis explores German and Turkish urban undergraduate students' everyday digital news media practices as these are considered to constitute an important component of contemporary media cultures. The study examines the students' active exposure to the growing ubiquity of media and communication technologies, the increase of communicative mobility, and the condition of immediacy throughout far-reaching mediatisation and digitalisation processes. Tying in with the scholarship on media, communication, and culture, this thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of both cultural context dependency and transcultural communicative connectivity in doing digital news media.

To investigate the students' productive employment of digital news media devices and services in a day-to-day environment, this binational micro-study has implemented fieldwork in two urban university campuses. Applying an ethnographic approach, qualitative data were collected using participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic writing techniques. In addition, relevant quantitative data were obtained from recent statistical studies of social and digital news media. The descriptive and interpretive data analysis demonstrates differences, similarities and commonalities in the

practices of Turkish and German urban undergraduate students in their utilisation of digital news media.

This study has found the following to apply to both contexts transculturally: First, doing digital news media allows highly attractive scalability regarding spatial, temporal, linguistic and financial dimensions; second, wants and incentives for doing digital news media are generated in both personal and socio-cultural environments; third, in increasingly mediated societies practices are aligned to a diffuse media-cultural normativity evolving from rising social and institutional expectancy. These findings suggest further inquiry into three matters: A possible relation between increasing scalability of engagement with information and communication media and processes of individualisation; the socio-cultural dimension in the formation of personal wants and incentives; and the evolution of media-cultural normativities.

Keywords: Digital Anthropology, Digital News Media Practices, Immediacy, Transcultural Communicative Connectivity, Cultural Localisation, Cultural Context Dependency

ÖZET

ANNA-KATHARINA TUBBESING

DİJİTAL HABER MEDYASININ YAPILIŞI

KARŞILAŞTIRMALI TÜRK-ALMAN ANTROPOLOJİ ÇALIŞMASI

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

İstanbul, Nisan 2018

Bu tez, kentli Alman ve Türk üniversite lisans öğrencilerinin, çağdaş medya kültürünün önemli bir bileşeni kabul edilen gündelik dijital haber medyası pratiklerini araştırmaktadır. Araştırma, geniş kapsamlı medyalaşma ve dijitalleşme süreçleri genelinde, öğrencilerin medya ve iletişim teknolojilerinin genişleyen her yerdeliğine, artan iletişimsel hareketliliğe ve dolaysızlık haline maruz kalmalarıyla ilgilenir. Medya, iletişim ve kültür alanları üzerine yazılmış literatürle ilişkilenen bu tez, dijital haber medyasının yapımındaki hem kültürel bağlama olan tabiiyetin hem de kültür aşırı iletişimsel bağların daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu iki uluslu mikro çalışma, öğrencilerin gündelik çevrelerinde dijital haber medya araç ve servisleriyle olan üretken uğraşlarının niteliksel olarak araştırılması için iki şehir üniversitesi kampüsünde saha araştırması gerçekleştirmiştir. Antropolojik yaklaşım temelli metodoloji uygulanarak; katılımcı gözlem, yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakat ve etnografik yazım teknikleri kullanımıyla nitel veriler toplanmıştır. İlave olarak, sosyal ve dijital haber medyası üzerine son dönemde yapılmış istatistiksel çalışmalardan ilgili nicel veriler sağlanmıştır. Bu kapsamda gerçekleştirilen betimleyici ve yorumlayıcı veri analizi, Türk ve Alman kentli üniversite lisans öğrencilerine ait dijital haber medyası pratiklerinin kültürlerarası bir karşılaştırmasını sunmaktadır.

Bu tez, kltr ařırı baęlamda iki vakaya da uygulanabileceęi grlen řu sonulara ulařmıřtır: ilk olarak, digital haber medyası, uzamsal, zamansal, dilsel ve finansal boyutlar aısından hayli cazip bir leklenebilirlik ierir; ikinci olarak, dijital haber medyası yapılmasına ynelik teřvikler ve gereklilikler bireysel ve sosyo-kltrel mekanlar ierisinde oluřabilmektedir; nc olarak, giderek aracılandırılan toplumlarda sz konusu pratikler, sosyal ve kurumsal beklentilerin ykseliřinden doęan yaygın medya-kltrel normatiflerle uyumludur. Bu bulgular ileriki bir arařtırmayı  maddeye ayrıřtırmaktadır: bilgi ve iletiřim medyasına olan katılımın gitgide artan leklenebilirlięi ile bireyselleřme sreleri arasındaki olası iliřkiye dair daha fazla arařtırma yapılmasını; kiřisel arzu ve gdlerin sosyo-kltrel dzlemde kurulumu; ve medya-kltrel normativitenin evrimi.

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1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The inquiry about what human actors de facto *do* with communication and information media and why marks a crucial turning point within scholarship on media, communication, and contemporary culture. Formerly, this question has primarily been posed the other way around, inquiring, in short, what media did with people. This Turkish-German comparative anthropological study on doing digital news media relates to that same novel question while placing it into the highly sophisticated frame of reference of globalisation and mediatisation processes. Meanwhile, attempting to document and make sense of an empirically available microlevel of action, this study narrows its focus down to a specified social group and a specific kind of media and media and communication environment. To be more exact, it qualitatively explores German and Turkish urban undergraduate students' everyday practices of digital news media as a component of contemporary media cultures and examines cultural specifics as well as transcultural features these display.

1.1. Problem Definition

Topically, the study deals with today's changing life realities facing the ubiquitousness of novel media technologies, increasing communicative mobility and immediacy, transculturalising media cultures, and therefore newly evolving modes of private and public communication in the context of globally proceeding multifaceted digitalisation processes. Rapid differentiation processes of news genres, brands, and formats available online parallel the speedy development of the technical media of communication and the growing affordability of digital end devices. These devices, in which formerly separate analogue and digital media devices, formats, and functions converge, render possible a wide range of information and communication activities.

With the metropolises of Istanbul and Berlin in mind, it is assumed that doing digital news media becomes increasingly embedded into everyday social life while reflecting both local and translocal contexts. This condition leads to the question to what degree doing digital news media in currently changing media and communication environ-

ments might be considered to effect ‘complex connectivity’ (Tomlinson, 1999) transcending spatial and cultural dimensions. By addressing this issue, this thesis alludes to topics widely discussed in transdisciplinary debates.

1.2. State of the Research

Scholarship in the corresponding fields of research angles for comprehending social, spatial and temporal dimensions. Moreover, it inquires about current and possible long-term personal, cultural, economic, political and moral aspects and implications of technological shifts which herald the so-called ‘digital age’ (Negroponte, 1996). The rapid global increase in the amount, variability and immediate accessibility of digital news media content has prompted many scholars to make sense of the relationship between transforming digital communication media practices and changes in private and public communication. Some transcribe unpredictable transformative power into a supposed novelty producing shared subjectivities (e.g., Castells, 1996). Others who are approaching the interface of media technology and the human being consistently argue against any form of technological determinism. Media anthropologist Daniel Miller, for example, claims that media practices, although changing, nonetheless strongly reflect previously existing normativities and conventions of social interaction and allow for both innovation and conservatism (Miller et al., 2017).

This study’s theoretical underpinning mainly adheres to approaches made by anthropologists who lively engage in media and communication studies and in this way join the scientific discourse outlined above. Among these are Carsten Winter (2003, 2005), Andreas Hepp (2005, 2006, 2009) and Friedrich Krotz (2001, 2005, 2009) who theoretically approximate today’s rapid technological and economic developments and extensive media flows. They aim at placing intensified global and multi-dimensional integration and consolidation processes within meta-theories such as globalisation and mediatisation. Their approaches reference to important concepts and models such as Stuart Hall’s proclamation of the active audience (2006), Arjun Appadurai’s idea of (media-)scapes

(1990) and John Tomlinson's analysis of dominant modern cultural narratives of speed (1999, 2007, 2010) amongst others.

In her article *Ethnographic Approaches to Digital Media* (2011), anthropologist Gabriella Coleman provides an informative outline of the then existing and more broadly based ethnographic corpus on digital media. She illustrates how ethnographers investigate local contexts of and lived experiences with digital media and their global implications in cultural life. The subordinated target connecting these media ethnographers and inspiring this study's research attempt, too, is finding out how, where and why precisely digital media culturally matters (Coleman, 2011, p. 189).

The *Global Social Media Impact Study* (Miller et al., 2016), a recent major multi-sited and comparative research, anthropologically investigates purposes, genres, and impacts of social media practices and inquires about significant changes in human communication and social relations. Moreover, it reaches for statements about diversity and generality within social media practices around the world. As some applied research conceptions and perspectives are relevant to this study, too, these will be considered in the discussion of this thesis' research question.

In fact, there exists a multitude of stimulating explorative ethnographic approaches to the qualitative investigation of the cultural experience of doing digital media and its implications for social life. In addition, numerous small- and large-scale local, national and international consumer and producer studies are continually being produced, applying methods of quantitative research for the systematic empirical investigation of contemporary media cultures.

1.3. Research Question and Purpose

The singularity of this small-scale explorative study, however, consists in applying questions raised in transdisciplinary scientific discourse to students doing digital news media in contemporary Turkish and German metropolitan media environments while choosing a comparative anthropological approach. To understand firstly how and to

what ends they actively access and discursively process news content via soft media and communication technologies, and secondly the diverse and complex contexts and implications of these practices, this study poses several questions. These interrogate why, where, when, with which devices and using which gateways news media are usually being accessed, which genres and topics are valued and avoided, which criteria of decision making are mentioned and which expectations and evaluations are enunciated. Aiming in such a way at contouring the research participants' news media practices, these questions further explore the interrelation of personal and mediated experiences and how doing digital news media affects people's lives. The overall aim is, in a nutshell, to understand digital news media from the perspective of its users.

The central question of this research is: what do Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' everyday digital news media practices look like today and in what ways does doing digital news media feature transcultural communicative connectivity?

The empirical exploration of these questions about contemporary media cultures aims to contribute to a better understanding of cultural localisation processes and strives for evidence for transcultural communicative connectivity reflected in the investigated digital news media practices. Furthermore, the study will illuminate significant characteristics of today's global cities' media and communication environments. Moreover, drawing an intercultural comparison, the investigation aims at disclosing equivalences, similarities, and differences regarding particular ways in which Turkish and German students dynamically engage with digital news media and to social and emotional consequences of these activities. The superordinate target is to foster sensitivity for complex connectivity created through — as well as the various specifics of — doing digital news media.

1.4. Methods and Proceedings

Based on an anthropological approach, this micro-study methodologically resorts to a small set of ethnographic research methods including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and several writing techniques. The interviews centred on everyday practices concerning digital news media. Moreover, a recent major translocal media

event attracting much public attention in both countries will be addressed, which is the media representation of the migration of a significant number of Syrian citizens. Against the background of globalising media communication, this served to investigate whether participants' media practices and evaluations are responsive to regional, national or rather translocal discourses. A descriptive data analysis, primarily focused on the content of six recorded and transcribed qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted in the field sites of two Berlin and Istanbul universities, has been applied to illuminate the research question. The comparative and interpretive discussion of empirical findings will tie in with aforementioned academic conceptualisations and will also draw on insightful facts and figures on news media performance, consumption, and evaluation provided by statistical analyses in the framework of recent representative studies in the field of media research.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter two comprises the theoretical underpinning of this study. In this manner, it serves to disclose and debate the academic concepts which instigated the research interest, guided the implementation of the study, and informed data analysis. Granting a comprehensive insight into the implementation of the research, chapter three provides a detailed and reflexive account of the choice and application of research methods and the approach to data analysis. Subsequently, chapter four attends to the presentation and discussion of research findings in light of an intercultural comparison and with regard to evidence for complex communicative connectivity. Finally, chapter five concisely summarises the research findings and indicates further questions raised in the course of research and relevant to this field of study.

2. DOING DIGITAL NEWS MEDIA: A THEORETICAL APPROACH

The premise of this theoretical chapter is that practices of digital news media are embedded into a specific socio-cultural environment, albeit they are also translocally and transculturally interfused. In the first part of this chapter, basic scientific assumptions about media, communication and their close interrelationship informing this study will be looked at, followed by a first inspection of the specifics of current urban media and communication environments in due consideration of the two metropolises factored in this study. Secondly, significant features of media practices will be examined, demonstrating that these practices are too complex ever to be considered pre-determined. Nonetheless, qualitative ethnographic research can contribute to an understanding of their complexity. Finally, this chapter will discuss some ideas about cultural localisation and transcultural connectivity against the background of current theories of globalisation and mediatisation.

2.1. Today's Urban Media and Communication Environments

Serving to transport information and in this manner establish communicative action, media might primarily be defined as technologies supporting communication, and might, therefore, be considered central to communication which is one of humanity's core activities (Thompson, 1995; Habermas, 1987). Following the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, communication even represents the very basis of all human thinking and experiences (Whorf, 1963). With this presumption, Benjamin Whorf helped pave the way for the post-structural insight that socio-cultural reality is not a priori existing, nor is it fixed and perpetual. Rather it is continuously brought into existence, maintained, repaired, rebuilt and transformed by symbolic work (Carey, 1989, p. 30). This symbolic work takes the shape of media deploying communication processes in the form of everyday conversations in which meaning is symbolically being assigned to everything entering the conscious mind. Accordingly, media serves as the bearer and broker of socio-cultural reality which in fact depicts a 'communicational reality' (Thayer, 1987) continually

being assembled and reassembled (Singer, 2000; Krotz, 2005, p. 40; Hepp, 2005, p. 137; Hepp, 2006, p. 256). Carsten Winter regards this inherent interdependency of culture and communication to depict the source of infinitely varying and changing accounts, interpretations, and critiques of 'reality' (Winter, 2003, p. 333).

This must be understood, however, as a bidirectional process. Both media and communication are and have always been subject to continual change along and mutually intertwined with the shifts in social and cultural reality constructed by communicative action (e.g. Krotz, 2009, p. 25f., 29; Mead, 1967). Friedrich Krotz deduces that 'we can describe the history of human beings as a history of newly emerging media and at the same time changing forms of communication' (2008, p. 23). Providing a brief historical review himself, Krotz recaps how interpersonal communication via gestures, language, textual, visual or auditive media has been supplemented with mass-mediated communication of standardised content via print, radio, television or internet websites. Eventually, with the advancement of digitally mediating technologies, newly evolved communicative forms become increasingly networked and interactive (Krotz, 2009, p. 24, 32). However, Krotz underlines that these newly emerging media 'do not, in general, substitute for one another' (2008, p. 23) but alter the basis of socio-cultural reality spanning action and experience, expectations, thought, identity and everyday life (Krotz, 2005, p. 40f). Andreas Hepp further clarifies the interdependency of these processes by arguing that while technological media to some extent 'structure' communication, 'the way we communicate via media is reflected in their technological change', too (2009, p. 143). Raymond Williams sums these thoughts up into a simple formula, claiming that media are both technology and cultural form (1983, p. 203).

A study of current practices of digital media, Krotz suggests, shall begin with the examination of today's socio-cultural and technological media environment(s) and therefore of 'the set of media and media functions that a person can access and use' (2009, p. 27). Taking into account theories of mediatisation, Hepp proposes that the quantitative increase in media communication features three dimensions, namely a temporal, a spatial and a social one (2009, p. 142f). Along these dimensions, a rough examination of the

momentary media and communication environments in the Turkish and German metropolises of Istanbul and Berlin hosting the field sites of study will be undertaken below. A micro-analysis more specific to the media environment of this study's student sample groups will be carried out in chapter four, based on data empirically raised at campuses of the Kadir Has University (KHU) in Istanbul and the Technical University Berlin (TUB).

At a social or socio-cultural level, the particular situation of everyday life in a global city is striking. The influx of population into the city districts, the high level of international short- and longterm migration, tourism, the convergence of languages, religions, social statuses, lifestyles and cultural identities render both Istanbul and Berlin to manifest micro-processes of globalisation. Istanbul especially is marked by a massive growth of population, facing a roughly sixfold increase within the past forty years. At such intersections of transcultural movements of people, objects and ideas, the global flows of media content probably become more apparent than anywhere else and enable individuals to connect with other social and cultural worlds. These changing circumstances of social and cultural life along with technological developments first introduced in such locations are being accompanied by medial interfusion and integration processes shifting and partly joining different spheres of social life.

As to the spatial and temporal levels, it applies to these two global cities, too, that outstanding infrastructure services permit quite immediate and unlimited access to the never-ending flow of constantly available content. External preconditions such as the wireless local area network (WLAN) have become standard in most private homes and private and public institutions. The mobile network is widely available in these two mega-cities, as well, and access is rather dependent on the data volume purchased by the individual. This circumstance conforms to the fact that, quantitatively, digital media and devices — first and foremost mobile communication devices — have indeed become increasingly available in both locations. As is likewise the case in most cities worldwide, here, too, media and communication practices are in consequence progressively marked by 'communicative mobility' (Hepp, 2006, p. 254). The growing popularity and

increasing affordability of soft media and technologies such as the smartphones — regarding both purchase and operating costs — has made them ubiquitous in everyday life in both metropolises, transcending age and rank, especially in the case of the younger generation (Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017; Yanatma, 2017). Undoubtedly this fact contributes to today's media and communication systems becoming available to all societal groups, too.

Daniel Miller et al. conclude that all these technologies which mark today's urban media and communication environments 'have given us a potential for communication and information that we did not previously possess' (2016, p. 1). Looking at digital news media practices that have evolved along the way, this study falls into line with Miller and other digital anthropologists investigating how such a potential unfolds qualitatively on the micro-level of doing media in everyday life.

2.2. Media Practices: Self-Contained and Context-Dependent

In this section, two on the face of it contradictory features of media practices will be discussed with particular regard to digital news media. It will be demonstrated why media practices will neither be considered technologically determined, nor culturally, nor by any global forces. On the whole, the line of arguments proves the necessity of qualitative ethnographic research and cautions against hasty conclusions in trying to understand media practices.

As has been outlined above, 'communication in its complex human forms is an important element of the set of practices by which human beings construct their environment and themselves; their social relations and their everyday lives; their identities; and the social phenomena, sense, and meaning' (Krotz, 2009, p. 29). Within the scope of this thesis, the manipulation of new media and communication technologies is regarded to be an important part of the set of contemporary human practices. The lines cited from Krotz implicitly suggest, as is also accentuated by Winter, that media practices depend more on factors such as peoples' socio-politico-cultural contexts than on media itself (Winter, 2003, p. 318). Consequently, Winter warns media and cultural scientists not to

fall for technological determinism (2003, p. 314). In fact, invoking Stuart Hall and Richard Johnson, Winter names and conceptualises two significant features of media practices objecting technological determinism.

The first feature is that media practices are *self-contained* in that the media do not determine them (Winter, 2003, p. 318; q.v. Hall, 2006). In consonance with this stance, Miller et al. argue that any medium or media device is best understood by evaluating what it is used for and how it is effectively being practised — in this way starting from media practices rather than from content or technological features (2016, p. 153). Of course, there is no doubt that technical features indeed define the bounds of technological possibility. However, what a specific medium connotes for one person may well be different from what it indicates for another person. Similarly, media practices possess many more levels than the visible action itself suggests. To describe this feature, we can talk about an instrumentalisation of a medium on the site of its user.

At this point, the second feature Winter conceptualises comes into play. Winter explains that next to being self-contained, media practices simultaneously are *context-dependent* and therefore dependent upon the peoples' subject position as well as on their cultural ways of life (2003, p. 321; q.v. Johnson, 1999, p. 148; Dracklé, 2005, p. 203). Dorle Dracklé supplements this point by arguing that the 'reading' of (news) 'text' is contextualised by cultural values, attitudes and institutional bonds (2005, p. 191). However, this fact does not betray the circumstance that users are actively involved when handling media. This is the central idea of the study at hand and as expressed in the title of this master thesis. Whereas we adapt to the changing bounds of technological possibility, we simultaneously use media wilfully, in an active manner, and for our benefit (2005, p. 192; q.v. Hall, 2006). Along these lines, we too stimulate and alter the course and character of the transformation processes of the bounds of technological possibility.

On a social level, there are many ends to which media practices may serve, some of which are more obvious and others perhaps totally unexpected. It appears easy to name some intended purposes or functions of a particular communication medium as well as some of its limits. However, the intentions, attitudes and practical reasons behind media

practices may greatly vary and may be motivated socially, economically or biographically and often display a *mélange* of varying factors. Digital news media practices, in particular, may evidently serve purposes of information but far exceed these. It is equally imaginable that they help to represent the self online, to fulfil entertainment purposes, purposes of individualisation, and purposes of controlling interaction. Miller et al. append to this list the intent to participate in the public sphere because they understand new media to be ‘a source of common discourse’ (2016, p. 153). Further purposes listed by Danah Boyd and Nicole Ellison are impression management, the configuration of one’s social geography and the public display of opinions or interests serving as identity signals (2007, p. 219). Though rather than formulating that media practices help to *fulfil*, say, purposes of individualisation, Krotz suggests a more straightforward diction stating that media practices serve to *construct* (media) identities (2009, p. 29).

Meanwhile, the subject position is in continual transition because it rests upon subjective experience. Sources of experience relevant to media practices, e.g., biographical factors, the social environment, the educational background, and prior contact with media assumedly reflect the socio-cultural context of practice. However, experiences are manifold and rather ambivalent than stringent, and tensions are to be expected between and within them. This fact demands caution about another than the technological determinism indicated above. Miller et al. declare that ‘although one would expect anthropologists to highlight issues of culture, we [...] intend to be as cautious about cultural determinism as about technological determinism’ (2016, p. 13). Agreeing with this statement, I reason that cultural factors should neither be neglected nor should they be overrated in their explanatory power.

Hinting at the complexity of culture, Hepp delivers a further structural argument opposing simplistic cultural determinism. More precisely, he argues that cultural context fields such as everyday life, business or religion through processes of mediatisation and cultural change tend to become more fragmented and pluralised (2009, p. 146). In my judgement, pluralisation and fragmentation of a priori heterogenous and diversified cul-

tural fields depict another significant indicator for the attentive assessment and avoidance of cultural determinism when exploring media practices.

Complicating the matter further, broader circumstances such as economic conditions and the global context must also be considered when turning to diverse yet interrelated cultural context fields of media practice (Winter, 2003, p. 314). Arjun Appadurai in his well-received article 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Flow' (1990) identifies five dimensions of this flow which interact in deeply perspectival relations. Captioning these, he coined the terms *ethnoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *technoscapes*, *finanscapes* and *ideoscapes* (1990). Appadurai suggests that mediascapes map the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (1990, p. 298f). Furthermore, mediascapes provide 'large and complex repertoires for images, narratives and 'ethnoscapes' [...] in which the world of commodities and the world of 'news' and politics are profoundly mixed' (1990, p. 299). Along with the other scapes he conceptualised, mediascapes might be a useful concept to understand how everyday practices more and more refer often to global interdependence regarding conditions and consequences of action.

However, once again, Appadurai himself repeatedly remarks that one should not be misled to regard the local use of, say, digital news media to be predetermined, in this case, merely being 'the product of global forces such as political economy' (Miller et al., 2016, p. 20f). This consideration leads to the last section of this chapter.

2.3. Cultural Localisation and Transcultural Connectivity

Digital news media embrace and produce far-ranging telemediated public spaces marked by both difference and connectivity. Based on insights gained in the first two parts of this chapter and oriented towards conceptual considerations by Andreas Hepp, the following paragraphs engage with cultural localisation and transcultural connectivity and discuss these concepts in connection with theories of globalisation.

The close interrelation of media, culture, and communication has been pointed out above. Lee Thayer (1987, p. 172) put it this way: ‘To be human is to be in communication in some human culture, and to be in some human culture is to see and know the world — to communicate — in a way which daily recreates that particular culture.’ As follows, communication in the shape of everyday conversations, first of all, carries the discourse of the local. Naturally, this discourse has always been interspersed with others due to seamlessly merging localities. In this context, ‘localities’ are not reduced to purely physical-material dimensions but depict socio-cultural spaces with boundaries that are permeable and continuously negotiated anew (Hepp, 2006, p. 255). With the increase, expansion, and concentration of media communication in line with globalisation processes and technological progress, and with integrating mediatisation processes of more and more areas in everyday life (Krotz, 2001), discursive connectivity within and between discourses of the local comes to the fore and appears more than ever characterised by its translocal horizons. In fact, Hepp boldly depicts the discourse of the media to be the discourse of the translocal (2006, p. 256) with an unforeseen operating distance blurring and re-defining the borders of communicative spaces.

This meta-perspective on global communicative connectivity transgressing various socio-cultural territories translocally demonstrates that, notwithstanding diverging cultural context fields and geographical distance, people are complexly interconnected in *doing* media (Winter, 2003, p. 332). Tomlinson comments that ‘being connected means being close in very specific ways: the experience of proximity afforded by these connections coexists with an undeniable, stubbornly enduring physical distance between places and people in the world, which the technological and social transformations of globalisation have not conjured away’ (1999, p. 4). In my judgement, digital media and devices greatly redound to the production of the experience of proximity different from a physical one though not necessarily in place of it. Equally, we need to acknowledge that what we know about the world is to a great extent mediated knowledge. Digital news media services, in particular, collect, process, (re-)contextualise, transform into news content, and disseminate information which they extract from ‘local’ contexts in unfathomable speed

and literally across the globe. Corresponding digital devices allow for immediate and largely unlimited access to content.

As has been demonstrated above, transcultural connectivity goes hand in hand with what Hepp proposed to refer to as ‘communicative deterritorialisation’ (2009, p. 147). With Appadurai’s conceptualisation of the global cultural flow and its five dimensions mentioned earlier (1990), we understood that mediascapes interfuse, saturate, and transcend different cultural context fields. Meanwhile, mediascapes receive and transmit cultural fragments on the basis of which they provide ‘large and complex repertoires for images, narratives and ‘ethnoscapes’ (1990, p. 299). This event places media practices amid globally circulating media flows and local appropriation (Dracklé, 2005, p. 188). Of course, these mediated fragments do not — as simplified approaches to media impact suggest — simply enter and unidirectionally manipulate diverse contexts (cf. the hypodermic needle theory). But then how exactly are these transculturally available resources being dealt with, read, heard, understood, interpreted, passed on, held back, ignored or, in short, appropriated?

Scholarship of media appropriation unanimously conceptualises the event of cultural alignment of mediated content as a most complex process of cultural localisation (e.g., Hepp, 2006, p. 255). Cultural localisation, Hepp argues, issues into a complex transformation of lifeworlds becoming noticeable in the extension of communication capabilities, the diversification of settings and the re-shaping of horizons of meanings (Hepp 2006; q.v. Hepp, 2005, p. 153). For a better analysis of the levels on which differences in the process of appropriation may occur, he sub-classifies four levels: the level of availability, the level of locations and social arrangements, the level of discursive allocation of meaning, and the level of media practices (2006, p. 261f). Since these interconnected levels will inform the analysis and discussion of data within this thesis, the final paragraphs will expound them in some greater detail.

On the level of availability [German: Angebotsebene], Hepp distinguishes material and discursive dimensions of this process. Regarding material aspects, he states that cultural localisation is based on the actual availability of technological devices and their dyna-

mic positioning in diverse everyday contexts (2006, p. 254, 261). Regarding content, cultural localisation is the translation of available media representations into the discourses and personal horizons of meaning of the respective lifeworlds (2006, p. 255f, 261). Accordingly, cultural localisation frames the active engagement with the formation and arrangement of media environments.

The second level serves to examine the circumstances of doing media and again features two dimensions. Firstly, we may look into whether media contact takes place in either a private or a public location, say, the living room or the metro line. Secondly, we may consider the corresponding social arrangement resulting in either an individual or a collective moment of media reception (2006, p. 256, 261f). The third level puts forward the aforementioned dynamic linking of local everyday discourses and horizons of meaning with mediated ones which repeatedly relativise the former and therefore issue into a discursive and consequentially never terminated allocation of supposedly increasingly hybridised meaning (2006, p. 262; q.v. 2005, 158). The fourth and last level in the analysis of processes of cultural localisation focusses on media practices and distinguishes practices regarding media technology, practices regarding media content and follow-up practices concerning the media (2006, p. 262).

As a final remark, it should be stated that the theories and concepts elucidated and discussed in this chapter are intended to deliver the theoretical framework for data analysis within the scope of this research.

3. METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

This Turkish-German anthropological study is based on a comparative and qualitative approach. This chapter serves to illustrate the course and details of research. The first section of this chapter will account for the choice of research methods. The second section will portray the empirical data forming the corpus of data of this study and recount and reflect about their collection. The third section contains the presentation of the analytic toolkit which has been applied to prepare this corpus of collected data for interpretation.

3.1. Rationale for the Selection of Research Methods

This thesis aims at understanding how individuals deploy digital news media in everyday life today and what digital news media are to them. Moreover, it inquires about how their practices vary or resemble one another, possibly featuring transcultural connectivity. Due to the anthropological perspective with which the ever-evolving empirical reality of people's digital news media practices has been approached, attention has primarily been directed at everyday practices in the day-to-day environment of a specific group of ordinary people. Adding a comparative perspective to this approach may appear contradictory in light of the axiom of cultural relativism which with good cause prevents oversimplified generalisations which do not take into account dynamic cultural plurality. After all, no individual ever represents all members of society (e.g., Miller et al., 2016, p. 36ff). However, it is expected that the chosen comparative approach will arrive at valuable insights. Simultaneously the study decidedly refrains from claiming universal validity for its findings.

Accordingly, everyday practices have been documented and interpreted in their processual character and with regard to the context of their socio-cultural setting. For this purpose, the research methodologically resorted to the ethnological tool of approaching familiar everyday practices by alienating one's gaze upon them (Breidenstein, Hirschauer, Kolthoff, & Nieswand, 2013, p. 30). Epistemologically, this study tied in with the ethnographic motive of discovery and the tradition of ethnography as the sociology of

everyday life, a tradition founded by Alfred Schütz (Schütz & Luckmann, 1979, cited from Breidenstein et al., 2013, p. 26).

The research design of this study has been identified after factoring in research prospects as well as considerations on realisability. It was predicated on an inductive empirical approach featuring a comparative study of cultural diversity. The comparative feature of this study is reflected in both its conception and execution. Qualitative data have been produced employing a small-sized set of both ethnographic and interview-based research methods. This ethnographic toolkit included semi-structured interviews and a reflective journal containing memos, field notes, protocols, and space for reflection and introspection. Furthermore, statistical data produced within the scope of recent international quantitative studies on news media consumption in Turkey and Germany have been collected.

The evaluation of the research subject included the thorough content analysis of verbally-produced and transcribed texts and the corpus of data compiled in the reflective journal. In addition to qualitative data that was produced within this individualistic anthropological work, the evaluation involves interpretation of quantitative data sets collected from the studies mentioned above. Beyond insights gained with the application of these research methods, this work also benefited from numerous experiences, observations, and introspections made during my long-term presence in the microsphere of the social settings of university campuses. The subsequent sections of this chapter offer a detailed report on the application of these methods.

This study is being referred to as a comparative qualitative anthropological study rather than a genuine media ethnography. This reservation is mainly due to three particular circumstances. The primary reason is that ‘within the discipline of anthropology a central tenet of ethnography is time’ (Miller et al., 2016, p. 28), which normally results in extended periods of presence regularly starting from one year. However, due to limited funding and logistics and a narrow time frame for this study, the duration of my stay in the two defined field sites was quite limited and did not allow me to freely follow research participants into all their varying ‘natural habitats’ (Miller et al., 2016, p. 28)

apart from the campuses. Secondly, the formal recorded interviews did not build on trusted relationships. This circumstance may have resulted in respondents trying to meet perceived social expectations (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, & Murdock, 1999, p. 71) rather than freely disclosing their actual practices, experiences or opinions. A third factor restricting comprehensive interaction and participatory observation central to ethnography was — relating to the Turkish field site — an insufficient proficiency in the local language. Equally, because I would scarcely have gained access to content, I refrained from establishing an online presence with research participants via social media.

It is the aim of this study to contribute to the body of anthropological research on digital media. However, the study does not claim to approach the matter independent from pre-suppositions and personal attitudes. There can never be complete neutrality or objectivity in research. Instead, research necessarily appertains to specific discourses and, as follows, depicts a specific (re-)construction of reality. I am aware of holding a position as a researcher that – from an epistemological viewpoint – cannot be considered independently from my personal history, values and theories. I acknowledge that these inevitably influence my approach to the research question, my choice and use of methods as well as my reactions to and ways of working with data, and that they, therefore, need to be reflected.

3.2. Empirical Data and their Collection

This research's data corpus contains three sets of empirical data. The first set comprises field notes, protocols and memos with diverse content jotted down into my reflective study journal. To supplement this first data set, interviews have been conducted, recorded, and transcribed. Eventually, a collection of recent scientific publications investigating trajectories of change in matters of news media appropriation and the technological evolution of media and communication technologies in Germany and Turkey came to constitute the third set of data. A detailed and reflective account for the collection of all data will follow below. As this is a personal account, some passages will be written in the first person.

3.2.1. Study journal

The first and most enduring tool activated in this research has been an analogous reflective study journal opened months before the actual field work. Keeping it always at hand, I noted any idea as well as any new thoughts or pieces of information picked up alongside various other activities. This practice helped me sensitise and explore my mind, develop my thoughts, work out my research interest and identify the sampling frame. After getting started with field research and analysis, I wrote field notes, observation protocols, and spontaneous memos into that same journal.

Naturally, in the process, an accumulation of excess memos and material occurred making it necessary to regularly re-visit and re-arrange penned notes. However, I would conclude that this method to continually keep writing served to fulfil several vital functions. It helped me set a focus on, verbalise, explicate, distance myself from and reflect upon observations.

3.2.2. Field sites

Any collection of empirical data necessitates a first definition of the field site for empirical research. This field site must be convenient for a fruitful investigation of the central research question. However, in the frame of an empirical anthropological study, the research question itself typically remains subject to a constant theoretical modification owing to experiences collected in the field (Breidenstein et al., 2013, p. 46).

The central question of this study addressed urban undergraduate students' media practices. For my choice of campuses I was drawn to the field sites of two different yet comparable global cities — one German, the other Turkish. Representing a locality where students spend much of their everyday life, I anticipated that campuses would afford numerous opportunities for both participatory observations and guided interviews which would allow me to learn more about local practices and compare some issues. Accordingly, the locations chosen for conducting field research were firstly the Cibali Campus of the KHU in Balat, Istanbul, and secondly the campus of the TUB in Berlin-

Centre. The figure below provides a map (Google Maps, 2018) visualising the two field sites comprised by this binational anthropological study.

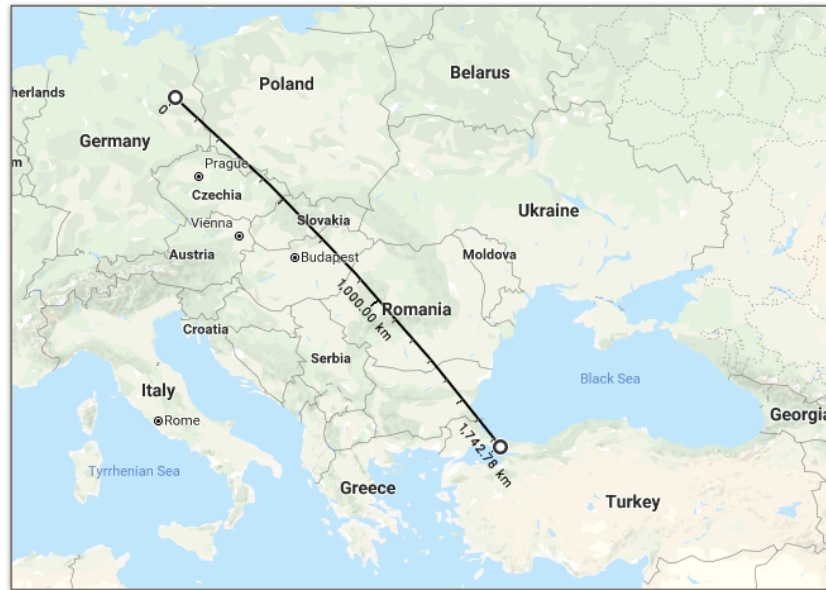


Figure 3.1 The Berlin and Istanbul Field Sites

3.2.3. Access to the field sites and participant observation

Structural access to the private Cibali Campus was enabled by the fact that I have been an enrolled student at the KHU during the time of my research. As such I have been granted a membership chip card which authorises me to pass the security check at the campus' entrance. In contrast, access to the TUB campus which belongs to public space was free of any preconditions. Linguistically, it was important that the Turkish field site would allow me to use English as an alternative language of study and communication, something granted within the KHU as a prestigious international educational institution.

On-site, I seized the opportunity to assume the role of the co-present participating observer in that I took a seat in one of the lounges or outdoor areas, just like every other day. At Cibali Campus there are several spacious halls and also a garden, all equipped with a variety of seating accommodations and providing space for taking a rest, spending one's break, meeting friends, preparing for classes or having some snacks. Most of these areas entail cafés, kiosks, and canteens. They all provide an excellent connection

to the campus net and in this way an essential requisite for the unrestricted use of digital devices. The same applies to the TUB Campus, although its indoor and outdoor spaces are less commercial and maybe for that same reason less comfortable and inviting. In my view, this results in a higher level of fluctuation among the student body population.

Belonging to the general student body allowed me to remain unobtrusive and at eye level when switching roles from the participator to the participating observer, spontaneously deciding to produce an opportunity of focused observation. However, the observability of digital news media practices in the described settings was restricted to outward indications such as the application of digital devices and the change in the level or manner of interaction with the actual surroundings. From the outside, the many alternating activities conducted with digital devices were certainly not distinguishable from digital news media practices in particular. For this reason, both explicit interviews and personal introspection which turned my very own practices into an object of investigation became central to analysis.

3.2.4. Typical-case sampling

Three guided interviews in the Turkish field site were conducted in July 2017. The three corresponding ones in the German field site took place in August 2017. Interview partners alien to me were selected opportunistically yet following the manners of typical-case sampling (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 53). The only sample specifications decided upon were to interview ordinary undergraduate students, four female and two male, from diverse faculties equally distributed between the Turkish and German field sites (cf. Table 3.1). I resolved not to strive for a representative sample, which is in any case incompatible with this study's research philosophy, size, and design, but to allow for variation and contrast within the sample units. The sample size of six interview partners had been determined in consideration of the feasibility of preparing, conducting, transcribing and analysing the equivalent number of recordings within the scope of this study.

In subdivided categories, Table 3.1 offers a quick formal review of the six interview participants and conducted interviews.

Table 3.1 Formal Review of the Student Sample

Participants (names anonymised)	Burcu (P1)	Murat (P2)	Irem (P3)	Michelle (P4)	Li-An (P5)	Ben (P6)
Age, Sex	20, ♀	22, ♂	20, ♀	20, ♀	22, ♀	21, ♂
University, City	KHU Istanbul	KHU Istanbul	KHU Istanbul	TUB Berlin	TUB Berlin	TUB Berlin
Field of Study	Law	Electronics and Engineering	Psychology	Business Informatics	Bio-Technology	Mechanical Engineering
Place of Birth	Turkey	Turkey	Germany	Vietnam	Germany	Germany
First Language	Turkish	Turkish	Turkish	Vietnamese	German and Vietnamese	German
Interview Language	English	English	German	German	German	German
Recording Time (mm:ss)	29:11	36:37	30:07	18:51	24:55	38:44

3.2.5. Conducting interviews with the student samples

Approaching possible research participants among the students was facilitated by the circumstance that I am a student myself and consequentially in a similar social position. To that effect, it was fairly easy to empathically create an open and friendly atmosphere and make everyone comfortable in my presence. Nevertheless, I felt challenged by the degree of self-confidence and good humour each interview situation demanded.

Whenever I addressed students with the request for an interview, I checked first to see whether they were undergraduate, graduate or doctoral students or university employees in order to weigh their convenience concerning my sample. I then explained why I would be conducting the interview, named the interview topic and specified how and where the meeting would take place. I also informed people about the scale of the study and the affiliated institutions.

Preparation for the scheduled semi-structured in-depth interviews included composing a stimulating interview guide. This interview guide served to frame the interview agenda

by listing the issues I wanted to examine (cf. Appendix A). However, it did not necessarily determine the order or wording of my questions or restrict these, as I wanted to give some control over content and foci to the participants. In order to enable an open-response format which would allow me to learn about how the individual research participant would evaluate specific issues and arrive at this evaluation (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 65; Dresing, Pehl, & Schmieder, 2012, p. 7), I tried to pose conceptually open, non-provocative and soft questions and to allocate the speaking privilege to the research participants (Dresing et al., 2012, p. 10f). Whether I succeeded in doing so partly became reflected in the oral fluency as opposed to hesitancy and monosyllabic answers observable in the interview transcripts. Simultaneously, this format of semi-structured interviews enabled me to freely and creatively elaborate on issues emerging during each conversation.

At a later point of the study, the scope of this study was narrowed down to restore its manageability. For this reason, the interview agenda contains subquestions which exceed the final research interest.

During the interviews, I strove for controlling the impact of the so-called interviewer bias (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 68, 393) by preferring the use of value-free vocabulary and refraining from offering personal points of view or interpretations. However, I deem it inevitable that some of my phrasing and bearing in the position of the interviewer at times did attract certain types of answers. To reduce interviewer bias and to test questions, underlying assumptions and reactions, it would have been helpful to conduct and analyse a pilot interview. However, due to time limits in the Turkish field site where I began doing field research, I refrained from implementing one.

After each interview, I pulled out of the scene to immediately produce a protocol on the interview situation, immediate impressions, and occurring problems. This method helped me to inwardly distance myself from the interview situation, to reflect on personal perceptions and to verbalise and memorise possibly interesting details regarding appearance, bearing, gesture and facial expressions of my interview partners during the interview.

According to the participants' preferences and mastery, the interviews were conducted in either English or German. I chose to offer German-language interviews to native speakers to preserve the unaltered originality of wording for more exact analysis. Unfortunately, my Turkish language level was not adequate for equally offering Turkish as an interview language to native Turkish speakers. I am aware that this limits the quality of my data to some degree as the application of a second language inevitably entails an alteration and obfuscation of the speakers' statements. In the end, two interviews in the Turkish field site were conducted in English and one in German, whereas in the German field site all interviews were held in German (cf. Table 3.1). The Turkish research participant choosing German as the preferred interview language was a female student born and raised in Germany until seven years old and who still stays in touch with relations in Germany.

3.2.6. Producing transcripts

Interview transcripts were produced in August 2017, soon after the interviews had taken place. Transcription has been implemented with the utilisation of the software *f4transkript* (Pehl & Dresing, 2011). In the process, priority was mainly given to the content and readability of the interviews, because the descriptive data analysis would primarily focus on the surface semantic content of a conversation. For this reason, transcription conventions and rules oriented towards suggestions made by Kuckartz, Dresing, Rädiker & Stefer (2008) have been defined on a modest level. They included retaining colloquial speech and delineating some insightful para- or nonverbal incidents such as conversational gaps, ruptures, concurrent speaking, or voice volume.

Table 3.2 itemises the signs that have been used to cover and delineate the information that was to be included in the transcripts.

Table 3.2 Personalised Transcription Conventions and Rules

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS	MEANING
(...) (5 seconds)	Brackets with one to three dots represent conversation pauses with the length of one to three seconds. In cases where the speech break lasted longer than that, seconds have been counted and written out in brackets.
(chuckling)	Brackets also serve to record paraverbal aspects of communicative performances.
/	One backslash indicates discontinuation of sentences or even abrupt stops within one word followed by an immediate restart.
//	Two backslashes refer to two persons speaking concurrently.
CAPITAL LETTERS	Capital letters allude to a heightened voice volume indicating an emphasis.
(inc.)	Inc. stands for incomprehensible words (German: unv. = unverständlich). The reason might also be noted if it is due to an external circumstance, e.g., wailing sirens.

3.2.7. Research ethics

I now want to expound my considerations regarding ethical issues which I oriented towards the BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct (British Psychological Society, 2009). It was my intention to strictly gear all processes of data collection, registration, processing, and evaluation towards the purposes of this research. The following measures have been taken to meet ethical standards in handling sensitive data. In the first place, all participants received some preliminary information about the scale of the study, the affiliated institutions, my intentions, and the rough context of my inquiry. I also gave a clear statement concerning anonymity, beforehand. All interviews were conducted based on informed consent. To afford anonymity and confidentiality, I used pseudonyms for transcription and analysis. Furthermore, I was careful not to disclose personally identifiable information which could potentially entail long-term consequences harmful to the welfare and dignity of my research participants.

For this reason, the interview transcripts released in Appendix B represent a revised version of the originals. These intentionally leave out the interview sections which obtain personal details. Moreover, to guarantee the safeguarding of contact details such as fam-

ily names, E-Mail addresses and phone numbers, I listed these solely in my analogous reflective journal and had never transferred them into a digital format.

3.3. Data Analysis

Six recorded and transcribed semi-structured interviews along with the protocols on the interview situation, as well as the written records of observation, provided the core material for descriptive and interpretive data analysis. The procedure of data analysis which will be described below was oriented towards strategies suggested by Breidenstein et al. (2013, p. 109ff). The overall aims were to document practices, to understand digital news media from the perspective of its users and to distinguish some characteristic patterns of practices which at times indicate cultural context-dependency and at other times point out transcultural connectivity.

I applied a three-stage coding technique comprising initial, focused, and theoretical coding to prepare the material for evaluation. To start with, I have read the complete data corpus repeatedly to familiarise myself with its content and to begin identifying relevant topics with which to establish a relation between the material and the scientific discourse. For this purpose, I checked the printed data corpus for recurring patterns as well as for surprising, curious or conflicting text passages which I marked with various symbols such as question marks, exclamation marks, a flash symbol, or an ellipsis. The identification of topics helped to define the interview sequences at which to concentrate during evaluation. In consequence, this phase of initial coding was accompanied by revisiting scientific literature and narrowing down the scope of scientific discourses that were to be considered within this thesis. After that, during the focused coding, I strove to systemise the material by terming and noting down codes for all categories, topics, and ideas which I encountered in the texts.

Finally, during the theoretical coding, I questioned which codes had proved valuable and what their relationship was. On that basis, I formed code families and identified each of them with an umbrella term and a specific colour. This procedure was not linear. Some codes and categories were found later-on, some had to be dismissed retroactively

because they went beyond the scope of the study. However, each of the remaining code families and their sub-categories subsequently provided the skeleton for separate computer-based analytic tables. Each table primarily contrasted the statements of all six interview participants but was also applied to the other sets of collected data.

Table 3.3 provides a schematic representation of code families and sub-categories.

Table 3.3 Code Families and Sub-Categories

DOING DIGITAL NEWS MEDIA: PRACTICES, EVALUATIONS, REFLECTIONS			
Code Family I: Accessing News; Sources of News			
Technological Devices	Gateways	Preferred Formats and Genres	Mentioned News Brands
Code Family II: Confirmed Habits of Doing Digital News Media			
Frequency	Location	Language	Reach
Code Family III: Content			
Frequent Topics		Avoided Topics	
Code Family IV: Attention Attracting Eye Catchers			
Pictures	Headlines	Background Colour	Format
Code Family V: Online Interactivity			
Sharing	Liking	Reading Comments	Writing Comments
Code Family VI: Incentives of Doing Digital News Media			
Information	Education	Entertainment	Opinion Formation
Code Family VII: Evaluations of Media Performance A			
Media Bias	Reliability	Trivialisation	Emotionalisation
Code Family VIII: Evaluations of Media Performance B			
Approval and Disaffirmation	Personal Observations and Encounters vs. Mediated Quasi-Interaction		Reflections and Demands
Code Family IX: Personal Background Information			
Educational Background and Ambitions	Social Arrangement	Migration Issues in the Nuclear or Broader Family	Personal Migration Considerations

This process of systematically splitting up and reorganising the six verbally-produced texts featuring both sexes and countries in complex tables prepared the data corpus well for comparatively analysing content. Initially, I had been interested in paying additional attention to textual features of the spoken language uses in the interview situation – e.g., word choice, grammar, acts of passivation and the continuous repetition of terms (Dracklé, 1996, p. 37). Unfortunately, though, this would have gone beyond the scope of this small-scale project.

The prior aim of the evaluation was to discover and interpret commonalities, similarities, and differences in the digital news media practices of Turkish and German urban undergraduate students. The analytic inquiries related to the research sample and derived from the research questions asked about what is, in fact, being done with digital communication and information media bound with potential: In what diverse or characteristic ways are they being handled, and with what purposes? Moreover, and relating to the theoretical foundations laid in chapter two, key findings have been interpreted and discussed against the background of subject-specific conceptualisations of media and communication environments and mediatization processes, the self-containedness and context-dependency of media practices, and processes of cultural localisation and transcultural connectivity.

Being committed to contextualisation, I wanted to describe and interpret media practices against background components such as location, social arrangement, biography, and the social, educational and political context. Miller et al. state that ‘everything people do is the context for everything else they do’ (2016, p. 29). For that reason, each transcript has also been looked at individually to learn about the individual participants’ discursive allocation of meaning when explicating and clarifying positions. I choose the term ‘discursive’ because I assume that media practices and evaluations are never isolated and fully individualised but discursive, reflexive and embedded in a specific cultural context. In this regard, I also queried during analysis how interview questions might have possibly been interpreted in different and culturally specific ways.

Naturally, this study's data corpus allows merely a minor and inevitably selective insight into such discourses, the complexity of which can anyway hardly be overestimated. Applying a qualitative approach, this anthropological study knowingly does not raise the claim to arrive at any representative and generalisable statements. In this fashion, the evaluation strives to expound some characteristics in the digital news media practices of urban undergraduate students in Turkey and Germany while it does not claim that these are valid for the whole Turkish or German student body and without denying the likeliness or the possible range of exceptions. This decision is based on the presumption that this study's objects of investigation — culture and communication — are dynamic and conflictual as they are full of continually negotiated normativities and bound to the equally dynamic interaction of people and environments.

However, in the course of interpreting specific parameters, associated representative findings of the Reuters Institute Digital News Survey — an international quantitative news media consumption study (Newman et al., 2017) — have been consulted when appropriate and revealing.

Due to the circumstance that descriptive data analysis concentrated on content, the product of evaluation released in chapter four contains direct quotations from the interview transcripts. The language of the interviews has been retained within these quoted passages in order to preserve the originality and vibrancy of the statements while offering a specific interpretation. Corresponding line number references are being given which allow the quoted interview passages to be found within the transcripts (cf. Appendix B).

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS: A BINATIONAL COMPARISON

As soon as I began to observe digital media practices, what occurred to me was the astonishingly frequent use of the smartphone by young people in Istanbul and Berlin alike. I was amazed by how saturated with the use of new media and communication technologies daily student life appeared to be. Situations in which mobile digital devices are being applied, vary impressively, making mobile technology usage a common and ubiquitous sight on and off campus. Observing my fellow students' practices along with my own, I realised that one activity repeated regularly was checking, skimming, reporting on, and being otherwise engaged with digital news. For many, the personal digital end device apparently became their main or even only source for news. Digital news services obviously possess great relevance for the micro-level situation of a student, as they form a part of the set of media and media functions students access and operate with. The will to understand this was the initial motivating spark of my study.

This evaluation chapter, which forms the study's centrepiece, fully attends to the description and interpretation of the results of research and analysis while drawing a binational comparison looking for commonalities, similarities, and differences. Media practices are, as has been demonstrated in chapter two, context-dependent. Therefore, the first section will examine social arrangements and media and communication environments underlying the participating Turkish and German students' digital news media practices. The second section will turn to these groups' digital news media practices themselves and examine them in regard to media technology, habits of accessing and handling content and follow-up practices. Here, visible moments of translocal communicative connectivity will be retraced and related to the transcultural media cultures they contour. The third section will provide a review and outline relevant insights gained in this chapter.

4.1. Environments of Doing Digital News Media

The two groups of Turkish and German students making up this study's research sample consist of undergraduate, full time, first or second-year students aged, close in age (cf.

Table 3.1) who therefore stand in a similar phase of life. The students' subjects of study differ widely yet all students hold a university entrance qualification which indicates a comparable education level. One Turkish and two German students live with one parent or two. The remaining students moved from other cities to the city they currently study in, now living alone or with a room-mate. All six students are unmated.

Three students have a migration background. Irem was born in Germany; her mother, who at early age migrated to Germany at a young age with her own parents, returned with Irem when she was seven years old. Michelle, along with her mother, left her country, Vietnam, at the age of 5 and applied for the German citizenship when she turned 18. Li-An, whose Vietnamese parents came some years earlier, was born and raised in Berlin. In all six students' broader families there are past and present stories of migration and transnational communication which in some cases can increase interest and understanding for international news.

Except for Ben's father who is a university professor of mechanical engineering, all other parents work in medium-sized jobs in the hotel sector and food service, and as social workers, graduate nurses, pharmacists, legal secretaries, and locksmiths. The two male students have side jobs parallel to their studies. All of them have the support of their parents in their decision to study. However, KHU is a private university, and the families of Turkish students need to fund not only living costs but also considerable tuition fees.

The fact that each university is located in a global city entails many commonalities concerning the technological supply and outstanding infrastructure for digital communication as has been demonstrated in chapter 2.1. On a global level, urban populations are likely to be among the early adopters of technological innovation in contrast to rural communities of the same country. Regarding media and communication technology, this applies to Istanbul and Berlin, both of which depict points of intersection in processes of globalisation and mediatisation. Indeed, corresponding to the high availability of media devices and services in these urban settings, all students are equipped with at least one digital device allowing for mobile connectivity and digital communication and informa-

tion practices. This extraordinary circumstance appears to have become likewise expected and normalised by the students' social networks and also by the educational institutions they attend; it mirrors conventions of the societal spheres relevant to the students and demonstrates how much the use of soft media and communication commodities is being positioned in the centre of everyday student life in the students' urban socio-cultural environments.

As to the universities, we can observe how these produced and institutionalised a particular knowledge of how to use digital information and communication media possibilities for their interests. In both universities, many communication processes between management, faculties, teaching staff and students happen digitally via web-pages, university E-mail programs, software systems like *sparks* or *PABO*, and interactive e-learning platforms like *blackboard* or *Stud.IP*. This condition increases both the speed and efficiency of communication operations. That this has become standard in urban university life worldwide once again provides evidence for global mediatisation processes and confirms that students around the globe are confronted with similar requirements. I reason that the diffuse social and institutional expectancy to be digitally present, informed and reachable, reflects a new normativity arising from processes of digitalisation and the 'condition of immediacy' (Tomlinson, 2010, 2007, p. 10). In my regard, this diffuse normativity entails a critical reason explaining why mobile devices are commonly at hand in the public location of university campuses and beyond.

In their multifunctionality, mobile digital devices make numerous online practices technologically possible, only one of which is doing digital news media. It needs to be stressed that access to news media via mobile digital devices is not something technologically determined. There must be other reasons why these devices are increasingly being favoured over others for doing digital news media.

Indeed, recent descriptive statistics provide evidence for the observation that the smartphone represents the central news device among the 18-44 year-old Turkish (Yanatma, 2017, p. 27, 26) and German population (Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 30). Along with the rocketing use of smartphones, online digital news media sites and offers

have mounted rapidly. After it became standard for widely used web-based services to incorporate mobile connectivity, news media including news broadcasting are, among the 18-24 year-olds in both countries, now significantly more popular in their online formats such as websites or apps than in printed formats or via radio or television (Yanatma, 2017, p. 20, Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 20f).

How does the attractiveness of accessing news media digitally via mobile devices come about? The following part of this chapter will take a closer look at the everyday digital news media practices of today's students in order to develop a better understanding. However, for the moment it is essential to acknowledge the extensive similarity regarding initial circumstances and infrastructural prerequisites for doing digital news media within these two sample groups.

4.2. Insights into Complex Connectivity

Due to the medium to high level of engagement with political news content which all interviewees signal, these students belong to the 55% of the German or the 60% of the Turkish population of 18-24 year-olds interested in news (Yanatma, 2017, p. 14; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 11). This circumstance is not much of a surprise as interest in news media correlates with the educational level (Yanatma, 2017, p. 15). This section is divided into several categories to provide a detailed analysis of what Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' everyday digital news media practices look like today and in what ways doing digital news media features transcultural communicative connectivity.

4.2.1. The choice of technology

When asked for the technology with which they access news media, all participants promptly and without indecision referred to their mobile devices (l. 6, 314, 612, 892, 1140, 1391). None mentioned radio sets, and only Irem stated that she occasionally resorts to television as an alternative source of news other than her mobile device (l. 859).

Meanwhile, the two male participants, Murat and Ben, expressed their reluctance for news streamings in television. Murat explicitly referred this reluctance to his distrust in the credibility of news channels while Ben's utterances hinted at too much useless, time-consuming content:

I don't have a television because I don't trust some news which is streaming on television. That's why I prefer to read eh or listen some news on the internet. (Murat, l. 335ff)

Ich hab nich mal n Anschluss. Ja, ich hatte mal einen. Aber ich war jetzt zu Hause das letzte Wochenende und wieder Fernsehen geguckt und (.) weiß genau, warum ich's nicht vermisste. (Ben, l. 1577ff)

Concerning print media, only Burcu communicated that she regularly purchases a newspaper on the weekends (l. 14), and Ben reported buying at most one or two magazines a year when really interested:

Ab und zu kriegt man ja hier eine geschenkt oder so, aber ansonsten / nur wenn ich's wirklich interessant finde. Also wenn ich wirklich das mal / wenn ich im Laden bin und das mich wirklich anspricht, dann kauf ich mir halt mal so ne Zeitschrift. (Ben, l. 1421ff)

Considering the decreasing popularity of print media and radio and television broadcasting as preferred sources of news among Turkish and German students, I infer that the students' almost enthusiastic preference for online formats accessed via mobile digital devices arises from a set of attractive features and possibilities entailed by the use of such devices. The first significant feature is their handiness and portability that allow for continuous wireless mobile connectivity, resulting in the constant availability of things. The second one is their multifunctionality leading to a more self-determined control over content and action, as well as control over the location and actual point in time and duration of access to and preoccupation with this content. The third feature is the increasing and potentially fascinating speed of media and communication systems in general. The increased potential for self-decided action regarding timing, setting, and duration of immediate access as well as the choice of content on which to lay hold of, enables students to adjust their practices precisely to their own needs, interests, level of concentration, time capacities, preferences, and priorities.

Inspired by Miller et al. (2016) who introduced the term ‘scalable sociality’ for conceptualising current social media cultures bridging the gap between public broadcasting and private communication, I found that scalability also depicts a vital feature of doing digital news media. To be more exact, I expect that digitally accessing online news content via mobile devices renders the engagement with local and global news content to be more finely gradual and therefore more individually scalable than other forms of access and participation. However, the emphasis is placed on increased rather than perfect scalability as control remains limited.

On balance, the increased scalability of engagement results in students practising digital news media considerably more individually and independently on a temporal, spatial, linguistic and even a financial level. Accordingly, scalable engagement turns out to be a significant characteristic coining students’ practices of digital news media. As will be demonstrated below, this becomes manifest in the sample groups’ purchasing, reading, watching, and listening habits and is furthermore reflected in their utterances on frequency, location, language, intensity, gateways, and topics of interest.

4.2.2. Possible financial considerations

As has been put on record above, Burcu is the only one who reported to regularly purchase gazettes on the weekends (l. 14), and Ben very seldom spends his own money on a news magazine (l. 1423f). When it comes to accessing news online, no-one mentions services that he or she pays for.

Although within the interviews financial considerations appeared only indirectly, I figure that these, in fact, are a relevant factor for some. Statistically, the readiness to pay for digital news formats is extremely rare in both countries (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulus, Levy & Nielsen, 2017, p. 34ff). What is more, the student status implicates limited budgets and the intent to avoid additional expenses, a circumstance probably influencing how they shape their everyday digital news media practices and explaining their genuine preference for free digital news media.

Among urban students in both Istanbul and Berlin, investment into mobile connectivity became a matter of course. This condition is probably due to the increased affordability of such devices, to societal requirements discussed above, to the desire for participation and also to the multiple functions integrated into mobile devices which potentially make life — especially in complex metropolises — more manageable on a practical level. Mobile connectivity is additionally facilitated by firstly the provision of free campus WLAN systems, secondly the global cities' well-developed communication infrastructure and thirdly, mainly relating to Istanbul, low charges for digital communications.

Due to simultaneous economisation processes, national and international media ventures have increasingly been geared towards the economic system (Jarren & Donges, 2006) on account of which many media brands are greatly co-funded. For example, on-line news sites usually integrate advertisement. Some offer users free access to a sometimes restricted number of articles per day before they protect quality journalism online with a paywall, or enable access to archives, extra services and very early access to latest news only with flexible standing orders. Others alternatively ask for voluntary contributions to support their services or try crowdsourcing as a financing model hoping to provide editorial independence. In the case of public service broadcasting, media are financed by lawfully demanded fees. Beyond that, numerous major media holdings are gainfully active in other business segments too, and as is the case in Turkey, are financially interlinked with the current ruling party (cf. German Foreign Office, 2017).

As a consequence of these ulterior fundings, users are increasingly able to choose and access high-quality digital news sources without necessarily having to pay, a fact diminishing one cost factor within students' limited budgets. Additionally, through the technical convergence of the formerly separate news media formats and devices into a digital form, users can choose from a broad and easily accessible spectrum which renders the making and revising of decisions more flexible. Eventually, this structural condition allows one to switch quickly between different offers and to compare perspective representations, something argued for by several participants and less comfortable to realise with print media, for instance.

All things considered from the perspective of students equipped with mobile digital devices, there is — up to a certain level of information — practically no need to link up their news media practices with financial considerations. In this way, the students' engagement with digital news media proves to be scalable quite independently from additional expenses. For me, this is itself an explanation for the interviewees have not broached the issue of financial considerations.

4.2.3. Gateways and sources

There are numerous online sources for political news. Among these are websites and apps of newspapers and TV and radio companies, digital-born news sites, free journalism portals, blogs and social media. The participating students named the following brands: Cumhuriyet (print and online), Hürriyet Online, Sabah, Haber International, The Guardian, CNN, BBC, NBC, n-tv, Spiegel Online, Die Welt Online, Die Zeit and ARD News Online. These sources can be accessed online via different gateways. For example, the homepage address can be entered directly or if this website has an app, the app can be installed and in this way also allows direct access. Alternatively, news can be accessed via news aggregators, mobile alerts or social media networks. Moreover, a specific news item can be searched for via search engines. The website or portal where one ends up at is not necessarily the output of deliberate decisions. Instead, access to web-content can — especially in the case of smartphone usage, and somewhat unnoticeably — become directed by rankings and algorithm-based suggestions specific to a user's profile. As a general rule, it can be assumed that users do not stick to one particular gateway but apply a combination of different gateways, nevertheless showing clear preferences.

Indeed, four out of six interviewees had one or more news apps installed on their mobile devices and use these apps as direct gateways to the personally preferred source of news (l. 6, 611, 1140, 1391). Ben, for one, has a folder arranged on his mobile phone which contains several news apps of brands, each of which he elected for a specific personal quality attribution: quick, reliable, serious-minded and under public law (l. 1397,

1407ff). On the other hand, five of the six interviewees obtain news from or follow news links suggested to them on social media platforms (l. 15, 293, 314f, 610f, 887, 1152). Facebook and Twitter were named explicitly and repeatedly, and indeed they are among the top six social media and messaging apps used for news in both Turkey and Germany (Yanatma, 2017, p. 37; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 40f). Because they include public broadcasting on their social media platforms, Facebook and other social media have scaled up substantially from private to public communication media platforms. Irem, Michelle, and Li-An detailed their course of action as follows:

Also ich les immer vom Twitter, da folge ich die Dinge. Also Hürriyet und so folge ich dort. Ja, ich hab so viele Apps für die Media und so, so lese ich von meinem Telefon, über Internet. (Irem, l. 610ff)

Überwiegend halt online und ähm vor allem, sage ich mal, wenn ich auf Facebook bin und gewisse Seiten geliked habe, wie DIE WELT, SPIEGEL oder so und ich klick' halt auf die weiterführenden Links. (Michelle, l. 886ff)

Also in letzter Zeit war wirklich so auf Facebook. Als da kann man ja auch so die Seiten von den News halt liken und die poppen dann immer up. Und wenn du dann so runterscrollst, weil du ja eigentlich IMMER auf Facebook bist, dann sieht man eigentlich / die meisten News. (l. 1152ff) Wenn ich halt MEHR lesen will dann, so, geh ich auf die Seite. (Li-An, l. 1202ff)

The female students' self-assessments suggest that social media are successful in being drawn on as a source of news by those oft-frequenting social media platforms and making them the initial point for online activity. In stark contrast, Ben, who has a Facebook account himself, proved to be highly critical of and careful about Facebook's algorithm-based function to automatically generate follow-up links based on what has previously been accessed:

Wenn man zum Beispiel einen Artikel anklickt, ähm, generiert Facebook automatisch passende Artikel dazu. Also, da kriegst du dann direkt wieder andere Vorschläge. (l.1642ff) Also das ist im Prinzip wirklich ganz direkt: ich springe zurück aus dem Artikel auf die Seite Facebook und dann is' UNTER dem Artikel DIREKT so ne Leiste mit vier, fünf anderen Artikeln zu dem Thema, die alle ne ähnliche Schreibart und ne ähnliche Meinung dazu haben. (l. 1651ff) Gerade mit Facebook und so, find ich SEHR bedenklich. (Ben, l. 1907f)

In his judgement these do not answer for delivering clarifying information content but rather serve to confirm a preconceived opinion:

Das geht dann ja wirklich nur noch ähm (.) darum, die eigene Meinung die man ja sowieso schon hat, noch zu (.) bestärken. (l. 1634f) Und das brauch ich ja aber nicht als Leser. Also, ich brauch ja nich, ich les ja nich Nachrichten, um meine eigene Meinung zu bekräftigen, sondern um vielleicht (.) zu wissen, was los ist und irgendwelche Lösungsansätze / mal darüber Bescheid zu wissen. (Ben, l. 1615ff)

The statements prove that implicitly or explicitly expressed opinions on the suitability of social media to serve as a gateway to obtaining news, diverge. There seems to be more unanimity in the student sample about blogs and other forms of free journalism and alternative media. None of the students ranked these among her or his regular political news sources and just one reported to visit blogs in the lifestyle section. This inobservance of alternative media might be due to a contentedness or satiation with the oversupply of mainstream media and the lack of demand for other sources. When asked if she accesses alternative media, Michelle said:

Weniger. (..) Bis gar nicht, ehrlich gesagt. Also es is halt wirklich, wenn ich mich SEHR dafür interessiere. (Michelle, l. 1122f)

Ben, however, refrains from relying on alternative sources due to content which he critically rates as likely being tendentious regarding political-ideological thinking, and in this case can be dismissed:

Sobald man merkt, dass die irgend ne Tendenz haben, kann man's eigentlich schon nicht mehr ernst nehmen. (Ben, l. 1606f)

Altogether, on an individual level, digital news media practices diverge significantly concerning the choice of sources and gateways. This fact presumably has to do with the individual degree of engagement with news content, with expectations of digital news media and personal reflectiveness as well as with the individual socio-politico-cultural environment of a person. Moreover, it must have to do with underlying private attitudes toward reliability which will be discussed in section 4.2.10.

4.2.4. The temporal and spatial level

The degree to which students appreciate and live out the scalability of engagement when doing digital news media also becomes apparent with the assessment of the temporal level of digital news media practices. The participating students stated that they access news ‘rather spontaneously’, ‘constantly [...] maybe ten times a day’, ‘often in daily life’, ‘whenever it fits in’ or ‘when one is alone’ (l. 12, 343, 618, 909, 1160). All these utterances reflect the spontaneous character of doing digital news media via personal end devices and along these lines mirror the no longer questioned condition of ubiquitous access to constantly available news content. Students appear to regard the digital format of news media as especially advantageous in contrast to other news media formats for the particular reason that instant online access and consumption can easily be subdivided into portions matching momentary personal needs or circumstances. Also, engagement with online news content can easily be interrupted midway and continued later on. As follows, the intensity of engagement with digital news media can equally be adapted to the then present situation and the user’s current condition. On the contrary, periodicals and magazines possibly put consumers on the spot over reading in a short timeline.

Correspondingly, concerning the spatial level of news media communication, the students emphasised digitally connecting to news content anywhere in private and public. Examples mentioned are during transport en route to the metropolises’ university campuses, in the restroom, in bed or while preparing food in the kitchen (l. 618, 1160, 1172, 1572). On campus, I observed how checking on the news in most cases happens individually and in silence yet in public locations. Students access digital news content while waiting for a date, an appointment or the next lesson, having lunch or enjoying a drink, studying in the library or even while attending lectures and seminars, supposedly unobtrusive. Meanwhile, they flexibly scale their engagement with news content via the handy mobile phone. For example, one may choose to dedicate themselves to doing digital news media for just a minute while sitting, standing or slow walking and paying parallel attention to one’s actual environment; or to pay full attention to digital news

content for a more extended period. Because accessing news media in this context happens typically on the basis of a sudden resolve and in public, its implementation is mostly limited to silently reading content. Some students, however, also listen to or watch open video and audio files integrated into news sites in public, often thoughtfully applying either headphones or reduced sound intensity.

All in all, the students' outward practices of digital news media on the considered university campus sites which are geographically distant yet institutionally close, revealed great similarity. This observation intensifies with regard to qualitative aspects as will be shown in the following section.

4.2.5. Reading, listening and watching behaviour

Whereas one can also watch and listen to news content, engagement with digital news media most often takes the shape of reading. All participants expressed that their engagement with news media remains limited, for the most part, to skimming headlines and pictures, extendible to reading the summaries at the head of news articles (e.g., Li-An, l. 1359). The density of breaking news seems to be widely appreciated. However, frequently only great curiosity, a keen interest in, or previous knowledge about a particular topic result in paying attention to a specific article in full:

I usually read the short form. But if I see something I am REally INterested in or something I am really CUrious about, I read the long format. (Burcu, l. 37f)

Actually I don't read discussions so much, because eh / the speech in eh this article very long and eh they make me bored. (Murat, l. 324ff)

These pronouncements hint at the excess supply of information available online and the absolute necessity to focus, skip and select news content. The importance of the eye-catching function of headlines, pictures, and background colours is estimated high yet not favoured by all interviewees. Murat and Michelle said that imagery very often raises their curiosity and animates them to read the related article to find out more:

Eh, the topic must be interesting for me. Maybe they support them with a picture (..) because the picture, eh, make some news more eye-catching -

that's why I prefer to read some news which include eye-catching topics and pictures. (Murat, l. 321ff)

Ich glaube halt Bilder, die halt (.) was Extremes darstellen, da klick ich halt eher drauf, weil ich halt wissen will, um was es wirklich geht, oder, sag ich mal, dass es mich eher anspricht. (Michelle, l. 923ff)

Irem's interest is drawn by pictures of presidents and advances the opinion that media should desist from showing violence, blood and dead bodies:

Als wenn ich einen Präsidenten sehe, irgendeinen, wenn der etwas gesprochen hat, das äh, das interessiert mich. (l. 636f) Das finde ich nicht korrekt, wenn da toten Menschen so, wenn da Blut und so, das find ich nicht sehr schön (..) und korrekt (...). Können schon ein Bild finden für das, aber nicht mit dem Blut und so. (Irem, l. 872ff)

I indeed observed that the custom of confronting readers with a high number of large-sized pictures of extreme content is much more pronounced among major Turkish news brands than it is among German ones. This increased insertion of visuals indicates a distinctiveness of Turkish cultural representation conventions which might be said to work more with emotions raised by visual stimuli. Ben, in contrast, presented himself as someone quite unemotionally resisting the appeal of visual stimuli and not attaching any importance to pictures. He figured that images, which are often picked by editorial staff from the available stock of visuals, merely serve to help readers classifying an article's topic without possessing any informative value for themselves:

Das sind ja meistens nur so Stock-Bilder, die man so rausnimmt und deswegen, ich glaub, das Bild ist es an sich gar nicht so. (l. 1451f) Was ich (.) überhaupt nicht ansprechend finde, is, zum Beispiel diese ganzen Politikerfotos, die sich immer hinstellen. Das ist halt wirklich, das hat ja gar keine Aussagekraft. Dann weiß man einfach nur, okay, um die Person geht's. Oder wenn's um irgend nen Kriegsbericht geht, oder Krisenbericht, und dann n Panzer auf'm Bild ist, dann sag ich mir auch, okay, jetzt ist das Grundthema wieder Krieg in (.) Nahost. Also das ist nur, damit man das Thema einordnen kann. Aber das hätte man auch durch die Überschrift geschafft. (Ben, l. 1462ff)

For audio and video files integrated into news platforms and social media, the students' testimonies suggest that they access these less often and with different intentions than text-based news articles. Michelle explained that she watches videos to get a simplif-

ying overview of a complex or unknown issue, though in cases where she possesses previous knowledge she prefers to read:

Gewisse Themen gucke ich mir lieber Videos an, die ganz einfach das erklären und andere, sozusagen, wo ich schon eine Meinung habe, da klick / da les ich mir lieber Texte durch von Autoren oder Diskussionen, die geführt wurden (l. 895ff) Das, wo ich das halt einfach verstehe und weiß, worum es geht. (Michelle, l. 902f)

Ben noticed that he differentiates between what affects him personally versus what affects him only indirectly, and on this basis decides what he reads or merely watches:

Äh (lacht), das is ganz witzig. Was deutsche Nachrichten betrifft, les ich, und, ähm, was amerikanische Nachrichten betrifft, da guck ich mir tatsächlich eher Videos an. Also ich glaub, das ist einfach, dass es MICH / dass es für MICH nicht direkt KonseQUENZEN hat, dass ich mich damit nicht so ERNSThaft befassen muss. Sondern dass ich das eher 'n bisschen als, ähm, Zeitvertreib sehen kann. (Ben, l. 1557ff)

These statements indicate that the majority perceives listening and watching as being less demanding and rather entertaining and that they are practised in the attempt to achieve an overview. Reading, on the other hand, which requires more attention, grants a more sustainable engagement with and prehension of information content and is possibly preferred because the reading rate is individually adaptable to the situation and one's individual pace and receptiveness. Again, this demonstrates how both Turkish and German students capitalise on the scalability of doing digital news media.

4.2.6. Wants and incentives

Referencing the previous two sections, it can be assumed that for students, digitally accessing political news media is not merely motivated by genuine interest in catching up with the latest news. Doing digital news media may instead prevalently be instigated by social and communicative purposes, as participating in local or global discourses presupposes attending to news content on a somewhat regular basis. In this regard, doing digital news media can potentially revert to some drivenness. Likewise, these practices may be associated with leisure when connected to a quest for entertainment or distraction or to the bridging of idle time. Moreover, they can be motivated by the desire to es-

cape from a particular situation. They can also represent a confirmed habit. It is evident that such conglomerations of various personal wants and incentives are to a certain degree socio-culturally affected. Such more or less conscious desires and goals offer valuable clues for transforming normativities in contemporary and increasingly mediated urban societies.

Altogether it can be argued that students do digital news media to instantly supply a related current want and in this way impact personal wellness. In this context, the rapid delivery and ubiquitous availability of digitally provided latest news suggest what Tomlinson calls a 'culture of instantaneity' (2007, p. 74), expressed in an increasing expectation of desires to be immediately gratified. From this lens, digital news seems to provide a common spectacle that is ready at any time for instant exploitation, owing to technical advances of media of communication devices, a well-developed urban technological infrastructure, and mobile connectivity. Ben confirmed this consideration by reporting an experienced excitement of the common spectacle in the context of news on US-American politics. His statements reveal his mixed feelings toward this situation:

Ansonsten (.) is natürlich gerade mit Amerika viel los, was auch (lacht) einen immer mal wieder schmunzeln lässt. Ähm, da muss man ja eigentlich nur die Nachrichten lesen und hat schon wieder was / kann schon wieder irgendwie drüber lachen, auch, wenn's eigentlich traurig ist (seine Stimme ist anfangs laut und belustigt, wird jedoch gegen Ende des Satzes leiser und ernster). (Ben, l. 1480ff) Und dann hat man das Ganze immer nochmal aufgearbeitet in diesen ganzen Late-Night-Shows, die inzwischen ja auch nur noch die Nachrichten vorlesen eigentlich, und die Leute lachen drüber. (Ben, l. 1565ff)

However, the appeal of what Tomlinson calls a 'sense of directness, of cultural proximity' (2007, p. 74) may arise from the experience of an immediate mental and emotional connection with mediated events happening at the same time yet in a different location. This experience can convey an overwhelming sense of participation despite physical distance. This sense of cultural proximity is undoubtedly one significant way in which transcultural communicative connectivity forms and makes an appearance in the context of doing digital news media.

4.2.7. Online interactivity

The vast majority of web-based news media services incorporate mobile connectivity and endeavour to integrate features to enable the networked publics to engage with digital news in forms of sharing, liking, commenting on and discussing specific content interactively online. However, data reveal that digitally connected students make use of these possibilities quite unequally and altogether rarely. This fact disproves once more the belief in technological determinism. There is no linear or causative relation between the design and infrastructure of a digital media platform and the way users appropriate it to their purposes. Instead, online interactivity, too, is characterised by cultural difference and self-decided, creative, and dynamic action.

In this student sample, Burcu and Irem limit themselves to following few commentators familiar to them on Facebook (l. 15, 672). Michelle and Li-An don't comment in public yet follow discussions to learn about different opinions and perspectives on matters of interest. Michelle explained:

*Das ist / finde ich halt sehr interessant, die Perspektiven anderer, sag ich mal anzuhören, aber selber was kommentieren mag ich persönlich nicht.
(Michelle, l. 947ff)*

In contrast, it seems to be more popular to like and share news items via social media platforms and to articulate one's opinion or to signal interest in this way. Complementing these findings with statistical data, it appears that online interaction is significantly more prevalent in Turkey than in Germany. For example, only 5% of digital news media users in Germany comment on news stories on news websites, and only 14% like or rate an article, whereas in Turkey that amount goes up to 19%, or 25% respectively (Yanatma, 2017, p. 39; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 44). However, probably due to an increased concern about online privacy in the aftermath of recent domestic political events, a significant decrease in the use of Facebook and Twitter to access, share and comment on news items must be mentioned. In its place, there has been a shift to closed and allegedly more secure social media messaging occurred (Yanatma, 2017, p. 37f).

Ben, who uses only to read commentaries on matters which in some way affect his own life, also hesitates to participate in online discussion fora actively though he does so for

more personal reasons. His rationale reveals his frustration about the one-sidedness and stolidity he repeatedly experiences in such fora, and which downgrade discussions to futile, hateful bickering. Furthermore, he stated that if he enters an online debate at all, he attempts to overcome one-sidedness with a balanced comment:

Es ist immer so n bisschen wie gegen ne Wand reden, weil sowieso jeder seine Meinung hat und da nicht von abweichen wird. Und WENN ich mal schreib, in n Online-Forum, dann versuche ich immer so n bisschen, also WENN, DANN auf BEIDE Seiten einzugehen. Dass es nicht so ausartet in so n Angeblaffe. Also mich reizt es immer nich so, da mitzukomentieren. (l. 1439ff) Und dann diese ganzen Verschwörungstheorien, und ähm, das geht dann ja wirklich nur noch (.) darum, die eigene Meinung, die man ja sowieso schon hat, noch zu (.) bestärken und irgendwie den Hass gegen alles andere abzuhetzen. (Ben, l. 1633ff)

Similarly, his next statement makes very clear that online interactivity in the context of doing digital news media, and especially within the framework of social media, can be very unsettling because it tends to become highly emotional:

Je weiter man in diese Sozialen Medien reinrutscht, desto aufgeheizter wird die Stimmung immer, egal zu welcher Seite man jetzt dann guckt. Also egal, ob links oder rechts, ähm, (...) das wird dann immer aufgeheizter und immer emotionaler und (..) ähm, im Prinzip wird nachher (.) nicht mehr sachlich diskutiert, sondern nur noch irgendwelche Vorwürfe gemacht und das find ich eigentlich dann auch nicht mehr (.) / da wird man immer nur wütend, wenn man das liest und da (lacht) muss man dann doch irgendwann wieder aufhören. (Ben, l. 1845ff)

Related experiences assumably represent another reason for some not to include online interactivity in their daily practices. At the same time, the reported level of emotionality indicates that online activity presupposes some degree of readiness to communicate personal interests and attitudes and to advocate particular ideological stances in online public discourse. The student sample, however, reveals that such readiness is quite infrequent.

4.2.8. Linguistic aspects

Turning to linguistic aspects of media communication, all participating students in unison reported following news primarily in the national language of the country they live

in, which is most often the equivalent to the individual's first language. This practice accords firstly with the self-evident fact that reading, watching and listening are most comfortable and efficient in the language of daily practice and are in any case restricted to languages one commands. This correlation was also detailed by Murat who supposedly refers to national Turkish-speaking or international foreign-language news brands when talking about the national and international news:

I read eh mostly national, because you know that, ehm, if I read some international news, I have to know English or other languages and eh, I know just English, and that's why I read some news as the English, but it is so less. (Murat, l. 357ff)

Secondly, the linguistic concentration of the locally predominant language issues — at least in these countries' metropolises — into an abundant local supply of news in that same language. These arguments can be extended to linguistic and cultural representation conventions which contain numerous codes, not all of which can be decoded satisfyingly when transferred to a linguistically and culturally different environment. In this context, the close interrelation of language, culture, and representation becomes very evident.

As a matter of course, linguistic-cultural conventions are, just as language and culture themselves, not static and separate but subject to constant change and mutual interaction. Neither are they fixed to a physical location but move, migrate and overlap. This fact allows to attend to news efficiently in other languages and originating from different locations. Applying different languages will undoubtedly open up further sources, which helps to reach a broader multi-perspective picture and to check facts more independently. In this respect, any additional language abilities will prove conducive.

In this respect, it can be argued that utilising the scalability feature of doing digital news media is extendable to the self-decided application of further languages. Four of the six students said that they sometimes read, watch or listen to anglophone news, too. Burcu, who is about to learn French, said she will likely access francophone news once she can (l. 302f). The fact that all refer to anglophone news surely is a hint to an efficient market monopoly of substantial anglophone media ventures. It is simultaneously a clear indica-

tion of the transnational predominance of the English language as a standard lingua franca or link language, respectively. Apparently, the social context and educational background of Turkish and German students today foster the acquisition of English as a global link language. Next to the national language, English demonstrably represents the preferred international language of education for both TUB and KHU and supposedly the majority of educational institutions. This is furthermore promoted to grant global connectivity to science and applied research.

However, link languages help mediascapes to expand and span linguistically diverse territories, in this way contributing to the transnational flow of media content. In such a way, language in itself emerges as another critical factor for complex communicative connectivity. Communicative spaces are not and cannot be congruent with anyway semi-artificial national-territorial spaces, especially considering the many forms and transforming degrees of migration and transnational communication which span countries and continents. There surely are local concentrations of communicative connectivity. However, news content mediated online must be considered to actively contribute to a sense of translocal and transcultural connectivity among students and other users, transcending spatial and linguistic dimensions.

4.2.9. Topics of interest and their reach

Online news portals frequently bring into focus specific geographical regions and linguistic groups. Though they are populated with local content in this way, they are usually designed to be widely accessible. Despite translocal flows, local content retains its predominant position as it very likely addresses and concerns local life realities most directly. Accordingly, the news being accessed by the students most often broaches local, regional and national issues and discourses. Cultural alignment of content and users' reading habits occurs without fail. The reason is that topics students engage with conform first and foremost to the current issues which top the regional or national news agenda, and so tend to rule local discourses of everyday life. However, in reviewing the interview statements, reading appears to remain nonspecific for the most part (e.g., 1.

351, 637, 917, 956, 1475). For example, Michelle — just like Li-An and Ben (l. 1178, 1476) — mentioned reading a lot in connection with the then ongoing federal elections in Germany:

Ähm, ich verfolge glaube ich / weil BUNDEStagswahlen sind, verfolge ich einzelne Politiker (..) sag ich mal, beSONders, aber an sich (..) auch nichts Spezielles. (Michelle, l. 954ff)

By and large, it can be argued from such politically interested yet non-specific reading habits that doing digital news media made political participation rise in the total student population without rendering this participation more active. This finding corresponds with the observation made by Miller et al. in the context of social media practices that politics are being interactively watched rather than being done (2016, p. 152f). Miller and his team call this form of political participation ‘passive participation’, pronouncing the judgement that in this connection ‘being engaged with politics does not amount to ‘doing’ politics but rather to *using* politics for local purposes as a source of common discourse’ (Miller et al., 2016, p. 152f, emphasis and italics in original). Data reveal that the same circumstance in which politics are merely being touched on crystallises in the students’ international news practices as well. Frequently mentioned topics follow and reflect the general global agenda while remaining quite vague. Li-An stated:

Nicht so extrem international. Also auch viel Deutschland. Aber auch so in den Staaten jetzt so, ja also (..) interessiere ich mich so, was da abläuft. Oder auch generell halt so, was halt so passiert. (Li-An, l. 1186ff)

Interestingly, three students show interest in national and international politics of the United States of America (l. 642, 1187, 1480, 1558). Not only do these top global news agendas, but they also seem to answer a general want for pastime, amusement, and some degree of civil commotion (e.g., Ben l. 1562, 1567).

All students mentioned obtaining information on international conflicts, disasters and terrorist attacks (l. 52, 373f, 647, 969ff, 1179, 1486ff) although Ben protested against terror being offered a large public platform and being medially misused as a mere spectacle (l. 1489ff, 1501ff). The collected data illustrate, as was also noted by Hepp (2009, p. 148), that outstanding media events are up to synchronising ‘certain thematic orientations transculturally.’

This fact can be exemplified with the Syrian issue which is currently being frequently addressed by national and international media. This comes especially in the context of mounting Syrian immigration into neighbouring or European countries of destination, which has designedly been approached in all interviews. Unfortunately, because the focus of this research was subsequently narrowed, it did not allow a detailed analysis of the participants' highly informative statements concerning this issue. At any rate, the correspondent interview sections reveal how available media representations of migrating Syrians become translated into subjective personal and collective horizons of meaning of the respective lifeworlds. In this case, the distinctiveness of local everyday discourses of Turkish and German students — caused by the likewise profoundly distinct contextual backgrounds informing a particular issue — crystallised in characteristic mental connections formulated by the interviewees. That in no way means that the students from one university, city or nation-state agree in opinion but that they deliberate fairly the same set of aspects of an issue. This is because the everyday discourses in which they participate, naturally possess a considerable degree of intersections. This exemplifies the naturally occurring cultural or rather socio-politico-cultural localisation of transnational issues.

However, understanding that local discourses are being informed by and interfused with transculturalising regional, national and international discourses relativising the local everyday life, we can see how doing digital news media significantly contributes to dynamic transcultural communicative connectivity. Beyond that, students must be considered to share a specific student perspective. In this respect, I figure that urban studenthood translocally represents an institution which articulates a particular 'cultural context field' (Hepp, 2009, p. 149, 152) of its own (Kap. 4.3 & 5!!!). Nevertheless, it must be put on record that both difference and connectivity mark the far-ranging mediated public spaces created by jointly doing digital news media.

Surveying the occurrence of a more specific and steady interest in particular topics, only Burcu and Ben showed interest. Ben named climate change, renewable energy, and sustainability (l. 1921ff, 1934, 1942ff). Burcu reported read articles which especially con-

cern national law and national human rights issues (l. 53f). She attributed her foci with her being a law student (l. 53), and Ben's interest accords with his field of study and his father's occupational core area (l. 1933ff). These examples demonstrate that — in combination with the social, political and geographical environment — biographical factors and paths of life play an essential role in the development of focal points of interest.

Incidentally, the interviewees translocally agree over their distaste for national and international celebrity news which they concordantly avoid, describing it as boring, irrelevant, and absurd (l. 386f, 935f, 1195f, 1584f).

4.2.10. Trust, distrust and a healthy suspicion

Naturally, users tend to access those news sources in which they trust most. However, statistics show that in Turkey 46% of the population trust in the source of news they access; whereas in Germany 58% do (Newman et al., 2017, p. 71, 99). As it would appear, Turkish users especially have to deal with some degree of state intervention in web-based media outlets restricting content, choice, and access (Yanatma, 2017), owing to topical-ideological concerns. Although freedom of the press is anchored in the republic's constitution and the media not being officially regulated by the state, pressure, interdictions, shut-downs, arrests and self-censorship increasingly retard journalism (German Foreign Office, 2017; Yanatma, 2017, p. 11; Newman et al., 2017, p. 98). This situation brings about a shrinking number of media critical of - as opposed to the number of media close to - the government (Yanatma, 2017); and, a view held by all three Turkish students, a national media landscape missing impartiality.

Burcu, who reported that she varies the choice of newspapers which she buys on the weekend in order to 'read from different views' (l. 32) and who confirmed to scrutinise what she reads categorically, advocated a healthy suspicion:

*For the media I think people should read the news from different sources.
Just to see the other views. (Burcu, l. 263f)*

Approvingly, Ben explained that if he is interested in a particular news item, he checks the relating articles in several different news brands online to know all representations

of that specific item. He added that he, too, prefers to maintain some distance to rating the validity of news articles:

Wenn ich was lese, guck ich halt immer, dass ich möglichst das gleiche Thema in mehreren Nachrichtenportalen lese, weil sonst kriegst du halt immer nicht ALLES mit, beziehungsweise irgendwie verfälscht oder sonst was. (1403ff) Also ich bin da auch eher so der Skeptiker. (l. 1508f) Klar geht man erstmal davon aus, aber ich würd mich jetzt nicht darauf versteifen und sagen, das war auf jeden Fall so, weil ich das in drei verschiedenen Medien gelesen hab. (l. 1511ff) Ich sag, das ist wahrscheinlich wahr, aber ich würd da nicht drauf wetten, dass es alles stimmt. (Ben, l. 1519f)

Li-An and Michelle also hold that they like to base their opinion on a variety of journalistic and non-journalistic sources and describe their line of action as follows:

Ich verknüpfe dann halt eine andere Seite, lese mal das, gucke mir mal die Kommentare an, wie die Menschen so denken. Dann bild ich mir so meine eigene Meinung. So ist das meistens. (Li-An, l. 1346ff)

Deswegen versuche ich mich halt auch unabhängig von denen allen nochmal zu informieren. Also wenn ich zum Beispiel was bei der WELT gelesen hab und das macht mich skeptisch oder ich möchte mich darüber - mehr informieren, dann lese ich halt auch andere Quellen durch, dann recherchier ich wirklich gezielt nochmal. (Michelle, l. 1108ff)

Li-An seeks to differentiate her view from the positions expressed by journalists or the editorial staff:

Also wenn ich mal mit Freunden diskutiere, dann sag ich nicht, ja, ich denke so und so, sondern ich sage, ich habe das und das gelesen. Weil das finde ich schon anders. Weil das DEREN Meinung ist. (Li-An, l. 1360ff)

However, she also keeps in perspective that the process of forming an opinion to a great extent passes unconsciously:

Also ich glaub mal, man, äh, glaubt das einfach so / man merkt nicht mal, dass man den Medien jetzt glaubt. Im Unbewusstsein, würd ich mal sagen, so. (.) Meistens überflieg ich auch alles und sowas. Und dann ähm behält man das so im Kopf. (Li-An, l. 1357ff)

Ben, willing to fight back any unconscious persuasion and credulity, offered another reason for maintaining a healthy suspicion. He claims that media ventures often draw from the same sources and fight close for releasing news stories just before the numero-

us competitors and suggested that this happens at the expense of checking facts and consequently at the condoned risk of forfeiting reliability:

Es geht darum, dass man heute als ERSTER die Nachrichten draußen haben MUSS, weil damit das Geld verdient wird. Und dadurch (unv.) der Faktencheck halt einfach hintenan. Also es gilt: erstmal Informationen raus, alles, was man hört oder auch nur Gerüchte. (Ben, l. 1529ff)

He added that he approves of a rise in awareness of the questionability of truth claims:

Also eigentlich find ich ganz gut, dass damit mal dann, äh, der aktuelle Stand aufgedeckt wurde, dass man eigentlich gar nicht mehr weiß, was stimmt. Also, dass man gar nicht mehr sicher sein kann, was sind Fakten, was sind keine Fakten. Und das ist ja auch irgendwie dann zum Schlagwort des Jahres geworden, postfaktische Zeiten. Und das find ich eigentlich gut. (Ben, l. 1909ff)

When asked about how they assess the credibility of the media, Burcu and Murat entered into the Turkish news media environment and described how they perceive it:

In Turkey, because of the situation in the media, eh (..) the media tend to be more on the government's side. (l. 269f) In Turkey you don't really have a choice but you believe what you want to believe. Like / you can't really check the facts because like / all the newspapers are taking sides, one or the other. They are really not objective. (l. 283ff) So I don't believe they are making the news objectively, you know. (l. 270f) I don't think they are very reliable. (Burcu, l. 272)

I don't believe that eh the Turkish media is independent. (l. 454f) They make some news which is interested in producing chaos. (l. 457) I don't want to read some news on the national vehicles. (Murat, l. 458f)

Apparently, what they consider to be the primary deficiency is a problematic degree of one-sidedness and imbalance. Of course, perfect impartiality must epistemologically be classified as a mere ideal. Independently of the national media landscape, both Istanbul and Berlin students in the student sample doubt the existence of balance in reporting. For example, Michelle suggested that representation is always an act based on some consideration or the other:

Aber Glaubwürdigkeit (.) ja, das is alles schon n bisschen subjektiv. Es is die Art und Weise, wie man das präsentiert, schätze ich. (Michelle, l. 1113f)

Meanwhile, Murat displayed some degree of general distrust in the reliability of mediated information and classified personal and direct witnessing higher than news reports, as did Li-An:

I choose my resources (...) as for reliability. But ehm, you know that eh there are fake news everywhere, every time. That's why I am not sure how can I believe these news. That's why I had to experience that. If I don't experience that, I cannot believe anything. (Murat, l. 475ff)

Also ich (...) hab da noch nicht gelebt, war da noch nicht, also kann ich da nicht wirklich / nichts zu sagen, wie es ist. Also man sieht ja dann auch nur wirklich, was in den Nachrichten / was die uns zeigen. (Li-An, l. 1225)

Similarly, Irem puts higher trust in the testimonies voiced in her circle of acquaintances who have seen or heard something themselves than she does in the media.

Also, anderen Menschen glaube ich noch mehr, weil, sie sagen, dass sie das sehen, dass sie das hören. (Irem, l. 731f)

All these utterances suggest that doing digital news media includes a strong political component. Moreover and transculturally, more importance is being attached to face-to-face interaction than to mediated quasi-interaction. Although the most distrusted main news source in both countries is social media according to statistical data (Yanatma, 2017, p. 31; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017, p. 25), the transcultural longing for a widely appreciated and better trusted personal component in reporting might explain why news implemented into or shared via social media platforms still enjoy some considerable degree of popularity among young users. Within the student sample Michelle stated that she regards news articles and other contributions found in Facebook to display more straightforward honesty and credibility:

Auf, wie gesagt, Facebook, wo ich mich sehr (...) AUSführlich informiere, ist halt / gibt es schon viele Gegenstimmen. Die halt das (...) knallhart auf den Punkt bringen. Während es in den Medien halt beschönigt wird. (Michelle, l. 1024ff)

Opinions diverge, however, especially over social media. Ben's worries about Facebook as a source of news which have been quoted in the previous section, are evocative of the current and heated debates on echo chambers and filter bubbles, and indeed opinions diverge considerably, probably depending on the level of trust and distrust. Whereas a

fairly equal number of German (23%) and Turkish (25%) users aged 18-24 resort to social media as their main source of news, this source is trusted by 45% of Turkish and only 33% of German users (Yanatma, 2017, p. 21; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2017; p. 21). The difference can assumedly be explained by the particularities of the current Turkish news media environment. The level of trust in news and its independence from political or government influence overall is lowest among this youngest age group and lies at 27% (Yanatma, 2017, p. 33). Young Turkish users thus seem to be likely to consider social media to provide rather independent news in comparison with traditional national media brands available online, and for this reason more likely resort to these.

4.3. Chapter Summary

The presentation and discussion of research findings carried out in this descriptive and comparative analysis shed light on commonalities, similarities, and differences concerning the investigated Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' diverse everyday digital news media practices today.

It has first been demonstrated that a multitude of aspects and dimensions are being involved in doing digital news media. Regarding social arrangements, we have seen that, despite diverging biographical factors, each students' living situation, economic status as well as the educational level has put them in an overall similar starting position irrespective of geographical distance and diverging cultural context fields. Furthermore, widely coinciding preconditions are given transnationally in metropolitan media and communication environments, having regard to technical requirements and infrastructure as well as to the availability, accessibility, and affordability of digital news media devices and services. It has been argued that the students' thus compounded overwhelmingly existent mobile connectivity and their attendance to digital communication and information processes mirrors grown urban social and institutional expectancy and results in a diffuse normativity which is believed to arise from digitalisation processes in everyday life. A conglomeration of personal yet socio-culturally affected wants and incentives motivates partly playful and partly seemingly driven practices in the context of

digital news media. Finally, it is assumed that expectations in the form of new requirements additionally emanate from the universities as educational institutions where processes of digitalisation are quite advanced, and where they coin and embrace internal communication and information processes to a high degree.

The focus then shifted to detailing matters of how and why the students apply their mobile digital devices to access news media and what exactly their practices look like. Pursuing this objective, further dimensions have been investigated separately. Analysis revealed some culturally specific characteristics as to gateways, online interactivity, topics of interest and their reach, and matters of trust, distrust and a healthy suspicion. In these contexts, it became apparent that digital news media practices are likely to directly or indirectly reflect the domestic political situation as well as personal political attitudes. For example, doing digital news media in the Turkish urban society which depicts a more politicised environment, is more likely to include a more articulative political component which nevertheless depends on other factors too.

Beyond that, concerning the choice of technology, pertaining to reading, listening and watching habits, and to wants and incentives, Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' current media cultures bear much in common. The students check news primarily via their private mobile devices with which they frequently and rather spontaneously access news content on social media platforms or official news apps. They do so via WLAN or mobile data and in very different locations under quite diverse circumstances. Here, the news is preferably being accessed in a text-based format. However, reading in the broader sense remains primarily limited to a swift skimming of headlines, pictures and prelude texts. The language applied by the students usually corresponds to the national language which apparently conforms often to the individual's first or most practised tongue. Naturally, this is linked to command, comfortability and local offer. Alternately, both Turkish and German students resort to anglophone news, in this way disclosing firstly an internationally hegemonial market position of anglophone news media corporations, and secondly the fact that English structurally depicts the most strongly promoted foreign language among urban students in these countries. Ove-

rall, interest in news remains quite unspecific and predominantly oriented towards current local and global news agendas which form a firm basis for dominant local and translocal discourses. It has been argued that these discourses contribute to a translocally synchronous thematic orientation producing an increase in transcultural communicative connectivity.

An outstanding transcultural feature of doing digital news media was found in how both Turkish and German students live out the high degree of self-decidedness and independence regarding temporal, spatial, linguistic and financial levels which is afforded through the handiness, portability, and multifunctionality granted by mobile digital media of communication, as well as by a well-developed urban technological infrastructure. The students' transculturally connectional appreciation for the high degree of spontaneity, adaptivity, and interdependency becomes especially apparent in the temporal and spatial level of their practices. Places, situations and time spans framing news media practices in private and public vary significantly as they are more likely to be executed on the basis of a sudden resolve than of scheduled engagement.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Doing digital news media depicts a fascinatingly multifaceted phenomenon deeply embedded in everyday urban life today. This thesis aimed at contributing to a better understanding of current metropolitan media cultures in the context of proceeding mediatisation and globalisation processes. I have endeavoured to investigate what digital news media are from the perspective of its users and to evaluate commonalities, similarities, and differences between Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' practices, and in doing so I engaged in explorative fieldwork, applying a comparative anthropological approach. More precisely, the research investigated how, to what ends, in what contexts and with what implications news content is being actively accessed and discursively processed via soft mobile media and communication technologies. Attention has furthermore been centred on the search for evidence for transcultural communicative connectivity reflected in the two student groups' investigated digital news media practices. This chapter summarises significant results of research, offers final critical commentaries, and issues prospects for further research.

5.1. Research Findings

In the recapitulation of the most noticeable results of research, three significant conditions are to be adduced first which were found to characterise Turkish and German urban undergraduate students' digital news media practices translocally:

- highly attractive scalability of individual engagement with news media content via personal digital devices which entails a heightened degree of independence from spatial, temporal, linguistic and financial levels
- a heterogeneous conglomeration of personal yet socio-culturally affected wants and incentives connected with doing digital news media, such as information acquisition, discourse participation, play, entertainment, distraction and common spectacle
- a developed social and institutional expectancy and corresponding requirements in increasingly mediated societies which demand personal digital presence and indicate that practices are to some degree aligned with a diffuse media-cultural normativity

The following paragraphs contain a more detailed summary of research findings elucidating the research question. To begin with, in spite of the geographical distance between the urban field sites, major preconditions involved in students' digital news media practices contain a great degree of similarity as to the social arrangements and specifics of metropolitan media and communication environments. Owing to well-developed urban infrastructure, technological progress and a competitive market, digital news media services and devices have been found to be widely available, accessible and affordable for students in both field sites. This condition partly explains the students' ubiquitous mobile connectivity and digital presence. It is furthermore believed that this condition is effected by transforming the urban societal and institutional expectations and requirements evolving from advancing mediatisation and digitalisation processes. Moreover, the high ratio of mobile connectivity implies a significant readiness among students to invest in connecting technology despite limited budgets indicated by the student status.

However, infrastructure and facilities did not satisfactorily explain why mobile devices are transnationally at a premium in students' everyday news media practices. Instead, reasons have been detected in many attractive and transculturally appreciated features such as handiness, portability, and multifunctionality allowing for mobility, interactivity and a more self-determined control over content. The proceeding technological convergence of formerly separate news media formats increases and centralises the spectrum of accessible sources, rendering the making and revising of decisions more flexible. Timing, setting, and duration of engagement proved to be subject to an extensive adjustment to current personal needs, interests, preferences, priorities, time capacities and financial considerations.

Concerning gateways and sources, data revealed that practices and preferences vary on an individual basis, probably owing to habituality, practicability, and reflectance. Downloaded and installed news apps represent a relevant format for direct access. However, it is also common among both German and Turkish students to read news aggregated on social network platforms or to follow news links suggested on these platforms, respectively. Interestingly, the analysis showed that - mainly in respective female participants'

practices - multi-purpose social media platforms often depict the initial point for online activity. Web portals and search engines obviously play a minor role in everyday news media practices. Algorithms incorporated into social and news media platforms and web portals are considered critically by a minority of students. Neither German nor Turkish users reported drawing on alternative sources, a fact underlining their marginal status.

Considering the students' reading, listening and watching behaviour, it has been found that people prefer to access news content in the form of text-based articles rather than in the form of audio or video files. The reason is assumed to be found in the self-reliant adaptivity of both mode and pace of reading to personal receptiveness and actual circumstances. The prevailing mode of reading is a swift skimming of eye-catching content serving to orientate oneself and arrive at further decisions. In sum, reading stands for a more sustainable engagement with and grasp of informational content. In contrast, watching and listening is more likely to be associated with entertainment.

As I observed, personal yet socio-culturally affected wants and incentives connected to the students' digital news media practices reflect a heterogeneous and dynamic conglomeration of motivating factors which exceeds interest in obtaining specific information. Its range includes striving for participation in local or global discourses as well as for entertainment, distraction, and escape. Practices may also depict the acting out of a confirmed habit. Again, the appeal of an instantaneous gratification of wants and implementation of purposes, enabled by the constant availability of online news sources, depicts a transculturally connective force which forms a characteristic trait of contemporary media cultures.

Going into the dimension of online interactivity, the students' level of actual online interactivity pertaining to news content turned out to be quite varied. Few join discussions or offer their opinions (semi-)publicly on a media or social platform. While some value the activities of other users that result in online visibility of a plurality of views, others lament the increased degree of emotionality and one-sidedness pervading online discussions which they avoid for that same reason. The level of online interactivity, which is heightened in Turkey, and the calibration of the radius and visibility of online interacti-

on are believed to correlate with the national political situation and level of political awareness in the general public as well as with personal political attitudes.

Turning to the linguistic dimension, the choice of language proved to conform to command, comfortability, and offer. This brings about the highest ranking for the national language, which resembles either the user's first tongue, his or her language of daily practice, or both. The application of other languages occurs in connection to the want of translocal or international news and perspectives, respectively, and contributes to the transnational flow of media content. In this respect, the anglophone news is strikingly popular, indicating the predominance of English language use as a standard link language spanning these linguistically diverse territories. The students' universal command of the English language is deemed to be linked to the Turkish and German national education systems particularly though not exclusively promoting this language's acquisition. However, notwithstanding existing local concentrations of communicative connectivity owing to a given linguistic connectivity, the multilingual and translocal supply of news online is considered to contribute to a sense of transculturalising communicative connectivity that transcends physical and linguistic dimensions.

Although in view of topics of interest the students' reading habits are rather nonspecific, topic selection processes reveal a striking analogy in their orientation to alternately national and international news agendas. It is therefore evident that these function to prepare the ground for public discourse. Local, regional and national news still hold a central position in society as they are most likely to affect and display local issues and correspondent everyday discourses. Moreover, they incorporate cultural specifics and, as follows, play a prominent role with processes of cultural localisation. However, data also revealed that outstanding international media events are up to align thematic orientations transculturally. Accordingly, doing digital news media is in a position to achieve a greater sense of transcultural communicative connectivity as discourses are interfused by innumerable contrasting, connecting and likewise relativising mediated public spheres. Aside from this, factors concerning biography, areas of interest, fields of study and social and political environments indeed assume a role in the formation of more indivi-

dual focal points of interest as well. While embedded into local and cultural contexts, some such focal points of interest exhibit a relation to transculturally connecting urban student-hood which articulates a particular cultural context of its own.

Although the study's sample size impedes the recognition of patterns contouring regular attitudes in one field site or the other, the Turkish students' articulative statements suggest a higher degree of distrust in news sources. This distrust is assumed to be aggravated by the circumstance that the Turkish media landscape is currently contested fiercely on the political level. Altogether, doing digital news media proved to include an active political component. The students disclosed another aspect of transcultural connectivity in their digital news media practices by unanimously adhering to a healthy suspicion and taking on diverse translocalising discourses on media bias, fake news and fact-checking. However, a further facet has been found in the high degree of trust put in face-to-face interaction as opposed to mediated quasi-interaction, revealing widespread favouritism of a supposedly independent and more confidential component in the form of personal testimony. This might explain why social media platforms are in vogue for being used by students as both the source and gateway for obtaining news, in spite of the contradictory fact that they are widely mistrusted at the same time.

5.2. Critical Annotations

Reconsidering the choice and application of research methods for qualitatively exploring the proposed subject-matter, it may be argued that the investigation lacks a more field-specific approach. For example, participating observation could undoubtedly have profited from extending its field of reference from the physical locations of undergraduate students' digital news media practices to the so-called virtual space. By joining some research participants' social networks, the ethnographer might have conducted research more interactively to approach another level of insight into students' authentic and dynamic digital news media practices. However, it needs to be taken into account that deficient fluency in the local language of the Istanbul field site somewhat obviated the realisability of such an approach or would have led to unbalanced conclusions.

Finally, it must be stated that digital news media practices are more complex than might initially be assumed. This condition owes to the fact that they are ever dynamically evolving as they are interwoven with continuous cultural, communicative and technological change. Explorative fieldwork and comparative data analysis helped to identify and to broach some significant aspects of this multilayer subject-matter. However, the limited scope of this binational study did not allow exhausting these.

5.3. Practical Implications

Digital news media practices provide an immense and multidimensional research potential. Constituting a prominent part of contemporary media cultures, they also possess high relevance for far-reaching moral, social, cultural, political and economic aspects, consequences and conditions, all of which can be investigated separately yet in mutual reference. Accordingly, a transdisciplinary approach would prove especially productive if applied by a multidisciplinary team of researchers including digital anthropologists, cultural, media and communication scientists as well as media designers and information technologists. It might prove highly informative to extend the binational comparison to other social groups, undertaking a micro-level examination of contexts and conditions in the form of more detailed case studies. Moreover, to include the historical dimension of the evolution of current media cultures into research would indeed be revealing. An especially pressing socio-culturally relevant research question which unfolded in the course of this study is whether and to what extent the detected increased scalability of engagement with news media content contributes to processes of individualisation. Additionally, further research needs to be conducted on the determined socio-cultural dimension included in the genesis of personal wants and incentives regarding doing digital news media. Finally, future research is recommended which investigates the evolution of a media-cultural normativity demanding personal digital presence.

My engagement with the empirical exploration of doing digital news media in the scope of this study proved to be likewise challenging and stimulating. Being a novice in this field of study, I feel animated to begin engaging with digital anthropology.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

On Doing Digital News Media. Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews.

KHU Istanbul, July 2017 and TU Berlin, August 2018

- **Topic:**

Practices of Digital News Media in Turkish and German Undergraduate Students' Everyday Life

– The interviews will exemplarily refer to the omnipresent media event created around the escape of Syrians from the war in their home country and their admission and positioning in Turkey and Germany as countries of destination.

- **Interview objective:** to talk about empirical realities of doing digital news media

Interview Questions Subdivided Into Four Categories

I) Practices

- How do you obtain information on the latest news? (e.g., technology/ digital devices, gateways)
- Which media formats do you prefer? (e.g., thorough discussion, details, or news brief/news flash; text, audio or video; journalistic or non-journalistic sources)
- Where and when do you usually check the news? (e.g., location, frequency, intensity, regularities, randomness)
- Do you mainly take account of national or global news coverage?
- Apart from your first language, are there other languages that you frequently apply when acquiring or searching news?
- Which headlines or pictures are most likely to raise your attention, and why?

- Can you tell me about topics that you are fed up with?
- What are the news topics that you are interested in more than other issues? Can you tell me more about these? Please describe how you learn about them. What are the sources you turn to in order to obtain more information on them?

II A Specific Case

- The ongoing war in Syria and the situation it produces for Turkey as a neighbouring country but also for other countries in the region and worldwide, I presume, affects all of us in some way.
- Please tell me a little bit about how you perceive the Syrian issue and the Syrians fleeing their country. How do you regard the situations of these Syrians who escaped from Syria because of the conflict?
- Can you please describe some encounters with Syrians in Istanbul or elsewhere?
- Can you compare your personal encounters and experiences to news coverage?
- What do you think about news coverage and commentatorship on that issue? Are there some issues in particular that you like or dislike?
- Please, can you tell me about your (broader) family's history of migration? Within Turkey or from/to other countries?
- So, on the one hand, we have your individual experience and biography, and on the other hand, we have mainstream media news coverage. Of course, they are not one and the same. Can you think about how your experiences influence how you deal with news?

III Trust

- Can you share your thoughts and experiences concerning matters of the reliability of news media?

- How do you deal with doubt or disbelief? Do you sometimes feel the need to check or verify content and how would you do that?

IV Background Information

- first language
- place of birth
- age
- personal/family status
- parents' / spouse's professions
- major, degree
- work and travel experience
- Is there anything you did not have the chance to talk about, but which is important to you?
- After conducting the interview: exchanging contact details with one another

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Table B.1 Transcript Order

Transcript of the Interview with Burcu	P1	Kadir Has University Istanbul	1. 1 - 308
Transcript of the Interview with Murat	P2	Kadir Has University Istanbul	1. 309 - 560
Transcript of the Interview with Irem	P3	Kadir Has University Istanbul	1. 561 - 880
Transcript of the Interview with Michelle	P4	Technical University Berlin	1. 881 - 1131
Transcript of the Interview with Li-An	P5	Technical University Berlin	1. 1132 - 1384
Transcript of the Interview with Ben	P6	Technical University Berlin	1. 1385 - 1956

Annotations:

I = Interviewer; P = Participant

For Transcription Rules Please Compare Table 3.2

1 **Transcript of the Interview with Burcu (P1)**

2

3 I: So the first question is: How do you obtain information upon the latest news
4 usually / in your daily life. #00:00:34-4#

5

6 P1: Eh - in my daily life usually ehm like there is an app on my phone eh
7 which is a eh gazette, one of the famous gazettes in Turkey, so ehm -
8 #00:00:46-0#

9

10 I: What's the name? #00:00:46-7#

11

12 P1: Cumhuriyet. So I constantly check on it, like, I don't know, maybe ten
13 times a day, eh, cause you know, there is always too much stuff happening in
14 Turkey. (.) On the weekends I usually buy newspaper. (..ehm.) and I don't use
15 Twitter, but I use Facebook so like people usually - like the people I follow -
16 usually post stuff about the news in Turkey. So, that's how. #00:01:16-5#

17

18 I: So, for example, does the app just open or do you open it? How does it
19 work? Like, eh, do you check on it or does it provide you- #00:01:26-8#

20

21 P1: It provides me the news, yeah. #00:01:29-5#

22

23 I: - so you have both, eh read it on the cell phone and in the weekend paper
24 print format. #00:01:41-3#

25

26 P1: mhm yeah #00:01:42-0#

27

28 I: And the newspaper you buy, is it regularly the same or do you sometimes--
29 #00:01:47-4#

30

31 P1: Sometimes I like to, you know, read from different gazettes, because like
32 (.) I like to read from different views to you know eh I don't know (laughs)
33 #00:01:59-0#

34

35 I: Okay. And, eh, so sometimes you have the short format - #00:02:11-6#

36

37 P1: Yes, I usually read the short form. But if I see something I am REally
38 INterested in or something I am really CURious about, I read the long format.
39 #00:02:20-7#

40

41 I: So eh (...) the media you follow or read, is it mainly Turkish and from
42 Turkey? #00:02:51-8#

43

44 P1: It's mainly from Turkey but like eh, I don't know, once a day also there are

45 like other apps like CNN or BBC news where I can check and read the global
46 news. #00:03:06-3#

47

48 I: So (disturbing sounds, 8 seconds) which headlines or pictures would take
49 your attention? #00:03:28-7#

50

51 P1: Usually like in Turkey they're about like eh our president, (..) things he
52 said or like I don't know, war, about Syrians (inc., two speaking
53 simultaneously). I am studying law by the way, so like eh stuff about law and
54 how law changed, these are the stuff I am interested in, like human rights
55 issues basically. #00:04:00-1#

56

57 I: And are there some topics with which you are fed up / which you just don't
58 want to hear about anymore? #00:04:12-3#

59

60 P1: Yes, like sometimes in a country like mine usually there are like bad stuff
61 happening and sometimes it's just upsetting. I'm like, I don't want to hear it
62 anymore but like as a law student I have to hear about cause like that's gonna
63 be my job, like (.) you know? (...) yeah. #00:04:34-4#

64

65 I: Yeah. Ehm. The ongoing war in Syria I would like to use as an example.
66 That war in this situation produces effects not only for Turkey as a
67 neighbouring country but also for other countries in the region and even
68 worldwide, that affect all of us. So ehm in this context I wanted to ask how
69 you personally perceive the situation of Syrians who flee country - how do you
70 regard the situation of Syrians who escaped from war? #00:05:33-9#

71

72 P1: I (inc.) conducting a research about the immigrants (laughing) so that is
73 good I guess. Ehm. So I think like war is one of the most - you know - horrible
74 things that can ever happen to a family, to a person, so like (..) I can
75 understand like people fleeing of / from their country because like they don't
76 want to deal with the war and they are right, like, they can't (.) eh pretty much
77 can't do anything. It's their life and it's their children's lives. Like (..) eh so they
78 HAVE to flee away. So I can understand that and (..) I am OKAY with you
79 know Syrians coming to Turkey, I am OKAY with all of this but (.) eh (..) I
80 believe like they should put more like security checks (.) while they're taking
81 Syrians. Not the Syrians of course, all the immigrants from other countries.
81 They should put more security checks because other countries like European
83 countries or North American countries they are putting so much effort. Like -
84 They are taking less Syrians of course but they are also making sure that their
85 country is gonna be safe - 'cause you know in Syria, terrorist groups like ISIS,
86 they are also (.) eh (..) pretending to be more like an immigrant and they are
87 fleeing all (eh) to countries like Turkey and they are going to - you know -
88 start shooting at everyone and they are going to make a political something, I

89 don't know. (eh) I don't think that's right and I think the governments need to
90 do something because like immigrant situation is really bad and I think (eh)
91 the most important thing (eh) about immigrant children is about their
92 EDUCATION and like when they leave to another country they cannot STOP
93 their education because it is gonna be (..) like / if they are not educated they
94 are gonna be (eh) / they are not gonna be like / I couldn't find the sentence
95 (laughing) I don't know I think education is important and I think (ehm) the
96 governments need to put more effort on children education and of course like
97 they need jobs and everything. #00:08:12-0#
98
99 I: I heard that you also use the word immigrant. Could you tell me why you
100 chose the word "immigrant"? #00:08:26-2#
101
102 P1: Immigrant. eh – "immigrant" is a word who also (.) includes the refugees
103 (.) and who also of course (inc.)people fleeing their country not just because
104 of the war. There can be other reasons like their country's education system is
105 not enough so they want more and migrate to another country. Or like because
106 of their religion and if their governments (inc., disturbing background noises)
107 maybe not racially appropriate law or something and they are not happy in
108 their country. So the word "immigrant" is including all people who are like
109 fleeing of/from their country because- (eh) #00:09:17-1#
110
111 I: So you use it as an umbrella term #00:09:21-2#
112
113 P1: YES! Exactly. #00:09:23-4#
114
115 I: One aspect concerns refugees in particular. Do you differentiate it or still use
116 immigrants- #00:09:39-3#
117
118 P1: I still use the word "immigrants" because there are also like the Syrians
119 who are not fleeing of their country because of their war. Maybe they are
120 settling for a long term and they don't want to go back after the war ends (...)
121 so that is why I use the word "immigrant". #00:09:58-7#
122
123 I: The law situation / I think you are quite aware of the situation in Turkey
124 #00:10:05-2#
125
126 P1: Yes. #00:10:05-8#
127
128 I: Well, I read the Turkish state accepts as refugees only those coming from
129 Europe and in other cases calls them "guests" - #00:10:21-7#
130
131 P1: Yes, they call them guests sometimes. It's like ehm, like the refugee
132 situation is really a big deal. Like there are currently almost three million

133 refugees in Turkey and that is a lot. That means a lot of people are suffering
134 from war. (.) And those people need education, health, insurance and jobs,
135 like, I think, like government needs to put more effort on this. like ALL, not
136 just the Turkish government but - you know - all COuntries. #00:10:58-3#
137
138 *[Excursus on the Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection]*
139 *#00:12:36-4#*
140
141 I: In your personal life / are there personal encounters with Syrians? Did you
142 encounter Syrians here in Istanbul, for example? #00:13:00-6#
143
144 P1: I think there are a lot of students in our school (..) and I have a friend, my
145 friend is one of them. eh and like if you want to help refugees, like there are
146 kind of some NGOs who can you know, allow them help. You can volunteer,
147 you can give food and you can give clothes-- #00:13:30-7#
148
149 I: Right, there are many who struggle with their living situation in Istanbul
150 (inc.) #00:14:09-5#
151
152 P1: Syrian refugees live in / on the streets because they are not given housing,
153 they are not rich enough. so like eh sometimes, like not often, but, I don't
154 know, if I see one of those I try to help them. If I see a kid, like I try to give
155 them food or something... that's how I help. I am a student you know. There is
156 really nothing, you know (laughing) #00:14:40-1#
157
158 I: Maybe that's a bit of an abstract question but can you compare your personal
159 encounters or friendships and so on to news coverage. Like how people
160 coming from Syria are being portrayed and how you personally feel about it?
161 #00:15:16-7#
162
163 P1: I try to put me in their position / myself in their positions and I CAN'T
164 even imagine like if war comes to Turkey what I am going to do. I can't even
165 underSTAND / like they are just sitting on the borders and begging other
166 countries to you know take them in because like / winter is coming so (.) they
167 are going to FREeze out there and other countries not taking them in and like
168 this is a really horrible thing and like I really appreciate my own life right now
169 and in the news (.) like they show Syrians like they are on the streets like their
170 situation is really bad and something but some people think that they that the
171 government gives them all the food and all the housing and they are given all
172 the MONEY. But in the END, like I think, that what are they gonna do with all
173 the money and the housing - they just abandoned their COUNTRY! It was
174 their COUNTRY and they are just sitting here watching their country burn
175 DOWN. Maybe their family, their /I don't know, somebody's father and
176 somebody's kid died in the war and it's not like they are happy with this

177 situation. And like sometimes in the news they (inc.) like 'oh, the government
178 gives them housing and you know all the stuff' and people are // that's a great
179 thing by the way but the people understand like oh, government is not helping
180 our people but they are helping refugees. But they are not just happier but the
181 situation (inc.) #00:16:54-2#

182

183 I: So, well, what you are telling is that the articles sometimes suggest such a
184 view to the people that too much money is spent or that refugees take jobs (.) /
185 What are common points of view that are conveyed by the news media? What
186 are the common beliefs about Syrians who are now living in Istanbul
187 transferred by news media as YOU read them? #00:17:48-6#

188

189 P1: Ehm/ In the media it usually says eh like Syrians affect the crime situation,
190 like they raise the crime rate in Turkey (.) but like / and they are polluting the
191 streets and - #00:18:06-1#

192

193 I: Polluting, what do you mean? #00:18:08-6#

194

195 P1: Like ehm, trashing streets, and I don't know, they are just making Turkey
196 look bad. But - like (.) maybe it's some kind of true but in this particular
197 situations government needs to step up and / because like this is where comes
198 education, you know. This is why you need to give them housing. So, if you
199 don't give them housing, they have to live on the streets. If you don't give them
200 job, they can't get their houses. That's why. And people sometimes don't think
201 about and media don't think about it. #00:18:46-3#

202

203 I: yeah like, so, it's a bit of a devil's circle, like if you don't do the one thing,
204 the other things won't be solved. But the other things are also things that
205 people complain about? #00:18:57-2#

206

207 P1: mhm, yeah. #00:18:57-8#

208

209 I: Okay, then I got you, good. Ehm. Now again concerning you personally. Is
210 there some history of migration in your own broader family? #00:19:17-8#

211

212 P1: No, like ehm you can (..) yo, yeah, okay, I found one. (laughing) My dad's
213 cousin actually migrated to the US. It was just because the US offers / he
214 thinks the US offers a better life, better opportunities for his family so that's
215 why he (inc.) and he educated himself over there and he is a pharmacist. In
216 Las Vegas. So. (giggling) #00:19:57-6#

217

218 I: Yeah, so, when was that approximately? #00:20:01-8#

219

220 P1: Like maybe six - seven years ago? And I am also thinking about / you

221 know / to migrate to Europe maybe. / In the future / to finish my school.
222 #00:20:23-6#
223
224 I: For career opportunities? #00:20:26-8#
225
226 P1: Yes. For career opportunities. I would like to work for the UN.
227 #00:20:30-7#
228
229 I: Me too. (both laughing) And do you think like / what are your thoughts on
230 migration? #00:21:09-9#
231
232 P1: I feel like (...) it offers more opportunities for me, like Europe or North
233 America. Like for my career, particularly the UN eh / and for my education.
234 Like I believe I will not get enough education in Turkey. Like for my master's
235 degree. (.) I know I am studying law right now but in the future I will not get
236 the education I want, in Turkey, because like I want to work for human rights,
237 I want to be a human rights defender, so like, you know the situation in Turkey
238 (laughs). #00:21:58-9#
239
240 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
241 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
242 *matters of privacy protection]*
243
244 I: Okay. Maybe just a few more words about your travel experiences within
245 Turkey, outside... #00:24:13-3#
246
247 P1: In Turkey like (.) I travelled like ehm (..) mainly to Asian region and the
248 Black Sea region. I went to the East and eh in globe I probably visited like 11
249 countries or maybe more, I can't remember. And I lived in Canada for a year,
250 then I came back here. #00:24:41-4#
251
252 I: Did you visit high school in Canada? #00:24:44-8#
253
254 P1: Yes. I was an exchange student in Canada. #00:24:48-1#
255
256 I: That's why your English is so good. #00:24:50-9#
257
258 P1: It is? Thank you! #00:25:11-2#
259
260 I: Yeah. Is there anything that you would like to talk about, but that we didn't
261 have the chance to talk about so far? #00:25:25-2#
262
263 P1: Maybe. No. Maybe like for the media I think people should read the news
264 from different sources. Just for to see the other views. #00:25:40-1#

265

266 I: Ah yeah, there was another question I had in mind. Can you share your
267 thoughts and experiences concerning reliability... #00:26:11-3#

268

269 P1: In Turkey, because of the situation in the media, eh (..) the media tend to
270 be more on the government's side. (.) So I don't believe they are making the
271 news objectively, you know. (.) I believe they maybe should not take sides, so
272 I believe they are not fully reliable. I don't think they are very reliable.
273 #00:26:42-9#

274

275 I: So when you read a headline or an article, you always question, -
276 #00:26:53-1#

277

278 P1: Yes. #00:26:53-6#

279

280 I: And when you want to check some facts that you are not sure about, how do
281 you do that? #00:27:11-1#

282

283 P1: Like I check the other news and like / in Turkey you don't really have a
284 choice but you believe what you want to believe. Like / you can't really check
285 the facts because like / all the newspapers are taking sides, one or the other.
286 They are really not objective. Like if I see a news like / that I am really
287 interested in, I check the online articles and I probably check the global news
288 so / I think the global news are more reliable than the Turkish ones.
289 #00:28:10-0#

290

291 I: eh. Do you also turn to independent news sources like blogs? #00:28:20-1#

292

293 P1: Yes, I do. There are like few media news kind of pages on Facebook that I
294 follow. #00:28:31-4#

295

296 I: Mainly in Turkish, but English as well? #00:28:44-9#

297

298 P1: Yes. #00:28:45-0#

299

300 I: And any other languages? #00:28:46-8#

301

302 P1: Eh, currently I just started to learn French so maybe in the future I am
303 gonna check. But right now, I only can speak English and Turkish, so I can't.
304 #00:29:05-4#

305

306

307

308

309 **Transcript of the Interview with Murat (P2)**

310

311 I: So the first question is: in your daily life, how do you obtain news? How do
312 you normally do that? #00:00:22-0#

313

314 P2: Ehm / I read some news / or / on mostly on eh internet and social media. I
315 use Twitter so much to read some news. Ehm, maybe some news websites like
316 The Guardian that come, eh, yeah, that's all - #00:00:49-8#

317

318 I: Ehm and which format do you eh prefer / like eh the short / brief text,
319 messages, headlines... #00:01:17-8#

320

321 P2: Eh, the, eh, just a minute. Eh, the topic must be interesting for me. Maybe
322 they support them with a picture (..) because the picture, eh, make some news
323 more eye-catching - that's why I prefer to read some news which include eye-
324 catching topics and pictures (..) Actually I don't read some discussions so
325 much, because eh / the speech in eh this article very long and eh they make me
326 bored (.) a little bit. #00:02:13-7#

327

328 I: And eh, so most of all you READ short news, or do you also listen, or - ?
329 #00:02:22-2#

330

331 P2: Ah, yes, I read. Maybe I listen to some (inc.) streams. #00:02:37-2#

332

333 I: What about TV? #00:02:42-7#

334

335 P2: It's not important, because I already / I don't have a television because I
336 don't trust some news which is streaming in television. That's why I prefer to
337 read eh or listen some news on the internet. #00:03:09-1#

338

339 I: So ehm, in one normal day like today, how often or in which situation
340 especially / like is there as set time like when you really turn to news, or is it
341 more infrequently, randomly? #00:03:30-5#

342

343 P2: I read news often because I am, I check the news often in daily life. Eh.
344 About mostly sport - because you know I am a male (laughing), that's why I
345 like to read some articles or some news about football or basketball or
346 something like them. #00:03:59-1#

347

348 I: So, do you have special media sources for that or is it then just the sports
349 part of the guardian or the like? #00:04:26-7#

350

351 P2: No, it's only sport. But sometimes eh I read about politics or bureaucracy. I
352 read sometimes them. #00:04:46-1#

353
354 I: And ehm / when you read about politics sometimes, do you read national
355 sources or also sometimes international? #00:05:07-0#
356
357 P2: Eh, both of them. (.) Eh but I read eh mostly national, because you know
358 that, ehm, if I read some international news, I have to know English or other
359 languages and eh, I know just English, and that's why I read some news as the
360 English, but it is so less. Just sometimes I read. That's why mostly national
361 news. #00:05:44-2#
362
363 I: You told me that it is some pictures especially that catch your attention.
364 What makes them interesting for your? #00:06:07-9#
365
366 P2: For example (..) ehm (..) there might be a famous people in picture or (..) eh
367 (10 seconds) for example in the breaking news. You know that the red (...) eh,
368 background and you know it is the flashing / breaking news. They are
369 always eye-catching for me. #00:06:52-9#
370
371 I: Can you remember specific pictures? #00:07:16-4#
372
373 P2: Mhm. Eh, I saw a picture about immigration. You know that some Syrian
374 people try to go Greece from the Turkey and eh there was a picture, it is still
375 on my eyes. I think one year ago / one or two year ago. There was a baby in
376 the coast - you know that? #00:07:49-0#
377
378 I: Yeah, yeah the boy. #00:07:49-7#
379
380 P2: Yes, the boy. And eh (..) he was died. Eh, yeah. It was so sadness for me.
381 #00:08:09-0#
382
383 I: Mh. Are there also some topics in the media that you are fed up with, or you
384 think there is too much on the same topic? #00:08:25-4#
385
386 P2: Eh, topic, ehm. Maybe in magazine. Something about famous people. You
387 know them. I don't like to read some news about that. #00:08:43-1#
388
389 I: So, ehm, when you see headlines with strong words or those pictures, -?
390 #00:09:04-1#
391
392 P2: Yeah, the headline and eh picture is so important to eh catch the people.
393 Eh, for example, eh, the headlines must include some strong message for eh to
394 catch people. Then also picture must be strong or interesting ideas.
395 #00:09:34-9#
396

397 I: You already mentioned about Syrians who come here fleeing from war. Yeah
398 / the ongoing war in Syria, the situation ehh, I think by now it really affects
399 everyone of us. Like the picture you talked about, it went around the whole
400 world and is known everywhere and ehm (..) yeah, the Syrian war and
401 everything connected to it is something really topping the news media agenda
402 I think. And probably this is where we get most information from about what
403 is going on. Can you please tell me about how you perceive the situation of
404 people who came here? #00:12:03-2#

405

406 P2: I don't think bad things for immigrants or refugees who is comed to
407 Turkey / he had to come here because he wanted to escape power or war.
408 That's why I could not mistake about them. Ehm (.) but there is some problem
409 here about refugees. Ehm. They are not educated, most of them not educated.
410 That's why eh, the refugees cause some problems here. For example problems
411 about employment or problems about / in social life because they bother some
412 girls eh you know, in Turkey. Just eh part of them. Not a lot, but part of them.
413 Then (..) ehm (...) but, even though, eh, I can't think bad things about them,
414 because they eh had to immigrate to other countries. But ehm, eh the European
415 countries might do some better things, more. Because eh they just pay the
416 money to eh some countries like Turkey (..) to, eh, feed the refugees here.
417 They could eh allow to refugees to come their countries. You know there is
418 some European countries, eh also America. That's all. That's my opinion. Yeah.
419 (...) By the way is my opinion clear? #00:14:50-9#

420

421 I: Ehm, yes I think so and anyways, we can still talk about it and you can
422 always add something or.. yeah. So, did you also have personal encounters
423 with Syrians in Turkey? Do you talk to Syrians yourself, or meet or - know
424 their situation like / personally and not only in the media? What is your
425 personal experience? #00:15:32-4#

426

427 P2: Eh, I / You know that we are studying at Kadir Has and eh there are some
428 Syrian students here who escaped from war. Then they are continuing eh (.) to
429 studying in Kadir Has. And I eh have met with one of eh Syrian here and he is
430 pretty nice. He has a great personality and character - his characteristic is so
431 good! Ehm but eh I see some Syrians in streets like Istiklal, but they are not /
432 they are not kind like my friend. They try to always bother the people eh and
433 they try to collect money every time, everywhere. You know that they could
434 find a job or - #00:16:49-1#

435

436 I: Can you compare your personal experience to what you read in the news
437 about Syrians in Turkey? #00:17:31-8#

438

439 P2: If I compare them, eh, there is no differences so much. Eh because I read
440 in the news eh there are a lot of Syrian who is kind and good characteristic.

441 But, on the other hand, there are some Syrian who is rude and ehm, eh (..) and
442 (..) uneducated. #00:18:06-5#
443
444 I: So the media cover both? Like in your experience there are both sides and
445 the media also tell about both, like- #00:18:16-9#
446
447 P2: Yeah, eh it's almost same, my experience and in the news, I think / almost
448 same. #00:18:28-3#
449
450 I: (...) Ehm, in the news coverage on the topic - / are there things that you
451 especially like or dislike? The situation of Syrians in Turkey and what the
452 media tell or show, is there something you like and don't like? #00:19:05-7#
453
454 P2: eh I think the media include bad news about Syrians people, but eh I don't
455 believe that eh the Turkish media is independent. You know that it makes some
456 names eh who is eh / which is eh / which is for like people so much to read
457 their news. They make some news which is interested in producing chaos.
458 That's why eh, if this topic is Syrian people or refugees or immigrants, I don't
459 want to read some news on the national vehicles. #00:20:30-3#
460
461 I: So you think they are not always reliable. #00:20:33-9#
462
463 P2: Yeah. Absolutely. #00:20:36-0#
464
465 I: Which particular experiences did you make with the reliability of media?
466 Like are there experiences where you would say, okay that was a lie or here
467 they aimed at something else - #00:20:57-8#
468
469 P2: I guess I have never experienced. #00:20:59-5#
470
471 I: Like are there some media in particular like some brands which you don't
472 read because you think: that is not reliable? Like do you choose your sources
473 for reliability or - ? #00:22:02-4#
474
475 P2: Yes. Absolutely. I choose my resources (...) as for reliability. But ehm, you
476 know that eh there are fake news everywhere, every time. That's why I am not
477 sure how can eh believe these news. That's why I had to experience that. If I
478 don't experience that, I cannot eh believe anything. #00:22:53-5#
479
480 I: Right. Okay so, in your own family / broader family, is there also a history
481 of migration within Turkey or the neighbouring countries? #00:23:05-8#
482
483 P2: Eh my family? My whole family from Turkey. Actually we are from
484 Antalya- #00:23:46-6#

485
486 I: -or has maybe some family member left to Europe or somewhere else?
487 #00:23:54-8#
488
489 P2: Yes, there is a lot of. One of my cousin eh went in Norway. And one of my
490 cousins went to USA. Eh. Then one of my cousins again went to Dubai. They
491 are eh all of them pretty older than me by the way. (..) Ehm, I think that's all.
492 One Norway, one USA, one Dubai. #00:24:31-5#
493
494 I: And are you still connected? Like with social media or do you meet
495 sometimes? #00:24:39-3#
496
497 P2: Eh social media, but they come to Turkey sometimes, eh, for example in
498 the holidays. Eh, then we will talk and meet when they come here. Yeah, that's
499 all. And they are so happy in these countries. #00:25:06-3#
500
501 I: Did they take family along? #00:25:11-4#
502
503 P2: Actually my cousin who lives in America, he went to America alone, but
504 he married with a Mexican woman there. Eh, one other cousin - ah, by the
505 way: My one cousin went to Russia (.) he is a civil engineer / then he went to
506 Russia again and married with a Russian girl eh / there. One cousin who is
507 living in Norway, he have never married. He is still single. ehm eh yeah, that's
508 all. Actually they are not, they didn't went / go to this countries with their
509 family. They married there. #00:26:15-4#
510
511 I: So there is a lot of migration in your family! #00:26:24-2#
512
513 P2: I want to be an immigration to. #00:26:30-0#
514
515 I: Ah, eh, so do you have a particular country or continent in mind?
516 #00:26:38-1#
517
518 P2: I want to leave Turkey and to go to maybe Italy. Or America. I want to go
519 to Italy so much. #00:26:53-0#
520
521 I: Why? #00:26:54-7#
522
523 P2: Because I love there so much. I have never been in Italy BUT I am in love
524 with Italy- because of its culture I think. I don't know why, actually, but I
525 really love there so much and you know that / I don't know / did you meet
526 Italians? Turkish people and Italian people are similar a little bit. That's why
527 they look as one people for me. #00:27:44-9#
528

529 I: Now, ehm, considering migration stories in your own family. When you
530 think about it - does it change how you think about migration in general?
531 #00:28:17-4#

532

533 P2: Eh, let me give you an example - eh, for example I will go to Italy and
534 immigrate, but I will be (inc.) and I will be go there / I will go there to work
535 only, but, on the other hand - I will not live there till I die. eh just eh for 5 or 6
536 years. Then I will come back Turkey to. Then for example the Syrian
537 immigrants have come to Turkey - so much people. Ehm, eh, almost 3 million
538 people come to Turkey. But if the Syrian people came to Turkey step by step,
539 (explanations). That's why, eh because of war they have to come here eh,
540 together at once, together 3 million people. That's why these people causes
541 some problem here and in other countries because they are so much. Do you
542 understand what I mean? Yeah. But (..) if you look at this side of me, I will go
543 to Italia alone. How many people go to Italian per year? Maybe five, maybe
544 ten, not three million. That's why eh I will not cause a problem for them. Do / I
545 hope you understand what I mean. #00:30:57-5#

546

547 I: Yeah. Like I think in these circumstances you cannot compare, like, they are
548 not to be ehm made responsible for causing the problem. It just happens due to
549 a complex circumstances, you can't blame anyone singularly. So (..) however,
550 you have a very international family! #00:32:06-9#

551

552 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
553 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
554 *matters of privacy protection]*

555

556 P2: It will be my last year, next year. I would like to graduate next year
557 because I might study one more year, too. Actually in addition I want to study
558 a master degree in abroad. But we will see – #00:33:08-4#

559

560

561

562 **Transcript of the Interview with Irem (P3)**

563

564 I: Ich bin neugierig und möchte beginnen mit einer spontanen Frage, nämlich,
565 wie kommt es, dass du Deutsch sprichst? #00:00:07-3#

566

567 P3: Also ich bin in Deutschland geboren, in XXX *[the name of the city has*
568 *been deleted for matters of privacy protection]*, und ich war dort bis sieben
569 Jahre alt / war ich in XXX. Und dann wir hierher gekommen und hab mich
570 sehr vergessen, hab schon vergessen, aber nicht sehr viel (lacht).
571 #00:00:22-4#

572

573 I: Das heißt, warst du dort sogar noch in der Schule kurz? #00:00:26-4#
574
575 P3: Nur im Kindergarten war ich. #00:00:28-3#
576
577 I: Und war deine Familie noch länger da? #00:00:31-9#
578
579 P3: Ja, genau. Meine Mutter spricht sehr gut Deutsch. #00:00:36-8#
580
581 I: Ja, also hat sie dort gearbeitet? #00:00:39-4#
582
583 P3: mhm, ja. #00:00:40-4#
584
585 I: Aber deine Familie kommt eigentlich aus der Türkei? #00:00:42-8#
586
587 P3: Ja, genau. #00:00:43-4#
588
589 I: Und eh ist auch einer von ihnen in Deutschland geboren? #00:00:48-9#
590
591 P3: Sie sind nicht in Deutschland geboren, aber für Arbeiten sind sie nach
592 Deutschland gegangen / Also meine Mutter nicht, meine Mutter war zwei
593 Jahre alt, als sie nach Deutschland gegangen ist. Mein Opa und meine Oma,
594 sie sind für Arbeit gegangen. Und meine Mutter hat dort studiert und dort
595 gearbeitet, ich bin dort geboren. Und dann sind wir zurückgekommen.
596 #00:01:19-8#
597
598 I: Und gibt es jetzt noch Familie oder Verwandtschaft in Deutschland?
599 #00:01:25-7#
600
601 P3: Also mein Papa / Vater ist in Deutschland, immer noch. Und Tanten sind
602 dort, meine Cousine und so. Manchmal gehe ich auch zu Deutschland, also
603 jedes Jahr gehe ich zu XXX. Ja, nur im Sommer gehe ich zu Deutschland.
604 Mein Vater kommt und so- #00:02:20-9#
605
606 I: Okay, dann gehen wir jetzt Richtung Medien. Ähm, da wäre meine erste
607 Frage / also, in deinem Alltag, wie und wo du Nachrichten konsumierst, wie
608 du die liest, mit welchen Medien. #00:02:43-7#
609
610 P3: Also ich les immer vom Twitter, da folge ich die Dinge. Also Hürriyet und
611 so folge ich dort. Ja, ich hab so viele Apps für die Media und so, so lese ich
612 von meinem Telefon, über Internet. #00:03:04-2#
613
614 I: also im Prinzip jederzeit über das Telefon, das du immer dabei hast - oder
615 gibt es so bestimmte Zeiten, wo du länger dich widmest oder eher so, wenn es
616 passt? #00:03:15-9#

617
618 P3: Wenn es passt, unterwegs. So wenn ich im Bett liege und so. (lacht)
619 #00:03:21-1#
620
621 I: Und ähm, liest du dann in erster Linie türkischsprachige, nationale Medien
622 oder- #00:03:34-7#
623
624 P3: Also nationale auch, türkisch schon, ja. (unv.) #00:03:48-5#
625
626 I: Und äh in anderen Sprachen manchmal? #00:03:53-0#
627
628 P3: Also Englisch, ja, aber Deutsch kann ich nicht sehr gut verstehen, wenn
629 ich es lese. Also jeden Tag, wenn ich zu Türkisch gucke, ich gucke auch zu
630 Englisch. #00:04:13-5#
631
632 I: Okay. Gibt es bestimmte Überschriften oder bestimmte Bilder, die auf
633 besondere Weise deiner Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen? Welche sind das?
634 #00:04:24-2#
635
636 P3: Also wenn ich einen Präsidenten sehe, irgendeinen, wenn der etwas
637 gesprochen hat, das äh, das interessiert mich. Politik, international.
638 #00:04:42-7#
639
640 I: Guckst du da, äh, sind da bestimmte Länder im Fokus? #00:04:47-2#
641
642 P3: Also Deutschland, und (..) ja, Amerika (.) #00:04:57-9#
643
644 I: Ähm gibt es auch Themen, von denen du genug hast und nichts mehr hören
645 willst? #00:05:03-1#
646
647 P3: Terrorism, glaube ich. #00:05:05-3#
648
649 I: Ja, ist viel Berichterstattung, mhm- #00:05:10-7#
650
651 P3: Ja genau. Nicht nur in Türkei. Jeden (..) in jeder Region. Nicht nur im
652 Türkei, sondern (..) alles. Wenn Menschen getötet werden - so... Das macht /
653 macht mich, hm, (..) sad. Traurig, genau. #00:05:52-4#
654
655 I: Bei den Themen, wo du interessierter dran bist, zum Beispiel Politik. Gehst
656 du dann da, wenn es gerade ein bestimmtes Thema ist, also ein bestimmtes
657 politisches Ereignis zum Beispiel, greifst du dann auf bestimmte Quellen
658 zurück? (Pause, keine Antwort) Wenn du etwas recherchierst zum Beispiel, ein
659 Thema - bevorzugst du da bestimmte Quellen? #00:07:04-5#
660

661 P3: (sucht mit dem Handy nach einem Wort) Also "sachlich, unbefangen,
662 parteilos". #00:07:27-9#
663
664 I: Ja. Und ähm guckst du dir auch / eher von akzeptierten Medien die Quellen
665 an oder auch alternative Medien wie in der Blogosphere? #00:07:53-6#
666
667 P3: Also ich lese nicht Blogs sehr viel. Da, das ist auch schön, aber...
668 #00:07:59-0#
669
670 I: Oder persönliche Kommentare, Forumdiskussionen? #00:08:03-2#
671
672 P3: Ja manche Writer, maybe. Ja, ich liebe ihre Kommentare. Manche schon,
673 ja. #00:08:21-8#
674
675 I: Wir können vielleicht über Syrien reden, als Beispiel, und zwar, der
676 Syrienkrieg dauert ja jetzt schon viele Jahre an und Türkei ist als Nachbarland
677 ja besonders betroffen. Ähm, aber auch andere Nachbarländer und weit
678 darüber hinaus. Und natürlich sind die Medien an dem Thema ständig dran,
679 wobei das jetzt abgeflacht ist. Könntest du erzählen, wie du, äh, (...) ja den
680 syrischen Fall persönlich wahrnimmst, die Lage der Menschen, die aus Syrien
681 weggehen wegen des Krieges? #00:09:21-7#
682
683 P3: Also es ist traurig für die Menschen, die vom eigenen Wohnraum
684 weggehen müssen. Aber ähm (.) sie haben ein sehr schönes Standardleben hier
685 in Türkei. Und sie können irgendwo einfach zur Universität gehen. Sie haben
686 sehr viele (..) Möglichkeiten als wir. Ja, wie studieren hier, ich habe sehr viel
687 gearbeitet für diese Universität und die können einfach zur Universität gehen
688 und können einfach einen Doktor machen. Das finde ich nicht so - (.) fair, ja.
689 #00:10:26-1#
690
691 I: Okay, das heißt, es gibt so Stipendien für Menschen aus Syrien, dass sie
692 kostenlos studieren können. Und also die Lebenssituation von Syrern
693 allgemein, in der Türkei, kannst du da nochmal näher drauf eingehen? Du
694 meinst, der Standard ist eigentlich hoch? #00:10:47-6#
695
696 P3: Ja, ich denke so, ja. Ja weil, unsere Menschen sind auch sehr viele, die,
697 ähm (...) was sagt man, die kein Essen findet, und kein / arbeitslos ist und so,
698 aber Syrien / die können ein sehr ähm (..) easy auf ein Arbeit gehen, weil sie
699 äh (...) was sagt man (..) wenn du etwas, ähm, (..) money. Weil die sehr low -
700 deswegen können sie sehr leicht Geld verdienen. Weil sie nicht sehr viel
701 möchten, weil sie, als Geld deswegen, wenn jemand zu Arbeit möchtet, die
702 möchten dann ein Syrien, weil sie ihm nicht so viel Geld geben müssen. Ja
703 genau und unsere Menschen sind jetzt arbeitslos sehr viele. Ja eben (...) äh,
704 also jeden Ort ist eine Syrien, die arbeitet. #00:12:13-6#

705
706 I: Ähm, hast du persönlich auch Syrerinnen oder Syrer kennengelernt, in der
707 Uni oder in der Stadt? #00:12:23-6#
708
709 P3: Nein, hm. #00:12:25-2#
710
711 I: Also und aber du siehst viele Syrer in Istanbul? #00:12:29-0#
712
713 P3: Ja, viele. #00:12:29-9#
714
715 I: Aber du hast auch nicht, ähm, also noch nicht gesprochen mit Menschen.
716 #00:12:33-7#
717
718 P3: Mh mh, nein, nicht. #00:12:37-2#
719
720 I: Ähm das heißt, also äh sprichst du mit anderen darüber, also mit deinen
721 Freunden, mit der Familie - tauscht ihr euch da über die Situation aus?
722 #00:12:48-8#
723
724 P3: Ja. #00:12:48-9#
725
726 I: Und äh, zum Beispiel solche Informationen wie die Arbeitssituation ist jetzt
727 für Türken in der Türkei und Syrer, ähm, wie kommst du zu der Beobachtung?
728 Durch die Gespräche mit anderen Menschen oder durch die Medien?
729 #00:13:16-9#
730
731 P3: Also, anderen Menschen glaube ich noch mehr, weil, sie sagen dass sie das
732 sehen, dass sie das hören und (..) ja. Ich denke nicht in Medien, dass es sich
733 richtig ähm, about Syrien- #00:13:38-5#
734
735 I: Dass die Berichterstattung richtig ist, denkst du nicht. #00:13:42-7#
736
737 P3: Nein, denke ich nicht. #00:13:44-6#
738
739 I: Was gibt es da für Beispiele? Wo du sagst, da berichten sie komisch oder
740 falsch? #00:13:54-9#
741
742 P3: (...) Sabah, weißt du das? Sabah. Ich denke nicht, dass es richtig ist. Sie
743 machen ähm, also (..) wie kann ich das sagen (...) #00:14:17-2#
744
745 I: Also wie stellen sie die Dinge dar, also es ist nicht realistisch? Also stellen
746 sie es besser oder schlechter da oder optimistischer oder pessimistischer?
747 #00:14:49-3#
748

749 P3: Besser machen sie es. Sagen, dass alles okay ist und so aber ich glaube,
750 dass nicht alles okay ist. hm. #00:15:06-9#
751
752 I: Und ähm welche / wie ist es bei Hürriyet zum Beispiel, die liest du ja mehr.
753 #00:15:15-0#
754
755 P3: Ah, ich lese nicht sehr viel Hürriyet, aber, ich denk auch, Hürriyet ist auch
756 nicht sehr optimistisch, sehr so, aber... Also die sind auch sehr, ähm, gegen die,
757 ähm, Regierung. Gegen die Regierung, deswegen sind die auch nicht sehr
758 neutral. #00:16:36-0#
759
760 I: Äh, wenn sie also gegen die Regierung sind, in dieser Angelegenheit, was
761 jetzt die einwandernden Syrer angeht, was heißt das dann, wie sie über ähm
762 syrische Einwanderer denken, oder Geflüchtete? #00:16:49-7# (Pause, keine
763 Antwort) Die Berichterstattung über Syrer, Syrerinnen in der Türkei, oder
764 auch die Kommentare. Sind da bestimmte Dinge, die du, ähm, die du gut
765 findest, oder die du überhaupt nicht gut findest? #00:17:23-7#
766
767 P3: Über Syrien? Hmm. Also die äh (.) möchten Geld. (..) In the streets there
768 are a lot of Syrians die möchte Geld und so und die haben ihre child- Kinder in
769 ihre Händen. Also (.)- #00:17:47-1#
770
771 I: Und die Medien? Wie berichten die da? Also das habe ich jetzt nicht
772 verstanden. Also diese Menschen siehst du und ähm und, deiner Meinung
773 nach, wie wird es in den Medien dargestellt oder (...) Also das, was du erlebst
774 und das, was du vielleicht in den Medien siehst, stimmt das überein oder sind
775 das verschiedene Welten? #00:18:18-4#
776
777 P3: Verschiedene Welten, genau. #00:18:20-9#
778
779 I: Also die Medien berichten- #00:18:23-3#
780
781 P3: Die trauen sich nicht, glaube ich, die richtige (..) #00:18:27-1#
782
783 I: -die harte Wahrheit zu sagen? #00:18:28-8#
784
785 P3: Ja, genau. Genau. #00:18:29-4#
786
787 I: Also sie versuchen, es schöner darzustellen, als es in Wirklichkeit ist?
788 #00:18:35-4#
789
790 P3: Mhm, ja, so ist das. Kein Problem und so, aber es ist ein Problem.
791 #00:18:45-2#
792

793 I: Nochmal zu äh, zum Thema, in verschiedenen Länder leben, Migration.
794 Also, Deutschland ist glaube ich so an erster Stelle in deiner Familie, ne? Gibt
795 es auch andere Länder? #00:19:04-3#
796
797 P3: Andere Länder. hmm (..) #00:19:07-2#
798
799 I: Wo jemand hingegangen ist oder wo jemand herkommt. (.) Vielleicht ist
800 auch jemand in die Türkei gekommen. #00:19:19-0#
801
802 P3: Skandinavien. Die liebe ich am meisten. Glaube ich. Ich denke, die haben
803 gar kein Problem in ihrer Region. Keine Konflikte. Ja, also das denke ich
804 eigentlich. Meine ich nicht, dass es so ist, aber ich sehe es nur so, dass sie sehr
805 fröhlich sind und so, dort. #00:19:52-0#
806
807 I: Heißt das, es gibt in deiner Familie Migrationsgeschichten? #00:20:02-1#
808
809 P3: Also mein Tante lebt dort in Skandinavien und sie spricht mit mir auch über
810 ihr Land. Und also sie haben dort gar kein Problem. Also sie ist nie arbeitslos
811 geworden, äh sie hat eine Tochter, sie ist auch sehr fröhlich und so. Sie haben
812 keinen Problem. Und sie möchte, dass ich auch dahin gehe, für arbeiten und
813 so, ja. #00:20:33-8#
814
815 I: Kannst du dir das auch vorstellen? Du lächelst! #00:20:39-0#
816
817 P3: Es ist sehr schwer, wenn es, ähm, ich bin ja hier gewachsen und so, hier
818 studiert.. Weiß nicht, ob ich das schaffe, äh alleine und so. ähm ich möchte
819 nicht hier in Türkei bleiben für arbeiten und so .. #00:20:58-5#
820
821 I: Okay, hm. Also für uns ist es ja relativ leicht, ähm, zu reisen und für einige
822 Jahre in einem anderen Land zu leben oder sogar richtig zu emmigrieren.(.)
823 Ähm (..) aber es ist für andere sehr schwierig eigentlich, das zu realisieren, so
824 einen Wunsch. Wenn du das siehst, die freiwillige Migration mit gezwungener
825 Migration, weil man zum Beispiel vor Krieg oder wirklicher Gefahr und
826 Verlust fliehen muss, wie jetzt viele der Menschen aus Syrien. Wenn du das
827 parallel siehst, was kommen dir für Gedanken oder Gefühle? #00:22:32-7#
828
829 P3: Ich bin ja schon traurig für sie, ja. Niemand möchte ihre Wohnungen
830 lassen, und zum anderen Land gehen und dort arbeiten und mit der Familie in
831 street bleiben und äh, also die bleiben nicht in street, das glaube ich nicht. Die
832 haben ein eigenes Ding, wo sie glaub bleiben, ein Haus, aber ja, es ist ja nicht
833 dein eigenes Haus und das ist auch echt traurig, aber, (..) also weiß nicht (...).
834 Ich hab es ja auch gesagt, also unsere Menschen sind auch arbeitslos, die
835 können auch kein (.) ähm (6 seconds) #00:23:22-7#
836

837 I: Wie könnte man besser darauf reagieren, vielleicht politisch? #00:23:35-0#
838
839 P3: Das weiß ich jetzt nicht, hab nicht sehr ein gutes politisches Verständnis,
840 aber ja ich rede schon sehr viel und aber (4 seconds). Also wenn ich mit
841 jemand spreche, die sagen immer, dass die Syrien mehr gut ähm, (..) dass es
842 denen besser geht als (..) / Äh ich war im letztes Monate in Deutschland, da
843 hat mein Freund ein Haus gezeigt, dass die wohl die Syrien lebten in XXX und
844 sie hat gesagt, dass sie besser sind als ihr Familie und so. Also nicht nur in
845 Türkei, in Deutschland ist es auch so, glaube ich. #00:24:44-3#
846
847 I: Und also in deinem Freundeskreis, oder in deiner Familie, die anderen
848 haben auch keinen direkten Kontakt? #00:25:11-9#
849
850 P3: mhm, nein. #00:25:16-6#
851
852 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
853 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
854 *matters of privacy protection]*
855
856 I: Oh, nochmal, zu den Medien. Liest du eher oder hörst du auch so Audios
857 oder guckst Videos? #00:28:24-0#
858
859 P3: Ich guck schon so Television (..) #00:28:31-1#
860
861 I: Zu Hause, im Fernsehgerät? (nickt) Okay. Und unterwegs dann eher diese
862 Kurznachrichten, diese, wie heißt das auf Englisch- News Flash.
863 #00:28:46-9#
864
865 P3: Also ja , ich hab jetzt sehr viele Apps, da gucke ich immer so ins Business
866 (unv.) und Haber national (..) #00:29:02-1#
867
868 I: Ja. Und bei Bildern, also da meintest du, das Thema Terrorismus ist für dich
869 so anstrengend, weil es ja auch traurig macht. Ähm, da sind ja auch oft Bilder
870 dabei. #00:29:25-9#
871
872 P: Das finde ich nicht korrekt, wenn da toten Menschen so, wenn da Blut und
873 so, das find ich nicht sehr schön (..) und korrekt (...). Können schon ein Bild
874 finden für das, aber nicht mit dem Blut und so. #00:29:52-7#
875
876 I: Wenn dir noch irgendwas einfällt, darfst du gerne sagen. (...) Ich hab soweit
877 keine Fragen mehr. Okay, dann vielen Dank! #00:30:07-7#
878
879 ***
880

881 **Transcript of the Interview with Michelle (P4)**

882

883 I: Meine erste Frage ist, ähm, wie du an aktuelle Informationen herankommst,
884 also welche Kanäle, welche Medien du dafür nutzt. #00:00:15-5#

885

886 P4: Ähm, ich würde sagen, überwiegend halt online und ähm vor allem, sage
887 ich mal, wenn ich auf Facebook bin und gewisse Seiten geliked habe, wie DIE
888 WELT, SPIEGEL oder so und ich klick halt auf die weiterführenden Links.
889 Das ist / hauptsächlich (.) ja (.) das ist (.) sonst eigentlich weniger.
890 #00:00:32-1#

891

892 I: Ja. Also ganz mobil, da wo du bist und am mobilen Gerät? (sie nickt
893 bestätigend). Und ähm welche Textformate ziehst du da vor? #00:00:53-4#

894

895 P4: Das ist glaub ich ganz unterschiedlich, sag ich mal. Gewisse Themen
896 gucke ich mir lieber Videos an, die ganz einfach das erklären und andere,
897 sozusagen, wo ich schon eine Meinung habe, da klick / da les ich mir lieber
898 Texte durch von Autoren oder Diskussionen, die geführt wurden. #00:01:09-5#
899

900 I: Mhm, also bei Themen, die dich besonders interessieren- #00:01:12-5#

901

902 P4: Ja, wo ich auch `ne gewisse Meinung schon habe, sag ich mal, das, wo ich
903 das halt einfach verstehe und weiß, worum es geht. #00:01:22-1#

904

905 I: Ja, ja. Ähm, könntest du da `ne Häufigkeit oder Regelmäßigkeit ausmachen
906 oder ist das so ganz spontan im Alltag verteilt? Also nicht eine spezielle
907 Sendung oder so-? #00:01:35-5#

908

909 P4: Ähm, das ist glaub ich spontan, also, ich habe jetzt keine wirklich (.) eine
910 Abfolge oder Regel, sag ich mal, 'ne Sendung, die ich ständig verfolge, das ist
911 wirklich eher spontan. #00:01:48-3#

912

913 I: Ja. Und äh die Nachrichten, die Inhalte, wo du eher drauf klickst, die dich
914 eher interessieren, ist das eher Inland, Ausland, regional, überregional...
915 #00:01:59-7#

916

917 P4: Es ist gemixt, wirklich. Ja. Alles dabei. #00:02:02-5#

918

919 I: Ähm, es wird ja viel auch mit Bildern hinterlegt, ähm, äh, gibt es so
920 bestimmte Bilder, wo du schnell wegklickst, oder wo du gerade dann darauf
921 klickst? #00:02:17-1#

922

923 P4: Ich glaube halt Bilder, die halt (.) was Extremes darstellen, da klick ich
924 halt eher drauf, weil ich halt wissen will, um was es wirklich geht, oder, sag

925 ich mal, dass es mich eher anspricht. Vielleicht um (..) naja, ich weiß es nicht,
926 was mich dazu bewegt, die Beiträge anzuklicken. Ähm, also ich glaub auf
927 jeden Fall Überschr-/ also Bilder, Überschriften (..) naja (..) sind schon sehr
928 wichtig. #00:02:43-8#
929
930 I: Und ähm gibt es äh ein oder mehrere bestimmte Themen, die dich
931 inzwischen total langweilen, wo du am liebsten eigentlich nichts mehr von
932 hören willst? #00:02:57-4#
933
934 P4: Bestimmt, aber es fällt mir grad nichts ein. (lacht) Ähm (7 Sekunden) Ja,
935 (..) was mich anödet, ich weiß nicht ob es / halt diese Klatsch-Schlagzeilen,
936 wo ich mir denke, okay, das interessiert eh kein Schwein, aber sonst (...) fällt
937 mir spontan nichts ein. #00:03:19-2#
938
939 I: Kommentierst du auch, also wenn du online bei oder über Facebook solche
940 Artikel // liest? #00:03:54-2#
941
942 P4: // Nee, ich kommentiere // persönlich nichts, aber ich lese mir halt gerne
943 die Kommentare durch. #00:03:57-5#
944
945 I: Ja, ja. Da sind ja dann auch sehr kontroverse- #00:04:01-7#
946
947 P4: Genau. Das ist / finde ich halt sehr interessant, die Perspektiven anderer,
948 sag ich mal anzuhören, aber selber was kommentieren mag ich persönlich
949 nicht. #00:04:10-0#
950
951 I: Ja. ja. (..) Ähm, gibt es denn, also, quasi im Gegenteil gefragt, gibt es
952 Themen, die dich besonders interessieren? #00:04:20-9#
953
954 P4: (5 Sekunden) Ähm, ich verfolge glaube ich / weil BUNDEStagswahlen
955 sind, verfolge ich einzelne Politiker (..) sag ich mal, beSONders, aber an sich
956 (..) auch nichts Spezielles. #00:04:45-2#
957
958 I: Mhm. Also ich hab jetzt mir ein Beispiel ausgewählt, zu dem ich gern mehr
959 Fragen stellen würde. Und zwar der Krieg in Syrien. Der dauert ja jetzt schon
960 einige Jahre an und hat die Nachbarländer stark affektiert, aber auch darüber
961 hinaus auch in Prinzip bis nach Europa und eigentlich die ganze Welt. Und
962 also in irgend einer Weise geht es uns inzwischen jeden was an, äh und
963 wahrscheinlich haben wir da auch jeder irgend ne Meinung. Und deswegen
964 würde ich dich auch um ein kurzes Statement bitten, also wie du persönlich
965 zum Thema Syrien denkst? #00:05:28-7#
966
967 P4: ähm (5 Sekunden) mhhhm (..) also MEine Meinung dazu ist - ich muss
968 erstmal (lacht) (Pause 7 Sekunden) ich bin halt prinzipiell dagegen, weil ich

969 bin der Meinung, halt, was haben Länder (.) / sag ich mal halt zum Beispiel
970 die NATO in dem (..) / sich da einzumischen? Ich verstehe halt, sag ich mal,
971 die Praktik von Koalitionen, das ist okay, auch vielleicht mal die Intentionen
972 von den Staaten, was die machen wollen, das ist jetzt (unv.), aber an sich bin
973 ich halt der Meinung, was haben WIR oder ANDERE da miteinzumischen?
974 (...) Und ja, sag ich mal, die Auswirkung daraus is' (.) sag ich mal in den
975 letzten Jahren auf jeden Fall spürbarer geworden, als davor. Ich (..) hab glaube
976 ich noch nicht jetzt (..) mir darüber sehr viel Gedanken gemacht - ich habe
977 davon gehört und hab' bestimmt auch eigene Meinung dazu, aber mir ist jetzt /
978 spontan das auszuformulieren, das fällt mir doch sehr schwer..(hüstelt)
979 #00:06:37-6#
980
981 I: Ja, ja. Also ähm, diese langjährigen Konfliktlage hat ja auch bewirkt, dass
982 viele Menschen auf der Flucht sind, also vor allem in die Nachbarländer, aber
983 eben auch nach Europa, nach Deutschland. Ähm, hast du da auch ein
984 Statement zu der Lage von Syrer_innen dort und also, ähm ja, die vor dem
985 Konflikt geflohen sind? #00:07:03-9#
986
987 P4: Also ich bin der Meinung halt, Menschen, die Hilfe benötigen, sollen halt
988 Hilfe bekommen. Aber dennoch (.) bin ich dafür, dass es sag ich mal
989 strukturiert ist oder beziehungsweise (.) eine (..) Form ist, dass halt auch / dass
990 jeder damit / (..) hmm, wie soll ich das formulieren (..) dass es (...) dass es halt
991 (...) Methoden gibt oder Grenzen gibt. Also Grenzen in diesem Sinne nicht,
992 aber dass es auf jeden Fall so eine Struktur gibt, damit man weiß, was genau
993 jetzt passiert (.) an den Grenzen zum Beispiel, ja. #00:07:39-7#
994
995 I: Äh, damit WER das genau weiß? #00:07:42-6#
996
997 P4: Also halt, ja, das es auf jeden Fall registriert wird, da bin ich halt auf jeden
998 Fall dafür, weil ich finde halt dieses, sag ich mal übertriebener Weise gesagt,
999 dieses Durchwinken bin ich dagegen - aber ich sag ich halt mal, ich bin auch
1000 nicht dafür, dass Grenzen geschlossen werden, weil Menschen, die Hilfe
1001 benötigen, sollen Hilfe bekommen. (.) Aber halt die Art und Weise, wie das
1002 geregelt (..) wurde, damit bin ich halt (.) unzufrieden. #00:08:02-7#
1003
1004 I: Ähm, (.) wie hast du denn äh die, also die Nachrichtenberichterstattung
1005 darüber in den letzten Jahren wahrgenommen? #00:08:13-0#
1006
1007 P4: Also am Anfang auf jeden Fall war das sehr PRäsent, und auch auf oder in
1008 den Straßen, jeder - oder jeder zweite lief halt mit diesen (.) Flüchtlings-Ja-
1009 Button an den Klamotten herum, das war - #00:08:25-3#
1010
1011 I: Hier in Berlin- #00:08:26-2#
1012

1013 P4: Auch, ja, vor allem in Berlin, glaube ich. Das hat man schon bemerkt. Jetzt
1014 ist es (.) weniger gew-/ , also ist nicht mehr so präsent, das stimmt schon. (.) Es
1015 ist weniger und meine Freunde und ich (.) bemerken das nicht so, also auf der
1016 Straße auch, dass/ ob irgendwelche Flaggen durch die Gegend gewedelt
1017 werden-. #00:08:46-4#
1018
1019 I: Und die Stimmung der Medien dafür-dagegen, hast du da noch ein Gefühl
1020 oder einen Eindruck dazu? #00:08:54-0#
1021
1022 P4: Ich glaube, das ist halt wirklich unterschiedlich, wo man sich jetzt
1023 informiert, sag ich mal, in diesen (..) öffentlichen Sendern is' es (.) / is' die
1024 Präsenz oder ist die Wahrnehmung anders (..). Auf, wie gesagt, Facebook, wo
1025 ich mich sehr (.) AUSführlich informiere, ist halt / gibt es schon viele
1026 Gegenstimmen. Die halt das knallhart auf den Punkt bringen. Während das in
1027 den Medien halt beschönigt wird. #00:09:19-6#
1028
1029 I: Mhm. Also die äh WAS knallhart auf den Punkt bringen? #00:09:23-1#
1030
1031 P4: Ähm, zum Beispiel halt (..) was für Wir-/ also was, also IHRE Argumente
1032 - ich hab nicht gesagt, dass ich damit übereinstimme, aber halt, sie sagen, dass
1033 ein Zusammenhang mit der Kriminalitätsrate (unv.) besteht. Das ist halt
1034 Jedermanns Perspektive. #00:09:39-2#
1035
1036 I: Ähm, das heißt also von Facebook aus hast du also diese kritischen
1037 Meinungen viel gehört / also von da, meinstest du, klickst du ja weiter auf äh
1038 DIE WELT und sowas-? #00:09:52-6#
1039
1040 P4: Genau. Also nicht unbedingt jetzt auch DIE WELT, aber / die Kommentare
1041 überwiegend. Also ich mein DIE WELT zum Beispiel präsentiert halt IHRE
1042 oder sag ich mal (..) BRINGT einen Artikel auf den / (unv.) aber dann die
1043 Kommentare dadrunter, DIE sind halt auf jeden Fall SEHR kritisch (.)
1044 kritischER als von irgendwelchen - SPIEGEL, ZEIT. #00:10:17-5#
1045
1046 I: Mhm. Ähm, also in Istanbul werden einige gekommene Syrerer und
1047 Syrerinnen zum Studium zugelassen. Ist das hier an der TU auch so, kennst du
1048 vielleicht Mitstudierende die aus Syrien kommen? // #00:10:35-2#
1049
1050 P4: // Also ich / persönlich (.) kenne keinen, aber ich seh' halt auf den
1051 Webseiten, dass es (..) für Flüchtlinge Sonderprogramme gibt an der TU.
1052 #00:10:44-3#
1053
1054 I: Und äh kennst du sonst, also aus deinem Privatleben persönlich //
1055 #00:10:51-2#
1056

1057 P4: // Nein // persönlich nicht. #00:10:52-5#
1058
1059 I: Und äh vielleicht über deinem Freundes-, Familien-, Bekanntenkreis //
1060 #00:10:58-7#
1061
1062 P4: // auch nicht // Auch nicht wirklich. #00:11:00-3#
1063
1064 I: Mhm. Genau. Dann, weil wir jetzt beim Thema Migration gelandet sind,
1065 würde ich gerne fragen, ähm, äh, also wie dein eigener Hintergrund ist?
1066 #00:11:17-8#
1067
1068 P4: Ähm, ja also ich kam mit fünf nach Deutschland, ging hier nochmal zur
1069 Schule. Hab' mit / Also, ich bin in Vietnam geboren, hab dann mit 16, glaube
1070 ich, den Antrag auf die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft beantragt und bin jetzt
1071 inzwischen (.) „deutsch“. #00:11:33-5#
1072
1073 I: Bist du mit deiner Familie hierher gekommen? #00:11:36-3#
1074
1075 P4: Ich bin mit meiner Mutti hierher gekommen, mhm. #00:11:38-6#
1076
1077 I: Okay. Jetzt habe ich eine spannende Frage und da kannst du dir auch ein
1078 bisschen Zeit nehmen. Also wenn du jetzt über Migration einfach als Aufbruch
1079 und Neuanfang in einem anderen Land nachdenkst und ja die Frage (..) von
1080 deiner eigenen Biografie/Lebensgeschichte her, denkst du, dass du da einen
1081 anderen Blick auf ähm, also auf andere Migrationsgeschichten - zum Beispiel
1082 eben auch von Geflüchteten wie den Syrern jetzt - hast? #00:12:33-4#
1083
1084 P4: Ich glaube schon, weil ich der Meinung bin, sag' ich mal halt, zum
1085 Beispiel die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft, das ist kein Geburtsrecht. Ich mein,
1086 ich hab kein (-) / das ist / ich weiß nicht, wie ich es nennen soll / das ist Zufall,
1087 dass der eine in Deutschland geboren ist (.) und die / und der andere (.) sag ich
1088 mal in China, Vietnam, weiß ich nicht, Russland und ich s-/ und ich meine, es
1089 ist in dem Sinne kein Geburtsrecht, deutsch zu sein. Jeder hat ein Recht sich in
1090 irgendein (.) beliebiges Land, oder sag ich mal, gewünschtes Land (.)
1091 integrieren / migrieren zu lassen. (.) Also, ich denke schon, dass es einen
1092 Einfluss auf meine Perspektive hat (.). Ich glaube, ich (..) ich habe / ich
1093 empfinde mehr Sympathie, sag ich mal, für solche Geschichten als - (.) meine
1094 Freunde / ich weiß es nicht ganz genau, habe noch nicht mit denen darüber
1095 gesprochen- (.) / Aber (.) ich bin der Meinung, es ändert schon meine
1096 Perspektive, da ich (.) selber am Anfang (..) ein Ausländer in einem fremden
1097 Land war (.) und die Schwierigkeiten bzw. die Vorurteile (..) schon na-
1098 teilweise nachempfinden kann. #00:13:37-6#
1099
1100 I: Mhm, mhm. (.) Also da sind schon so persönliche Erfahrungswerte (.), die

1101 dich prägen, oder? Ja. Ähm, genau. (Unterbrechung durch Lärm/
1102 Türeenschlagen) Also, eine letzte Frage zu den Medien. Ähm, zu den Medien,
1103 die du liest, oder auf die du indirekt kommst, (.) was assoziiert du da, wenn
1104 ich das Stichwort /Glaubwürdigkeit/ nenne? #00:14:25-0#

1105

1106 P4: (.) Ich glaub', es gibt schon GROÙE Unterschiede, weil, ich mein, die
1107 BILD zum Beispiel ist nicht unbedingt für (..) seriöse Berichterstattung
1108 bekannt. Es gibt auf JEden Fall Unterschiede. Deswegen versuche ich mich
1109 halt, sag ich mal, auch unabhängig von denen allen nochmal zu informieren.
1110 Also wenn ich zum Beispiel was bei der WELT gelesen hab und das macht
1111 mich skeptisch oder ich möchte mich darüber - mehr informieren, dann lese
1112 ich halt auch andere Quellen durch, dann recherchier ich wirklich gezielt
1113 nochmal. Aber Glaubwürdigkeit (.) ja, das is alles schon n bisschen subjektiv.
1114 Es is die Art und Weise, wie man das präsentiert, schätze ich (lacht)
1115 #00:15:09-3#

1116

1117 I: Ja. es gibt dann ja neben den ähm Social Media-Inhalten und den Etablierten
1118 auch noch sogenannte alternative Medien. Ähm, gehst du da, also liest du da
1119 manchmal irgendwelche Blogs oder ähm sowas wie KenFM oder so?
1120 #00:15:27-3#

1121

1122 P4: (.) Ähm, weniger. (..) Bis gar nicht, ehrlich gesagt. Also es is halt wirklich,
1123 wenn ich mich SEHR dafür interessiere. #00:15:34-6#

1124

1125 I: Mhm, ja. Ähm dann kommen jetzt einfach noch ein paar Fragen zu dir.

1126

1127 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
1128 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
1129 *matters of privacy protection]*

1130

1131

1132

1133 **Transcript of the Interview with Li-An (P5)**

1134

1135 I: Die erste Frage lautet: Wie kommst du an aktuelle Nachrichten,
1136 Informationen ran? Wie informierst du dich über aktuelles Geschehen?
1137 #00:00:12-6#

1138

1139 P5: Hm. Hauptsächlich über 's Internet, aber auch ab und zu die Zeitung. (..)
1140 Ja. (.) Also, beziehungsweise Apps auf meinem Handy, also (unv.)-Apps, also
1141 das ist einfach auch am schnellsten, um an Nachrichten zu kommen.
1142 #00:00:31-8#

1143

1144 I: Mhm. Also, das heißt auch ganz spontan, wenn dir die Idee kommt oder dich

1145 etwas interessiert... #00:00:38-4#
1146
1147 P5: Genau #00:00:39-5#
1148
1149 I: Und ähm, was sind so die Formate, die du bevorzugst? Also im Internet,
1150 Social Media oder Online-Zeitungen? #00:00:52-4#
1151
1152 P5: Also in letzter Zeit halt war wirklich so auf Facebook. Also, da kann man
1153 ja auch so die Seiten von den News halt liken und die poppen dann immer up.
1154 Und wenn du dann so runterscrollst, weil / weil du ja eigentlich immer auf
1155 Facebook bist, dann sieht man eigentlich / die meisten News. #00:01:16-0#
1156
1157 I: Ähm, und da gibt es nicht einen bestimmten Ort oder Zeit, wo du das
1158 virtuell machst, sondern einfach so äh im Alltag verteilt- #00:01:25-1#
1159
1160 P5: Ja, also wenn man alleine ist, unterwegs, gerade auf dem Weg zur Uni. (..)
1171 In der U-Bahn liest man ja auch da, gibt's auch so Fernsehen in der U-Bahn.
1172 (...) Ja, in der Toilette, keine Ahnung.. #00:01:46-0#
1173
1174 I: Welche Überschriften oder welche Bilder sind das, die deine
1175 Aufmerksamkeit irgendwie reizen, wo du eher hinklickst? #00:01:56-4#
1176
1177 P5: Ähm, jetzt momentan eher VIEL über Politik. Würde ich sagen. Weil jetzt
1178 vor allem auch viel äh los ist. Mit den Wahlen und den ganzen
1179 Terroranschlägen und so. Ähm (..) oder aber auch jetzt ähm Modebereich. Da
1180 lese ich auch viel. Ja. (...) Oder so Lifestyle. Wo es um Kochen geht oder
1181 sowas. Aber das sind ja nicht wirklich News, aber/ #00:02:32-4#
1182
1183 I: Und im Bereich Politik, informierst du dich da eher national, regional,
1184 international...? #00:02:39-1#
1185
1186 P5: Beides. Regional und International. Ja. Also viel, ähm / jetzt nicht so
1187 extrem international. Also auch viel Deutschland. Aber auch so in den Staaten
1188 jetzt so, ja also (.) interessiere ich mich so, was da abläuft. Oder auch generell
1189 halt so, was halt so passiert. #00:03:15-1#
1190
1191 I: Hm, ja. Gibt es auch Themen, die dich langweilen, anöden, wo du gleich
1192 wegklickst? Was sind das so für Themen? #00:03:22-6#
1193
1194 P5: Wenn ich lese und merke, das ist so (..) mhh, (...) das ist halt / wenn es so
1195 absurd ist. Wenn es nicht wirklich Nachrichten sind. Wenn ich mir denke, ah
1196 okay, hm, BILD oder so was. Das mag ich nicht, wirklich so zu lesen, klick ich
1197 das weg. (.) Ähm (.) #00:03:47-1#
1198

1199 I: Äh, also du liest ja sehr viel eben über Facebook und von da aus kommst du,
1200 meinstest du, gehst du auf #00:04:42-9#
1201
1202 P5: Wenn ich halt MEHR lesen will dann, so, geh ich auf die Seite.
1203 #00:04:59-8#
1204
1205 I: Und liest du manchmal auch sogenannte alternative Berichterstattung, sowas
1206 wie Blogs? Oder YouTube-Kanäle? Oder eher nicht? #00:05:17-9#
1207
1208 P5: Hm. Das - nee, also Blogs eher im Lifestyle-Bereich. Also nicht wirklich
1209 Politik. #00:05:29-3#
1210
1211 I: Okay. Und äh (..) also WENN dich gerade da ein Thema mehr interessiert,
1212 liest du dann mehr so den Nachrichteninhalte oder eher die Kommentare?
1213 #00:05:51-3#
1214
1215 P5: Nur den Inhalt. Ich kommentiere auch selber nicht, sowas mach' ich nicht.
1216 #00:06:01-8#
1217
1218 I: Ähm, genau. Also ich hab jetzt mir ein Beispiel rausgegriffen, das hier in
1219 den Nachrichten jetzt länger schon behandelt wird, nämlich der
1220 langanhaltende Krieg in Syrien. Der ja zum einen die Nachbarländer sehr stark
1221 betroffen hat, aber darüber hinaus inzwischen uns alle angeht weltweit. Und
1222 das ist ja ein Thema, das in den Medien auch SEHR stark diskutiert wurde. Da
1223 würde ich dich gern fragen, was du da für Assoziationen hast. #00:06:51-9#
1224
1225 P5: Ähm / also ich (..) hab da noch nicht gelebt, war da noch nicht, also kann
1226 ich da nicht wirklich / nichts dazu sagen, wie es ist. Also man sieht ja dann
1227 auch nur wirklich, was in den Nachrichten / was die uns zeigen. Das sind ja
1228 keine schönen Bilder. Ähm, jetzt ist halt weniger. Also es wird weniger
1229 darüber berichtet als vor ein paar Monaten. Aber ich glaub mal, die sich dafür
1230 interessieren, die lesen da nochmal da drüber, recherchieren, aber, hm, (...)
1231 also ich hab jetzt / nein, nein, also, dann (..) geh ich lieber halt also / wie die
1232 Lage hier in Deutschland ist. Von Flüchtlingen. #00:07:55-7#
1233
1234 I: Was denkst du da äh, zu den Syrern, Syrerinnen, die hierher gekommen
1235 sind? Über ihre Lage? #00:08:02-5#
1236
1237 P5: Also. Ich würd' mal so anfangen. Meine Eltern sind damals auch
1238 hergeflüchtet. Ich bin dann auch hier geboren. Aus Vietnam. Die waren halt
1239 Boatpeople, sind dann 1980 hergeflohen. Die wurden halt herzlich
1240 aufgenommen. Es waren aber keine Millionen von Menschen, es waren
1241 Tausende nur. Also das ist schon n Unterschied. Also ich wohne in Neukölln,
1242 ich bin da auch aufgewachsen und ich finde, man sieht (..) man sieht den

1243 Unterschied. Also, wie viele dazu gekommen sind. Es sind ganz viele, ähm,
1244 Gebäude gefüllt mit Flüchtlingen. #00:08:52-2#
1245
1246 I: Wie erkennt man das denn? Oder wie weißt du das? Also ich bin selber nicht
1247 Berlinerin... #00:09:01-8#
1248
1249 P5: Okay. Ähm, also. Ich bin / ich geh zur Kirche, also katholische Kirche.
1250 Und wir helfen denen auch, also es gibt so Organisationen und ähm, spenden
1251 halt auch ganz viele Sachen und sowas. Und ähm, in Neukölln, da spricht es
1252 sich so rum, dass da halt ein Gebäude halt jetzt frei war. Damals war da so wie
1253 C&A oder so was drin. Also Einkaufszentrum oder so, was jetzt leer stand.
1254 Also und die, die in den Turnhallen waren, sind jetzt dort. (..) Und ähm leben
1255 dort. Es gibt auch ganz viele Familien, die äh syrische Familien aufgenommen
1256 haben. (..) Also, ich seh das halt soo - negativ UND positiv. #00:09:55-5#
1257
1258 I: Ähm, könntest du so negative und positive Faktoren nennen? #00:09:59-9#
1259
1260 P5: Klar, also. Ähm, positiv, also, ist halt, ich mein, man will ja Menschen
1261 helfen. Wiederum ist halt das Schlechte, zu viel ist einfach Über-(unv.) und
1262 man kann nicht einfach helfen. Und da kritisier ich halt Merkel so n bisschen,
1263 weil sie das einfach so, ich find, dass sie das viel zu überschätzt hat. (..) So.
1264 Meinte so, halt, von wegen, ja, kommt, wir nehmen euch auf, aber dann, jetzt
1265 ist so, WIR müssen mit denen LEBEN. Ja. Verstehst du? (..) Ähm, ich muss
1266 auch ehrlich sein, ich trau mich jetzt abends auch nicht mehr wirklich,
1267 rauszugehen. Also nicht jetzt in der Nachbarschaft, aber weiter in äh so, in
1268 Neukölln, so, in den Kiez so. Weil das wirklich einfach gefährlicher geworden
1269 ist. #00:10:57-6#
1270
1271 I: Auf der Straße bewegen, oder bestimmte Cafés, oder- #00:11:02-4#
1272
1273 P5: Ja, auf der Straße so. Also wenn ich jetzt ausgehe, ja, es sind auf jeden Fall
1274 mehr Männer. Also wenn du so die Sonnenallee entlangläufst, das ist, das
1275 nennt man so die Libanesenstraße. Und da sind jetzt NUR noch die Syrer und
1276 alles (.) angebaut. Und man kann die jetzt auch nicht mehr wirklich
1277 unterscheiden. Erst wenn man dann so vor denen steht und die können dann
1278 kein Deutsch, DANN sieht man, dass die eigentlich nicht aus Sy- aus
1279 Neukölln sind, sondern (.) halt Flüchtlinge sind. #00:11:38-0#
1280
1281 I: Das heißt, man hört jetzt auch viel arabisch. #00:11:41-4#
1282
1283 P5: Ja. Also das war damals auch schon so. Aber, (..) ähm (.) JETZT kann
1284 man halt den Unterschied nicht mehr sehen. Ob das jetzt die aus Berlin sind
1285 oder NICHT. Also ich bin auch gar nicht so rassistisch, diskriminierend, weil
1286 ich bin ja selber nicht Deutsch, aber (...) ich kenne halt auch Vorurteile

1287 gegenüber ASIATEN und alles, ja, also hab ich auch schon alles miterlebt. Es
1288 war / is halt nicht so (unv.), ja. Ist halt so n umstrittenes Thema. #00:12:26-5#
1289
1290 I: Ähm, du hast ja gesagt, dass die katholische Kirche sich da engagiert hätte,
1291 dass du auch selber ehrenamtlich engagiert bist da. Hab ich das richtig
1291 verstanden? #00:12:39-7#
1293
1294 P5: Hm. Weniger. Weniger. Nee, es wird halt / nicht persönlich, nein. Also, ich
1295 hab zwar halt so Sachen dann gespendet und ich wusste dann, das geht dann
1296 an die Familien (...) aber nichts, so persönlich jetzt nicht. #00:13:04-0#
1297
1298 I: Es gibt ja auch an den Unis nun einige Studierende aus Syrien. Bist du da
1299 mit einem Menschen aus Syrien..? #00:13:13-0#
1300
1301 P5: Nein. (...) Also man hat ja auch Erfolgsgeschichten. Also die aber vor n
1302 paar Jahren schon hergekommen sind. Und nicht vor kurzem. S gibt ja auch
1303 ganz viele, die halt, äh, halt noch weiter / is halt / is halt traurig / wie soll ich
1304 sagen, ist ja auch traurig. Die, die hergekommen sind, sind ja meistens
1305 Männer, die haben ja halt deren ganzen Familien, die Familie verloren oder
1306 sowas. Und dann ist halt so, die sind halt hier und wissen dann nicht, was sie
1307 machen sollen und (.) hungern dann halt einfach nur so auf der Straße (...) so -
1308 #00:13:46-8#
1309
1310 I: Und Erfolgsgeschichten inwiefern? #00:13:52-9#
1311
1312 P5: Ja, ich hab irgendwie in n Nachrichten halt auch was gesehen, also die
1313 waren jetzt nicht aus Berlin, aber (..) ähm, dass die halt nicht abgeschoben
1314 worden sind und sich Mühe geben konnten und in der Firma n Job bekommen
1315 haben.. Und sich integriert haben. Mit solchen hab ich auf jeden Fall kaum
1316 Probleme. Aber / sowas is halt sehr gut, aber ich find halt NICHT gut, wenn
1317 die jetzt äh, sich nicht integrieren wollen. (..) Ich mein, das haben, haben wir
1318 damals auch gemacht, meine Eltern. Sind auch arbeiten gegangen. So und (.)
1319 ich find so, wenn du in einem Land lebst, da wo die Regeln SO sind, dann
1320 solltest du dich daran halten. #00:14:38-2#
1321
1322 I: Ja. Ähm, jetzt würd ich gern das wieder mit der Berichterstattung
1323 verknüpfen. Also, wie gesagt, da wurde ja eine Zeit lang viel drüber berichtet,
1324 also sowohl über den Konflikt als auch die Auswirkungen bis hin zum
1325 vielbeschworenen Flüchtlingsthema auch für Deutschland. Und also in diesem
1326 Zusammenhang, wie hast du da die Berichterstattung wahrgenommen? Gerade
1327 da du sowohl Facebook als auch die "etablierten Medien" auf den Online-
1328 Seiten siehst - wie war dein Eindruck zu der Berichterstattung zu diesem
1329 Großthema? #00:15:36-8#
1330

1331 P5: (...) Also. Halt, dass MEHR negative Seiten, also von wegen ja, also es
1332 sind zu VIELE Flüchtlinge, und sowas, und ähm, Boote dann die / die
1333 angegriffen worden sind und sowas. Hm (...). Kritisches. #00:16:07-9#
1334

1335 I: Und hast du den Berichten (.) eher zugestimmt oder eher die abgelehnt, also
1336 den Inhalt, so die Art. #00:16:57-9#
1337

1338 P5: Wahrscheinlich beides. Also ich kann jetzt nicht äh speziell sagen- (...) also
1339 ich lass mich nicht so leicht beeinflussen. Also ich mach mir dann meine
1340 eigene Meinung. Wenn die (unv.) halt nur so schlecht geredet haben, dann
1341 denk ich halt drüber nach, so, bild ich mir meine eigene Meinung und sowas.
1342 #00:17:24-3#
1343

1344 I: Wie bildest du dir deine eigene Meinung? #00:17:31-9#
1345

1346 P5: Ich verknüpfe dann halt eine andere Seite, lese mal das, gucke mir mal die
1347 Kommentare an, wie die Menschen so denken. Dann bild ich mir so meine
1348 eigene Meinung. So ist das meistens. Also es ist jetzt auch nicht so, dass ich so
1349 meinen Kopf darum / dadurch verdrehe oder sowas. Also so. Also das war jetzt
1350 kein so ganz großes Thema für mich. War schon interessant. Also ich hab
1351 schon halt 'n bisschen nachgeguckt, so, warum, wie es entstanden ist und
1352 sowas, ähm, aber jetzt nicht - intensiv. #00:18:30-0#
1353

1354 I: Äh, dann ähm, beim Stichwort Glaubwürdigkeit der Berichterstattung, was
1355 assoziiert du da? #00:18:49-8#
1356

1357 P5: Also ich glaub mal, man, äh, glaubt das einfach so / man merkt nicht mal,
1358 dass man den Medien jetzt glaubt. Im Unbewusstsein, würd ich mal sagen, so.
1359 (.) Meistens überflieg ich auch alles und sowas. Und dann ähm behält man das
1360 so im Kopf. (...) Also wenn ich mal mit Freunden diskutiere, dann sag ich
1361 nicht, ja, ich denke so und so, sondern ich sage, ich habe das und das gelesen.
1362 Weil das finde ich schon anders. Weil das DEREN Meinung ist. Genau. Aber
1363 dann, wenn ich so mir sicher bin und wirklich so mir denke oder so und genau
1364 WEIß, weil ich irgendwie, weil ich hundertmal irgendwie recherchiert hab',
1365 dann sag ich, ja, ich denke, dass das so und so ist. Ja. #00:19:57-2#
1366

1367 I: Du hast ja schon vorher erzählt, dass deine beiden Eltern aus Vietnam
1368 gekommen sind. Wie ist das nun in Bezug auf andere Migrationsgeschichten,
1369 wie bei den Syrern? Würdest du sagen, dass dich das insgesamt anders geprägt
1370 hat, im Unterschied zu Menschen, die solche Erfahrungen nicht gemacht
1371 haben? #00:21:22-2#
1372

1373 P5: Nein. Also weil ICH es ja nicht SELBST, also das waren ja meine Eltern,
1374 ich war ja, ich bin ja nicht meine Eltern. Und meine Eltern, trotzdem, ich

1375 glaub', die könnten 's besser einschätzen. Aber soweit ich weiß, hat mein Vater
1376 zum Beispiel so die gleiche Meinung wie ich so. Also (..) dass einfach ZU viel
1377 gerade (..) also, (..) WIR müssen ja mit den Auswirkungen leben.
1378 #00:21:55-6#

1379

1380 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
1381 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
1382 *matters of privacy protection]*

1383

1384

1385

1386 **Transcript of the Interview with Ben (P6)**

1387

1388 I.: Meine erste Frage ist, wie du dir im Alltag Informationen beschaffst. Wo
1389 und wie liest du Nachrichten, welche Kanäle nutzt du da? #00:00:49-5#

1390

1391 P6: Ähm, meistens Nachrichtenapps auf dem Handy und ähm eigentlich
1392 immer mehrere. Also, Spiegel Online und ntv und tagesschau und, was weiß
1393 ich nicht alles, also / dann (..) ja- #00:01:03-5#

1394

1395 I: Da gehst du direkt drauf? #00:01:04-9#

1396

1397 P6: Ich geh direkt auf diese. Also ich hab dich Apps halt alle in so nem Ordner
1398 und dann geh ich die einmal durch. #00:01:08-1#

1399

1400 I: Wonach wählst du aus? Also sieht man dann schon Überschriften?
1401 #00:01:14-5#

1402

1403 P6: Joaa, also, im Prinzip (..) mhmm. Wenn ich was lese, guck ich halt immer,
1404 dass ich das möglichst das gleiche Thema in mehreren Nachrichtenportalen
1405 lese, weil sonst kriegst du halt immer nicht ALLES mit (..) / beziehungsweise
1406 irgendwie verfälscht oder sonst was. Und ähm, da find ich das immer ganz gut,
1407 dass man einmal mit der tagesschauApp / hat man halt die Öffentlich-
1408 Rechtlichen drinne und beim Spiegel halt was sehr seriöses; ntv, die sind halt /
1409 bei denen kommt's halt immer als erstes und schnell und äh (..) halt meistens
1410 so n bisschen, also die hauen halt alles rein, was sie irgendwie finden können.
1411 #00:01:51-6#

1412

1413 I: Also das sind so deine Hauptquellen? #00:01:54-2#

1414

1415 P6: Ja. Ich hatte mal focus, aber die fand ich irgendwann nich so seriös. Und
1416 dann hab ich die wieder gelöscht. Und ansonsten halt tagesschau abends ab
1417 und zu mal und (..) Zeitung eigentlich gar nicht mehr. #00:02:07-5#

1418

1419 I: Ja. Keine Printmedien. #00:02:08-9#
1420
1421 P6: Nee. Ab und zu kriegt man ja hier eine geschenkt oder so, aber ansonsten /
1422 nur wenn ich's wirklich interessant finde. Also wenn ich wirklich das mal /
1423 wenn ich im Laden bin und das mich wirklich anspricht, dann kauf ich mir halt
1424 mal so ne Zeitschrift. Das kommt halt vielleicht zweimal im Jahr vor. So das /
1425 nichts so wirklich. #00:02:26-2#
1426
1427 I: Und bei den Onlinemedien, liest du da vor allem die Artikel selbst? Oder -
1428 da gibt es ja auch immer die Kommentarfunktion und viele Kommentatoren.
1429 #00:02:38-7#
1430
1431 P6: Kommt drauf an, ob mich das Thema auch persönlich betrifft. Also wenn
1432 das jetzt n allgemeines Thema ist, dann les ich eigentlich nur den Artikel an
1433 sich. Und manchmal sind's halt auch, gerade wenn's gerade um Studium geht
1434 oder sonst sowas, dann guck ich halt immer gern, was in den Kommentaren so
1435 drinsteht. #00:02:55-2#
1436
1437 I: Diskutierst du da manchmal mit, oder nicht so? #00:02:58-5#
1438
1439 P6: Äh, eher nicht. Also ich hab' mit Kommentieren im Netz (..) / Es ist immer
1440 so n bisschen wie gegen ne Wand reden, weil sowieso jeder seine Meinung hat
1441 und da nich' von abweichen wird. Und WENN ich mal was schreib, in n
1442 Online-Forum, dann versuch ich immer so n bisschen, also WENN, DANN so
1443 auf BEIDE Seiten einzugehen. Dass es nicht so ausartet in so n (räuspert sich)
1444 Angeblaffe. Also mich reizt es immer nicht so, da mitzukomentieren.
1445 #00:03:26-0#
1446
1447 I: Ja. Ähm, was sind das denn äh für Überschriften, oder Bilder - das ist ja oft
1448 mit /oben mit mindestens einem Bild verbunden -, die DICH in besonderem
1449 Maße ansprechen, wo du deswegen weiterklickst. #00:03:45-8#
1450
1451 P6: Mhm (...). Das sind ja meistens nur so Stock-Bilder, die man so rausnimmt
1452 und deswegen, ich glaub, das Bild ist es an sich eigentlich gar nicht so. Also,
1453 wenn, dann - also man sieht dann schon, wenn's kein Stock-Futsch ist, ne, also
1454 das find ich dann schon eher interessant. Ich hab zum Beispiel, ähm, ich glaub
1455 gestern war das, irgend nen Artikel gelesen, dass diese Seite von ähm Steve
1456 Bennon, dem Trump-/ ehemaligen Trump-Berater da, Breitbart News, dass die
1457 ein Bild von Lukas Podolski haben, wie er auf'm Jetski auf'm Mittelmeer fährt,
1458 und die zugeschrieben haben, dass er -ähm, dass Schlepper Flüchtlinge auf
1459 Jetskis transportieren. Und wenn man das dann in Verbindung mit der
1460 Überschrift liest, erstmal so, (lacht) und dann denkt man sich irgendwie, huh,
1461 was ist denn da los! Dann liest man sich das natürlich durch. Also es eigentlich
1462 eher sowas Kurioses, sag ich mal. Genau. Ja. Ähm / was ich (.) überhaupt

1463 nicht ansprechend finde, is, zum Beispiel diese ganzen Politikerfotos, die sich
1464 immer hinstellen. Das ist halt wirklich, das hat ja gar keine Aussagekraft.
1465 Dann weiß man einfach nur, okay, um die Person geht's. Oder wenn's um
1466 irgend nen Kriegsbericht geht, oder Krisenbericht, und dann n Panzer auf'm
1467 Bild ist, dann sag ich mir auch, okay, jetzt is äh Grundthema wieder Krieg in
1468 (.) Nahost. Also das ist nur, damit man das Thema einordnen kann. Aber das
1469 hätte man auch durch die Überschrift geschafft. #00:05:17-1#
1470
1471 I: Ja. Genau - also gut, Thema Themen. Was sind so die Themen, DIE dich
1472 ansprechen oder mit DENEN du dich viel beschäftigst und auseinandersetzt?
1473 #00:05:28-3#
1474
1475 P6: Ähm, zum einen allgemein politisch, würd ich sagen, also - jetzt speziell
1476 Deutschland, also gerade so im Wahlkampf find ich das immer / man kriegt ja
1477 nicht so viel davon mit und wenn was da ist, dann denkt man sich, okay, ja, da,
1478 man muss sich ja auch irgendwie ne Meinung bilden, wenn man dann wählen
1479 geht. Ähm, da freu' ich mich dann immer, wenn irgendwas da is. Aber (.)
1480 ansonsten (.) is natürlich gerade mit Amerika viel los, was auch (lacht) einen
1481 immer mal wieder schmunzeln lässt. Ähm, da muss man ja eigentlich nur die
1482 Nachrichten lesen und hat schon wieder was / kann schon wieder irgendwie
1483 drüber lachen, auch, wenn's eigentlich traurig ist (seine Stimme ist anfangs
1484 belustigt, wird jedoch gegen Ende des Satzes leiser und ernster). Äh.. Und äh,
1485 das sind so die Themen, dann, (..) ja, was ich n bisschen schwierig finde, is so
1486 das Thema Terror zum Beispiel. Da is ja auch ab und zu immer wieder was
1487 und mhm, das weiß ich immer nich so ganz, wie man damit umgeh'n soll. Weil
1488 einerseits is es natürlich richtig, dass die Menschen darüber informiert sind,
1489 andererseits kriegen die dann für mich dadurch auch halt ihre Bühne - so für
1490 die Anschläge und - / Die Frage is' halt, was - / soll man darüber jetzt breit und
1491 groß thematisieren, oder sagt man halt okay, wir geben denen halt nich' diese
1492 Bühne. #00:06:40-3#
1493
1494 I: Und äh, wie gehst du dann damit um? Also, jetzt zum Beispiel in diesen
1495 Tagen stand jetzt Spanien im Fokus. #00:06:45-8#
1496
1497 P6: Ja. Ähm. (...) Ja, also - Es is natürlich gerade Spanien, das kannte man ja
1498 jetzt hier auch aus Berlin (.) und, ähm, ja - das ist jetzt- ja, also ich versuche,
1499 sag ich mal, okay da ist ein Terroranschlag, Ort und Menschenmenge und noch
1500 weiter vorbereitet und das ist eigentlich im Prinzip auch das, was ich darüber
1501 wissen möchte, und / aber auch nicht mehr, weil ähm, alles andere ist dann nur
1502 Ausschlachten. Und, ähm, das ist im Prinzip auch das, was ich so / wenn man
1503 dann aus diesen Medien (.) übergreifend sich auch die Informationen
1504 rausholen möchte, sind das auch die Stichpunkte, die man hat, im Endeffekt.
1505 Also, da war n Anschlag und es wurde mit nem Auto in ne Menschenmenge
1506 gefahren und es gab Tote. Also, mehr / klar gibt's dann noch einige Details, die

1507 übereinstimmen. Ansonsten is das auch immer / is' es das, was ich so als
1508 'Wahrheit' - sag ich mal - mitnehmen soll. Also ich bin da auch eher so der
1509 Skeptiker. Also nicht, dass ich jetzt irgendwie so Verschwörungstheoretiker
1510 bin oder sonst irgendwas. Aber ich sag mir dann auch immer, okay, alles
1511 andere (...) muss ich jetzt auch nicht glauben. So und / klar geht man erstmal
1512 davon aus, aber ich würd mich jetzt nicht darauf versteifen und sagen, das war
1513 auf jeden Fall so, weil ich das in drei verschiedenen Medien gelesen hab.
1514 #00:07:56-8#
1515
1516 I: Also du nimmst es wahr, aber nicht automatisch für bare Münze.
1517 #00:08:01-5#
1518
1519 P6: Ähm, ich sag, das ist wahrscheinlich wahr, aber ich würd da nicht drauf
1520 wetten, dass es alles stimmt. Ich hab / ich stand einmal beim Axel-Springer-
1521 Haus und ähm hab da mitbekommen, wie da irgendwie sich Journalisten von
1522 drei verschiedenen Agenturen sich gleichzeitig irgendwie alle von der dpa ihre
1523 Informationen bezogen haben, ohne das irgendwie zu checken und es direkt
1524 abgetippt haben. Und seit dem bin ich so eher / (lacht) okay, das ist auch alles
1525 nicht so gesichert. #00:08:27-2#
1526
1527 I: Was denkst du, woran das liegt? #00:08:29-0#
1528
1529 P6: Es geht darum, dass man heute als ERSTER die Nachrichten draußen
1530 haben MUSS, weil damit das Geld verdient wird. Und dadurch (unv.) der
1531 Faktencheck halt einfach hintenan. Also es gilt: erstmal Informationen raus,
1532 alles, was man hört oder auch nur Gerüchte, und ähm, dann, danach wird dann
1533 irgendwie überprüft, und wenn man was VÖLLIG Falsches geschrieben hat,
1534 dann steht das irgendwo unten in ner Fußnote immer drin, beim nächsten
1535 Artikel. Aber das liest dann auch keiner mehr. #00:09:00-0#
1536
1537 I: Also, WENN dich n Thema wirklich interessiert, dann, vermute ich, sind es
1538 dann eher auch die tieferen Diskussionen, mit denen du dich auseinandersetzt?
1539 Wenn ein Artikel alles durchexerziert, ist das dann für dich eher
1540 vertrauenswürdig? #00:09:19-9#
1541
1542 P6: Genau. Im Prinzip schon. Ja, und auch wenn man da / dafür find ich dann
1543 auch die Kommentarfunktion dann ganz gut, dass man teilweise dann / man
1544 weiß natürlich immer nicht, ob das jetzt wirklich Experten sind, aber / beim
1545 Thema Hochschulen, da ging's um die Bologna-Reform, und da haben dann
1546 halt, hat man bei den Kommentatoren viele Studenten gehabt, aber auch viele
1547 Leute, die gesagt haben, dass sie Professoren sind und dass sie das halt aus
1548 ihrer Sicht geschildert haben. Und da find ich das dann immer ganz spannend,
1549 zu sehen, wie sich das bei beiden Seiten verhält. Aber an sich, bei gerade so
1550 weltpolitischen Themen find ich die Kommentarfunktion immer so n

1551 bisschen / da ist es dann immer so "die da oben" und äh, das nützt halt nich
1552 viel. #00:09:53-5#
1553
1554 I: Mhm. Äh, und du liest mehr, als dass du jetzt irgendwie Videoclips
1555 anklickst, oder wie ist das? #00:10:00-0#
1556
1557 P6: Äh (lacht), das is ganz witzig. Was deutsche Nachrichten betrifft, les ich,
1558 und, ähm, was amerikanische Nachrichten betrifft, da guck ich mir tatsächlich
1559 eher Videos an. Also ich glaub, das ist einfach, dass es MICH / dass es für
1560 MICH nicht direkt KonseQUENZEN hat, dass ich mich damit nicht so
1561 ERNSThaft befassen muss. Sondern dass ich das eher 'n bisschen als, ähm,
1562 Zeitvertreib sehen kann. Genau, ja. Und da gibt's ja auch, die werten ja auch /
1563 also, klar, hat man zum einen sowas wie in Amerika NBC oder CNN, die jetzt
1564 halt wirklich dann - einigermaßen (lacht) - vernünftig Journalismus betreiben.
1565 Und dann hat man das Ganze immer nochmal aufgearbeitet in diesen ganzen
1566 Late-Night-Shows, die inzwischen ja auch nur noch die Nachrichten vorlesen
1567 eigentlich, und die Leute lachen drüber. #00:10:44-7#
1568
1569 I: Äh, das sind dann aber längere Formate, oder? #00:10:47-6#
1570
1571 P6: Das sind längere Formate, das / ja, das ist dann immer so um die zehn
1572 Minuten ungefähr. Das kann man beim Kochen mal laufen lassen, ohne dass
1573 man sich jetzt wirklich konzentrieren müsste. #00:11:01-1#
1574
1575 I: Was für eine Rolle spielt das Fernsehen für dich? #00:11:03-7#
1576
1577 P6: Ich hab' nich' mal 'n Anschluss. Ja, ich hatte mal einen. Aber ich war jetzt
1578 zu Hause das letzte Wochenende und wieder Fernsehen geguckt und (.) weiß
1579 genau, warum ich's nicht vermisse. #00:11:22-8#
1580
1581 I: Themen, die dich langweilen, gibt's das auch? #00:11:28-3#
1582
1583 P6: Ja. Aber die kann ich / an die erinner' ich mich jetzt gerade nicht. Also ich
1584 find' immer, solange es nur, das / also ALLE Celebrity News find' ich
1585 langweilig. Ähm, sämtliche Trennungsgerüchte, auch wenn's irgendwie um die
1586 Trennung von irgendwelchen Politikern geht oder sonst irgendwas. Das is mir
1587 alles (.) relativ egal. Also das betrifft ja nicht deren Job oder das, was die
1588 machen oder was mich betrifft und von daher is' es mir auch irgendwie egal.
1589 Ähm. Ja. Da is / muss ich dann auch nicht haben. #00:12:02-1#
1590
1591 I: Ähm, wie sieht das mit alternativen Medien aus? Also so, ähm, alternative
1592 Nachrichtenportale wie auf Blogs zum Beispiel? Privater Journalismus?
1593 #00:12:18-5#
1594

1595 P6: Bin ich immer sehr kritisch gegenüber. (..) Ich hab noch zu Schulzeiten im
1596 WiPo-Unterricht (Wirtschaft und Politik) / also da hatten wir / das waren
1597 grundsätzlich nur vier Leute, die im Unterricht mitgemacht haben und der eine
1598 war ein (..) ein total Links-Eingestellter, der seine Nachrichten NUR über total
1599 linke extremistische Portale bekommen hat. Der andere NUR über
1600 Verschwörungspportale, der andere NUR über rechte Portale. Und da hab ich
1601 erstmal gemerkt, dass man auf NICHTS davon IRGEND ne Meinung geben
1602 kann. Also das / seitdem bin ich da SEHR skeptisch. #00:12:58-1#
1603
1604 I: Also alles so überspitzt. #00:13:00-0#
1605
1606 P6: Ja. Sobald man merkt, dass die irgend ne Tendenz haben, kann man's
1607 eigentlich schon nicht mehr ernst nehmen. Also, das is so ähm das, ähm, wie
1608 heißt denn noch diese linkere Zeitung, taz? #00:13:10-3#
1609
1610 I: Ja, das ist eine linkere auf jeden Fall. #00:13:12-7#
1611
1612 P6: Genau, ja. Also das ist, was ich mir noch / aber alles, was darüber hinaus
1613 geht, find' ich dann schon immer / weil da weiß man dann halt, die stellen DIE
1614 Fakten, die sie halt nicht haben können für IHRE Meinung, stellen sie auch
1615 nicht dar / und das brauch ich aber nicht als Leser. Also, ich brauch ja nich',
1616 ich les' ja nich' Nachrichten, um meine eigene Meinung zu bekräftigen,
1617 sondern um vielleicht (..) zu wissen, was los ist und irgendwelche
1618 Lösungsansätze / mal darüber Bescheid zu wissen. #00:13:34-5#
1619
1620 I: Ja. Ähm, bist du auch bei Facebook? #00:13:37-7#
1621
1622 P6: Ja, auch. (zögerlich) #00:13:38-9#
1623
1624 I: Ich hörte von anderen Interviewpartner_innen, die beide bei Facebook sind,
1625 dass sie sehr viel DARÜBER Nachrichten beziehen. Ähm, was sagst du dazu?
1626 #00:13:55-2#
1627
1628 P6: (lacht auf) Es ist krass, es ist krass. Also ich hab (...) Ähm. Manchmal
1629 kommen dann so (..) Personen, die man dann noch aus der Schulzeit kennt, und
1630 posten äh /teilen irgend'nen Artikel - auch wirklich dann einer dieser
1631 Randgruppen-Medienseiten, und da muss ich dann sagen, das ist halt schon
1632 wirklich - also gerade, wenn es halt umd diese typischen Themen geht. Also
1633 Impfung. Und was weiß ich nicht alles. Und dann diese ganzen
1634 Verschwörungstheorien, und ähm, das geht dann ja wirklich nur noch (..)
1635 darum, die eigene Meinung, die man ja sowieso schon hat, noch zu (..)
1636 bestärken und irgendwie den Hass gegen alles andere abzuhetzen. Und ähm,
1637 das is' - #00:14:34-7#
1638

1639 I: Also Facebook schlägt Usern persönlich Nachrichten vor? #00:14:42-0#
1640
1641 P6: Ähm, mir persönlich nicht, weil ich sowas eigentlich, also ich bezieh keine
1642 Nachrichten über Facebook, aber ich weiß / wenn man zum Beispiel einen
1643 Artikel anklickt, ähm, generiert Facebook automatisch passende Artikel dazu.
1644 Also, da kriegst du dann direkt wieder andere Vorschläge. #00:14:58-7#
1645
1646 I: Also irgendwie, wenn man, also wenn zum Beispiel ein Freund dir einen
1647 Hinweis auf einen Spiegel-Online-Artikel bei Facebook eingestellt hat und du
1648 würdest darauf gehen, dann würdest du zu diesem Thema wieder weitere
1649 Vorschläge bekommen? #00:15:14-0#
1650
1651 P6: Genau. Also das ist im Prinzip wirklich ganz direkt: ich springe zurück aus
1652 dem Artikel auf die Seite Facebook und dann ist UNTER dem Artikel DIREKT
1653 so ne Leiste mit vier, fünf anderen Artikeln zu dem Thema, die alle ne
1654 ähnliche Schreibart und ne ähnliche Meinung dazu haben. Und, ähm, ja, das ist
1655 ganz krass. Und das machen die glaub ich darüber, dass sie - also es gibt ja
1656 diese Social Bots, die viel in sozialen Netzwerken agieren und - #00:15:43-0#
1657
1658 I: Ähm, Bots, was ist das? #00:15:45-6#
1659
1660 P6: Das sind einfach im Prinzip Programme, die Nutzerprofile erstellen und
1661 dann Artikel zu dem Thema herausuchen und ganz oft teilen und allen
1662 möglichen Leuten Freundschaftsanfragen schicken und alle möglichen
1663 Themen, die diese äh, ähm / es gibt zum Beispiel / ich glaub, die AfD nutzt
1664 die, ähm, #00:16:06-4#
1665
1666 I: Also da stecken Menschen dahinter? #00:16:09-6#
1667
1668 P6: Menschen schreiben ein Programm, das sich dann selbstständig daran
1669 macht, diese teil-/ also das ist halt, die versuchen, die Algorithmen von
1670 Facebook auszutricksen. So, wie ich das verstanden hab. Das ist natürlich auch
1671 wieder alle nur, ähm, ah, da hab ich neulich ne Doku drüber gesehen, die das
1672 halt versucht haben, so'n bisschen zu entschlüsseln. Und das sind halt im
1673 Prinzip Programme, die versuchen, diese Algorithmen auszutricksen, dass
1674 deren Inhalte halt als häufig geteilt erscheinen. So, dass man sagt, okay, die
1675 meisten Menschen auf Facebook gucken sich DAS an. Auch, wenn's im
1676 Prinzip Programme sind, die - / und äh, das (unv.) deren Meinung.
1677 #00:16:44-9#
1678
1679 I: Also, Nachrichten über Social Media - da bist du sehr vor- #00:16:49-2#
1680
1681 P6: GANZ kritisch. Ja, da sind ja auch in Amerika, des-(.)wegen ist ja auch so
1682 n großes Thema um den Wahlkampf gewesen, weil da ja auch sehr viele

1683 Amerikaner sich ihre Nachrichten über Facebook gerade durch diese Art und
1684 Weise beschafft haben. Und - deswegen bin ich da ganz auf Abstand, also-
1685 #00:17:08-8#
1686
1687 I: Ja. Ähm, ich habe mir jetzt eines der großen Nachrichtenthemen
1688 herausgepickt, auf das ich hier gern näher eingehen möchte. Und zwar eines
1689 der weltpolitischen Ereignisse, das medial sehr viel Raum eingenommen hat.
1690 Nämlich der jetzt schon langjährige Krieg in Syrien. Äh, und der in all seinen
1691 Konsequenzen inzwischen nicht nur das Land und die Nachbarländern,
1692 sondern nun eigentlich jeden persönlich auch betrifft. Und äh, genau, die erste
1693 Frage da, oder die erste Bitte, dass du da ein spontanes Statement zu Syrien
1694 abgibst. #00:17:57-1#
1695
1696 P6: Spontan? -kann ich nur sagen, dass ich keine Ahnung mehr hab, was
1697 eigentlich los ist. Also man hat's von Anfang an nicht so richtig gewusst und
1698 es, ich hab / ich mein, wie lang - das geht ja jetzt schon sechs Jahre und ich
1699 habe von Anfang an nicht wirklich / konnte mir keiner wirklich erklären, wer
1700 gegen wen und für was kämpft und wo vor allen Dingen. Also, die Gebiete,
1701 wo das stattfindet, das wechselt ja auch jeden Tag im Prinzip. Und ähm, das is
1702 so ne Sache wo man, also wo man auch abgestumpft ist inzwischen. Also, wo
1703 man auch (.) nichts mehr davon, also man hört nur noch, es wurde DAS
1704 eingenommen und es wurde DAS eingenommen. Aber das ist auch alles,
1705 worauf sich inzwischen beschränkt wird, und - #00:18:41-5#
1706
1707 I: Also, es ist so, äh, unübersichtlich - #00:18:43-6#
1708
1709 P6: Ja also, es ist komplett unübersichtlich und ich find, auch die Medien
1710 haben es meiner Meinung nach so n bisschen aufgegeben, wirklich noch so'n
1711 bisschen zu VERSUCHEN, dem, dem, äh, Nutzer zu erklären, WAS genau
1712 passiert und wer gegen was und zusammen mit wem und, genau, und das ist
1713 (..) für mich, das, was ich eigentlich am meisten mit diesem (.) Thema
1714 verbinde. #00:19:05-1#
1715
1716 I: Okay. Ein Themenzweig sind die Syrerinnen und Syrer, die geflohen sind
1717 aus dem Land in die Nachbarländer oder eben weiter, auch nach Deutschland.
1718 Ähm, dazu ein Statement? #00:19:22-2#
1719
1720 P6: Ähm (.) s find ich eigentlich, also ich habe das eigentlich relativ positiv (.)
1721 gesehen, dass die Menschen jetzt hier sind. Also (.) ähm, ich bin relativ gut
1722 befreundet mit 'nem Flüchtling aus Afghanistan, der auch jetzt mehrere Jahre
1723 schon hier ist, ähm, der mir halt auch erzählt hat, wie schwer das eigentlich für
1724 die ist, hier Fuß zu fassen. Wie schwer das ist, überhaupt sich selbst ne
1725 Existenz aufzubauen, ähm, und eigentlich haben wir ja (.) ähm, schon (.) Jobs,
1726 die besetzt werden müssen und äh halt jetzt auch Menschen, die eigentlich

1727 wirklich Lust haben, das zu machen, und äh, was man eigentlich eher hört, als,
1728 also bzw. was eigentlich eher stattfindet als diese schlechten Beispiele, ist halt,
1729 dass Menschen nicht Jobs machen können, die sie eigentlich machen wollen,
1730 nur weil sie halt Flüchtlinge sind und da Bürokratie im Weg steht. Das hab ich
1731 halt selbst im Freundeskreis mitbekommen und seitdem ist es für mich halt (.)
1732 ja. Klar, muss man da irgendwie / gibt's halt Menschen, die sagen, 'Wir haben
1733 Angst davor, wenn so viele Menschen hierher kommen' - ja und das kann ich
1734 auch verstehen, gerade wenn man auf dem Land wohnt und dann keinen
1735 Kontakt hat, aber - #00:20:35-2#
1736
1737 I: Womit meinst du? Also überhaupt mit Internationalität, oder - #00:20:38-1#
1738
1739 P6: Mit Internationalität, mit Menschen aus andern Kulturen, mit ähm (..) /
1740 also die Menschen leben ja in ihrer Blase, einfach. Dadurch, dass sie auf dem
1741 Land leben. Also es ist halt einfach, also ich komm selbst vom Dorf, so, und
1742 da weiß ich einfach, wie das is. Und, ähm, da wo vorher auch ganz groß „wäh,
1743 Flüchtlinge“, und JETZT haben wir ein Flüchtlingsheim bei uns und äh es ist
1744 auf einmal alles gut. Es ist immer nur vorher. #00:21:02-6#
1745
1746 I: Also, du kannst beide Seiten verstehen. #00:21:04-3#
1747
1748 P6: Ich kann, ja, ja, ich sag mal, nachvollziehen. Ich kann nachvollziehen, wie
1749 es dazu kommt, dass man sagt, okay, ich hab was gegen Flüchtlinge, auch
1750 wenn ich keinen kenne - und das ist auch der Grund, warum ich was gegen die
1751 hab, weil ich keinen kenne. Und, ähm, 'Verstehen' ist find ich, is immer noch
1752 sowas, das man sich auch persönlich irgendwie (..) - #00:21:22-7#
1753
1754 I: Was macht den Unterschied, wenn man persönlich - wenn du jetzt
1755 persönlich jemanden kennst? #00:21:28-2#
1756
1757 P6: Ähm, dass man einfach, dass man einfach emotional näher dran ist. Also,
1758 dass man wirklich einfach, also sich, dass man aus erster Hand hört, wirklich
1759 von einem Menschen, der es persönlich erlebt hat, und NICHT über Zweit-
1760 und Drittmedien, wie das ist, zu fliehen, und wie das ist, wenn man verfolgt
1761 wird und, ähm (..) wie das ist, wenn man versucht, sich hier was aufzubauen
1762 und einen Dachdeckerjob annehmen muss, wo man vierhundert Euro im
1763 Monat bekommt und wo man - #00:21:55-5#
1764
1765 I: Ist das der Fall bei deinem Freund? #00:21:56-1#
1766
1767 P6: Das ist der Fall, genau. Der, ähm, seine Wohnung bezahlen muss und
1768 irgendwie noch versucht, seine Familie, die noch in Afghanistan lebt, weiter
1769 durchzubringen. Selbst wenn man nur zweihundertfünfzig Euro Miete zahlt,
1770 für ne kleine Wohnung, und aber nur vierhundert Euro zum Leben hat und

1771 noch Steuern zahlen muss und was weiß ich nicht alles. Man muss irgend
1772 wovon noch leben und ähm ja. Jetzt auch in sieben Jahren hat er's geschafft,
1773 dreimal wieder zurückzufliegen von dem Geld, das er sich erspart hat.
1774 #00:22:39-8#
1775

1776 P6: Also, er wurde anerkannt, und TROTZDEM ist es schwer für ihn,
1777 irgendwie, äh, hier Fuß zu fassen. Und, ähm, ja. Das is / Aber er macht es gut,
1778 also, das kann man wirklich sagen. #00:23:12-3#
1779

1780 I: Ähm, gibt es auch Syrer oder Syrerinnen in deinem Bekanntenkreis?
1781 #00:23:16-5#
1782

1783 P6: Ähm, direkt, nö. Syrien direkt nicht. Aber es sind ja auch oft so die
1784 Nachbarschaften, die dann noch so betroffen sind. Also klar darf man das dann
1785 nicht über einen Kamm scheren, aber es ist / es sind ja häufig dann auch
1786 ähnliche Fluchtursachen und der Weg ist ja für alle (unv.) ähnlich..
1787 #00:23:50-8#
1788

1789 I: Kommen wir jetzt wieder zu den Medien. Wie war oder ist deine
1790 Wahrnehmung von der Berichterstattung zu diesem Thema? Also gerade von
1791 ankommenden Syrern, Syrerinnen nach Deutschland? #00:24:03-8#
1792

1793 P6: Ähm, eigentlich recht positiv, muss ich sagen. Also ich fand das nicht jetzt,
1794 ähm, man stürzt sich da nicht auf, ähm, die Einzelfälle, wo's schief geht, sag
1795 ich mal, sondern versucht, gerade bei den Fällen dann differenziert zu
1796 berichten. Ähm, das fand ich WIRKLICH gut. Ähm, (..) und, und also gerade
1797 bei, bei bestimmt Spiegel hab ich jetzt glaub ich schon zwei oder dreimal
1798 Berichte gelesen über Familien, die sie halt begleitet haben, ähm, und wo sie
1799 halt versucht haben, über ne längere Zeit und also das fand ich wirklich gut.
1800 Ähm (..) da kann ich eigentlich nix, also kann ich eigentlich nur Positives zu
1801 sagen, so. #00:24:42-2#
1802

1803 I: Ähm, gab es da nach deinem Eindruck Veränderungen? #00:24:48-3#
1804

1805 P6: (...) Ähm,(...) ja, das war immer phasenweise. Gerade am Anfang war's ja,
1806 dass sehr euphorisch aufgenommen wurde / dass wirklich die Menschen dann
1807 am Bahnhof begrüßt wurden // und dass - #00:25:00-6#
1808

1809 I: //also Anfang// meinst du aber nicht 2011, oder - #00:25:03-3#
1810

1811 P6: Nee, Anfang der Flüchtlingskrise, also wirklich als/ als die erste Welle
1812 dann hier war. Ähm, das war sehr positiv, dann irgendwann kamen so n paar
1813 (gedehnt) negative Berichte dazu und was natürlich auch immer aufgegriffen
1814 wird, wenn wieder irgendwo n Flüchtling-/Flüchtlingsheim in Brand gesteckt

1815 wird. Ähm, aber ansonsten, das, ähm / es wird dann schon differenziert
1816 berichtet. Zu Syrien so direkt, ich, ich steig auch nicht mehr durch. (unv.) Also
1817 ich les' es dann, und les, da ist wieder 'ne Offensive auf Tel Avre jetzt, glaub
1818 ich, und (.) äh (..) dann äh an Grenzen irgendwo im Irak, sagt man ja immer -
1819 IS-Hochburgen, genau, und es hört sich immer an, als ob's eine der letzten ist,
1820 so, aber irgendwie hört man das immer wieder. Und dann guckt man mal,
1821 okay, wie groß is'n das Gebiet [des Islamischen Staates, Anm. Interviewer]
1822 eigentlich noch und dann, hm, ja is halt doch ganz schön groß und (..) ähm, ja,
1823 man weiß ja auch nicht so richtig, was jetzt, wie / wie der IS entstanden ist und
1824 ähm, dass Amerika die Finger mit drinne hat heißt es ja immer wieder und das
1825 sind aber auch schon wieder so (.) Geschichten, wo eigentlich nichts bestätigt
1826 ist und (..) - #00:26:11-3#
1827
1828 I: Ja, beziehungsweise es sind Theorien, die bestimmte Argumente liefern
1829 können, aber trotzdem bleibt es ne Theorie- #00:26:19-8#
1830
1831 P6: Genau, also ja. Und das ist diese / es ist ja nichts bestätigt. Das ist halt das
1832 Problem, dass man eigentlich nicht diskutieren kann, weil man ja nicht / über
1833 nichts sicher bescheid weiß. Und es gibt auch keine Lösungsansätze, weil alle
1834 irgend'n Ziel verfolgen, was sich einfach komplett gegeneinander ausläuft und
1835 - ähm, und ja. #00:26:36-2#
1836
1837 (Kurze Platzwechselfpause aufgrund einsetzenden Regens) #00:27:05-7#
1838
1839 I: Also inhaltlich beziehst du ja deine Online-Nachrichten eher nicht Social
1840 Media. Aber da du ja trotzdem zum Beispiel bei Facebook bist, äh, da hast du
1841 ja wahrscheinlich dann auch ne andere Stimmungslage mitbekommen. Also
1842 mein Eindruck ist so, dass es im Kontrast eher zur positiven
1843 Nachrichtenberichterstattung stand- #00:27:30-3#
1844
1845 P6: Joa. Also ich glaube / je weiter man in diese Sozialen Medien reinrutscht,
1846 desto aufgeheizter wird die Stimmung immer, egal zu welcher Seite man jetzt
1847 dann guckt. Also egal, ob links oder rechts, ähm, (...) das wird dann immer
1848 aufgeheizter und immer emotionaler und (..) ähm, im Prinzip wird nachher (.)
1849 nicht mehr sachlich diskutiert, sondern nur noch irgendwelche Vorwürfe
1850 gemacht und das find ich eigentlich dann auch nicht mehr (.) / da wird man
1851 immer nur wütend, wenn man das liest und da (lacht) muss man dann doch
1852 irgendwann wieder aufhören. #00:28:03-1#
1853
1854 I: Stichwort 'Emotionalisierung'. Ähm, ist das bei dem Thema dann sonst bei
1855 den anderen Medien auch vorgekommen? #00:28:13-2#
1856
1857 P6: Ähm, es gibt / ich hab's bei Focus (.) online hab ich das ab und zu mal
1858 gehabt, dass ich dachte, okay, da wird jetzt schon SEHR geschürt. So. Und,

1859 ähm, die hatten irgendwann mal n Gastbeitrag von Bernd Lucke, ähm, und
 1860 dann dachte ich auch, okay, also ich hab angefangen, mir das mal
 1861 durchzulesen, und (..) ähm, dachte dann auch, ja gut, muss ich das jetzt
 1862 weiterlesen oder nicht, so (lacht). Und / wobei das ja noch einer der
 1863 Gemäßigteren ist. Aus dem, ich sag mal konservativen Lager. Äh, da find ich
 1864 das bei Spiegel eigentlich immer sehr / sehr gemäßigt. Ähm, ntv ist einfach
 1865 nur Fakten, also, dass, was Fakten sein sollen. Ich weiß da auch nicht, was
 1866 stimmt. #00:29:01-2#
 1867
 1868 I: Denn es wird ja auch trotzdem ausgewählt. // Oder Wortwahl getroffen
 1869 #00:29:04-8#
 1870
 1871 P6: Genau, ja. Ja. // Ähm, da hab ich nicht so drauf geachtet, ehrlich gesagt.
 1872 Also, ähm, vielleicht unterbewusst nehm' ich das dann anders wahr, aber so
 1873 fällt es mir jetzt nicht auf. #00:29:15-5#
 1874
 1875 I: Ja. Äh, Migration. In deiner eigenen Familie, auch schon ein, zwei, drei
 1876 Generationen zurück, gibt es da Migrationsgeschichten? #00:29:41-2#
 1877
 1878 P6: Ja (.), da war irgendwas. Also ich weiß, dass wir noch (.) Verwandte in
 1879 Amerika haben, die damals auch dann (..) dahin gezogen sind, ich kenn die
 1880 allerdings nicht. Also ich weiß, dass das von meiner Oma Verwandte sind,
 1881 soweit ich weiß. Und ähm, meine andere Oma is' nach Bayern geschickt
 1882 worden im Krieg. (..) Also ich weiß jetzt nicht, ob das eine Migration war-
 1883 #00:30:03-9#
 1884
 1885 I: Naja, es kann auch ein sehr einschneidendes Erlebnis so sein, also
 1886 entwurzelt zu werden. #00:30:07-7#
 1887
 1888 P6: Genau. Sie ist dann aber wieder zurückgekommen und ähm, im Prinzip, so
 1889 richtig Migration eigentlich nicht. Ja, also dann halt eher im weiteren
 1890 Familienkreis. Also, äh, das ähm Patenkind meines Vaters, ähm, die is (..) ähm,
 1891 mit einem (..) äh, ich glaub, aus Kamerun kommt der, zusammen. Ähm, und,
 1892 äh, ja, die hat da, mh, irgendwann für's Medizinstudium war sie ein Jahr da in
 1893 irgend so ner Krankenstation und hat irgendwas gemacht. Ähm. Und
 1894 ansonsten, ähm, ja, in der Verwandtschaft meiner Mutter aus Barbeidos,
 1895 Marokko, also ansonsten ist es nicht.. #00:31:20-6#
 1896
 1897 I: Es ist dann auch nicht so, dass du mal so eine Brücke geschlagen hast, zu
 1898 Migration aus Syrien oder so. #00:31:38-9#
 1899
 1900 P6: Nee, also so persönlich hab ich damit eigentlich, Migration, also in der
 1901 Familie noch nich wirklich. (..) Habe also jetzt keine Beispiele. #00:31:51-5#
 1902

1903 I: Ja. (...) ähm, möchtest du zu irgendeinem der Themen, die wir angerissen
1904 haben, noch selber was sagen, ist dir noch was eingefallen, oder gibt es etwas,
1905 was wir noch nicht angesprochen haben, was dir wichtig wäre? #00:32:08-9#
1906

1907 P6: (...) Ähm, eigentlich (.) ich find es bei dem / gerade mit Facebook und so,
1908 find ich SEHR bedenklich. Mit den Medien. Ähm (.), äh und auch gerade,
1909 dass man im Prinzip / also eigentlich find ich ganz gut, dass damit mal dann,
1910 äh, der aktuelle Stand aufgedeckt wurde, dass man eigentlich gar nicht mehr
1911 weiß, was stimmt. Also, dass man gar nicht mehr sicher sein kann, was sind
1912 Fakten, was sind keine Fakten. Und das ist ja auch irgendwie dann zum
1913 Schlagwort des Jahres geworden, postfaktische Zeiten. Und das find ich
1914 eigentlich gut. #00:32:44-1#
1915

1916 I: Also dass mal n bisschen mehr diskutiert // wurde und das ins Bewusstsein
1917 gekommen ist - #00:32:48-9#
1918

1919 P6: // Genau. Dass man diskutiert. Genau // Was ich auch noch, ähm, relativ
1920 bedenklich finde, ist, dass ähm, in den Alltagsmedien so das Thema
1921 Klimawandel so gar nicht mehr aufgegriffen wird. Also das es (.) ähm,
1922 eigentlich sich immer mehr zuspitzt und immer weniger drüber berichtet wird.
1923 Bis wirklich mal was passiert und (.) ähm, ich find, man merkt das schon so n
1924 bisschen am Wetter auch, (lacht auf) also so gerade mit dem Starkregen der
1925 letzten Tage. #00:33:13-3#
1926

1927 I: Ja. Also ich habe auch, ähm gerade noch in Istanbul vor meiner Abreise
1928 einen Starkregen erlebt- #00:33:25-6#
1929

1930 P6: Ja. Ja, also ich bin hier knietief im Wasser mit m Fahrrad nach Hause
1931 gefahren, hier in Berlin. Ja. Ich hatte Wasser bis zu n Knien und dachte nur so
1932 ja, dass is auch nich so normal, ne? Und, ähm, (.) ja also ich komm halt aus
1933 Norddeutschland und da fällt einem das schon auf. Ich hab mit Windkraft zu
1934 tun, also mein Vater is / hat lang in der Windkraft gearbeitet und is jetzt, ähm,
1935 auch Professor für, äh, für für den Themenbereich geworden und ähm, dadurch
1936 hab ich das so immer n bisschen auf'm Schirm. Was da eigentlich LOS is, und
1937 WIE der Stand is. Und- #00:34:04-8#
1938

1939 I: Ja. Also das heißt, da auch dann, äh, indirekt mit den klimatischen
1940 Veränderungen und deren Auswirkungen auf die Windkraft. #00:34:12-8#
1941

1942 P6: Ja. Also das ist halt, ähm /man versucht / also in der Windkraft war halt
1943 gerade auch so n Umbruch, weil die Subventionen jetzt wegfallen vom Staat
1944 und ähm dadurch is es jetzt halt, ja, es ist schon so n bisschen traurig, gerade,
1945 wenn man sich überlegt, dass jetzt Atomkraft immer noch so subventioniert
1946 wird und ähm sich aber keiner so richtig auf Alternativen konzentriert. Und,

1947 ich mein, jetzt mit dem Dieselskandal, was da (.) alles wieder rauskommt, so,
1948 dass man immer noch nicht bereit ist, zu sagen, so, wir suchen jetzt wirklich
1949 mal aktiv nach ner Lösung. Und nicht nur zu sagen, ja, wir wollen bis 2030
1950 ähm Elektroautos- #00:34:48-7#
1951
1952 *[Further excursus on wind energy and climate change]*
1953
1954 *[Some inquiries on personal information such as the first tongue, place of*
1955 *birth, age, parents' professions, living situation etc. have been deleted for*
1956 *matters of privacy protection]*