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The Voice of European Turks: The Establishment, Broadcasting Practices, and Cultural Role of Germany-Licensed Kanal Avrupa Television

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Abstract

Kanal Avrupa Television is a Germany-licensed Turkish-language media organization that has broadcast continuously since 2004. This study examines its role in supporting cultural memory, identity negotiation, Turkish-language continuity, social participation, and connections with Türkiye among Turkish communities in Germany and other parts of Europe. Using a qualitative single-case study and document-analysis approach, the research evaluates the channel's institutional development, broadcasting mission, program content, audience orientation, and digital-platform activities. The findings suggest that Kanal Avrupa Television functions as a diaspora media institution and communicative public sphere in which the identity

of the “European Turk” is articulated and negotiated. Its programs provide opportunities for cultural representation, inter-generational transmission of language and traditions, discussion of social and political concerns, and maintenance of transnational connections. The analysis also identifies economic sustainability, digital transformation, generational change, and editorial independence as important challenges affecting the channel's future. By examining these institutional and cultural dimensions, the study contributes to scholarship on diaspora media, migration, cultural identity, and collective memory.

Keywords: Kanal Avrupa Television; Turkish diaspora in Germany; diaspora media; cultural identity; collective memory

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration involves not only the geographical movement of individuals and communities but also the reconstruction of cultural, social, and collective identities. Within this process, media plays an important role in facilitating immigrants' adaptation to the host society while helping them maintain linguistic, cultural, and emotional ties with their country of origin. For diaspora communities, media can therefore function simultaneously as a source of information, a means of representation, and a space for preserving and negotiating collective memory.

This study approaches the relationship between media and collective memory through the principal functions of communication associated with Harold Lasswell. Media performs environmental surveillance by informing communities about developments that may affect their interests and values; it facilitates coordination among members of society in responding to those developments; and it contributes to the transmission of social and cultural heritage. The entertainment function identified by Lazarsfeld and Merton may be considered an additional dimension because shared entertainment content can reinforce collective memory, cultural familiarity, and social belonging [1].

In the context of migration, media also contributes to the formation of a communicative public sphere. It provides access to information concerning the host society while creating opportunities for immigrant communities to express their concerns, discuss common problems, and preserve shared language, faith, cultural practices, and historical memory. The public sphere is therefore relevant not only as an institutional setting but also as a communicative space in which identities, interests, and social relationships are continuously negotiated [2].

These functions are particularly significant for the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Turkish-language media has historically helped immigrants remain connected with Türkiye; however, media produced within Europe has the additional capacity to represent the daily experiences, political concerns, and cultural production of Turkish communities living in the host society. Kanal Avrupa Television, which has broadcast from Germany since 2004, represents an important case of diaspora media established by European Turks to address their own social, cultural, and political concerns.

Despite the importance of Turkish-language diaspora media, the institutional development, broadcasting practices, and cultural role of Europe-based television channels have received comparatively limited scholarly attention. Existing discussions have often concentrated on the integration-oriented broadcasts of German public media or on satellite channels transmitting content directly from Türkiye. Less attention has been given to channels that produce content within the diaspora and seek to combine cultural preservation, social participation, representation, and transnational communication.

Accordingly, this study examines the historical development, institutional structure, broadcasting mission, program content, audience orientation, and digital activities of Kanal Avrupa Television. It asks the following research question:

How does Kanal Avrupa Television contribute to the negotiation of cultural identity, socio-political representation, collective memory, and transnational connections among Turks living in Germany and other European countries?

To address this question, the study adopts a qualitative single-case study approach based on the analysis of institutional documents, promotional materials, program content, audience reports, and digital-platform data. By examining Kanal Avrupa Television as both a media organization and a communicative public sphere, the study contributes to scholarship on diaspora media, migration, cultural identity, collective memory, and digital transformation.

2. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. PUBLIC SPHERE, MIGRATION, AND DIASPORA MEDIA

Following the French Revolution of 1789 and the European bourgeois revolutions of 1848, the expansion of press freedom broadened the possibilities and forms of public discourse beyond the political and geographical boundaries of the nation-state. By the end of the nineteenth century, the acceleration of communication through technologies such as the telephone had contributed to the emergence of increasingly transnational forms of public communication. At the same time, the apparently unlimited expansion of available information created a new dilemma concerning the individual's capacity to evaluate, interpret, and form judgments about an ever-growing body of knowledge.

Within this intellectual context, Habermas introduced an influential perspective through his historical and systematic study, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit)*, first published in 1962 [3]. In this work, the public sphere is conceptualized as an ideal form of public communication grounded in normative and participatory democracy (*basisdemokratisch*). It represents a communicative space in which citizens engage in reasoned debate about matters of public concern, thereby contributing to the formation of rational public opinion that may provide a basis for political decision-making.

In principle, the public sphere must remain open and accessible to all individuals, allowing them to participate in communication, exchange perspectives, and contribute to public deliberation. From this perspective, publicness is

understood not primarily as a formal institution but as a structural principle of social communication [2]. The concept therefore provides an important theoretical framework for analyzing how immigrant and diaspora communities create communicative spaces in which their experiences, concerns, identities, and political expectations can be articulated.

The relationship between migration and media is particularly important in the historical experience of the Turkish community in Germany. The labor migration process that began with the Labor Recruitment Agreement signed between Türkiye and Germany in 1961 initiated not only a demographic movement but also the development of a distinct media environment. Over more than half a century, the media practices of the Turkish community evolved from dependence on integration-oriented programs produced by German public broadcasters to the consumption of Türkiye-based satellite channels and, ultimately, to the establishment of media organizations created by members of the diaspora itself.

During the early years of migration, Turkish workers were generally perceived as temporary “guest workers,” and their media consumption was largely restricted to one-way broadcasts produced by German public institutions. These programs were primarily designed to provide practical information and facilitate adaptation to German society. Over time, however, the media practices of Turkish immigrants became increasingly diverse and autonomous in response to technological developments, demographic transformation, and the permanent settlement of Turkish families in Germany.

The satellite revolution of the 1980s represented a decisive turning point because it enabled Turkish communities in Europe to access television channels broadcasting directly from their country of origin. This technological change strengthened linguistic, cultural, emotional, and political connections with Türkiye. Nevertheless, it also generated debates concerning the possible isolation of immigrant groups and the formation of so-called “parallel societies” [4]. Critics argued that continuous reliance on homeland-oriented media might restrict immigrants’ engagement with the political, cultural, and social realities of the countries in which they lived.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Turkish community in Germany had become a permanent and internally diverse population comprising second-, third-, and even fourth-generation members. This demographic development created a growing demand for media that would not merely transmit content from Türkiye but would address the experiences, problems, achievements, and cultural production of Turkish communities living in Europe. Consequently, a new understanding of diaspora broadcasting emerged in which the center of media production shifted from the homeland to the host society. This transformation enabled immigrants to participate more actively in defining their own agendas and representing themselves through their own media institutions.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT OF TURKISH-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING IN GERMANY

The development of Turkish-language media in Europe closely parallels the principal stages of Turkish migration. This historical process may be examined through three interconnected phases: the period of state-supported public broadcasting during the “guest worker” era, the liberalization and transnationalization of media consumption through private broadcasting and satellite technology, and the emergence of locally established diaspora channels through which immigrant communities sought to articulate their own perspectives.

The first generation of Turkish workers who arrived in Germany during the early 1960s experienced a substantial information and communication deficit because of language barriers, limited familiarity with German institutions, and significant cultural differences. German public broadcasters assumed responsibility for reducing this deficit while simultaneously supporting the workers’ adjustment to German society, working conditions, administrative procedures, and industrial life.

Public broadcasting in Germany had developed during the 1920s. In contrast to broadcasting systems in some Anglo-Saxon countries, the German state occupied a decisive position during the early development of radio. In 1925, the Imperial Ministry of Posts transferred its authority to the newly established Imperial Broadcasting Company while retaining a 51% share, and broadcasting activities remained under the supervision of the Imperial Ministry of the Interior. During the Third Reich, radio was extensively used as an instrument of political propaganda, and Joseph Goebbels placed broadcasting under the authority of the Ministry of Propaganda, which he directed.

Major structural changes to the German broadcasting system were subsequently introduced by the Allied Forces beginning in 1940. Under the constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Germany, the central state was prohibited from directly establishing broadcasting stations, while individual freedom of communication received legal protection. After the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, responsibility for radio broadcasting was transferred to the newly established federal states (*Länder*). This decentralized arrangement was intended to maintain institutional distance between broadcasting organizations and the central government [5].

Radio programs directed specifically toward immigrant communities began soon after the arrival of foreign workers in Germany. One of the most important initiatives of this period was undertaken by the Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) in North Rhine-Westphalia. The first Turkish-language radio program began broadcasting on November 2, 1964, through Cologne Radio under WDR. These relatively short broadcasts included practical information about everyday life in Germany, news from Türkiye, and Turkish music. From the perspective of German public institutions, their principal

objective was to facilitate immigrants' adaptation to unfamiliar laws, workplace practices, and social structures.

The first significant initiative in Turkish-language television broadcasting followed in 1965 with the WDR program *Your Homeland, Our Homeland (Ihre Heimat, Unsere Heimat)*. Although these early radio and television programs provided important informational services, they were largely produced from the institutional perspective of the host country. Immigrants were generally treated as the target audience rather than as active producers, editors, or decision-makers capable of defining the content and perspective of the broadcasts.

The concept of hegemony provides a useful theoretical framework for interpreting this representational imbalance. Debates concerning cultural and political hegemony in Europe were strongly influenced by Antonio Gramsci, who died in prison under the Mussolini regime in Italy in 1937. Hegemony may be defined as the capacity of a social group to exercise intellectual and moral leadership over society and to establish a system of alliances and a historical bloc organized around its own interests and worldview [1].

This concept remains relevant to discussions of immigrant media in Germany. Studies of media representation have frequently indicated that Turkish immigrants are positioned as passive recipients within German media structures. Such representation may reflect a paternalistic approach in which immigrants are provided with limited opportunities to explain their concerns, experiences, and identities from their own perspectives. Although immigrant communities are frequently addressed as audiences, they have historically remained underrepresented among those responsible for producing content and making editorial decisions.

On the fiftieth anniversary of Turkish labor migration to Germany, Mahmut Aşkar described this continuing problem as follows:

“Despite the 50 years we have left behind in 21st-century Germany, no significant issue has been resolved, and the Turkish minority remains far from being represented” [6].

During certain periods, WDR adopted a multicultural and multilingual broadcasting policy that also included the employment of immigrant media professionals. Nevertheless, broadcasting priorities changed under successive political administrations. Although these programs were officially associated with multiculturalism and integration, their content did not always present immigrants as equal members of German society or provide them with adequate opportunities for autonomous representation.

The concept of *Leitkultur*, commonly translated as “leading culture” or “dominant culture,” became particularly influential in the political discourse of German governing parties during the early 2000s [7]. German public broadcasting institutions reflected these debates in their content, and *Leitkultur* has remained a recurring element in discussions of immigration and integration. The concept has also been incorporated into changing political agendas and, at times, appears to have been used strategically to mobilize voters and influence electoral behavior.

The consequences of this political environment are also visible in research concerning the employment of journalists and communication professionals of immigrant origin. According to a 2009 study conducted jointly by Horst Pöttker of the Institute of Journalism at TU Dortmund University and the German Journalists' Association, journalists of immigrant origin represented approximately 2.5% to 3% of employees in German press and broadcasting organizations in 2007. In the print media, the proportion of immigrant journalists was reported to be below 2% in 2009. Subsequent studies did not identify substantial improvement. Research conducted by Pöttker and his colleagues in 2016 similarly found that only approximately 2% to 3% of employees in German press and broadcasting institutions were journalists or communication professionals of immigrant origin.

The National Integration Plan adopted during the government of Chancellor Angela Merkel proposed a target of 10% for the employment of journalists and communication professionals of immigrant origin in German media. The same research reported that 44% of German respondents considered the proportion of immigrant-origin journalists in press and broadcasting organizations to be too low. However, most leading media owners and organizational representatives indicated that they did not support, and in some cases explicitly opposed, the introduction of a quota system for immigrants in the media [8].

Rüdiger Oppers of the newspaper *NRZ* expressed this position as follows:

“In my opinion, quality is what matters; the issue is not whether they are immigrants or not; it is not whether they are men, women, Catholic, Protestant, or atheist” [8].

Despite the proposed 10% target in the German National Integration Plan, no substantial transformation in immigrant representation within German media institutions has been identified. Muslim communities living in Germany have also continued to be represented negatively in some forms of media coverage. According to data attributed to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, the country's population exceeded 80 million in 2012, of whom approximately 16 million had a migration background. People with a migration background therefore represented approximately 19% of the total

population, while migrants originating from Türkiye constituted approximately 14% of the immigrant population and represented its largest national-origin group.

The Turkish population in Germany is geographically concentrated in several major urban areas. Cities with substantial Turkish communities include Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, and Darmstadt. Cologne and Düsseldorf are located in North Rhine-Westphalia, whereas Stuttgart is in Baden-Württemberg and Darmstadt is in Hesse. In these urban areas, approximately 40% of children have families with a migration background [4]. These demographic concentrations have influenced the location, audience strategies, and institutional development of Turkish-language media organizations.

Although Germany's status as a country of immigration was debated for many years, a study published in 2017 reported that 73% of respondents answered affirmatively when asked whether Germany should be regarded as an immigration country [8]. This result reflects an important shift in public perception and may provide a useful foundation for future research on media representation and social integration.

The numerical growth of immigrant communities during the early 2000s, together with the arrival of refugees from conflict-affected regions and the consequences of wars in the Balkans, intensified political and social debates concerning migration and integration. The National Integration Plan, introduced during Angela Merkel's chancellorship and issued in successive forms in 2007 and 2012, identified press and broadcasting organizations as important actors in the integration of immigrants and minorities. Nevertheless, available research suggests that its recommendations were not consistently implemented by German media organizations [8].

The continuing need to support media practices that promote intercultural communication and social cohesion is expressed by Horst Pöttker, who defines integration in the following terms:

"Here, integration should not be understood—explicitly or implicitly—merely as assimilation in the sense of cultural homogeneity. Rather, it should be understood as a state of social cohesion achieved when members of a modern, differentiated, and pluralistic society agree on the validity of general values (human rights, constitutional principles), mutually respect one another (also in terms of the individual contributions and functions they offer to society), and are able to reach a consensus on all important matters. In this process, cultural differences in areas such as religion, customs, traditions, dialects, art, music, etc., can be preserved and maintained" [4].

Pöttker further emphasizes that cultural identity acquired during childhood cannot simply be erased or replaced. Instead, it can be supplemented, negotiated, and transformed through interaction with the host society. On this basis, he proposes the concept of intercultural integration as an alternative to both complete assimilation and the formation of socially isolated parallel communities.

He explains this position as follows:

"The pressure of assimilation, which threatens the identity that people of migrant origin bring with them, leads to reactions against the host society and, in extreme cases, to segregation in the form of parallel societies. In contrast, the concept of Intercultural Integration is appropriate for the modern type of social cohesion that is aimed for" [4].

Between 1980 and 1990, two developments fundamentally transformed Turkish media consumption in Europe: the growth of private television broadcasting in Türkiye and the widespread adoption of satellite technology. This "satellite revolution" enabled Turkish communities in Europe to overcome geographical distance and access media content from the homeland immediately and with limited dependence on German public broadcasters. Satellite dishes became electronic and symbolic bridges connecting immigrant households in Europe with political developments, entertainment, language, and cultural life in Türkiye.

During the same period, the first private initiatives produced within Europe also began to emerge. One example was European Turkish Television (ATT), founded in Ludwigshafen in 1984. Television channels broadcasting from Türkiye continued to perform an important role in preserving cultural, linguistic, and emotional ties with the homeland. Nevertheless, this model generated criticism because such channels generally concentrated on political and social developments in Türkiye rather than on the daily experiences of immigrants living in Germany, France, or other European countries.

Issues such as education, unemployment, discrimination, citizenship, housing, social benefits, and local political participation were often insufficiently represented in Türkiye-centered broadcast schedules. Critics therefore argued that excessive dependence on homeland-based television could slow integration into the host society and contribute to the emergence of a "satellite diaspora." Although these channels recognized the diaspora as a commercially valuable audience, they did not necessarily create a public sphere in which immigrants could participate actively as producers, commentators, and agenda-setting social actors.

The 2000s marked a further transformation in the social position of Turkish communities in Europe. The temporary “guest worker” model had largely lost its explanatory value, as Turkish immigrants had become permanent residents and citizens of European societies. The second and third generations had reached adulthood, a fourth generation was emerging, and Turkish-origin communities had established businesses, civil society organizations, educational networks, and forms of political participation in their countries of residence.

This demographic and sociological transformation created new expectations regarding media representation. Broadcasts transmitted directly from Türkiye were no longer sufficient to address the complex identities and everyday experiences of European Turks. There was consequently increasing demand for Europe-based television channels capable of representing the diaspora’s own agenda, debating problems arising in the host countries, and presenting the cultural, economic, and political contributions of Turkish communities within Europe.

In response to these demands, television channels such as Su Televizyonu, Avrupa Televizyonu, Düzgün Televizyonu, Yol Televizyonu, and Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu were established in Germany. These organizations differed from previous broadcasting models in two principal respects. First, their founders, employees, and production teams emerged directly from within the diaspora communities living in Germany. Second, their broadcasting centers were located in cities such as Cologne and Duisburg, where immigrant populations were comparatively large and geographically concentrated.

The establishment of these channels represented a shift in broadcasting perspective from the homeland toward the host society. Rather than addressing European Turks exclusively as distant viewers of developments in Türkiye, diaspora television sought to represent them as permanent social actors whose concerns arose from life in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Their programs could therefore combine transnational cultural connections with discussions of local political participation, social rights, education, discrimination, integration, and community development.

Many of these initiatives were unable to maintain long-term broadcasting operations because of limited advertising markets, high production costs, satellite-transmission expenses, and the restricted commercial scale of diaspora audiences. Within this difficult media environment, Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu emerged as one of the more stable and visible examples of a new generation of Turkish diaspora broadcasting produced within the host country. Its institutional continuity provides an important case through which the development, cultural role, and contemporary challenges of Turkish-language diaspora media in Europe may be examined.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a qualitative single-case study design to examine Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu (Kanal Avrupa Television) as a diaspora media institution. The case-study approach was selected because it enables an in-depth analysis of the channel’s historical development, institutional structure, broadcasting philosophy, program content, audience orientation, and cultural role within the Turkish community in Germany and other European countries. Established in 2004, Kanal Avrupa Television represents a particularly relevant case because it was founded within the Turkish diaspora and has maintained continuous Germany-based broadcasting while addressing the social, cultural, and political concerns of European Turks.

The study examines the period from the establishment of the channel in 2004 to its more recent broadcasting and digital activities. The principal source materials include the Kanal Avrupa TV promotional booklet published in 2006, the channel’s 2024 *Mediendaten* report, its 2025 promotional brochure, institutional program schedules, descriptions of selected television programs, audience-profile information, and social-media analytics covering October 2025 [9, 10, 11]. Supplementary materials concerning institutional events and continuing activities, including the European Turkish Media Summit, were also considered where relevant [12]. Academic literature on migration, the public sphere, media representation, intercultural integration, and diaspora communication was used to contextualize and interpret the institutional materials.

The analysis focuses on five interrelated dimensions. The first concerns the channel’s establishment, ownership, organizational development, technical infrastructure, and broadcasting reach. The second examines its institutional mission and broadcasting philosophy, particularly as expressed through slogans such as “The Television of European Turks,” “The Eye of European Turks Opening to the World,” and “Kanal Avrupa is a Bridge.” The third dimension analyzes program content and audience orientation, including news, political discussion, cultural programming, religious broadcasts, social guidance, entertainment, and children’s programs. The fourth considers the channel’s role in cultural identity, collective memory, Turkish-language continuity, social and political representation, and the maintenance of transnational ties with Türkiye. The fifth examines economic sustainability, digital transformation, social-media performance, generational change, and the challenges associated with maintaining editorial independence.

The collected materials were examined using qualitative document analysis and thematic interpretation. Relevant statements, program descriptions, institutional data, and broadcasting practices were organized according to the analytical dimensions identified above. The interpretation was guided by the theoretical concepts of media functions, the public sphere, diaspora communication, cultural identity, and collective memory. Particular attention was given to the relationship between the channel’s stated institutional objectives and the functions reflected in its program structure, audience strategies,

and digital activities.

Because a substantial portion of the empirical material was produced by Kanal Avrupa Television itself, these documents were treated as evidence of the institution's self-presentation, strategic priorities, and reported activities rather than as independently verified proof of audience effects. Where possible, information from different institutional documents was compared with the scholarly and historical literature cited in the study. The analysis therefore evaluates the cultural and social role that the channel seeks to perform and the opportunities its broadcasting practices provide, while avoiding unsupported causal conclusions concerning changes in viewers' identities, language use, or political behavior.

The study does not include audience surveys, interviews, or direct observation of viewers. Consequently, its findings are limited to the interpretation of institutional documents, program content, reported audience data, and digital-platform information. Nevertheless, the single-case design provides a detailed account of how a Europe-based Turkish-language television channel defines its mission, constructs its broadcasting agenda, and positions itself within the broader fields of diaspora media, cultural representation, and transnational communication.

4. KANAL AVRUPA TELEVISION AS A DIASPORA MEDIA INSTITUTION

The establishment and historical development of Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu provide a concrete example of the Turkish diaspora's search for greater autonomy and self-representation within the European media environment. In both its managerial structure and its broadcasting philosophy, the institution has sought to distinguish itself from earlier media models in which Turkish immigrants were addressed primarily as passive audiences. Instead, the channel positions European Turks as producers, presenters, commentators, and participants who can articulate their own social, political, and cultural concerns through a media institution established within the diaspora itself.

Kanal Avrupa Television is particularly relevant to the transition of Turkish immigrants from the temporary status historically associated with the term "guest worker" to the position of permanently settled European residents and citizens. Its programming addresses identity construction, the preservation of cultural heritage, social participation, community representation, and the maintenance of connections with Türkiye. These functions enable the channel to be examined not only as a commercial broadcasting organization but also as a diaspora institution through which collective concerns, memories, and cultural practices are publicly expressed.

The case analysis presented in this section evaluates how Kanal Avrupa Television represents the experiences of Turks living in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, how it provides opportunities for socio-political discussion, and how its institutional discourse contributes to the articulation of a shared "European Turk" identity. The analysis does not assume that broadcasting automatically transforms viewers' identities or behavior. Rather, it examines the communicative opportunities, representational practices, and cultural resources offered by the channel through its programs, institutional documents, audience reports, and digital activities.

Since its establishment, Kanal Avrupa Television has developed a visible position within the Turkish-language media environment in Germany. Its programming strategy, particularly its selection of guests for live discussion programs, indicates an effort to connect the Turkish diaspora with political institutions, civil society organizations, cultural actors, and intellectual debates in both Germany and Türkiye. The live program *Bakış Açısı (Perspective)*, which was broadcast between 2005 and 2012, represents one of the clearest examples of this approach because it brought political figures, cultural representatives, academics, and civil society actors together within a common discussion format.

The guest profile of *Bakış Açısı* included prominent figures from German politics, such as Christian Wulff, former Minister-President of Lower Saxony and subsequently President of the Federal Republic of Germany; Armin Laschet, then Minister for Integration and subsequently Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia; Sylvia Löhrmann, former Deputy Minister-President and Minister of Education of North Rhine-Westphalia; and Guntram Schneider, then Minister of Labor, Integration, and Social Affairs. The program also hosted Turkish political actors, including Faruk Çelik, former Minister of Labor and Social Security of the Republic of Türkiye, and Lütfi Elvan, former Minister of Treasury and Finance, who participated in the program while serving as a parliamentarian. An interview with Chinghiz Aitmatov, a prominent literary figure of the Turkic world, further illustrates the program's inclusion of cultural and intellectual perspectives alongside political discussion.

Through these guests and similar participants, *Bakış Açısı* addressed structural developments directly affecting the Turkish diaspora in Germany and other European countries. Its discussions included migration policies, multiculturalism, multilingualism, education, political participation, bilateral relations, discrimination, integration, and the social problems experienced by Turkish communities in Europe. By inviting specialists and public figures in accordance with current developments, the program created a platform through which different interpretations of German-Turkish relations and the future of European Turks could be articulated.

These live discussion formats may also be understood as forms of public communication and diaspora-oriented public diplomacy. They brought issues affecting European Turks into a visible media space and enabled politicians, researchers, artists, and civil society representatives to address a transnational audience. Although the programs cannot by themselves

be assumed to have directly influenced policy decisions, they provided opportunities for policy proposals, social criticism, and community concerns to be expressed before viewers and relevant institutional actors.

Kanal Avrupa Television has also sought to strengthen professional networks within Turkish-language media through the Media Summits it organizes and through the European Turkish Media Awards. Ali Paşa Akbaş, Chairman of the Board of Kanal Avrupa Television, presided over the fourth European Turkish Media Summit in Mülheim an der Ruhr, Germany, in February 2026. According to the institutional invitation, the event included 100 media professionals, 300 representatives of the business community, 100 representatives of civil society organizations, 100 political actors, and additional Turkish and German guests [13]. These figures are derived from the event's institutional documentation and therefore describe the participation reported by the organizers.

The stated purpose of the summit was to support the institutional development, visibility, and professional effectiveness of Turkish media in Europe through sectoral workshops, professional exchange, and awards in different categories. Such events extend the channel's activities beyond routine broadcasting and position it as a meeting point for media professionals, business representatives, political actors, and civil society organizations. They also indicate that the channel seeks to contribute to the wider organizational development of Turkish-language media in Europe.

Within this context, Kanal Avrupa Television, which began broadcasting in Duisburg in 2004 and currently operates from Mülheim an der Ruhr, represents a significant case of diaspora media directed toward Turkish communities in Europe. Established through the resources of European Turkish entrepreneurs, the channel combines news, socio-political discussion, cultural programming, music, faith-based content, social guidance, and entertainment. The following analysis examines its establishment, institutional organization, broadcasting philosophy, program structure, audience orientation, and digital transformation.

4.1. ESTABLISHMENT, INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE, AND BROADCASTING MISSION

Kanal Avrupa Television presents itself as the first and only Turkish television medium established directly by European Turkish entrepreneurs that provides uninterrupted, Europe-based broadcasting under a German broadcasting license. This institutional claim should be understood as part of the channel's self-description and requires independent regulatory confirmation if it is to be presented as an externally verified fact. The channel was launched during the period marking approximately forty-five years since the beginning of labor migration from Türkiye to Germany.

Ali Paşa Akbaş, the founder of Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu, expressed the channel's strategic and symbolic objectives in his address at the first Media Awards ceremony, held at the institution's headquarters in Duisburg in 2006:

“How beautiful it is to be able to look back, to take stock of what has been experienced, and to see that one has emerged successful! Years have passed since the trains departing from Sirkeci carried the Turkish labor force to a war-weary Europe. The guest workers and migrants of that time have now become European Turks. [...] It is a work unlike any other, built by the European Turks—who do the best of everything and are worthy of the best of everything—by kneading their sweat and labor with longing, without being severed from the Motherland and without being lost in their second homeland” [12].

This statement illustrates the institutional narrative through which the channel connects its establishment with the historical development of Turkish migration. The description emphasizes the transformation from temporary labor migration to permanent settlement and frames the television channel as a product created by European Turks themselves. It also reflects an attempt to reconcile attachment to Türkiye with belonging to Germany and Europe, rather than treating these affiliations as mutually exclusive.

Kanal Avrupa Television began test broadcasts on November 20, 2004, and officially commenced regular broadcasting on December 1, 2004. The institution is owned by the Akbaş family, whose professional background is associated with the Turkish-origin music industry. Their experience in music production and distribution provided knowledge of cultural production, audience preferences, promotion, and marketing that contributed to the channel's establishment.

The channel operates under Akbaş Media Company GmbH as a partnership between Ali Paşa Akbaş and Osman Akbaş. The founders belong to the second generation of a family that migrated to Germany within the framework of the 1961 bilateral labor agreement. Their personal relationship with migration gives the institution's broadcasting mission an experiential dimension because the channel's organizational identity developed partly from the social conditions encountered by a family with its own migration history.

Rather than addressing migration solely as an external subject, the founders sought to transform lived migration experiences into publicly communicated social and cultural content. In this respect, the institution's development can be interpreted as an effort to convert individual and family experience into a collective form of media representation. The channel consequently positions itself as a medium through which European Turks can describe their experiences in their own language and from within the social environment in which they live.

During its establishment in 2004, Kanal Avrupa Television addressed its need for qualified technical personnel partly through Türkiye-based recruitment and employment arrangements. By 2025, the institution reported that it had developed its own intellectual, professional, and technical capacity. Its current structure includes a technical team of approximately 20 professionals and equipment supporting live broadcasting, studio operations, recording, editing, and post-production.

According to the channel's institutional materials, its technical infrastructure, live broadcast vehicles, and production capacity enable it to provide services in advertising, documentary production, live-event broadcasting, and corporate promotion [9]. These capacities demonstrate that the channel's organizational role extends beyond the transmission of scheduled television programs. Its facilities also support commercial and institutional productions directed toward Turkish businesses, organizations, and social actors operating in Europe.

Kanal Avrupa Television originally selected Duisburg, in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), as its institutional base. This location was strategically important because NRW contains one of the largest concentrations of people of Turkish origin in Germany. The presence of more than one million Turkish-origin residents across the state and Duisburg's position within this demographic geography supported the channel's objective of maintaining a direct relationship with its intended audience.

The location of the channel within a major center of Turkish settlement also enabled access to community organizations, businesses, cultural events, religious institutions, political actors, and potential program participants. Its institutional position within the diaspora therefore differs from channels transmitting from Türkiye, whose production agendas may be less closely connected to everyday social developments in Germany.

As part of its institutional development, the company's headquarters was relocated to Mülheim an der Ruhr in the autumn of 2025. According to the channel's documentation, this relocation was intended to improve operational efficiency and provide logistical and cost-related advantages [9]. The move remained within North Rhine-Westphalia, thereby preserving the channel's proximity to a substantial proportion of its target community.

Kanal Avrupa Television transmits its broadcasts through the TÜRKSAT satellite platform and reports that its "Europe Wide Beam" coverage reaches more than 25 countries across Western and Central Europe. The potential population within this geographical coverage is reported to be approximately 550 million. The channel identifies approximately 6 million Turkish immigrants living in Western Europe as its principal transnational audience.

The countries reported to have the highest viewer concentration are Germany, Türkiye, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, and France. Institutional data describe the audience as 29% female and 60% male [10]. These percentages account for only 89% of the reported audience, while the remaining 11% is not identified in the source. The values should therefore be presented as institutional audience data requiring clarification rather than as a complete demographic distribution.

An important stage in the channel's technological modernization occurred in 2021, when it transitioned to high-definition broadcasting. This development formed part of its effort to improve visual and technical quality and maintain competitiveness within an increasingly digital and international media environment [9]. The transition also reflects the broader need for diaspora media organizations to adapt to changing technical standards and audience expectations.

Kanal Avrupa Television also distributes its content through the website "www.kanalavrupa.tv" and through its institutional social media accounts. In addition to satellite and online distribution, the channel is included in the cable television infrastructures of NetCologne and Wilhelm.tel. According to its promotional material, these cable arrangements provide potential access to approximately 780,000 households [9]. This multi-platform distribution strategy combines satellite broadcasting, cable access, web-based content, and social media circulation.



Figure 1. The current logo of Kanal Avrupa TV. Source: https://www.facebook.com/kanalavrupacomtv/?locale=tr_TR

The broadcasting philosophy of Kanal Avrupa Television is expressed through the slogans and institutional statements adopted by its founders. These include "The Television of European Turks," "We are in Europe, We are Kanal Avrupa," "The Eye of European Turks Opening to the World," "Kanal Avrupa is a Bridge," and "European Turks Appear on the Silver Screen This Time."

These expressions function as elements of institutional self-presentation. They reject the image of Turkish immigrants

as temporary “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*) or as a passive extension of the homeland. Instead, they present European Turks as a settled community capable of producing its own media, defining its own concerns, and developing a diaspora identity shaped through simultaneous engagement with Türkiye and Europe.

The concept of the “European Turk” is central to this broadcasting philosophy. It refers to a heterogeneous population that maintains cultural, emotional, and familial ties with Türkiye while establishing permanent social, economic, and political lives in European countries. Kanal Avrupa Television’s institutional discourse seeks to normalize this dual orientation and to provide a media vocabulary through which these multiple forms of belonging can be represented.

Ali Paşa Akbaş described this mission in the 2006 Kanal Avrupa TV Promotional Booklet as follows:

“A sufficient period is beginning for Turkey in Europe and now for European Turks to understand themselves, to explain themselves, and to be understood. European Turks are establishing their own television. Without needing the perspectives, interpretations, or prejudices of others, they are beginning to tell their own story in their own language, from the first source. European Turks are appearing on the ‘silver screen’ prepared this time” [12].

This statement places self-representation at the center of the channel’s institutional identity. It suggests that European Turks should not depend exclusively on the interpretations of German mainstream media or Türkiye-based broadcasters. Instead, they should be able to describe their own experiences through a media organization situated within the diaspora.

The broadcasting philosophy articulated by Ali Paşa Akbaş can be organized around three principal dimensions:

Preservation and sustainability. This dimension concerns the preservation of the Turkish language, cultural practices, beliefs, music, traditions, and collective memory within the European migration context. The channel’s institutional discourse presents these activities as a response to the possibility of linguistic and cultural erosion across generations. Its programs are therefore designed to provide continuing exposure to Turkish-language and culturally recognizable content.

Representation and advocacy. This dimension concerns the channel’s stated objective of creating opportunities for community needs, social problems, and cultural demands to be discussed internally and communicated to German and European publics. In this respect, media is treated as a mechanism of representation, visibility, advocacy, and public communication. The channel provides space for political actors, civil society organizations, specialists, and community representatives to discuss issues affecting European Turks.

Building bridges. This dimension concerns the maintenance of ties with Türkiye without reducing the diaspora to a dependent or externally directed audience. Kanal Avrupa Television presents itself as a bridge connecting European Turks with Türkiye while also supporting participation in the societies in which they live. The institutional objective is therefore framed as maintaining connection without encouraging alienation, isolation, or the formation of the “virtual ghettos” sometimes associated with exclusively homeland-oriented satellite media.

Together, these three dimensions position Kanal Avrupa Television as more than an entertainment or news service. The institution presents itself as a “community institution” combining cultural preservation, public representation, and transnational communication. This mission can be interpreted through the concepts of diaspora media and the public sphere: the channel seeks to provide a communicative environment in which a dispersed community can recognize itself, debate common concerns, and maintain social and cultural connections.

Kanal Avrupa Television has also described its role through the expression “Türkiye within the European Union,” particularly in the political context of 2006, when Türkiye’s prospective integration into the European Union was widely debated. This institutional discourse drew attention to the millions of people of Turkish origin already living within Europe and to their economic, cultural, familial, and social relationships with Türkiye.

The 2006 Kanal Avrupa TV Promotional Booklet expresses this position as follows:

“Today, almost every individual living in Turkey has a relative living in one of the European countries. This situation ensures the formation of a continuous communication between Turkey and the EU in the economic, tourism, social, and administrative fields. [...] It constitutes the dimension of Turkey that has already entered the EU” [12].

The quotation reflects the transnational perspective informing the channel’s institutional identity. European Turks are represented not simply as emigrants who have left Türkiye but as social actors connecting Türkiye and Europe through family relations, business activities, tourism, cultural exchange, political participation, and communication.

4.2. PROGRAMS, AUDIENCE PROFILE, AND BROADCASTING REACH

The program schedule of Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu reflects its effort to implement its stated institutional mission. Through its program structure, the channel seeks to function both as a window through which viewers observe developments in Germany and Europe and as a mirror through which the community sees its own experiences, cultural practices, achievements, and concerns represented.

Geographically, the channel addresses Turkish communities throughout Europe. Demographically, however, this audience is highly diverse. It includes first-generation immigrants who learned German primarily through employment and everyday interaction, as well as second-, third-, and fourth-generation viewers who were educated in European countries and may use German or another European language as their dominant language.

This generational and linguistic diversity requires a broad program structure that combines information, discussion, cultural preservation, music, entertainment, social guidance, religion, business promotion, and children's programming. Table 1 presents Kanal Avrupa Television's program categories, featured programs, presenters or associated artists, and their primary functions. Many of the listed formats have continued under the same names despite changes in presenters and production personnel.

Table 1. *Kanal Avrupa TV content classification and programs (2005–2025)*

Program Category	Featured Programs	Presenter / Associated Artist	Primary Function and Content
News and Analysis	Express Haber, Ana Haber (Current)	Dilek Şen	Daily Turkish main news bulletin.
Press and Media	Manşet Avrupa, Avrupa Baskısı	Seher Ursavaş, Ali Çalışkan	Critique and analysis of the Turkish written press.
Promotion	Adım Adım Avrupa	Mehmet Baş	Promoting Turkish entrepreneurs and their products in Europe; following the daily life of Turks through concerts, weddings, entertainment, congresses, and fairs.
Weekly Agenda	Bakış Açısı	Şengül Şenol, (Current) Erdal Tekin	Analytical discussion of political, social, and cultural developments in Germany and Turkey that particularly concern European Turks.
Current Discussion	Ateş Çemberi	Muhsin Ceylan, (Şimdi) Recep Ateş	Discussion of social and cultural issues related to the immigrant experience.
Music and Culture	Telden Dile, Anadolu Diyarı, Ay Dost	Güler Duman, Mümin Uluç (Current), Serhan İlbey	Preservation of cultural memory within the immigrant context.
Women and Social Life	Kadınca	(Rotating Presenters)	The role and issues of women in social life within the immigrant context.
Civil Society and Rights	Sivil İnisiyatif	(Expert Guests)	NGO activities and civic participation processes.
Guidance and Support	Danışma Hattı	(Lawyers/Experts)	Legal, social, and administrative counseling for Turks.
Regional and Entertainment	Karadeniz Show, Kara Elmas (Zonguldak) Sıra Geceleri	Sinan Yılmaz, Ali Öztoprak (Current), Aydın Çimen	Representation of the homeland (Turkey), local belonging, and folk culture.
Folk Songs	Yüzyıllık Türküler	Ahmet Baydaroğlu	Fostering a sense of belonging to the homeland and representation of Turkish folk culture.
Religious and Spiritual	Ay Işığı, Rahmet Vakti	Abdullah Güven	Spiritual needs and the preservation of religious and faith-based identity.
Series and Documentaries	Deli Yürek, Ekmek Teknesi, Kurtlar Vadisi	(Selections from Turkish Broadcasts)	Maintaining cultural bonds with the agenda of the homeland, Turkey.
Children and Education	Bizim Çocuklar (Current) Aile Rehberi	(Pedagogical Content)	Transmission of language and culture to new generations.

Source: European Turks' TV Promotional Booklet, pp. 5–34.

As shown in Table 1, Kanal Avrupa Television's content strategy extends beyond entertainment. The schedule incorporates news, public affairs, social services, cultural programming, music, religion, entrepreneurship, children's education, and civil society. These categories reflect the information, cultural references, social concerns, and belief systems associated with different sections of the Turkish diaspora.

The news format that began with *Express Haber* continues through *Ana Haber*. Programs such as *Avrupa Baskısı*, which succeeded *Manşet Avrupa* in examining the written press, provide commentary on current developments and media narratives relevant to European Turks [12]. Faith-related programs, including live Thursday-evening broadcasts, address the spiritual practices and religious identities of sections of the audience.

The continuation of established program names despite changes in presenters indicates a degree of institutional continuity. However, such continuity should not automatically be treated as proof of audience impact or broadcasting quality. It more specifically demonstrates the channel's effort to maintain recognizable formats and program brands over time.

Discussion programs. Live discussion programs broadcast during evenings and weekends form an important component of Kanal Avrupa Television's schedule. Unlike channels broadcasting primarily from Türkiye, these programs frequently address German and European issues that directly affect viewers' everyday lives. Subjects include elections, education, immigration law, citizenship, employment, social benefits, discrimination, multiculturalism, and bilateral relations.

By hosting politicians, academics, civil society representatives, artists, journalists, and specialists from Germany,

Türkiye, and other European countries, these programs provide a communicative platform through which diaspora-related issues can be publicly discussed. Different viewpoints may be expressed, and the programs can therefore contribute to the formation of a diaspora-oriented public sphere. Changes in presenters and production teams have occurred, but several programs have retained their names and general formats.

The program *Bakış Açısı*, which began during the early years of Kanal Avrupa Television, received the “Services to Turks Abroad Award” in 2011 through cooperation between the European Turkish Press and Journalists Association and Kanal Avrupa Television. Its 2006 institutional introduction stated:

“The social, political, economic, and cultural agenda of European Turks is brought to the screen every Saturday in live broadcasts with *Bakış Açısı*” [12].

Bakış Açısı was broadcast between 2005 and 2012 and comprised nearly 300 episodes, with its archive reportedly preserved in DVD format. The program was transmitted live from the channel’s Duisburg studios on Saturdays between 19:00 and 21:00. Its format generally included four guests whose areas of expertise included politics, economics, culture, migration, and the social sciences.

A distinguishing feature of the program was its inclusion of Turkish, German, and other international guests within the same discussion environment. Contributions delivered in languages other than Turkish were communicated to the audience through simultaneous interpretation. This arrangement improved accessibility and enabled the program to function as a platform for intercultural communication.

The program’s significance lies not only in the prominence of some guests but also in the range of issues addressed and in its Europe-based production context. It provided a format in which developments in Germany and Türkiye could be examined from the perspective of European Turks rather than exclusively through the agendas of German mainstream media or Türkiye-based television.

Socially oriented programs. Programs addressing women, young people, families, workers, entrepreneurs, and professional groups provide space for the concerns of different sections of the diaspora. Broadcasts concerning health, law, education, administrative procedures, and entrepreneurship perform a practical guidance function. Examples include *Kadınca*, *Sivil İnisiyatif*, and *Danışma Hattı* [12].

These programs can provide access to information that may be difficult for some viewers to obtain because of language barriers or unfamiliarity with German legal and administrative institutions. They also allow civil society organizations and specialists to communicate with wider audiences. Their actual effects on viewers would, however, require audience-based research beyond the document analysis undertaken in this study.

Culture, art, and music programs. Music and cultural programming occupies an important place in the channel’s content strategy. The Akbaş family’s professional history in the music sector contributed to the institutional emphasis placed on Turkish Folk Music, Turkish Classical Music, popular music, regional traditions, and diaspora-based cultural production.

These programs provide visibility to artists, writers, musicians, and cultural producers associated with Turkish communities in Europe. They also circulate music, stories, traditions, and linguistic expressions that may contribute to the maintenance of cultural memory. Some programs have continued under the same names after the replacement of their original presenters, indicating an effort to maintain established formats and audience recognition.

Kanal Avrupa Television also connects Turkish entrepreneurs with viewers through the promotional program *Adım Adım Avrupa* (*Step by Step Europe*). The institutional material cited in the study reports approximately 90,000 Turkish-owned businesses in Germany, employing more than 450,000 people and producing an average annual turnover of 50 billion euros.

Program producer Mehmet Baş traveled across different European locations until 2021 to present businesses, community events, weddings, concerts, fairs, congresses, and other aspects of social life. According to the channel’s documentation, approximately sixty corporate and official organizations cooperated with Kanal Avrupa Television through advertising or promotional broadcasts [9].

The cooperation between Chairman Ali Paşa Akbaş and Mehmet Baş is described in the following statement:

“First and foremost, the trust these two companions had in each other, and the trust and labor that their other friends invested in them, played an important role in carrying Kanal Avrupa Televizyonu to this day” [11].

This quotation reflects an institutional interpretation of the interpersonal and organizational relationships supporting the channel’s continuity. While such testimony provides insight into internal organizational culture, it should be understood as a retrospective personal assessment rather than as independent evidence of financial or managerial performance.

The 2024 *Mediendaten* report published by Kanal Avrupa Television provides information concerning the wider audience environment in which the channel operates. According to the report, approximately 3.5 million people of immigrant origin residing in Germany had ties of belonging to Türkiye as of 2018. The reported population consisted of 47% women and 53% men, and approximately 1.6 million members of this population were born in Germany.

The report further states that 89% of Turkish immigrants follow Turkish-language media outlets. Television use is reported at 51.2%, while social media and radio or other alternative media are each reported at 35.9%. Newspaper readership is reported at 3.5%, and magazine readership at 2.9%. Because these percentages collectively exceed 100%, they should be interpreted as overlapping or multiple-response media-use rates rather than as mutually exclusive audience shares. The media-use patterns reported for the Turkish population in Germany are presented in Figure 2 [10].

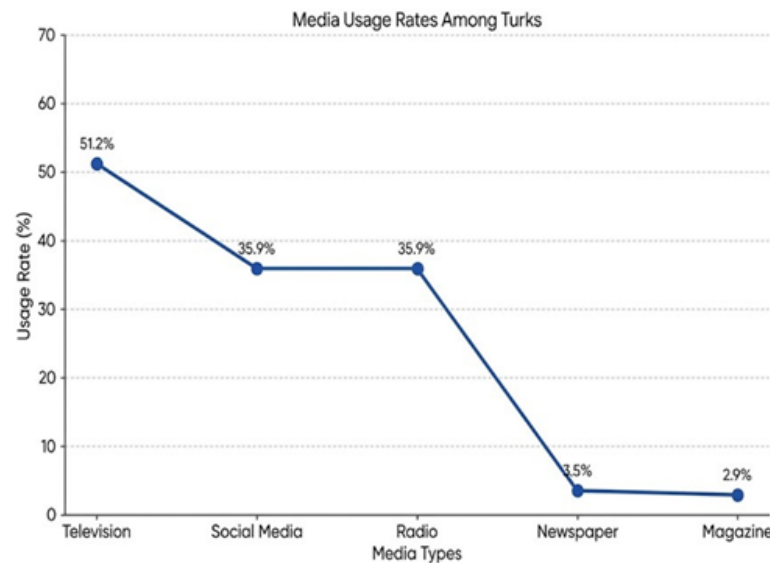


Figure 2. Media usage habits of Turks in Germany in 2024. Source: Kanal Avrupa TV Mediendaten, p. 2.

The 2024 *Mediendaten* report also indicates that live formats occupy a central place in the channel's broadcasting strategy. The schedule combines informative programs, current-affairs content, music, documentaries, advertising, promotional material, and television series. The reported distribution is presented in Figure 3.

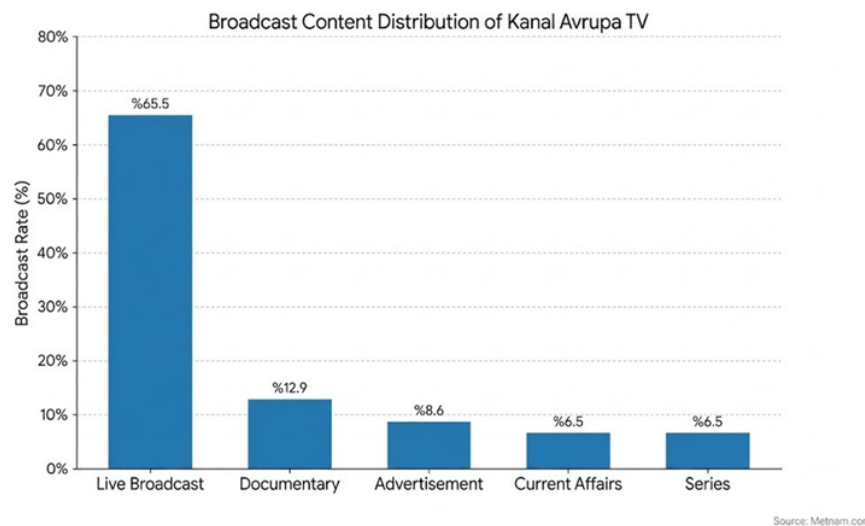


Figure 3. 2024 Broadcast Content Distribution of Kanal Avrupa TV. Source: Kanal Avrupa TV Mediendaten, p. 4.

Live broadcasts account for 65.5% of the reported program distribution, corresponding to approximately two-thirds of the channel's content. This emphasis is consistent with an institutional preference for immediate developments, interactive productions, open discussions, live music, event coverage, news, and current analysis.

The dominance of live content indicates that the channel prioritizes temporal proximity to events and direct audience engagement. However, the data do not independently establish viewer retention or the effectiveness of interactivity. They demonstrate more specifically that live broadcasting occupies the largest share of the channel's program schedule.

Documentary productions represent the second-largest category at 12.9%. This share is consistent with the channel's stated educational and cultural mission because documentaries permit the presentation of historical, social, and cultural

subjects in greater depth than short news formats.

Advertising and promotional content account for 8.6%, while current-affairs programs and television series each represent 6.5%. The relatively limited share of series programming suggests that fictional entertainment occupies a secondary position in comparison with live, documentary, informational, and promotional content. Series may therefore be understood as complementary material that diversifies the schedule rather than defining the channel's principal identity.

4.3. DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AND PLATFORM PERFORMANCE

To examine Kanal Avrupa Television's digital activity, the study considers online data reported for the period from October 1 to October 30, 2025. The platform-based figures were obtained from the channel's promotional materials and are described as originating from the internal analytics or insight tools of social media platforms, including YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok.

Because these figures are institutionally reported and the detailed analytics dashboards are not independently available, they should be treated as reported performance indicators. They nevertheless provide useful information concerning the channel's transition from conventional television broadcasting toward a multi-platform media strategy.

The data presented in Figure 4 report approximately 1.4 million Facebook/Meta views during the relevant period. Within this dataset, Facebook represents the largest source of digital visibility and exceeds the combined reported volume of several other platforms. The channel also maintains a presence on video-oriented services such as YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok.

This distribution suggests a hybrid digital strategy. Facebook may provide access to established or older sections of the diaspora audience, while YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok offer opportunities to reach younger, mobile-oriented users. Nevertheless, demographic conclusions about the users of each platform would require platform-specific audience data that are not included in the present source material.

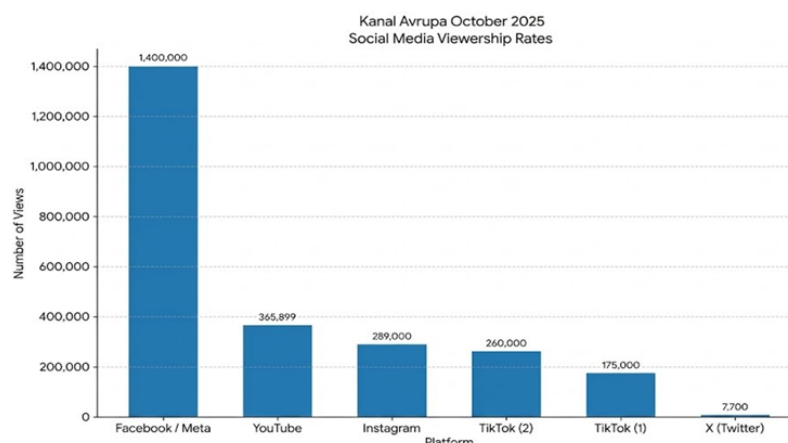


Figure 4. October social media platform-based viewership rates of Kanal Avrupa TV. Source: Kanal Avrupa TV Promotional Brochure 4

The cross-platform data reported for October 2025 indicate that Facebook and TikTok occupied particularly important positions in the channel's digital activity. These platforms serve different forms of content consumption: Facebook supports sharing, community interaction, and circulation among established networks, whereas TikTok is oriented toward shorter, rapidly distributed video formats.

Figure 5 reports Facebook activity of 2.1 million, YouTube activity of 543,000, and a TikTok growth rate of 104.8%. The Facebook value differs from the 1.4 million views presented in Figure 4, although both figures are associated with October 2025. The source material does not clearly establish whether these values represent different reporting periods, different analytics indicators, or separate measurements such as reach, views, impressions, or total interactions.

Consequently, the difference between 1.4 million and 2.1 million should not be interpreted automatically as growth from one period to another. The figures should instead be reported as separate institutional metrics until their measurement definitions and time frames are clarified. This distinction is necessary because direct comparison between unlike analytics indicators may produce misleading conclusions.

Within the reported data, TikTok's 104.8% increase indicates rapid growth relative to its previous level. This increase may reflect the channel's adoption of short-form video content and its efforts to circulate material among younger and mobile-oriented audiences. However, the available figures do not independently establish the demographic characteristics of TikTok viewers or the long-term sustainability of this growth.

YouTube is reported as the platform with the second-highest absolute volume after Facebook, with 543,000 views.

This figure is consistent with the use of YouTube for longer-form programs, selected broadcasts, interviews, and archival television content. The platform may therefore extend the life of television productions beyond their original broadcast time and make them available for on-demand viewing.

Instagram data are absent from the performance distribution presented in Figure 5. The available source does not clarify whether the platform was excluded from measurement, whether data were unavailable, or whether the channel temporarily prioritized other platforms. No definitive conclusion regarding Instagram strategy can therefore be drawn from the absence of reported values.

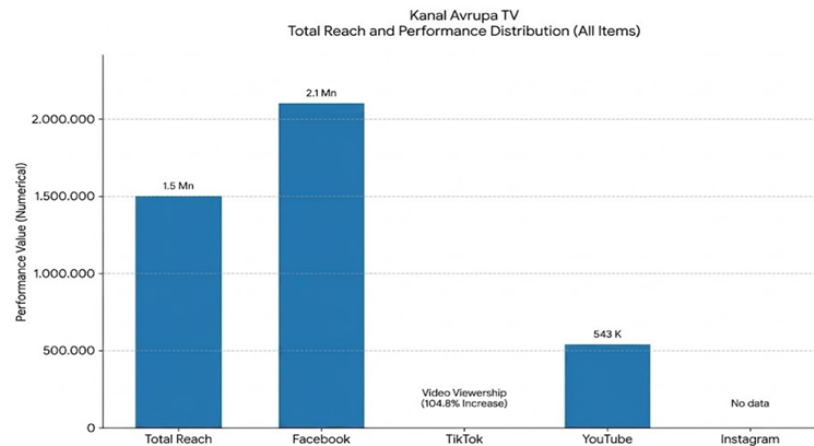


Figure 5. October 2025 total reach and detailed performance distribution of Kanal Avrupa TV. Source: Kanal Avrupa TV Promotional Brochure 4.

Taken together, the reported digital data indicate that Kanal Avrupa Television is attempting to combine traditional satellite and cable broadcasting with social media distribution and on-demand video access. Facebook remains central to its reported digital visibility, YouTube supports longer-form and archival consumption, and TikTok appears to provide an emerging channel for short-form content.

The available information demonstrates institutional activity across multiple digital platforms but does not by itself establish sustained audience growth, demographic reach, or cultural influence. Such conclusions would require standardized metrics, longer observation periods, platform-level audience data, and independent analysis. Nevertheless, the channel's cross-platform presence illustrates its adaptation to changing media-consumption practices and its effort to maintain relevance among different generations of European Turks.

5. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ROLE

The evidence discussed in the preceding section provides a basis for evaluating Kanal Avrupa Television beyond conventional indicators of media performance, such as audience size, broadcasting reach, or platform views. In the context of diaspora media, institutional significance cannot be assessed solely through ratings or commercial visibility. It must also be considered in relation to the communicative opportunities a media organization provides for cultural representation, linguistic continuity, public discussion, civic participation, and transnational connection.

The present study does not directly measure changes in viewers' identities, language practices, or political behavior through surveys, interviews, or longitudinal audience research. Consequently, the discussion below does not claim to establish definitive causal effects. Instead, it examines the cultural and social roles reflected in Kanal Avrupa Television's institutional discourse, program structure, and reported broadcasting practices. From this perspective, the channel appears to provide resources through which European Turks may negotiate identity, maintain cultural memory, access public communication, and preserve connections with Türkiye.

5.1. IDENTITY, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURAL MEMORY

Identity is not a fixed or unchangeable essence but a social and cultural formation that is continually interpreted, negotiated, and reconstructed. For immigrant and diaspora communities, this process is particularly complex because individuals may simultaneously engage with the language, institutions, values, and social expectations of the host society while maintaining emotional, cultural, familial, and historical ties with their country of origin.

Kanal Avrupa Television addresses this process through programs that represent the experiences of Turkish communities born and raised in Europe. One example is the program format *Bizim Çocuklar* (*Our Children*), which focused on younger and bilingual generations. In describing this generation as the "key to a new world," the channel's promotional material

stated:

“Our children, who are our tomorrows, are appearing on screen. They were born here, they are growing up here, they are studying here, and they will live here. A bilingual generation will be the key to a new world. *Bizim Çocuklar*, on Kanal Avrupa.”

This statement reflects the channel’s institutional understanding of younger European Turks as permanent members of the societies in which they were born and educated. Rather than portraying them exclusively through categories such as “Turks in Germany” or “Turks in France,” the channel promotes the concept of the “European Turk.” This expression refers to an overarching and transnational identity in which attachment to Turkish culture can coexist with social, educational, and political belonging in Europe.

The repeated use of expressions such as “We, European Turks” in the channel’s institutional discourse may contribute to the normalization of an identity that combines Turkishness and Europeaness. This formulation does not necessarily require individuals to choose between their culture of origin and the society in which they live. Instead, it provides a vocabulary through which multiple forms of belonging can be expressed simultaneously.

Such representation may be particularly relevant to individuals who experience a sense of liminality or of being “caught between” different social and cultural environments. Members of diaspora communities may sometimes feel that they are not fully accepted either in their ancestral homeland or in the country in which they were born or settled. By presenting European Turks as a legitimate and established social category, Kanal Avrupa Television offers a symbolic framework through which this position may be interpreted more positively.

The channel’s programs also make members of the diaspora visible as political representatives, entrepreneurs, artists, musicians, civil society actors, academics, workers, parents, and young people. This diversity is important because identity construction does not occur only through formal statements about ethnicity or nationality. It is also shaped through the repeated public representation of everyday experiences, professional achievements, family life, cultural practices, social problems, and community participation.

Language constitutes another central element of cultural memory and collective identity. For communities living in migration contexts, the intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue can become increasingly difficult, particularly when younger generations are educated primarily in German or other European languages. Differences in language proficiency may also emerge between generations, potentially affecting family communication, access to cultural materials, and participation in community life.

Through uninterrupted Turkish-language broadcasting, Kanal Avrupa Television provides continuing exposure to spoken Turkish. This exposure may support the maintenance and reinforcement of vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, pronunciation, and culturally specific forms of communication among viewers. It is particularly relevant to children and young people whose principal educational and social language may be German or another European language.

However, the availability of Turkish-language television should not be treated as proof that children automatically acquire or maintain the language. Language development depends on several factors, including family communication, education, peer interaction, reading practices, community participation, and individual motivation. The channel can therefore be understood as one possible linguistic resource within a broader environment of language transmission rather than as an independently sufficient mechanism of language preservation.

Music programs, historical documentaries, television series, regional entertainment, religious programs, and traditional discussion formats also contribute to the circulation of cultural references. Such content communicates more than language alone; it presents values, collective narratives, regional identities, social customs, musical traditions, religious practices, historical memories, and forms of humor familiar to members of the Turkish diaspora.

Programs devoted to Turkish folk music and regional culture may help viewers maintain connections with particular local traditions associated with Türkiye. Historical documentaries and discussion programs can circulate interpretations of the past, while entertainment formats reproduce recognizable cultural symbols and everyday forms of expression. In this way, Kanal Avrupa Television provides a media environment in which collective memory can be represented and made available to new generations.

The channel’s contribution to cultural memory should nevertheless be interpreted critically. The selection of particular traditions, historical narratives, musical forms, or identity categories inevitably reflects editorial choices. No media organization transmits culture in a neutral or complete form. Kanal Avrupa Television therefore participates in the construction and selection of cultural memory rather than merely preserving an unchanged heritage.

This distinction is important because diaspora identity develops through adaptation as well as continuity. Cultural forms transmitted within Europe may be reinterpreted in response to new social conditions, multilingual environments, intergenerational differences, and changing relationships with Türkiye. The channel’s content can consequently be understood as part of an ongoing process in which cultural memory is preserved, modified, and reconstructed within the European context.

5.2. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Diaspora media may also contribute to the social and political participation of immigrant communities by providing information about elections, laws, public institutions, civil rights, education, social services, and mechanisms for political representation. Access to such information can be especially important for viewers who experience language barriers or who are unfamiliar with the institutional structures of the country in which they live.

Kanal Avrupa Television addresses these functions through programs that discuss federal, state, and local elections in Germany, present candidates of Turkish origin, and examine the migration and integration policies of political parties. Such broadcasts provide viewers with opportunities to learn about electoral processes, political debates, and issues that may directly affect their everyday lives.

Programs addressing discrimination, racism, Islamophobia, employment, citizenship, education, and immigration law may also increase awareness of available legal and institutional mechanisms. By inviting lawyers, public officials, civil society representatives, academics, and political actors, the channel provides a forum in which community concerns can be articulated and discussed.

Kanal Avrupa Television additionally offers visibility to Turkish civil society organizations operating in Germany and other European countries. These organizations can use the channel to present their activities, explain campaigns, announce public events, and communicate with broader audiences. This function may strengthen connections among associations, community institutions, and individuals who might otherwise remain separated by geography or organizational boundaries.

In this respect, the channel can be interpreted as providing a diaspora-oriented public sphere in the sense associated with Habermas. It offers a communicative space in which members of the Turkish community can discuss shared problems, express competing perspectives, and participate in the formation of public opinion. The existence of such a platform does not guarantee equal access, consensus, or direct political influence, but it creates opportunities for public communication that are less readily available when immigrants are represented only through mainstream media institutions.

The significance of access to public communication is emphasized by Horst Pöttker:

“The chance to make oneself heard, access to public communication, has been declared a human right by the United Nations. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, dated December 10, 1948, states: ‘Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without hindrance and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium, regardless of frontiers’” [4].

This principle is particularly relevant to minority and diaspora communities whose perspectives may be underrepresented in national media systems. A media organization created within the diaspora can expand the range of voices entering public discussion and allow community members to describe their own experiences without relying exclusively on external interpretations.

Nevertheless, the existence of a diaspora media platform should not automatically be equated with comprehensive representation. The extent to which different political, religious, generational, gender, and ideological perspectives receive equal visibility requires systematic content analysis. The present study demonstrates that Kanal Avrupa Television provides a space for public discussion, but it does not establish that all sections of the Turkish diaspora are represented to the same degree.

Another important function of diaspora media concerns the management of relationships with the homeland. Such relationships can involve emotional attachment, family ties, political interest, economic activity, tourism, cultural participation, and continued engagement with events in the country of origin. The role of diaspora media is therefore not simply to preserve loyalty to the homeland but to interpret homeland developments from the perspective of communities living abroad.

Kanal Avrupa Television seeks to describe its relationship with Türkiye as a bridge rather than as a relationship of dependency. News and political developments from Türkiye are included in the channel’s broadcasts, but they are often discussed in relation to their consequences for European Turks. For example, an economic crisis in Türkiye may be considered in terms of its effects on the savings, investments, travel plans, remittances, or family responsibilities of Turkish communities living in Europe.

The participation of artists, politicians, academics, and cultural figures from Türkiye also helps maintain cultural and political connections. At the same time, the channel’s Europe-based production environment enables it to address issues that may receive limited attention in Türkiye-centered media, including German elections, European migration policy, citizenship, integration, education, and discrimination.

This dual orientation supports a transnational understanding of identity. European Turks can remain connected to Türkiye while participating in the political, cultural, and institutional life of the societies in which they live. Integration and cultural continuity are therefore not necessarily opposing processes. A diaspora media institution may contribute to both by presenting information from the homeland while interpreting it through the experiences and concerns of the diaspora.

The channel's role as a bridge is also reflected in its inclusion of both German and Turkish political actors and in its discussion of bilateral relations. Programs that bring representatives from different institutional and national contexts into the same communicative space may support intercultural exchange and provide viewers with comparative perspectives.

Active citizenship is central to this understanding of multicultural participation. Thomas Krüger, head of the Federal Center for Political Education, emphasizes this principle as follows:

“We need active citizens who see society as their own business, not respectful subjects. More participation creates more freedom for the individual and strengthens the legitimacy, harmony and stability of the whole—this is our starting point” [14].

This statement reinforces the view that immigrants should not be treated solely as recipients of integration policies. They should also be recognized as social and political actors capable of contributing to public debate, institutional development, and democratic participation. Kanal Avrupa Television's political, social, and informational programming provides a media setting in which such participation can be encouraged and represented.

Overall, the channel's cultural and social role appears to operate across several interconnected dimensions. It provides representations of the “European Turk” identity, circulates Turkish-language and culturally familiar content, offers space for discussion of community concerns, supports the visibility of civil society organizations, and maintains transnational communication with Türkiye.

These functions indicate that Kanal Avrupa Television can be understood as more than a conventional entertainment broadcaster. It operates as a communicative institution through which European Turks may encounter shared narratives, cultural resources, public debates, and information relevant to their lives. However, the extent of its actual influence on language maintenance, identity formation, political participation, and social integration cannot be determined conclusively without direct audience-based evidence. Future research involving interviews, surveys, focus groups, and reception analysis would be required to assess how viewers interpret and use the channel's content in their everyday lives.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The findings of this case study indicate that Kanal Avrupa Television occupies a distinctive position within the Turkish-language diaspora media environment in Germany and other European countries. Its institutional history, broadcasting philosophy, program structure, audience orientation, and digital activities demonstrate an effort to provide European Turks with a media space produced from within the diaspora rather than exclusively through the perspectives of German mainstream media or Türkiye-based broadcasters. At the same time, the channel operates under economic, technological, demographic, and political pressures that affect its long-term sustainability and its capacity to maintain relevance among changing generations.

Economic sustainability. Economic survival represents one of the most persistent challenges faced by diaspora and minority-language media organizations. Unlike national mainstream broadcasters, media institutions serving comparatively specialized audiences generally operate within smaller advertising markets. Although Kanal Avrupa Television receives advertising and promotional support from local businesses and organizations seeking to reach Turkish communities in Europe, these revenue sources may remain insufficient to cover the continuing costs associated with professional production, staffing, satellite transmission, studio management, technical modernization, and digital distribution.

The closure of several Turkish-language television channels established in Europe during earlier periods illustrates the financial vulnerability of diaspora broadcasting. Limited advertising income, relatively high production expenses, competition from Türkiye-based channels, and the fragmentation of audiences across multiple digital platforms can place substantial pressure on an institution's operational continuity. Kanal Avrupa Television's ability to continue broadcasting since 2004 therefore suggests a degree of organizational resilience. However, institutional continuity should not be interpreted as evidence that economic risks have been resolved. Its future sustainability is likely to depend on the diversification of revenue sources, cooperation with diaspora businesses and civil society organizations, expansion of digital advertising, and the development of production services beyond conventional television broadcasting.

The channel's economic role is also connected to its programs concerning Turkish entrepreneurs in Europe. Promotional formats such as *Adım Adım Avrupa* provide visibility to businesses and community activities while simultaneously creating advertising and institutional cooperation opportunities. This relationship illustrates how commercial sustainability and community representation may operate together. Nevertheless, the channel must maintain a balance between promotional content and editorial programming so that commercial pressures do not weaken public trust or reduce the diversity of its broadcasting agenda.

Digital transformation and new media paradigms. Media consumption has changed substantially alongside technological development. While the expansion of mass media during the second half of the twentieth century transformed communication practices, social media, on-demand video, mobile applications, podcasts, and digital streaming services have become increasingly central in the twenty-first century [15]. Platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram,

Netflix, and podcast services now function as both alternatives and competitors to traditional television broadcasting.

These changes are particularly significant for diaspora media because geographically dispersed audiences no longer need to depend on fixed satellite schedules. Viewers can access selected programs, short video clips, interviews, discussions, and archived material at different times and through different devices. Younger viewers, in particular, are increasingly likely to use mobile and social-media platforms for news, entertainment, and cultural content rather than watching scheduled television broadcasts.

The discontinuation of Cologne Radio within the West German Radio and Television Corporation and its transition to the podcast format known as “Cosmo Turkish” illustrates this broader digital shift. It indicates that even established public broadcasting institutions have had to reconsider the form in which Turkish-language content is produced and distributed. For Kanal Avrupa Television, digital transformation is therefore not simply a technical option but an important condition for future visibility and audience continuity.

The channel has already developed a multi-platform strategy through its website, Facebook, YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, satellite transmission, and cable distribution. The reported platform data indicate substantial activity on Facebook, continued use of YouTube for longer-form and archival content, and rapid growth on TikTok. These developments suggest that the institution is attempting to connect established television audiences with newer forms of mobile and on-demand consumption.

However, the digital figures examined in this study were derived from institutional promotional materials and did not always distinguish clearly among views, reach, impressions, interactions, or cumulative performance. The reported Facebook figures of 1.4 million and 2.1 million, although both associated with October 2025, cannot be interpreted confidently as a simple increase without additional information concerning their definitions and measurement periods. Future institutional reporting should therefore apply standardized metrics and clearly identify whether each value refers to reach, video views, page views, interactions, or another indicator.

To remain competitive, Kanal Avrupa Television will need to strengthen its digital transformation through searchable archives, mobile-friendly content, subtitles, bilingual formats, podcasts, live streaming, interactive discussions, and on-demand access. Digital platforms may also allow the channel to extend the lifespan of its programs, preserve historical broadcasts, and make its audiovisual archive accessible to researchers and younger generations.

Generational change and audience renewal. Generational transformation constitutes another major challenge. Kanal Avrupa Television may have particular cultural importance for first- and second-generation immigrants who maintain strong linguistic, emotional, and political connections with Türkiye. The same content, however, may not have an identical meaning for third- and fourth-generation European Turks who were born and educated in Germany or other European countries and who may use German, Dutch, French, or another European language as their principal means of communication.

Younger generations often possess hybrid and multilingual identities shaped by family traditions, European educational institutions, social media, global popular culture, and diverse peer networks. Their media expectations may differ from those of viewers who experienced migration directly. Traditional programs produced exclusively in Turkish may therefore have limited appeal to some younger viewers, even when the programs address issues relevant to their communities.

The future of Kanal Avrupa Television depends partly on its ability to develop program formats that recognize these changing identities without abandoning its role in Turkish-language and cultural continuity. Bilingual Turkish–German programs, subtitled productions, youth-led discussions, educational content, short-form videos, and programs addressing identity, discrimination, education, employment, mental health, cultural creativity, and digital citizenship may provide more effective connections with younger audiences.

Although the channel has produced some bilingual and youth-oriented content, the available material suggests that such programming remains limited. Expanding the participation of young presenters, journalists, content producers, and social-media specialists could help the institution move beyond treating younger generations merely as target audiences. Their direct involvement in content production would allow them to define their own concerns and represent the contemporary experience of being Turkish and European.

Generational renewal is also essential for language preservation. Turkish-language broadcasting may provide useful exposure to vocabulary, idioms, music, and cultural references, but language continuity cannot be maintained through passive media consumption alone. The channel could strengthen this function through educational programs, bilingual interviews, children’s productions, literary discussions, and collaborations with schools, families, and cultural organizations.

Editorial independence and political polarization. Political polarization represents an additional editorial challenge. Political conflicts and ideological divisions in Türkiye frequently influence Turkish communities living in Europe. Diaspora media may therefore experience pressure to align with particular political parties, movements, religious groups, or institutional interests. A channel seeking to serve a diverse community must provide space for competing perspectives while avoiding the appearance of functioning as an extension of political actors in Türkiye or Germany.

Maintaining editorial independence is especially important for Kanal Avrupa Television’s long-term credibility. Its

public-sphere function depends on whether viewers perceive it as a platform capable of representing multiple voices rather than promoting only one political position. Transparent editorial policies, clear distinctions between news, commentary, advertising, and institutional promotion, and the inclusion of diverse guests would strengthen public trust.

The political environment in Germany also increases the significance of diaspora media. The rise of radical right-wing parties such as the Alternative for Germany (AfD), together with intensified anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric, has created additional representational responsibilities for Turkish-language media. Programs addressing discrimination, citizenship, social rights, elections, and political participation may help communities understand current developments and available legal or institutional responses.

As discussed in the preceding sections, a substantial proportion of the German population recognizes Germany as a country of immigration, and people with migration backgrounds constitute an important part of its population. Nevertheless, the limited representation of immigrant-origin journalists and communication professionals in mainstream media indicates that institutional diversity has not developed at the same rate as demographic diversity. The reported proportion of immigrant journalists, which has remained approximately between 1% and 3%, is substantially below the 10% target proposed in the National Integration Plan. Within this context, a diaspora-based channel can provide additional opportunities for representation, although it cannot substitute for structural diversity within mainstream German media.

Interpretation of the channel's cultural and social role. The analysis suggests that Kanal Avrupa Television represents a relatively mature stage in the historical relationship between Turkish migration and media in Germany. Early German public broadcasting programs generally addressed Turkish workers through an integration-oriented and institutionally paternalistic model. Türkiye-based satellite channels later strengthened access to homeland media but often focused on Türkiye's political and cultural agenda rather than on the daily experiences of European Turks. Kanal Avrupa Television developed a different model by producing Turkish-language content from within Europe and focusing more directly on diaspora-related concerns.

Its institutional structure and broadcasting practices provide opportunities for European Turks to represent themselves as settled social actors rather than temporary immigrants. Programs concerning politics, culture, religion, entrepreneurship, family life, education, law, health, civil society, and music create a broad communicative environment in which different aspects of diaspora life become visible.

The channel can also be interpreted through the media functions associated with Harold Lasswell. First, it performs environmental surveillance by reporting developments that may affect the Turkish community's interests, rights, and values. Second, it facilitates communication among members of the diaspora and between the diaspora and political, social, and cultural institutions. Third, it contributes to the transmission of social and cultural heritage through Turkish-language, music, documentary, religious, and educational content. Its entertainment programs may additionally serve a connective or "glue-like" function by circulating shared cultural references and familiar forms of expression.

From the perspective of Habermas, Kanal Avrupa Television also provides elements of a diaspora-oriented public sphere. It creates a platform through which European Turks can discuss common problems, articulate political and cultural demands, encounter alternative viewpoints, and form public interpretations of developments in Germany, Europe, and Türkiye. Nevertheless, the existence of such a platform does not automatically establish equal representation, audience participation, or direct political influence. These dimensions would require a more systematic analysis of program diversity and audience reception.

The channel's repeated use of the term "European Turk" is particularly relevant to identity negotiation. The expression provides a framework through which Turkish cultural belonging and European social membership can coexist. It may help address feelings of being "caught between" the homeland and the host country by presenting hybrid belonging as a legitimate and established identity rather than as a contradiction.

Similarly, Turkish-language broadcasting may provide a resource against linguistic and cultural erosion, but its influence should not be overstated. The study demonstrates that the channel offers continuous access to Turkish-language and culturally recognizable content; it does not prove that viewers necessarily acquire language skills or maintain cultural practices as a direct result of watching the channel. Such causal conclusions would require audience interviews, surveys, longitudinal research, and language-use data.

Study limitations. The findings of this study should be interpreted in light of several limitations. First, the research is based on a qualitative single-case study of one diaspora media organization. Although Kanal Avrupa Television provides an informative example, its institutional development and broadcasting practices may not represent all Turkish-language or immigrant media organizations in Europe.

Second, a substantial proportion of the empirical evidence was obtained from the channel's own promotional booklets, media reports, program descriptions, brochures, invitations, and digital analytics. These materials are valuable for examining institutional self-presentation, strategic priorities, and reported activities, but they do not independently verify audience size, cultural influence, political effectiveness, or social impact.

Third, the study does not include interviews, surveys, focus groups, or direct observation of viewers. It therefore

evaluates the roles and opportunities reflected in the channel's broadcasting practices rather than measuring actual changes in identity, language use, social participation, or political behavior.

Fourth, the available digital-performance data cover a limited period and contain differences among reported values that cannot be fully reconciled without access to the original platform analytics. Future research should use standardized indicators and longer observation periods.

Finally, the study does not systematically compare Kanal Avrupa Television with other Turkish-language or diaspora media organizations. Comparative research could clarify which institutional characteristics are unique to Kanal Avrupa Television and which reflect broader patterns in European diaspora media.

Conclusion. Kanal Avrupa Television should not be understood solely as a conventional television channel. The evidence examined in this study indicates that it operates as a diaspora media institution offering cultural representation, Turkish-language content, public discussion, social information, political visibility, and transnational communication. Its establishment by European Turkish entrepreneurs and its Europe-based production model distinguish it from both integration-oriented German public broadcasting and Türkiye-centered satellite television.

The channel provides a communicative space in which the identity of the "European Turk" is articulated, language and cultural memory are represented, community concerns are discussed, civil society organizations gain visibility, and relationships with Türkiye are interpreted from the perspective of people living in Europe. In this sense, it functions as a bridge among the diaspora, the host societies, and the homeland.

At the same time, the channel's future remains uncertain. Economic pressure, digital competition, changing audience habits, generational differences, political polarization, and the need for editorial independence all affect its long-term sustainability. Its continued relevance will depend on its ability to diversify revenue, adopt transparent performance measures, expand digital and bilingual content, involve younger generations in production, and maintain a pluralistic editorial position.

The case of Kanal Avrupa Television demonstrates that diaspora media can operate as a space of representation, cultural continuity, public communication, and participation. However, its wider cultural and political significance should be assessed through cautious interpretation rather than promotional claims. Future audience-based and comparative research would provide a stronger basis for determining how viewers experience the channel and how its role changes across generations.

Ultimately, the development of Kanal Avrupa Television illustrates the broader transformation of European Turks from temporary labor migrants into permanent participants in Europe's social, cultural, and political life. The future of the channel will depend on how effectively it responds to technological, economic, and generational change, while the future of diaspora media more generally will remain closely connected to Europe's capacity to sustain pluralism, representation, and intercultural communication.

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