

**The Message of Transnational Media:  
Changing Notions of 'Threat' and Opportunities for Cultural Diversity**

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**Abstract**

This article is intended to be an intervention into broader theoretical discussions on globalisation, transnationalisation, cultural politics of identity, and the role of transnational media within these contexts. Its focus is on the ways in which transnational media are deployed by diasporic subjects to open unprecedented pathways on which new transcultural identity projects evolve. An analysis of the Turkish-Australian population as a case study is employed to illustrate the dynamics of these formations that stem from the meeting of deterritorialised populations with moving images. The article highlights the influential role of Turkish satellite television in the cultural transformation of the Turkish diaspora in Australia. More generally, the focus is on the changing cultural and life experiences of diasporic populations in late modernity.

**Keywords:** Turkey, Media, Transnational, Diaspora, Nationalism, Television, Globalization, Australia

The modern world is developing through a new stage in which the interaction between global and local interests is gathering momentum. Customary barriers – imagined as cultures, communities, nations or even geography – that previously restricted exchanges between different social groups have become porous. The developments of the new global order which assist the movements of people, ideas and things – through technology as much as politics – are pushing the boundaries of traditional identity formations. At the centre of this process lies the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural diversity.

One particular perspective on globalisation announces the demise of the nation-state, the rise of Western cultural imperialism and the replacement of national culture with the global. As declared by a number of theorists, today we are also talking of a different kind of globalisation. At the core of these alternative theories of globalisation has been the notion of cultural diversity as opposed to cultural imperialism. The changes in international media flows and human mobility have been highlighted as the juggernauts of a newly forming world order that transcends national, cultural, communal and even geographic boundaries.

While this shift in theorising globalisation has been an ongoing process for at least two decades, the conceptualisation of globalisation as a threat to the conventional nation-state does not seem to have changed. However, today we are talking of a different kind of threat albeit still posed by globalisation. The 'threat' is not expressed so much as cultural imperialism or western cultural domination: rather, it has gradually been replaced by ethnic, religious conflict and a threat to the conventional nation states and national consciousnesses whose primary reference is to a unified, monolithic national culture and identity. Transnational media flows are situated at the centre of these claims. In this article, I argue that what transnational media offers is an unprecedented disordering of conventional national, ethnic, religious identifications. My contention is that this disordering is a productive one in the sense that transnational media works beyond the nation and their stories transcend the micro-references of ethnicity, race, religion, and nationalism.

Throughout the article, I elaborate on the role of transnational media in general and satellite television in particular as key actors in contemporary processes of globalisation and transnationalisation within which important, new, diasporic existences are forged. The other crucial actors in this process are diasporic groups and individuals. The two core foci of this article are, thus, contemporary media flows and mobile populations. I attempt to situate these two foci within the broader context of the contemporary global condition. In the final section of the paper, I elaborate on the impact of transnational media on the migratory experiences of Turkish-Australians, highlighting the provisions of this phenomenon for unprecedented identity projects.

## Rethinking Globalisation

Frederic Jameson reminds us that at the core of discussions on globalization, “at the political level, one question has predominated: that of the nation-state. Is it over and done with, or does it still have a vital role to play?” (2000, p. 50) For some cultural theorists, globalisation is a process towards a homogenised “borderless world” as a consequence of global flows of capital, culture, information, trade and people (Ohmae, 1996). The argument is that the production of a universally homogenous consumer culture renders national and natural borders obsolete. Ohmae claims that globalisation leaves us with a global logic which functions in “dissolving the fabric holding nation-states together” (p. 18).

It is a key component of homogenisation theory that globalisation promotes a synchronised and standardised culture, promoting and benefiting from the global spread of consumerism. However, the major problematic underlying the notion of homogenisation, in relation to the conventional globalisation theory, stems from the one-way flow of cultural influence that it promotes. Koichi Iwabuchi (2002) is one among many scholars interested in this aspect of globalisation theory. Iwabuchi claims that,

Media globalization has generated the de-centering of Western (U.S.) cultural hegemony. Non-Western players now actively collaborate in the production and circulation of global media commodities ... Furthermore, the predominance of Western (U.S.) culture has been seriously challenged by the intensification of intraregional cultural flows and connections in the non-West (pp. 554 – 555)

Thus, globalisation has been described as dialectic between the local and the global. Diasporic populations around the world are perhaps one of the best examples of this latter approach to globalisation as this dialectic between the local and the global is the characteristic condition of their daily lives. Furthermore, these individuals are active agents in a process within which unprecedented transcultural spaces are forged, mainly through their deployment of transnational media, which enables them to negotiate these complex affiliations.

Alternative theories of globalisation, such as those of Urry (2003) and Ang (1996), emphasise the complexity and the chaotic nature of these processes, focussing on the forces of fragmentation and hybridisation that underpin them. It is important to recognise that globalisation is not the output of an orderly grand narrative or a matter of dichotomies. It is characteristically disordered, and this disorder stems from unequal global participation and the emergence of alternative flows and formations. These counter perspectives to the thesis of ‘globalisation equals Western imperialism’ – with their assertions of a disjunctive, complex and crisscrossing course of contemporary cultural flows – bring to light the importance of displaced, in-between and hybrid, cultures and persons. This alternative thesis necessitates the recognition of the centrality of mobile populations to the current global condition. It recognises them not only as the major outputs of the contemporary global disjuncture but also as key actors in the production and reproduction of an ever-changing cultural order.

Appadurai (2004) is one among many theorists who recognise the significance of the interface between transnational media transmissions and displaced populations and the role it plays in the contemporary global era. While Appadurai is fully aware that mass migration itself is not a recent development, he nonetheless argues that its juxtaposition with contemporary global flows of mass-mediated global imagery and discourses produces “a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities” (p. 4). For Appadurai, the meeting of these two entities in motion produces, reproduces and distributes the basis of a global form of existence that is different in unprecedented ways from its predecessors:

As Turkish guest workers in Germany watch Turkish films in their German flats, as Koreans in Philadelphia watch the 1988 Olympics in Seoul through satellite feeds from Korea, and as Pakistani cabdrivers in Chicago listen to cassettes of sermons recorded in mosques in Pakistan or Iran, we see moving images meet deterritorialized viewers (2000, p. 4).

This phenomenon in turn, functions to produce and sustain the evolution of new diasporic public spheres that transcend the scope of conventional nation-state. According to Appadurai, the authors of these scripts – namely the migrants – “are deeply affected by a mass-mediated imaginary that frequently transcends national space” (2000, p. 6). This is the context in which I consider the role of contemporary global media in the construction of the transnational experiences. The question posed here in relation to

these provisions of transnational media and the formation of diasporic public spheres is whether these phenomena should be conceived as threats to the national order or not. To address this question we need to look at the intrinsic message of transnational media.

### **Transnational Media and its Message**

When Marshall McLuhan pronounced ‘the medium is the message’ in the 1960s, television was still in its infancy and personal computers were almost twenty years away. McLuhan’s claim was that each medium had its own intrinsic effect: its own unique message. In McLuhan’s *Understanding media: The extensions of man* (1966), he explains that the message of a particular medium is the change or invention of scales or patterns that it introduces into human life:

The railway did not introduce movement or transportation or wheel or road into human society, but it accelerated and enlarged the scale of previous human functions, creating totally new kinds of cities and new kinds of work and leisure. This happened whether the railway functioned in a tropical or northern environment, and is quite independent of the freight or content of the railway medium. (p. 8)

What McLuhan had to say about the railroad half a century ago applies with equal if not more force to the medium of television and further, to satellite broadcasting today. “The medium is the message” because it is the “medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action” (p. 9). This is precisely the argument I pursue in this article. I suggest, through scrutinizing the ways in which consumption of satellite television channels influence and promote new and unprecedented ways of being, we can glean clearer insight into the message of transnational media.

The research for this argument is based on material collected between 2003 and 2006 among Turkish-Australians through participant observations and interviews in relation to the impact of transnational media consumption on their migratory experiences. It was in the very early stages of the project when I met Mehmet and his wife Saadet – two of the interviewees – in Canberra. Having been invited to their home and during the first visit to their house, the importance of the message of satellite broadcasts for these diasporic subjects became clear. While we sipped teas, Mehmet was trying both to chat with me so as to not be rude to his guest, and at the same time desperately watching the news on a Turkish channel, received through his satellite dish, on a large screen television, as if his life depended on it. When the news came to an end, he finally turned, his full attention directed at me. He said,

*When we first came here in 1968, we had to wait at least a day or two just to be able to make a phone connection with Turkey. My father passed away and I missed his funeral because I didn’t learn about it until he was buried. We came here cutting all ties with Turkey and leaving our country behind and we went through some very tough times. Today, our life in Australia is very different. This (he points to the TV set) is a gift to us from God. I haven’t visited Turkey for the last 15 years, but this television assures me everyday that it is there, that it exists and more importantly it gives me the feeling that I exist there. It assures me that I have a soil to be buried in when I die. This is what changed Australia for me (still pointing to the TV set). When I want to go back to Turkey, all I have to do is sit in my recliner and turn on the TV. (Mehmet, age 67)*

Thinking over our conversation that day I realised, what Mehmet was experiencing was precisely what McLuhan had referred to as the change of scale and pace and pattern that the message of satellite television was introducing into the human affairs of the migrant. For the migrant, satellite television from *home* has a special message of its own embedded in its form, independent of its content and context. Just as the waves that transport it are not in their nature national, neither is its message. I argue through the experiences of Turkish-Australians that satellite television is one of the key actors in the processes of globalisation and transnationalisation. Furthermore, contemporary communication technologies – including satellite television and the Internet – have been the juggernauts of a globalisation process that promotes and serves local, national, and global formations simultaneously: both offering new ways of being for the migrant and at the same time calling for transformations in the scale and form of human action in general.

In order to evaluate the changes taking place in the context of Turkish-language media in Australia, it is important here to situate these developments within the context of “cross border ethnic media in the world” (Çağlar, 2002, p. 11). As Karim Karim notes,

The most important and the earliest examples of cross-border ethnic media come from the Mexican and Brazilian 'Televisia' and 'TV Globo' networks respectively. The former aiming the Spanish speaking populations in Latin America and the latter the Portuguese speaking communities scattered around the globe (1998, p. 8).

According to John Sinclair,

By 1986 a national network of broadcast stations all interconnected by satellite was reaching a claimed eighty-two per cent of Hispanic households, or fifteen million viewers (bigger than NBC, it was said) supplying them programs largely beamed up from Mexico City (1997: 103).

These developments within the South American media context induced a tremendous change in the global media order. Such rapid developments in new media technologies opened unprecedented avenues for the production and distribution of new forms of transnational media. In the age of audience segmentation, more broadcasters are targeting ethnic communities across national borders: "Therefore the share of ethnic/transnational media in global communication flows is steadily growing" (Karim 1998, p. 9).

Historically, until the 1980s, media – initially print then broadcast – had always been associated with a national broadcasting model. Despite the emergence of trans-border broadcasting entrepreneurs as early as the 1980s, television has predominantly been at the centre of a national consciousness – with the exception, of course, of exceptional events broadcast live, and internationally, such as the Apollo 11 moon landing. What has become clear since the 1980s, however, is that television is not necessarily national. Aksoy and Robins (2000) for example, argue for a "new kind of media culture that has become de-linked from a singular national reference point" (p. 343). In another article they suggest,

Global, regional, national and even local circuits of programme now overlap and interact in a multifaceted way, no doubt with a great variety of cultural effects which are impossible to conceptualise within the more concentric perspective appropriate to previous decades (2003, p. 8).

Although it could be argued that the emergence of transnational media is not a recent development when conceptualised within the broader scope of globalisation, it is important to note how the media of the past few decades is substantially different from its predecessors. According to Jean Chalaby (2005),

The transnationalisation of global media at the beginning of the 21st century can be comprehended as the third phase in a succession of paradigm shifts in the evolution of international communication from the mid-19th century onwards (p. 28).

Chalaby claims first and second phases are respectively 'internationalisation' and 'globalisation' of media flows (2005). He also suggests a third phase – transnationalisation of media – is an extension of these two earlier paradigms (2005).

An early driving force behind the process of internationalisation of communications was the invention of the telegraph with its capacity to transfer information over long distances. This, coupled with governments' realisation of the importance of various new technologies, rapidly magnified the significance of international communication in the world order. It was during this period that Hollywood, under the strong influence of the US State Department, dominated the international film trade (Trumpbour, 2002).

A second explosion in international communication took place at the turn of the second half of the 20th century, which according to Chalaby (2002) led to the globalisation of the media order. The juggernaut behind this process was newly emerging space-related technology. Through the invention of communication satellites global networks of international communications organizations such as Intelsat and the International Telecommunications Union developed (Evans, 1987; Hecht, 1999). It was during this period, at the end of 1990s, that CNN emerged as the world's first global channel. CNN had become available "worldwide 24 hours a day with transmission on a Soviet satellite to Africa, the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent" (Chalaby, 2005, p. 29). Even if we only consider this from a technological perspective, the world had indeed become a 'global village', a "single constricted space resonant with tribal drums" (McLuhan, 1966, p. 31).

Although the first communication satellites are barely less than half a century old, it has become increasingly apparent that a new international communication paradigm is emerging. During the last two decades a shift in global media flows has evolved that distinguishes this new order from its predecessors. The information technology revolution has deepened the integration between computing, telecommunications and electronic media (Forester, 1985). As Chalaby (2005) notes, “a transnational media order is coming into being that is remapping media spaces and involving new media practices, flows and products” (p. 30).

What is so different, then, about the contemporary transnational media order that justifies its designation as a new paradigm? The answer is two pronged. Firstly, the number of distinct aspects in the evolution of transnational media must be highlighted. Secondly, the unprecedented provisions of this new phenomenon for the groups on both ends of these media flows (producers and consumers) need to be recognised. Transnational communications, unlike its predecessors, is reshaping the global flow of media through a complex network of products, producers and viewers (Sinclair, 1997; Straubhaar, 1997). This phenomenon needs to be conceptualised more by the ways in which it merges these three different layers, rather than simply by its capacity to create a new form of communications flow.

There are two central nodes around which the process of transnationalisation of global media flows has evolved. One has been the emergence of new trends in global migration, including the relative ease of worldwide transportation and communication. The increase in both the volume and the speed of transportation has created a world of displaced individuals, dispersed ‘nationals’ and mobile populations. Karim (1998) argues that these trends: “have produced transnational groups related by culture, ethnicity, language, and religion” (p. 1). The transnational groups now create a market for, and demand the availability of, a global-ethnic media that takes account of their specific ‘local’ needs and desires.

Appadurai (1996) argues that as electronic media “increasingly link producers and audiences across national boundaries, and as these audiences themselves start new conversations between those who move and those who stay, we find a growing number of diasporic public spheres.” (p. 22). These public spheres are not of course those identified by Jürgen Habermas (1981), in that they transcend the national imaginary, all the while fostering an unprecedented kind of diasporic consciousness. These new developments have now started to render the conventional national media paradigms inapplicable to the contemporary media order around the world.

A second driving force in the evolution of this new transnational media order – flowing from the previous one – has been the proliferation of countless relatively small transnational media organisations. It is no longer primarily the gigantic Western media conglomerates that are privileged with trans-border reach. While the globally dominant Eurocentric cultural structures, including media organisations, are strengthening (Herman and McChesney, 1997), there is also a considerable increase in the number of smaller media organisations that are broadcasting transnationally from their non-Western standpoints, such as Multichoice in South Africa, Zee Network in India and TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) in Turkey. As Chalaby (2005) notes:

Transnational TV channels have multiplied and grown in diversity over the past 10 years to include some of the most innovative and influential channels of our times. Many of them are at the heart of the transformation of regional media cultures, most noticeably in the Middle East, South Asia and even Africa, but also in Europe (p. 30).

This may be the point where the transnational media order makes a break with the era of global media preceding it. What is important here is that the shift in media flows has not eliminated the perception of ‘threat’ towards international media by states and governments. What it has done however, is to transform its nature. As previously noted, this ‘threat’ is now understood as ethnic, religious conflict that works against the dynamics of conventional nation states and national consciousnesses: in other words, it promotes diversity, pluralism and hybridisation as opposed to unity, homogeneity, and communality on a national scale.

Germany is, for example, concerned that through inciting cultural ghettoisation, satellite broadcasts from Turkey will promote micro nationalisms and will hinder the integration of Turkish ‘guest-workers’ into the German society. Similarly the Turkish State sees MED TV as a threat to its national unity, fearing that this satellite station will fuel Kurdish ethnic nationalism both within the national borders of Turkey and among the Kurdish diaspora. On a similar note, Arjun Appadurai (1990) stresses this decentred nature of ‘threat’ stemming from the process of globalisation through his following example. “For people of Iranian

Jaya, Indonesianisation may be more worrisome than Americanisation, as Japanisation may be for Koreans, Indianisation for Sri Lankans, Vietnamisation for Cambodians, Russianisation for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics” (p. 6).

Global media is building up new virtual geographies that offer migrants a new kind of experience. All the models of location and dislocation, cultural formation and identity politics “are mediated by one or another of the media, from the epistolary technology of letters, telephone, fax, and email to the audiovisual media of photos, cassettes, films and videos, to print, electronic, and cyberspace journalism” (Naficy, 1993, p. 4). Similarly, Aksoy and Robins (2003) argue that transnational media consumption promotes de-ethnicisation and frees the migrant from the pincers of a ‘frozen image’ of the homeland. They suggest the practice of satellite television viewing places migrants in an “ironic stance to cultures”, and far from reinforcing long distance national identities it fosters an experience of “moving beyond the frame of national society” (p. 36).

The new transnational media order has merged social spheres and severed the traditional links between physical places and social meanings. In Meyrowitz’ words (1986), they have created “placeless cultures” which offer diasporas around the world new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and communities. Therefore, through the proliferation of transnational media, what has now become crucial “is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on . . . ‘in-between’ spaces . . . that initiate new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation . . .” (Bhabha, 1994, pp, 1 – 2).

Today, in addition to the already complex global media order, highly localized media targets identities conceived around highly localized registers. It is now possible to view pro-Islamic broadcasts, channels such as Med TV broadcasting in Kurdish, Zee TV broadcasting across Asia in Hindi or MBC targeting Arabic speakers in Europe, broadcasts mainly targeting males (LIG TV is one example), music channels targeting mainly young viewers, etc. Thus, today there is access to media that conceives of itself in much more local terms than traditional national broadcasters. Hence, a new media order is rapidly forming that renders geographic, national, cultural, ethnic and financial boundaries obsolete, all the while contributing to the formation of unprecedented transnational, hybrid cultural formations. This model of contemporary global media – that is, a media that seeks its audiences transnationally – is manifested by media flows that transcend borders of all kinds, spanning the world but being consumed in, for instance, Chinese, Spanish, Arabic or Turkish among communities that speak these languages wherever they may be located.

Contemporary developments in media and transportation technologies have become major factors in influencing how diasporic, transnational and transcultural consciousnesses are being forged around the world. While, until recent times, the inefficiency of these networks limited to a great extent the connections of the migrant with the homeland, today it has become commonplace for these people to experience simultaneous connections with their homelands and with other diasporas around the world. This has had an unprecedented effect on their identity projects. For instance, Turks in Europe – and specifically Turks in Australia – have been able to consume Turkish press, radio and television with increasing ease in the last decade or so. These developments have enabled the Turkish diaspora around the world to re-create, re-imagine and re-live ‘their’ Turkey within the contexts of their host countries. Music CDs, television programs, and daily papers from Turkey have made effective contributions to the forging of a homeland in diaspora that reflects the textures of Turkey. The important point here though is that the ways in which these textures of Turkey are being lived abroad, almost never overlap with the way Turkey is being experienced from within its national borders. That is, these experiences forge deterritorialised Turkeys and ways of being Turkish: drawing on nationalist discourses while transcending them.

This disorderment and transcendence of conventional nationalist discourses are desirable if not unavoidable. Particularly so in the context of globalisation, which “in opening up all cultural traditions to scrutiny has decentred western notions of progress and correct solutions to problems” (Barker, 1999, p. 147), along with fostering new cultural, political and economic formations that can’t be underpinned by the grand narratives of modernism. In an era when we cannot escape values and subjectivities, culturally and individually specific value based cultural politics of identity becomes an inescapable condition of human existence. As Rorty (1999) puts it,

Our acculturation is what makes certain options live, or momentous, or forced, while leaving others dead, or trivial, or optional. We can only hope to transcend our acculturation if our culture contains (or, thanks to disruptions from outside or internal revolt, comes to contain) splits which supply toe holds for new initiatives... (Cited in Barker, 1999, p. 148)

In this sense, the message that transnational media carries across borders needs to be conceived not as a 'threat' or 'conflict' but rather as the provision of Rorty's "disruptions", through which necessary resources for the forging of transcultural and transnational spaces of existence can be fostered.

### **The case of Turkish Diaspora in Australia**

Since 2002, a major source of media for the Turkish-Australian diaspora has been satellite television from Turkey. The company which provides the satellite package for Turkish viewers in Australia is called UBI World TV. The UBI World TV package includes one government and ten privately owned national Turkish channels in addition to its own Turkish station 'Vizyon'. More than 90% of Turkish-Australian households have access to these stations from their homes, and the television set is turned on and tuned into these stations throughout the day in all homes visited. While this present study does not focus on the content of programming, the figure of 90 percent is telling in terms of the impact of this media on the daily lives of these diasporic subjects, regardless of intended messages of these stations.

Although the cultural products that stem from contemporary Turkish media are popular in Turkey as well, the way they are consumed by subjects of diaspora is unique. The act of listening to Turkish music in diaspora has meanings that transcend the conventional connotations assigned to the consumption of the same music in Turkey. While in Turkey, listening to Turkish popular music may have references to youth, class, gender, and or cultural taste, in a diasporic context, it has other connotations that transcend these references. A respondent who said that he listened exclusively to Turkish music in his car stated for example:

*It's not just a car. It is my car. It is my 'space'. Wherever I drive it you can here loud Turkish music pumping through the stereo, my seat is covered with a T-shirt that has a Turkish flag on it, my girlfriend's seat is covered with a Tarkan (a famous pop singer) T-shirt, the licence plate reads JEM (the respondent's name is Cem which is pronounced as 'Jem' in English). My car defines me, and I feel like myself when I am driving it in Sydney. I feel like a Turkish-Australian, and I feel proud and confident. (Cem, age 23)*

The act of listening to Turkish music in his car represents more than just youth, or class or ethnicity to Cem. It manifests itself as a representation of Turkish-Australianness. This Turkish-Australianness is different from a sense of 'Australianness' in its conventional sense and it does not parallel the experience of 'Turkishness' that Turkish youth experience in Turkey. Driving his personalised and 'Turkified' car on the streets of Sydney, speaking in English to his Lebanese girlfriend who is sitting in the seat next to him and listening to Turkish music on his car stereo, at once places Cem in motion across a diverse range of cultural spaces. The role of transnational media in this constant flux is significant. It offers second generation diaspora an alternative 'Turkishishness' to move into and out of, a Turkish space that neither fits with the first generation descriptions of Turkey nor maps onto the 'authentic' Turkishness experienced within Turkey itself – in other words, this is a newly imagined Turkey.

Whatever the content of Turkish satellite channels may be, the Turkish expatriate now has access to them and, hence, to the changed notions of Turkishness that are offered through them. This may be said to be synchronising the migrant with the homeland. However, the migrant is much more vulnerable to the changes that have taken place in Turkey compared to the individual living in the homeland, as the migrant has not been personally involved in the dynamics of change that Turkey has experienced in the last decade and a half. Until 2002, the migrants' experience had been eavesdropping, at best. Transnational communication technologies, however, have effectively altered the positioning of migrants by including them in the ongoing process of change. It is precisely this characteristic of transnational media that distinguishes it from its predecessors.

One interviewee expressed his joy at being able to connect by phone to a live entertainment program in Turkey and share his thoughts. Precisely enunciating what we might call 'transnational virtual citizenship', he said that he actually felt he "had an existence there" when his relatives called him back from Turkey after hearing him speak on Turkish television. This respondent's experience with transnational television from Turkey is telling in its impact on the lives of migrants – illustrating how this new media re-establishes a long lost continuity with the homeland.

However Turkish heritage manifests itself in the lives of Turks in Australia, Turkishness represents an inescapable reality, as generations of Turks who are born and socialized in Australia confront in their everyday lives. This reality exists despite their place of birth, their generation, and strong national and cultural identification with Australia. It stems from a number of avenues: family pressure, community influence, the 'otherisation' by mainstream Australian society, a desire to identify with their historical roots. Negotiating their identification with their dual national belongings locates some young Turkish-Australians in a cultural site of tension. With this tension, Turkish-Australian youth evolve individually by devising strategies and tactics that allow them to negotiate their Australianness and Turkishness in relevant and meaningful ways chosen by them.

What transnational media offers these young people is an alternative Turkishness: a Turkishness that is much more compatible with their 'real' daily lives in Australia. The migrant remembers the homeland as it was when the migration took place and reproduces this frozen image of the homeland in her social surroundings and daily life in the host country. What transnational media does for Turks in Australia is to dismantle this idea of the homeland. This, in turn, stimulates Turkish Australians to forge transnational cultural connections between their current lives in Australia and their country of origin. When talking about individuals that live with these transnational connections, Portes (1997) reminds us that through transnational social networks, "an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both" (p. 812). Satellite television from Turkey enables Turkish-Australians to gain mobility between diverse cultural spaces by connecting them with Turkey.

Transnational media, for younger generations of Turks in Australia has been influential in helping them forge transnational and transcultural spaces to replace a diasporic consciousness, dissolving the myth of an idealised homeland that exists somewhere in the past, and replacing it with real-time, real-space interconnectedness. A young respondent, Gözde, when explaining her own experience with Turkish satellite television, notes:

*I lived in Turkey until I was 12, so I think I pretty much digested Turkish culture before I came here. I have only gone back to Turkey once since my arrival in Australia. I have kept in touch with my cousins through SMS messages and the internet recently. Receiving Turkish television here has definitely been fantastic. ...I mean it's like I can't go there so I look for things I can bring here, well, television brings the whole of Turkey here or it takes me there... you know tune into one of the channels and it's like you're there. (Gözde, age 22)*

A striking point in Gözde's feeling that she is being transported from one place to another and the way she feels satellite television from Turkey transports 'there' to 'here'. This is one among many examples of how transnational media enable and mobilise younger viewers across diverse cultural spheres on a virtual level. In turn, this virtual mobility opens new avenues to these young people for the formulation, reformulation and negotiation of new cultures and identities. As Steven Vertovec (2001) notes, "transnational connections affect migrants as never before with regard to practices of constructing, maintaining and negotiating collective identities. This has significant a bearing on the culture and identity of the so-called second generation, or children born to migrants" (p. 575).

Through their consumption of satellite television from Turkey and through their engagement with the cultural material it transmits, Turkish-Australians are becoming architects of new transcultural spaces. No medium preceding satellite television has been as influential in encouraging Turkish-Australians to forge new mental spaces for themselves. The consumption of satellite television channels from Turkey has influenced and promoted new ways of being, new connections and disconnections, and new imaginaries and forms of migrancy among Turkish Australians.

Transnational media offer alternative discourses of disengagement from essentialist understandings of singular and holistic identifications, through the opening of new sites for the diasporic subject to forge transcultural spaces which build on diverse hybridities. In this sense, transnational media consumption produces transcultural spaces that are negotiated and experienced in everyday life and where immediate and mediated experience meet in local, national and transnational spaces. By employing current global communication and transportation technologies, Turkish migrants in Australia are engaging in a constant struggle to formulate and reformulate a diasporic consciousness of their own. It is through these struggles that a transcultural, transnational formation emerges. As Castles and Miller (2003) suggest, this tension

between the local and the global “can lead to the emergence of countercultures and political radicalization” (p. 33). In a sense, this process of transculturalisation which evolves outside the traditional boundaries of the codes of production of the nation-state can be understood as a critique or disordering of the national culture of both the host and home nations.

Turkish-Australians can only be understood with the acknowledgement of the productivity and the ingenuity of the spaces they produce and exist in. They are neither Turk nor Australian, neither traditional nor global, they live neither in Turkish nor in English but in and between the two. With the availability of television from Turkey their shifts between diverse cultural spaces have become multiplied. Just as the Turkish population in Australia is not homogeneous, neither is the content of Turkish media that reaches these viewers. In this respect, satellite television from Turkey has made Islamic, cultural, lingual, ethnic, national, global, diasporic and transnational sites of identification simultaneously available to members of the Turkish-Australian diaspora. This development has contributed significantly to the forging of transcultural subjects who select from these possibilities to produce and inhabit [sub]cultures of their own. Their migratory experience is a constant disordering of pre-established configurations of identity, a productive disordering which opens up new avenues for new identity projects.

The Turkish-Australians have lived as a diaspora for decades until only recently when contemporary communication networks – supported through satellite dishes – have enriched their connections with the homeland in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Until very recently, it was possible to speak of a severe rupture for Turkish-Australians between Turkey and Australia due to the spatial distance between two countries, the economic shortcomings of the migrants and the lack of cultural flows between two spaces. This has forged a Turkish diaspora in Australia where the displaced did not have rich connections with the homeland and constantly kept alive an idealised image of the ideal homeland, yearning to return it.

The accessibility of Turkish transnational media via satellite has changed this condition for many Turkish-Australians. The consumption of satellite television from Turkey has enabled Turks in Australia to negotiate the distance between the homeland and the host-land. It has made it possible for these people to forge new connections with Turkey and to exist in both spaces, at least metaphorically. Satellite television consumption from Turkey has contributed to a transition among most of these people from being a diaspora to being transnationals or, to put it another way, to a transformation of the relationship between the diaspora and the homeland from passive to active. This does not mean that the links between the diaspora and the homeland are forging experiences of Turkishness in the diaspora that can be collapsed with the experiences of Turkishness in Turkey. Rather, transnational media from Turkey is contributing significantly to the imagining and experiencing of multiple *detrterritorialised* Turkeys and Turkishness’ within the context of diaspora. These experiences of multiple detrterritorialised identities feed, all at once, on modern, postmodern and global ideas about time, space, rationality, nationalism, capitalism, consumerism, sexuality, and family. The outcome of this ideological competition has mainly resulted in the fostering of hybrid identifications.

The argument here suggests that these hybrid identifications that transcend national references need to be conceptualised as desirable formations. It is through these redescriptions of ‘selves’ and ‘others’ that social change can be achieved in a cultural politics of identity. Therefore, the emphasis has been that the message of transnational media – that provides the resources for these identity politics - is one of productive disordering rather than conflict or threat.

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