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**"You may exile the journalist, but you can not exile journalism": A case study of exiled
journalists from Turkey living in Sweden**

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ABSTRACT

Turkey, the country of failed and "successful" military coups, experienced the latest coup attempt on July 15, 2016, in which it is still unclear how, why, and by whom it originated. However, after this critical event, Turkish media and critical journalists were subjected to very strict censorship and repression. Hundreds of journalists were arrested for their views, and many had to flee the country to escape the crackdown on free media and freedom of expression in general.

This paper presents a case study of Turkish and Kurdish journalists in exile who fled to Sweden after the July 15, 2016 coup attempt. The aim of this research is to explore concepts such as exile journalism, censorship, freedom of expression, diaspora and diasporic ambivalences in this particular case. In order to understand the reasons for these journalists' exile, their migration stories and their backgrounds, this study used media ethnographic methods in combination with ten qualitative interviews.

This study shows that the failed coup of July 15, 2016 was a turning point that transformed Turkey into a more complicated and authoritarian 'democracy' that resulted in the media being 'not free' and many journalists going into exile and many others being imprisoned. As we have seen in this case, many journalists who ended up in exile in Sweden were able to find different ways to do journalism in exile because they felt obligated to be free and to have resources to inform their audiences in the diaspora and in their home country. This study also explored that many of these journalists experience diasporic ambivalences due to their fragile political identities and positioning vis-à-vis their homeland, which also affect their daily lives in Sweden.

Keywords: exile journalism, diaspora, diasporic ambivalences, identity, freedom of expression, censorship

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"I have been accused of innumerable slanders up to now. But the most absurd is that I have been given 3 life sentences plus 15 years in prison for. For what? For an article I wrote about democracy. Then I ended up in exile. And why? Because I did what journalists do: I wrote."
Mahmut D. (Stockholm)

"I will tell you a story of which I am still a little proud, but which is actually very tragicomic. I am the first journalist to report on the military coup on the night of July 15. After writing this news on the newspaper's website, I pressed 'enter', lit a cigarette and thought: "This is like writing your own death sentence, and it kind of was, maybe even worse." Emre A. (Stockholm)

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile." (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 9)

INTRODUCTION

On July 15, 2016, Turkey experienced a coup attempt, a fake coup, a failed coup, or a failed coup attempt as it is defined in many different ways as it is still a 'mystery' how and why it happened (Aydın, 2020). It was not the first time that a coup took place in Turkey, as the country had already experienced four other coups in the history of the Turkish Republic. However, after July 15, Turkey underwent major dramatic changes toward authoritarianism that affected almost all sectors of the country, from academia to the press (Erdem, 2018). According to the Reporters Without Borders (Reporters Sans Frontières-RSF) World Press Freedom Index 2023, Turkey ranked 165th out of 180 countries, and more than 200 journalists were arrested for their opposition views after the failed coup (RSF, 2023). Trials are underway in Turkey against opposition journalists, activists, and philanthropists who are being punished by the state for their political views, and the country is 'not free' according to Freedom House, with a score of 32/100 (Freedom House, 2022).

In addition, following the failed coup at least 167 journalists are wanted by Turkey because they fled Turkey to different countries after the coup and are now living in exile (Stockholm Center for Freedom, 2021). Most of them fled Turkey with very little money, left their whole lives behind and became political asylum seekers where they do not even speak the language as people who earn their living with words (Yıldız, 2018). Some of these journalists continue their lives in Sweden and have colleagues who have been sentenced to life imprisonment or decades in prison for their critical journalistic activities against the government. Some of these journalists from Turkey pursue journalism in Sweden in different ways and on multiple platforms, and there are also those who have had to give up journalism for various reasons.

This paper presents a case study of exiled journalists from Turkey who came to Sweden after the coup attempt on July 15, 2016. The identity and background of these journalists, their daily life in Sweden, their emotional and professional connection with Turkey were studied and analyzed using media ethnography. This work is a combination of real life experiences of exiled journalists, who were the informants of this research, and the relevant literature. Therefore, it

was designed as an ethnographic study enriched by semi-structured interviews and diaries, as this was the most appropriate method for this research.

Aims and research questions

First and foremost, this research aims to understand why the journalists went into exile to Sweden in order to understand the main reasons that led them to flee Turkey. For this reason, this case study will discuss the concepts of freedom of expression, repression in the media, and censorship. In addition, their migration histories will be examined in more detail. Therefore, the history of migration from Turkey to Sweden and the position of these journalists within the Turkish diaspora will be analyzed first by unpacking the complexities of the concepts of 'diaspora,' 'diasporic ambivalences,' and 'everyday life' of an exile.

Finally, the concepts of 'exile journalism' and 'diaspora advocacy journalism' are discussed in order to understand the motivations of those who pursue journalism in their native language in Swedish exile and to understand those who no longer pursue journalism.

In this context, the following research questions need to be answered;

- 1) Why were journalists exiled from Turkey after the failed coup of July 15, 2016, and what is their migration story?
- 2) How do these journalists identify themselves and how does their exile affect their personal and professional lives in Sweden?
- 3) How and why do these exiled journalists from Turkey create Turkish media content in Sweden? What are the motivations behind this?

By answering these research questions, this paper aims to contribute to the literature dealing with concepts such as exile journalism and complexity of exile identity within already existing diasporas by telling their migration story and beyond.

This thesis examines a case of people who used to or who still make their living from media from a non-media perspective. This means that this research does not look at the informants from only one point of view because it aims to get a more humanistic approach to their situation, rather than just looking at their media production process or a platform they use or a media company they work for. It is aware of their very complex identities as journalists, first, as people who are media producers and play a role in society because they have an audience that reads and watches them. Second, these people are also political refugees who have been exiled from Turkey because of their journalistic activities that oppose the views of the Turkish government, which means that they are a vulnerable group in addition to their strong position in society.

With this approach, this research aims to provide a way to understand the complexity and ambivalence of this situation and how they influence each other through this case study. Therefore, it will present the human aspect of their media production process in exile and the impact of their identity on media content creation. Overall, I believe that all of these elements make this research and its contributions to the literature important.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this study is to further explore the concepts of exile journalism, diaspora-identity conflicts and ambivalences through interviews with journalists in exile who fled Turkey for Sweden after the 2016 July coup attempt. To do so, before diving into the literature review it is crucial to understand the historical context that led these journalists to flee Turkey, which includes the era of the Justice and Development Party (in Turkish, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP). This contextual background will talk about the identities and groups that were targeted by the AKP and Erdoğan as the Turkish government became increasingly authoritarian, oppressive and implemented various types of censorship in the media that made Turkey an unsafe environment to practice journalism. This section will conclude hopefully with an understanding of how the failed coup in Turkey occurred in July 2016 and the stones that paved the way for the coup, which caused journalists to flee Turkey.

The section explaining the key concepts of this study will begin with the history of migration from Turkey to Sweden and how the reasons and profiles of immigrants from Turkey have changed until today (Baser and Levin, 2017). It will focus on highly skilled migrants from Turkey in Western countries (Yanasmayan, 2016) as the subject of this thesis falls into this category, with the differences that they are exiles. This part will touch upon the topic of highly skilled migrants who migrated from Turkey to Western countries in order to shed light on the reasons why educated people do not want to stay in Turkey, whether they are forced to do so or it is a choice and what are the factors that play a role in this (Yanasmayan, 2016).

After this section, the literature on the concepts of freedom of the press, censorship, and oppression of the media will be mentioned to understand the reasons that led these journalists to flee Turkey and discussed further in the analysis section. Finally, the literature review discusses the concepts of exile journalism and diaspora advocacy journalism, and diaspora identity conflicts to better understand and examine the lives of exiled journalists in Sweden, and how this thesis contributes to the existing literature.

1) Contextual Background

AKP: The Longest Era of the Turkish Republic

Since its foundation in 2001, the AKP, a political party with an Islamic background but also with neoliberal viewpoints, has won five parliamentary elections and has come to power alone in Turkey (Erkoc, 2019). This is a very spectacular achievement in a country like Turkey, which has been governed mostly by center-right parties since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and none of the political parties could match this success of the AKP (Öniş, 2015). Therefore, the AKP is now referred to as the "hegemonic party" to emphasize its power and absolute hegemony in the history of the Turkish political system and democracy (Öniş, 2015;

Gumuscu, 2013). During this long and different period compared to the past decades of the Republic, there have been many turning points for this "hegemonic party" itself and its founder Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, but more importantly for the country and Turkey's different identities.

One of these turning points was in 2008, when the AKP faced very serious threats, such as the demand of the Supreme Court's Chief Prosecutor to close down the AKP for its actions against the secular structure of the Turkish Republic (DW, 2008). After this hearing, the Constitutional Court decided not to close the AKP, but it was fined very heavily for its anti-secular actions (The Economist, 2009). After this court decision, Erdoğan became much more aggressive and defensive, which was the beginning of an era in which we see him as a leader who does not hesitate to take action to protect his position and his party if he is even slightly criticized in the media (Bilefsky and Arsu, 2012). This is crucial because Erdoğan described himself as a defender of freedom of expression and liberty when he first came to power, as he himself had the experience of serving 10 months in prison because of the lawsuit filed by the prosecution of the Diyarbakır State Security Court (Milliyet, 1998). The reason given was that he recited a poem in public that was considered "incitement to hatred and enmity through discrimination of class, race, religion, sect or region" (ibid.). However, Erdoğan responded to this trial as something he needed to take revenge and show his power and authority. After this turning point, people who opposed Erdoğan and the AKP in any way because of their political views, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. began to experience increasing repression from the state (Öniş, 2015).

This oppression by the AKP government, and in particular by then-Prime Minister Erdoğan, became visible when he began to control the media with a 'systematic campaign' (Yanardağoğlu, 2014). In 2009, he began to publicly label certain media organizations that did not support the AKP government and its political views, such as Doğan Medya, as media that people should not follow and read (ibid.). On February 26, 2010, Erdoğan gave another open speech to media owners in which he said that:

"I call out to the heads of these newspapers! You cannot say, 'What can I do, I cannot control my columnist.' You have to warn these journalists, because you are responsible." (Bianet, 2010).

Erdoğan then increased pressure on these media outlets and began imposing heavy fines in response to their anti-AKP and Erdoğan content (Bianet, 2010). In 2010, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) conducted an investigation into mainstream media in Turkey (Mahoney, 2011). According to this report, "Erdoğan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) have resorted to nationalist tactics over the past four years, using vague libel laws and sweeping anti-terror laws to rein in not only traditional targets such as leftist and Kurdish journalists, but also government critics in the mainstream media" (ibid.). This report was one of the first warning signs for press freedom and the freedom of journalists who do not support the AKP and express criticism of the government and Erdoğan.

Identities targeted during the AKP and Erdoğan era

In 2011, the language and attitude of the AKP and Erdoğan toward the media and opposition journalists became even more open and threatening with the ongoing Balyoz and Ergenekon trials, which are involving allegations that the military had planned a coup to overthrow the AKP government and Erdoğan (Yanardağoğlu, 2013). As a result of these accusations, many journalists were arrested and the media became more restricted by the media owners, who feared being accused by the government for their actions.

During this time, the picture began to change into black and white: Journalists and media who supported Erdoğan were rewarded, and those who opposed him were punished (Över, 2021). Once again, the AKP has shown that it is a 'hegemonic party' that seeks to absolutely dominate the discourse on events that go against its authority. In order to strengthen its position and power in this regard, certain identities such as Kurds, Armenians, LGBTQIA+ members, secularists, leftists, and in short any ethnic, social or political group that does not support the AKP are labeled as 'enemies of the nation' or even 'terrorists' to justify all these punishments (ibid.). And since journalists from these groups in particular are the ones who openly express their opinions about the situations, they were one of Erdoğan's first targets on his path to become an increasingly autocratic leader (ibid.).

Gezi Park Protest and Increasing Censorship in the Turkish Media

While the situation for press freedom and democracy in Turkey was becoming increasingly worrying, Turkey experienced an event that was one of the turning points of the last decade: the Gezi Park protests, which later developed into the 'Gezi Park Movement' (Amnesty International, 2013). The Gezi Park protests began as an environmental protest in late May 2013 in İstanbul's Gezi Park in Taksim district in response to the government's plan to turn Taksim Square into a complex of luxury buildings and a shopping mall, by destroying one of the last park in the district, and redesign Taksim Square (ibid.). Then the protests became a movement and spread to all 81 cities in Turkey, involving more than 7 million people by mid-June 2013 as a response to increasingly authoritarian government policies (ibid.).

The government reacted very harshly to the Gezi Park protests, using police violence against the demonstrators and eventually breaking up the protests by force (Özerdem and Whiting, 2020, p.1). There was also another reaction in the media that Erdoğan and his supporters did not hesitate to use violence against the protesters and even against people who sympathized with the protesters. During and after the Gezi protests, Erdoğan and his supporters directly targeted the protesters by using words such as 'looters' and 'marginalized people' (Turkish: *çapulcu ve marjinaler*) who act against the law, 'terrorists' , 'agents' , and 'enemies of the nation' (Cumhuriyet, 2014). Then he addressed all the groups and individuals who supported Gezi: "Behind these events are extremists (addressing a pro-Kurdish opposition party, People's Democratic Party - HDP) and the mentality of the Republican People's Party (CHP - the main opposition party in Turkey). They are helpless and pathetic. They will pay the price of the things that they did." (ibid.).

Erdoğan's tone toward people and media who do not support him became louder and louder, and the price of being an opponent became even more expensive after this period. During and after the Gezi Park protests, the Turkish media became even more afraid of Erdoğan, which manifested itself in self-censorship, and the term 'Mr. Erdoğan would be an angry journalist' was used as an expression of this fear (Över, 2021). Despite the fact that there was suppression and

massive anger from Erdoğan in the media, there was also a high level of backlash from the independent media and people who joined and supported the protests (ibid.)

However, the media, already afraid of the consequences they might get as punishment, or the media that are Erdoğan supporters, started to blame the protesters by spreading provocative news about them in order to divert people's attention from the real starting point of the protest (Över, 2021).

17-25 December Corruption investigations and oppressive measures by the Turkish government against the media

Following the Gezi Park protests that had already rocked the country, a new crisis erupted from December 17-25, 2013, when extensive corruption allegations and investigations against four cabinet ministers, their family members, and their inner circle became public. The AKP government considered this scandal a conspiracy against them and declared all police officers, prosecutors, judges, lawyers, and also media organs and journalists that covered the corruption stories as 'traitors to be immediately punished' (Özbudun, 2015).

It is believed that this scandal was uncovered by a prosecutor and police associated with the 'Gülen movement.' Inspired by Muslim cleric Fethullah Gülen, the Gülen Movement was an active religious community that played an important role in the AKP era with its numerous followers in many fields such as media, business, government institutions, etc. (Özbudun, 2015). In the first decade of AKP, the Gülen movement had good relations with the government. However, after 2012, conflicts arose between them as the AKP government became more authoritarian. After the December 17-25, 2013 corruption investigations, Erdoğan began targeting supporters of the Gülen movement and their businesses, including their media outlets. Erdoğan insulted the movement's supporters with discriminatory and unusually strong terms such as 'spies,' 'secret agents,' 'subcontractors of foreign powers,' 'traitors to the country,' 'gang members,' etc. (Özbudun, 2015). Moreover, Erdoğan said several times in his speeches that he

would 'destroy' the movement and all those associated with it. He even stated, 'If this is called a witch hunt, then we will carry out this witch hunt' (Hürriyet, 2014).

After these statements, Erdoğan began to put his words into action; he started a 'witch hunt' against the Gülen movement followers and made it another enemy among Kurds, Armenians, LGBTQIA+ members, secularists, and leftists, whom he already considered a threat to his power. Following the investigation scandals, he increased his pressure on critical media outlets and journalists who fall into one of these identities.

After Turkey's administrative system changed from a parliamentary to a presidential system, Erdoğan became the first elected president of the Turkish Republic in August 2014, prompting him to increasingly suppress these identities, as he has stated on several occasions (Taş, 2015).

Following his presidency, Erdoğan ordered 'harsh punishments' for the media outlets that are associated with the Gülen movement. On December 14, 2014, police raided the headquarters of the pro-Gülen daily Zaman and Samanyolu TV on charges of establishing an "armed organization" (Article 314 of the Turkish Penal Code). Several journalists were arrested that day and some were later imprisoned, including the head of Samanyolu TV Hidayet Karaca, who was sentenced to life in prison. (Stockholm Center for Freedom, 2018).

In October 2015, the Erdoğan government appointed trustees to run Bugün daily, a critical newspaper associated with the Gülen movement, and fired the previous journalists from the newspaper (Independent, 2015). Following this crackdown on Bugün, trustees appointed by Erdoğan took over many pro-Kurdish and critical newspapers, and eventually the pro-Gülen Zaman, Turkey's largest circulation newspaper, was also taken over by trustees to silence critical media (HRW, 2016).

As a result of this dramatic suppression of the media, many journalists were arrested, many lost their jobs, and some were already starting to leave Turkey as it became very difficult to practice their job as critical journalists.

July 15, 2016 Failed coup and a crackdown on free media in Turkey

On July 15, 2016, Turkey experienced a coup attempt, a fake coup, a failed coup, or a failed coup attempt as it is defined in many different ways as it is still a mystery how and why it happened (Aydin, 2020). Three years after the Gezi Park protests and the December 17-25 corruption scandals, Erdoğan experienced the strongest challenge to his authority with this coup attempt (Özerdem and Whiting, 2020, p.1). This time, surprisingly, Erdoğan's main enemy and the 'enemy of the nation' was not secularists, Kurds, or other minority groups, but an Islamist movement, the Gülen movement. Erdoğan blamed this group for the coup, and started to use the term 'FETÖ' (Fethullahist Terrorist Organization) claiming that it had 'leaked' to the army over the years and organized a military coup to overthrow Erdoğan government (Aydin, 2020) which Gülen and the movement repetitively and strongly deny the allegations or any a terrorist activity (Stockholm Center for Freedom, 2021).

After this very critical turning point, Turkey experienced a dramatic shift toward even greater authoritarianism that affected almost all areas of the country, from academia to the press, from the economy to international relations (Erdem, 2018). This was because Erdoğan used this 'threat' as a perfect opportunity to consolidate his power in every single area and unit of Turkey, as he said in one of his speeches referring to the coup attempt, 'It was a gift from the God' (Bloomberg, 2016).

Immediately after the coup, Erdoğan' government declared a state of emergency, having seized all power after the presidential elections, which allowed him to test his power in all areas in which he wanted to intervene (Özerdem and Whiting, 2020, p.2). After the first state of emergency, he extended it seven times after July 15 until he was sure he had transformed everything the way he wanted: the universities, the military, the legal system, every public and private sector, and the media, etc. (ibid.).

After the coup attempt, the government imposed a state of emergency and began an 'anti-coup campaign' against the opposition, starting with the media and state institutions. According to the data from Stockholm Center for Freedom, more than 130,000 state employees, including 4,156 judges and prosecutors and 24,706 members of the armed forces, were dismissed by emergency

decree for alleged membership in or ties to "terrorist organizations" (Stockholm Center for Freedom, 2023). In addition to these numbers, thousands have been imprisoned, including more than 200 journalists, and a number of other supporters of the Gülen movement have been forced to flee Turkey, as have thousands of other critics of the government, to escape the hostile atmosphere that left no other option (ibid.)

In the analysis section, this thesis will further contribute to the literature with the help of the interviews that were conducted with the journalists who had to flee Turkey to escape the government's crackdown on the opposition after July 15, 2016, and started a new life in Sweden. For this reason, their extensive explanations on the event of July 15, 2016 happened and how the response they received afterwards by the government will be further understood.

2) Key Concepts:

In order to understand why those journalists, who are highly educated critical people, chose to migrate to Sweden from Turkey, it is important to understand the history of migration from Turkey to Sweden and to see the pattern between the past and the last migration wave.

Freedom of Expression and Media Censorship as Concepts

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

-Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -

Freedom of expression is one of the most important elements of democracies based on the rule of law and is protected by Article 19 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 2023). The term means, in its broadest sense, that everyone has the right to seek, receive,

and impart information, thoughts, opinions, or beliefs without fear or challenge from anyone or any authority (COE, 2023).

Freedom of the media, which is a very important aspect and form of freedom of expression, is crucial for the protection of other human rights (COE, 2023). "Instances of torture, discrimination, corruption or misuse of power many times have come to light because of the work of investigative journalists. Making the facts known to the public is often the first, essential step to start redressing human rights violations and hold governments accountable" (COE, 2023).

Therefore, free media are the guarantor of the continuation of democracies and the participation of citizens in democratic processes (PACE, 2015). Curran (2008) also explains the importance of free media as a power that can improve democracies, while a lack of free media can have the opposite effect (Curran, 2008). In addition, Belsey and Chadwick (2002) argue that the media and journalists should act as checks and balances on governments in order for democracies to function, so they must be free and not subject to censorship (Chadwick, 2002).

Cansen (2017) explains censorship as the restriction of the ideas, expression, or work of an individual or group of individuals by certain institutions, individuals, or organizations (Cansen, 2017). For journalists, censorship has a more serious meaning, which is to restrict or even block the core idea of journalism: freedom of expression (ibid.) Censorship and repression of journalists have always existed in Turkey, but it became widely visible after 2013. According to Reporters Without Borders (RSF), Turkey experienced a dramatic decline in press freedom after the Gezi Park protests in 2013, and the press went from 'partly free' to 'not free' (RSF, 2023). As explained in the background section, censorship became the most visible reality of Turkish media after the protests, as most media owners pursued the kind of journalism that would "not make Mr. Erdoğan angry" (Över, 2021). This repression by the state and Erdoğan himself led some journalists to self-censor in order to protect themselves from potentially losing their jobs or even their lives (Cansen, 2017).

In the case of this research, this censorship, repression, and subsequent life threats to themselves and even to their families of the critical journalists are further explained as the reasons that led

them to Swedish exile. In order to see the consequences of these repressive actions of the Turkish government and similar government models in the world, the analysis section will make a comprehensive investigation based on the interviews with the exiled journalists.

Migration From Turkey to Sweden

This section will look at the history of migration from Turkey to Sweden and how the pattern of it has changed over time in order to understand the position of the subjects of this thesis and answer research questions about their lives in Sweden.

Migration from Turkey to Sweden began in the 1960s when Sweden needed workers from abroad to address its economic downturn (Baser and Levin 2017, p.3). These people were mostly uneducated Anatolians from Kulu and Cihanbeyli (small towns in central Turkey) who came to Sweden to work (ibid.). After the Turkish military invasion in 1971 and the military coup in Turkey in 1980, many people from Turkey (mainly Kurds and Assyrian Christians, but also ethnic Turks) sought asylum in Sweden for political reasons (ibid.).

The image of immigrants from Turkey changed with the immigration flows of 1971 and 1980, as highly skilled and educated people such as journalists, writers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, businessmen, etc. migrated to Sweden due to political pressure (Baser and Levin 2017, p. 3,4). Bahar and Levin (2017) also point out that journalists from Turkey have since contributed to Swedish society and the integration of the Turkish community living in Sweden through various media outlets, TV and radio programs, and various associations. Just as the earlier journalists who immigrated to Sweden contributed to society through their work and media, the newly arrived journalists have also done so since July 2016, but in different ways, as we will explore in the analysis section.

Migration from Turkey to Sweden has continued since the 1980s for various reasons. For example, family reunification, business or work-related emigration, and political pressure due to various political events. However, until 2016, there were no significant immigration flows from

Turkey to Sweden. According to the Swedish Statistical Database (SCB), more than 10,000 people immigrated to Sweden from Turkey after the failed coup in 2016 (SCB, 2023). This number is considered very high compared to recent years (ibid.). It is currently difficult to determine the exact numbers, as most information about these asylum seekers is confidential.

However, it is believed that most of these people are highly educated and politically active individuals such as academics and journalists who have had some kind of problems with the current AKP government in Turkey (Ahval, 2018). Yanasmayan (2016) talks about these highly educated migrants from Turkey as people who position themselves 'differently' than the previous Turkish migrants. She argues that these highly educated migrants are different from the earlier migrants because of their secularism, education and as they did not have to move to another country for the same reasons as the earlier migrants (Yanasmayan, 2016). The motivation of highly educated migrants to live abroad is usually because they believe they will have more opportunities, higher salaries, and a better standard of living there, which leads them to 'reposition themselves' as migrants (ibid.). These people usually do not assign themselves to the same diaspora community, even if they share the same ethnic or religious background (ibid.). Yanasmayan (2016) explains this reason by saying that highly educated 'new migrants' simply see themselves as more educated, secular, easily adaptable to Western values and lifestyle, and people who do not necessarily adhere to Turkey's cultural norms like the previous migrants.

In the existing literature, there is insufficient research on the position of highly educated but exiled people. This paper discusses the positioning of exiled journalists who are also highly educated migrants in Sweden and attempts to explain the ambivalences they experienced within the pre-existing diaspora.

Diaspora and diasporic ambivalences

Describing the term 'diaspora' is a difficult task because there is no universal definition of the term itself (Cheran, 2004, p.3). On the other hand, there are many terms to describe someone who moves from their home country to another country, depending on the reason and motivation

of the move, such as immigrant, refugee, or expat. And the concept of 'diaspora' is considered as a combination of all those groups and individuals who belong in some way to the same ethnic group in a host country (Lyons and Mandaville 2010, p. 126).

According to this attempted explanation, the term "diaspora" can be very general and it may include many diverse groups within one category. However, the focus is on the assumption that diaspora communities, regardless of their reason for migration, are somehow connected to each other in the host country through their home country. Baser (2016) argues that a diaspora is a multi-layered group of people composed of different subgroups that may have different and complicated approaches to their home and host countries depending on their background and personal interests (Baser, 2016, p.21). Furthermore, diasporas are continuously constructed and (re)constructed, their positioning and perceptions are situational in relation to events in both the home and host countries (ibid.). diaspora identities are not only hybrid entities, but are also "constantly in flux" (Lyons and Mandaville 2010, p. 137). Therefore, diaspora communities should not be overgeneralized when it comes to their goals and interests (Baser, 2016, p. 21), and it should also be taken into account that depending on their positioning, their perceptions of their home and host countries may be contradictory.

According to Stuart Hall, diasporic identities emerge as a result of perspectives on the homeland, the cause of migration, tensions, and relationships in the country of immigration (Hall, 1990). In this thesis, it is proposed to examine the diasporic identities of exile groups, especially exiled journalists, in order to understand the complexity of their positioning within the pre-existing diasporic communities of Turkey in Sweden. This is discussed in the analysis section with the aim of highlighting a very specific group and its diasporic ambivalences. These ambivalences are discussed as a constantly changing and complicated positioning as they flee their country without their will. The people trying to build a new life in Sweden, with their very fragile and complex identities as journalists creating media content in Turkish, activists or former journalists who were public figures in Turkey, will also be explored.

Everyday life

The concept of everyday life is explored and discussed in this thesis in order to better explain the research questions related to understanding the everyday lives of exiles, more specifically exiled journalists in Sweden, and to explore the implications of their everyday lives, their sense of place in Sweden, their identities, and their journalistic activities in exile.

Everyday life is what we live in our daily life, where we live, where we interact with people, go to work or school, where we pass the familiar streets, where we go to the same coffee shop and more. According to Highmore's definition, where the 'unknown' becomes the 'familiar,' where the 'most revolutionary inventions' are blended into the 'everyday' with other words 'daily life' (Highmore, 2001, p.2). Thus, when we talk about the everyday, we can understand it as a secure, usually fixed and familiar habit that shapes people's identities and the events around them. However, depending on who and where we are talking about, trying to understand the everyday life of a person or a group of people can be very difficult, as it can contain many ambivalences.

Moore and Metykova (2019) talk about migrants and how moving to a new country leads them to compare their daily lives in their home and host countries (Moore and Metykova, 2009, p.314). This comparison can lead them to see themselves as strangers and clearly recognize things they did on a daily basis, in other words, things they took for granted (ibid.). Therefore, it is a great challenge for migrants to create a daily life in a place where they feel foreign for an indefinite period of time, but there are also ways to create a daily life that is somehow connected to their life back home.

In this case, Moore and Metykova (2019) also suggest that everyday media practices or place-making occupy a very important place in a migrant's life, and they explain it this way, "In the course of daily life, people may routinely inhabit media environments...as they simultaneously inhabit physical environments" (Moore and Metykova, 2009, p. 316).

Exile Journalism and Diaspora Advocacy Journalism

According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), journalism is one of the most visible and dangerous professions in the world, and every year dozens of journalists end up in exile

because they otherwise ' face imprisonment, torture, violence, or even death' (CPJ, 2021). Thus, the fact that journalists live in exile in many places around the world is not a new phenomenon.

Although there is academic literature on the term 'exile journalism,' it is not a topic that has been widely discussed in the media and journalism literature, although there are many reports by CPJ, RSF, and other independent media and press associations about exiled journalists and their motivations for continuing to live in the countries where they currently live.

The transition from traditional way of performing journalism to 'web journalism' as a result of changes in the technologies, financial, social and political conditions and many more (Dahlgren 2013, p.109). This allowed more people, including exiles to practice journalism without needing a media outlet. And some of the existing literature talks about journalism by exiled journalists under the term 'diaspora advocacy journalism,' which Arafat (2021) proposed the following definition: "The purposeful involvement of exiles in transnational news gathering and production, introducing new forms of collaboration/networking with people, civil society actors, and human rights defenders from the home and host countries to promote underrepresented voices and mobilize democratic political reformation and/or social change" (Arafat, 2021).

Arafat focuses on Syrian diaspora journalists and their engagement in advocacy work through digital networks, explaining the complicated combination of activism, human rights advocacy, social movements, and civil society work under journalism that these journalists have created in their host countries (Arafat, 2021). She argues that journalists in exile do journalism in a way that is outside of traditional journalism, which also presents a lot of challenges (ibid.).

"Their tasks go beyond gathering and publishing news to include petitioning, creating transnational solidarity, collaborating with civil society organizations, and carrying out various institutional works." (Arafat, 2021)

Skjerdal (2011) also talks about 'networked communication environments' which are bringing journalists from the same point of view together in diaspora in order to practice journalism and advocacy work that is critical against their home-country governments (Skjerdal, 2011)

According to Arafat (2021), journalists in exile who practice journalism in their host countries, where they feel less pressure and have access to various international sources, describe their

motivation as a 'responsibility' to tell the truth to people in their home countries who do not have access to objective information or sources (Arafat, 2021). This also applies to journalists from Turkey who are in exile that produce news and content for Turkish audiences in their host countries.

In a study conducted by Sariaslan (2020) on the way Turkish and Kurdish journalists in exile do journalism in Germany, she found that their informants see themselves as 'activists' and 'resisters from afar' by using various technological means to inform the public (Sariaslan, 2020).

According to Sariaslan, the transformation of journalism through new digital technologies enabled exiled and migrant journalists to do their work in their native language from a distance (ibid.). However, she also pointed out the difficulties of practicing journalism as a profession in Turkish in Germany, as the platforms that can support them provide limited support and journalists feel distanced from journalism while practicing it far away from their home country, always imagining the day when they will return (ibid.).

Therefore, I would further suggest that due to their complicated identity as exiled journalists, they see this profession primarily as a way of activism, but also as a coping mechanism in the limbo in which they live, which will be further discussed in the analysis section of this thesis.

METHODOLOGY

This research was designed as a qualitative case study (Bazeley, 2013, p.4) to understand the concepts of exile journalism, diaspora, and identity in the case of journalists from Turkey who live in exile in Sweden. Qualitative research provides the researcher with access because it "observes, describes, interprets, and analyzes the way people experience, act, and think about themselves and the world around them" (ibid.). Moreover, a qualitative approach helps researchers better analyze and understand the complexity of the human condition (ibid.). Therefore, it provided me, as the researcher, with the opportunity to get to know the informants individually and establish a human connection in order to answer the research questions about the case itself and create 'concrete, contextual knowledge' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 72).

Standpoint Theory

At each step of this case study, the researcher followed Sandra Harding's 'standpoint theory' approach. Harding argues that standpoint theory "identifies, explains, and transforms the conceptual and material practices of power of dominant social institutions, including research disciplines, in ways that benefit those least favored by those institutions" (Harding 2008, p.225). Therefore, standpoint theory fits this thesis because the main subject of the study is displaced journalists who are in the diaspora for political reasons, people who have left much behind because they excelled at what they had to say or do as journalists.

I believe that keeping standpoint theory as the main framework allows this study to look at the case more comprehensively because it provides a bottom-up view, as Harding suggests with this theory.

Case study

A case study is a 'detailed examination of a single example' that may also provide reliable information in a broader sense (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 66). This case study is an "extreme/deviant case," which means "obtaining information about unusual cases that may be particularly problematic or particularly good in a more defined sense." Flyvbjerg, (2001, p.79).

According to this explanation, selecting a case about a politically vulnerable group of people as a case can be considered problematic and difficult. Nevertheless, this "extreme/diverse case" is equally important because it hopefully gives the reader a broader understanding of many issues and is also important in its own right. However, it is important to remember that focusing on a specific case does not mean that we can generalize that case and assume that every issue in the context of this study leads to the same conclusions (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.74).

Using this 'extreme case' and previous literature, this study aims to contribute to the production of 'concrete, contextual knowledge' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 72) within the literature on the concepts in which this thesis is interested in investigating, such as migration stories of exile journalists and try to explain their ambivalence living in exile in different circumstances.

The Sample

The selection process of this research was an "information-driven selection" to "maximize the benefit of information from a small sample and a single case" because the number of informants is limited due to time and availability (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.79). The sample is limited to journalists from Turkey who were forced to leave Turkey or had to leave their country due to their political stance related to their activist actions or journalistic activities after July 15, 2016. This date is important because this thesis will examine journalists who were directly or indirectly affected by the last coup attempt, although there will also be a general background on the earlier political events that caused Turkish journalists to flee Sweden. All of the journalists I spent time with and interviewed have been granted asylum by the Swedish Migration Board. In total, I selected 10 people to meet and conduct this ethnographic study, which includes several methods.

I had the opportunity to spend time with 7 of these 10 individuals at their workplaces, homes, cafes, or libraries that they frequent, in Stockholm, Uppsala, Lund, and Malmö. I spent at least 4 hours with them, and I met with some of them for several days at different locations. I was able to meet with three informants (one of Gävle, two in Stockholm) online through Zoom because of their illnesses, but later they sent me their diaries, which included details about their daily lives, their jobs, and the things they like to do in the cities where they live. We also exchanged contact to stay in touch during the research process, and we exchanged emails, text messages, and several phone calls, and they sent me their diaries. In this way, I was able to get to know them and include them in the ethnographic research, even though we were unable to meet in person due to their illness. I specifically sought out these people to point out that although these people are considered 'criminals' in Turkey, their actions were all legal under international law.

In searching for the informants, I used the snowball method, previous contacts and chained relationships, as this was the most efficient way to find them. In this way, I was able to reach all of the informants, and we scheduled meeting days with the possibility of moving these meetings to online meetings depending on pandemic circumstances, as was the case with three of the informants.

The timeframe for these meetings was scheduled for the first three weeks in February, depending on the availability of the informants. To meet them, I went to their homes in Stockholm, Uppsala, Lund, and Malmö, as I wanted to observe their daily lives and activities and conduct expert interviews with them. During these meetings, I kept a research diary in which each informant has a chapter. I also took photographs without showing the informants' faces because I wanted to document this process as visually and vividly as possible. The informants have been anonymized for security reasons and are referred to by the false names provided by the researcher (see: Table 1)

Table 1: Informant Chart

	Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic Background	Reason for being exiled	Current Job	Content Production, if any
1	Emre A.	M	33	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Former Journalist- now Software Developer and Photographer	Apolitical writings on his blog, photography and art related content in his social media, in Turkish, English, Swedish
2	Tarık B.	M	56	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital

							media, in Turkish
3	Erdem C.	M	35	Turkish	Various socialist organizational trials	Doing various jobs, part time Journalist	Turkey-Kurdistan related content in digital media, in Turkish
4	Mahmut D.	M	53	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Academic, part time Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish and English
5	Baran E.	M	30	Kurdish	Various socialist organizational trials	Workman, part time journalist	Turkey-Kurdistan related content in digital media in Turkish
6	Adem F.	M	44	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish
7	Zeki G.	M	55	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish
8	Ali H.	M	38	Kurdish	Various socialist organizational trials	Teacher, part time journalist	Turkey-Kurdistan related content in digital media, in Turkish and English
9	Ata K.	M	66	Turkish	Trials regarding being opposition	Journalist and Researcher	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish

							and English
10	Bariş K.	M	29	Kurdish	Trials regarding being opposition	Student, former journalist	Apolitical writings on his blog, photography and art related content in his social media, in Turkish, English, Swedish

Non-Media Centric Approach

This study follows a non-media-centered approach to media and communication studies because it is a holistic approach that allows researchers to take a broader view rather than focusing only on the media (Krajina, Moores & Morley, 2014). This approach is highlighted by David Morley (2007) as it links media and communication studies with other disciplines and issues such as migration and mobility. "The goal of this approach is not to limit media studies to narrow media content, as this also prevents researchers from learning more about the subject itself" (Krajina, Moores & Morley 2014).

It may sound like taking something away from media studies, but on the contrary, one is "decentering" media to understand how media and everyday life are intertwined and to create a more holistic picture (Morley, 2007, p. 200). For this study, it is crucial to maintain the non-media-centered approach as various concepts such as identity, everyday life, diaspora, and personal migration experiences and life stories of the exiled journalists in Sweden, as well as their media production of content and their overall media use, are explored. Therefore, this study has benefited from this approach rather than limiting itself to a specific media-related platform and neglecting the rest of the crucial aspects that could contribute to media and communication studies.

Media Ethnography

This study was designed as a media ethnography that included semi-structured interviews, field notes, observations, and diaries. Media ethnography (Pertierra, 2018; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) is the main method used in this research, as this approach helped me establish relationships and provided me with a space to observe the case itself. Semi-structured interviews and diaries also allowed me to participate directly in the daily lives of my informants, creating a broader and more realistic observational setting for this research. As Pertierra (2018) suggests, a holistic approach to ethnography was taken throughout the research process.

The ethnographic methods used in this study contributed to taking a holistic approach, as ethnography allows for an open-ended exploration of the topic and a diverse and multi-layered engagement of informants in the fieldwork (Pertierra 2018, p. 111). However, taking a holistic approach does not mean exploring the topic on a very large scale, but rather trying to uncover the important details that lie within the specific examples and connecting them to the broader question (Pertierra 2018, p. 10). Moreover, this approach helps ethnographers to be more open to the unexpected aspects of the meaning-making process and "to the emergence of forms of connection and disconnection that were not expected at the beginning of the study." (Hine, 2015, p. 87).

During this research, it also helped me as a researcher to be more exploratory in understanding how informants' activities and daily lives made sense to them and how they engaged with them (Hine, 2015, p. 87). As Pertierra (2018) points out, this study benefited from fieldwork in which I, as a researcher, was able to meet people through media ethnographic methods, interviews, and chance meetings with the exiled journalists and learn directly about their daily lives, life stories, media-making, and multi-layered engagement in order to analyze this case in the most efficient way.

There are several reasons for choosing media ethnography for this case study. First, the research questions of this study aim to explore the identities, daily lives, and journalistic activities of a marginalized minority group in order to give them a voice and learn directly from them, as

mentioned earlier (Harding, 2008). It is important to take this approach to learn from informants and understand their multi-layered and complicated processes, and it is also important for ethnographers (Pertierra, 2018).

Therefore, this study is designed as a media ethnography because "it bears a strong resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of the world in everyday life" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.2). Second, most of this study was conducted 'in the (physical) field' where everything takes place without the intervention of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3.). For example, I asked my informants to invite me to places that were important to them, I followed them on walks in the cities where they lived, I met some of their friends and families in settings where I was only an observer, I met some of their children and pets in their homes where they went about their daily lives.

I did not follow my informants closely through their digital or social media accounts, nor did I build my research around digital ethnography, as I did not have room for it in this research and spent the majority of my data collection in the field and face-to-face with my informants. I also kept in contact with my informants via the internet as they sent me their diaries, pictures, and reflections via social media, text message, or email.

Self Reflection

When I started this research, one of the most exciting and challenging tasks for me was that I could personally reflect on this research because my position allows me to do so. I was born and raised in Turkey and never lived in another country until I moved to Sweden in 2016, with the exception of two short summer study programs in the United States. Back in Turkey, I studied Communication Studies and International Relations as part of my bachelor's degree, and at the same time I was on my way to becoming a researcher and journalist, even though I cannot call myself a journalist like my informants.

Then, in July 2016, things changed in a way that I, and I do not think anyone who has experienced something similar, can imagine. This date refers to the failed military coup in Turkey, which was a turning point for many people, like all of the informants in this study, and

for me as well. That summer, I came to Sweden as an Erasmus intern. Therefore, I planned to return to Turkey after finishing my internship and look for opportunities to continue my life in my country. But right after that, things got complicated and I could not return to Turkey because the political tensions caused by the failed coup affected my safety and freedom in Turkey. Then I found myself as an asylum seeker in the country I had come to as a short-term intern, a country I never wanted to stay in for more than two months. Since then I have been living in Sweden, and for the first four years of that I have been waiting for the Migrationsverket to make a decision on my case. Since June 2020, I have been a registered refugee, a student, a person with a four-digit number, and someone who cannot become a journalist, but most importantly, someone who must meet certain requirements to remain safe and 'registered.'

As mentioned earlier, although I do not call myself an exile journalist, my experiences were similar to those of my informants. They were all forced to emigrate to Sweden after July 15 for security and freedom reasons because they were opponents of the AKP government and Erdoğan, regardless of their political opinions. They all spent their whole lives in Turkey, except for some short programs and trips abroad, and none of them intended to live in Turkey unless they were forced to do so. After coming to Sweden, they all became asylum seekers and had to wait a long time for the decision of the Swedish Migration Board. In summary, the reasons for coming to Sweden from Turkey and experiencing life in Sweden as a refugee share many similarities with my informants, which greatly benefited this study, but also presented some limitations that I had to reflect on throughout the research.

All these personal and professional reasons made me feel very close to this case study, and the identification of the research problem gave me the opportunity to partially investigate what I was experiencing. These shared experiences also made it easier for me to reach out to them and convince them to participate in this study. They also introduced me to more people so that I could conduct this study in its current form.

On the other hand, this familiarity between me, my informants, and my background also led to some challenging and emotional moments during the research and also during the writing process. Emotions are an important part of this research because "emotions-which are naturally relational in nature-connect us as human beings and help us enter into the lives of others"

(Hammarlin 2019, p. 4). And in this research, I have entered into the lives of a very vulnerable group of people, learned a great deal from them, and listened to very dramatic stories.

At the same time, knowing that my background and theirs have similar patterns has meant that my emotions have been involved in this study. This situation may have created analytical difficulties for this study, but at the same time it created a meeting point for the 'object and the subject' where this complexity allowed me to come to the conclusions of this thesis that would not have been possible otherwise (Hammarlin 2019, p.11).

Another difficulty arose from the fact that I and my informants had some things in common. Some of the informants already had assumptions about me as a researcher simply because I came to Sweden around the same time as them, which led them to skip over some important points during our interviews because they assumed I already knew them. In fact, I was not familiar with some things, and I had to ask them some questions repeatedly. Knowing that I am Turkish, some of them insisted on knowing details about my political views, otherwise they would not have been willing to talk to me.

Finally, being exposed to many overwhelmingly sad stories similar to mine also triggered some anxiety that was sometimes difficult to manage, and I am aware that anxiety could be a limitation to the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.151). However, reflecting on feelings and analyzing these personal and emotional details during the research process also has great potential to contribute to public knowledge (ibid., 152). Therefore, I tried to be as reflective and objective as possible in order to properly understand the informants in this study and not make assumptions about them, although I had similar experiences anyway (Hine, 2015).

Interviews and participant observations

Conducting interviews is as much a part of ethnographer fieldwork as participating and observing (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 4). More broadly, I conducted a total of 10 semi-structured qualitative interviews, which were one of the most important elements of this ethnographic case study because they allowed me to fill the data gap I needed from my informants that I could not obtain through my observations or random conversations during the time we spent together

(Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 301). These semi-structured interviews helped me gain a deeper and broader understanding of sensitive topics through informants, as is the case in this study (ibid.). I also wanted to further explore the reflections, emotions, and thoughts of the informants that I could not capture through casual conversations or observations.

I do not directly consider these qualitative semi-structured interviews to be 'elite' or 'expert' interviews, although the informants in this research are all highly qualified professional journalists who formerly worked in very large media organizations and held important positions there. Elite interviews are the type of interviews "often used to study the practices and values of social and organizational elites" (Bruun, 2016, p. 131). Therefore, the interviews I conducted could be considered elite interviews in a sense, as they provided me with a form of expert knowledge that I needed for my research (Moyser and Wagstaffe, 1987, p.4). Moreover, they are 'irreplaceable' because they are the only people from whom I could learn specific details about a particular political event from the perspective of a very specific type of journalist (Bruun 2016, p.135). On the other hand, they are now a marginalized political minority who are in a vulnerable position because they live in exile, and this ethnographic research aims to give them a voice. This completely contradicts the core idea of elite interviews, as an elite does not need to 'give voice' (Ho, 2012, p. 36). Therefore, it is necessary to propose a different term for the interviews in this thesis.

I offer a different frame of reference for these encounters because they lost their position as elite and expert journalists in Turkey after their exile, as they were expelled after becoming 'political criminals' against whom countless trials were held. Some of them are still considered 'experts' by the public, but overall they have lost their formal and informal titles, privileges and positions that make them 'important figures' in Turkey, at least for a certain period of time that no one can predict until they can get their 'iade-i itibar' ('restore their honor'). Therefore, I propose the term 'displaced elite interviews'

During the interviews with the displaced elite, all informants were interviewed in their native language, Turkish, because it is important to allow informants to speak in their native language in their own voice about issues that directly affect them (Seale, 2012, p.209).

Before conducting the interviews with the displaced elite, I spent at least a few casual hours with the informants because during the ethnographic process in fieldwork, it is important to passively get to know the informants before the interview begins (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 116). This was done by walking around the city, having coffee at their favorite coffee store, meeting their families, having lunch or dinner with my offline informants to get to know them better. We usually chatted casually, talked about random things, cooked together, and I observed them and how they worked by participating in their daily lives. With my online informants, it was shorter. We usually started 'fairly informally, with casual conversation and informal questions' (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 116) to get to know each other and make them feel comfortable with the long interview ahead. Each interview lasted a minimum of 1 hour and 10 minutes and a maximum of 2 hours. Most of the interviewees emphasized that it was good for them to get to know me before we talked about 'important things' and that it made them feel more relaxed. Then we moved on to the interview, where I asked detailed questions about the research questions.

I designed the interview guide by dividing the questions into categories related to the research questions. I kept the general interview guide for each interview. However, depending on the person, their personal history, our activities prior to the interview, and the circumstances of the interview environment (e.g., differences between the online and offline environments), the interview could take a slightly different course.

All interviews, regardless of whether they were conducted in person via Zoom, were recorded using my phone or Zoom's recording function. The interviews were transcribed in Turkish by me, a native Turkish speaker, and then coded using deductive and inductive coding techniques, as some of the themes and main categories for this research existed prior to the interviews and some of them emerged during the interviews (Kuckartz, 2014). Different coding schemes were created for each informant to divide the transcripts into categories and subcategories, and each of these schemes was coded line by line. Finally, a general table was created to summarize the themes, categories, subcategories, and descriptions.

Ethical Considerations

"Fieldwork is constantly ridden by ethical challenges." (Ryen, 2004). One of the greatest challenges of this ethnographic research was to maintain ethical boundaries because it was an

"extreme/deviant case" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.79) that involved vulnerable people as key informants. As a political refugee and as a researcher myself, I was aware of their realities, things, places, attitudes, and questions they can trigger. Therefore, I endeavored to be extremely careful and sensitive throughout the research process.

I drafted an informed consent form for informants to read through before each interview to accept or decline. I also reminded them of their rights and what I would be doing with the data I would be collecting from them before the start of each interview, and made sure to get their verbal consent as well. Before the ethnographic encounters, when I met them, I introduced myself first and reminded them again of their rights and of my and their position in this research. All informants gave their consent to participate in this research, to be recorded, to be documented, and to share their diaries, pictures (without their faces), and personal information (Bryne, 2012).

As an added precaution, I sent them the transcription of their recorded interviews and my notes directly relating to them that I will use in my research. I did this only to be sure that there was no information that could be dangerous to them.

Also, I did not provide the real names, real addresses, or other personal information of the informants, even if some of them were willing to make personal things public. This is because it could still jeopardize confidentiality, as some of the informants are threatened by various groups in their places of residence.

All the interviews that I conducted in person were recorded on my phone's voice recorder, while the others were conducted via Zoom. As I mentioned earlier, verbal consent was given by each informant before each interview. For the interviews conducted via Zoom, I also verbally asked the informants if they were comfortable being recorded on camera.

Regarding the use of language, all of my informants spoke Turkish as their native language, just as I did. Therefore, all ethnographic encounters and interviews were conducted in Turkish, as this is the language in which they were most comfortable expressing themselves, as they said when I asked them if they preferred English. They wrote their diaries in Turkish, and all digital ethnographic content was also in Turkish. All the translations from Turkish into English that

were necessary for the analysis were translated by me, and then I sent them the English translations to see if they agreed and if they actually matched what they had told me.

ANALYSIS

In the analysis section, the migration stories of exiled journalists, which are the subject of this paper, are detailed based on the literature review, which also includes a contextual background of the last 20 years in Turkey. First, the concepts such as censorship, oppression in the media, and freedom of expression that we addressed in the literature review are evaluated in the context of exiled journalists' stories.

Second, concepts of diaspora and diasporic ambivalences between their home and host countries, addressing their position within the already existing diaspora with their complex identities will be discussed.

Finally, the concepts of exile journalism, diaspora advocacy journalism are discussed through the ways that those journalists still continue to produce Turkish content in Sweden and what their motivation is for that. The reasons for those who no longer pursue journalism in exile as a profession are also explored and discussed to show the complexity of the situation for journalists who have experienced this process differently than the others.

By discussing all those mentioned above the research questions;

- 1) Why were journalists exiled from Turkey after the failed coup of July 15, 2016, and what is their migration story?
- 2) How do these journalists identify themselves and how does their exile affect their personal and professional lives in Sweden?

3) How and why do these exiled journalists from Turkey create Turkish media content in Sweden? What are the motivations behind this?

will be clarified and later answered separately in the conclusion section.

Oppression on Freedom of Expression, Censorship and Un-free Journalism

Throughout the time that I wrote this thesis I interacted with 10 exiled journalists, I got to listen to a lot of stories from the people who experienced forced migration. Their migration stories are very personal and differ depending on their political or ethnic background, identity or sometimes just simply depending on their luck. These differences in their migration stories can be seen in the reasons for their accusations, their fame, the way they chose to leave Turkey and how they ended up in Sweden and later how they continue to live their life in Sweden. Despite all those differences, there is one simple thing that unites them: they are all critical of Erdoğan. For this reason they were subjected to oppression, censorship and their freedom of expression was violated by the AKP government which finally led them to flee Turkey after the July 15, 2016 failed coup as victims of ongoing witch hunt that made them exiles in Sweden.

Censorship, oppression in the media and freedom of expression are very important concepts here as in this case, they are one of the first visible signs of lack of press freedom and oppression that led them to be exiled later. Journalists who are part of this study pointed out that depending on their political affiliations, during different times they experienced censorship by their media owners who were threatened by the AKP government or directly from Erdoğan, or they even applied self-censorship on themselves because of the feeling of being targeted by the state. Otherwise they could be fired, the media outlets they worked for could be shut down by the government by being accused as ‘traitors’ or ‘enemies of the state’, which eventually all of them happened. For some of the journalists, they were directly targeted by Erdoğan to stop the way of journalism they are doing, which is a very clear example of censorship by the state that leads to a lack of press freedom. As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, then, the oppression of those

journalists eventually would lead them to be exiled after the 15th of July as it was the biggest breaking point for the power dynamics between the state and the rest in Turkey.

Before 15th of July, 2016

A Kurdish journalist, who is doing part time journalism beside teaching in Sweden was working for a news outlet during Gezi Park Protests explains how he experienced self-censorship and then censorship from his boss:

“I wrote articles about the Gezi Park Protests when it was happening, but the tone of those articles were not even harsh I would say, meaning that I was doing self-censorship in a way without even noticing. Then they were rejected or asked to be ‘edited’ by the newspaper I was working for because they were just afraid of Erdoğan and its ‘wealthy’ supporters. For me, was the time I felt like things will be even worse for us journalists after that point, and unfortunately I was right but to be honest I was not expecting things would come to this point.” (Ali H., 38-year-old part time journalist)

Censorship in the media can take any form of restriction that dictates certain behavior to journalists, whether self-imposed or directly imposed by a media owner or government (Cansen, 2017). Censorship can also be multilayered and recurrent, depending on the degree of oppression. The journalists interviewed for this thesis all indicated that they had been subjected to some form of censorship, but could not imagine that it would come to this and that they would end up in exile after losing their jobs and everything.

Another journalist who worked for the pro-Gülen newspaper Zaman explains the censorship as starting with threats by Erdoğan they did not really care about and then turning into a violent act they did not expect.

"Erdoğan has been hostile to us since 2012, but after he started to write openly about the 17-25 corruption operations, the pressure, censorship, fines and sanctions reached an inexplicable

point. Our newspaper and its journalists were openly threatened with seizure and even closure. We took these risks, because being a journalist in Turkey simply means accepting that you are under a threat all the time unless you are not supporting Erdoğan, but we did not expect that he would go this far..." (Zeki G. 56-year-old journalist)

Then Zeki G. talks about the day when the police confiscated the newspaper Zaman as one of the worst days of his life, when he could even die under police violence in front of his workplace, to which he would go peacefully, meet his colleagues and work together.

"...Finally, one day they said they would take over the newspaper and seize it, that is, they would appoint a trustee, a man who would do what they wanted, and fire us all. That day we did not leave the newspaper building. Then hundreds of policemen came into the building like invaders and literally started a 'war'. They had heavy guns and used unimaginable amounts of tear gas. Many people were injured, it was very bloody. I was also hit hard by the tear gas when they threw it at me when I tried to talk to them to make them stop being violent. I thought I was going to die. I was about to faint and could have died if someone had not helped me at that moment. Even then I did not think of leaving, thinking that things can't get worse, but I was wrong once again." (Zeki G.)

Regardless of how things come to a head, censorship and repression do not always lead to absolute fear and passivity among journalists. On the contrary, as I observed in my conversations with journalists in exile, they have made countless attempts to fight back and go about their work in response to the violence and fear they faced before July 15, 2016.

For example, Adem F., a 45-year-old journalist who also used to work in Zaman newspaper, talked about how he tried to cope with the censorship and oppression after Erdoğan's visible threats towards Zaman newspaper and their journalists.

"After the 17-25 corruption scandals, Erdoğan attacked us on a daily basis, during press conferences or at any opportunity he had, he blamed us for the operations against his inner circle. One day, I asked him a direct question about the corruption scandals in a press conference he

held with the Spanish prime minister. Before the conference, we agreed with the other journalists in the room that I would be the one to ask the question because everyone was afraid of losing their job or worried about their safety. I said, 'He is already oppressing us, I have nothing to lose.' And I did it because I saw it as a way to respond to this oppression by simply doing my job. He responded to my questions very, very, very aggressively. After that incident, I became quite famous because I was the first journalist to ask Erdoğan a question about the corruption scandals and he started to target me personally. I began to be harassed by AKP supporters on a daily basis. I was no longer safe in Turkey and for the first time I thought of leaving the country for a while." (Adem F., 45-year-old journalist)

Another journalist, Mahmut C. (54), says he was arrested in October 2015 for insulting President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on Twitter, and he was released four days later at the request of his lawyers. He explained that he wasn't worried at all because he hadn't done anything illegal, they had only tried to censor him and silence his voice as a critical journalist. And he added: "Those were the times when there was a hint of justice, and then it was a whole chaos (after July 15, 2016 failed coup) where we could not see a glimpse of justice."

The stories of Ali H., Zeki G., Adem F. and Mahmut C. told me they were very important because they show the multi-layered forms of censorship and suppression of free expression, which means that once it starts, there can be no end. As Chadwick (2002) states, free media is the only way to check and challenge the unbalanced power of governments, and without it, or in the case of an attack on free media with censorship and suppression, we cannot speak of a well-functioning democracy (Chadwick, 2002). In the following sub-chapter, it will be better explained how these years of oppression in the media caused the safety of the critical journalists and also their families that they have to leave Turkey.

After 15th of July, 2016

After the Gezi Park protests and the corruption operations of December 17-25, the exiled journalists I interviewed who fled to Sweden shared the same fate: they all had to flee Turkey

after the failed coup of July 15, 2016. Because they experienced an extreme form of censorship until then, even with violence and many threats, even some of them had to leave Turkey, planning to do so only for a short time until they felt safer. However, 6 of the 10 journalists I interviewed said they were almost certain they had to leave Turkey immediately because they did not feel safe at all, and they were right about that.

The censorship and oppression that all these journalists faced turned into a massive witch hunt after July 15, 2016, when Erdoğan called on citizens to denounce anyone they believe is connected to the so-called terrorist organization FETÖ. Following this open call, hundreds of thousands of people who had a connection to the Gülen movement and thousands who were in opposition to the government were denounced by others and ended up in prison as a result of these calls. The government even set up an online platform called the Presidential Communication Center (Turkish: Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Merkezi, CİMER) to simply denounce anyone opposed to Erdoğan and the AKP government.

Apart from that, these people were not even safe on the streets. After the coup, people suspected of being associated with the Gülen movement and their families, including young children, were attacked or harassed, as Erdoğan said earlier, a 'witch hunt' has begun to protect his position of power.

After the coup, countless journalists, including those who are part of this investigation, were accused of supporting FETÖ, even those who had no previous connection to the Gülen movement before. Not only they, but also their families, their friends and loved ones were directly attacked. This led these journalists to first try to find a safe place somewhere in Turkey and then to leave Turkey as soon as possible, as they could not foresee what would happen to them in this chaos.

Journalist Tarık B. (57), a critical journalist and presenter of TV, talks about his experience immediately after July 15, 2016 as follows;

"Those days were an absolute nightmare. As soon as Erdoğan slandered the Gülen movement as the group that led the coup, we (journalists) had to hide, even those who had no connection to the movement but were critical felt this urge, and that was most of the people I worked with. We could not even go out on the streets because we heard that people were being beaten to death on the streets and that those who were arrested were being cruelly tortured. And people were denouncing people they did not even know as FETÖ members in order not to be a target of the state or to look like 'good citizens.'" And we were the open target. The extent of the 'witch hunt' was unimaginable. He (Erdoğan) created massive division and hatred within society with his hands through this hate system. And we had to leave in order not to become victims of this hate project." (Tarık B., 57-year-old journalist)

In the next few days after the failed coup, all journalists who allegedly had ties to the Gülen Movement found out that an arrest warrant had been issued for them. In the meantime, they learned what happened to their colleagues who were not lucky enough to escape.

Zeki G. talks about his experiences after the coup and how much the 'witch hunt' affected him, his friends and his family:

"I heard that some of my colleagues, but also thousands of people were tortured during detention. They showed this on TV and published it in newspapers to intimidate us, and they also harassed people's families. I, for example, was able to escape from Turkey after hiding for some time after the coup because I knew they would come for me, and they did. Then they arrested my wife just because she was my wife and they could not find me at home when they came to arrest me. She stayed in jail for almost a year in extremely bad conditions. They threatened her with the safety of my children and even harassed my 70-year-old father in detention. Just because they were the family of an enemy of the state. I cannot explain the burden of this slander." (Zeki G. 56-year-old journalist)

Baran E. (31), who was charged with socialist and Kurdish activities, explains the period after July 15 as follows;

"We were already in danger and were charged in countless trials for joining some democratic protests and simply opposing the government's actions. The history of the Turkish Republic has always been like this against Kurds and minorities, but after July 15, the scale of injustice was unimaginable. The state acted like a monster against its citizens. Then we started looking for ways to leave the country." (Baran E. 31-year-old journalist)

As Baran E. noted, the state repression of journalists in Turkey after July 2016 affected not only those associated with the Gülen movement, but also all journalists who did not openly support the government's actions, including Kurds, leftists, and even liberals. This atmosphere meant that they were not even safe enough to continue their lives in Turkey. All of these journalists learned that they had been raided by police and were sentenced to at least seven years in prison and up to multiple life sentences. Depending on the ongoing trials, threats from the state, and personal reasons, they all decided to leave Turkey after July 15 in different ways.

In the quotes above, and overall, informants stated that long before they were exiled, the lack of press freedom was very visible for them as they faced oppression with censorship and self-censorship. This oppression was more on secular, leftist or liberal journalists after Gezi in 2013 and religious Gülen Movement journalists after 17-25 December corruption scandals in 2014. After those incidents, the oppression they experienced became almost deathly for them. And when they realized the scope of the danger, they decided to leave Turkey at the cost of everything that could happen on the way.

A Very Risky Journey to a New Life

"Leaving your country illegally is a journey where you know you can tragically die along the way. Many people have lost their lives in boats trying to cross the border river between Greece and Turkey and the Aegean Sea. But if you stay, you'll surely die or spend decades in a prison, so you think it's worth taking the risk and leaving for your freedom." (Emre A., 34-year-old former journalist)

According to the Swedish Statistics Bureau (SCB) around 16 000 Turkish citizens migrated to Sweden in different ways between 2016-2021 (SCB 2022). The number of asylum seekers in this number is approximately equal to 23% percent of the total number with 3672 people (SCB 2022). Within those asylum seekers, some people could directly fly to Sweden through Turkey or through other countries. However, it is not always that 'direct' as there are thousands of people who cross the border river between Greece and Turkey named Maritsa (Turkish: Meriç) by the boats of human smugglers (İşleyen 2018). The way of entrance to Sweden of the informants of this research also differs depending on the trials about them at the time they left Turkey.

Of the 10 journalists I interviewed, 6 left Turkey illegally via the Maritsa (Meriç) River, even though they all had valid passports that they could not use because they were searched by the state when their passports were 'canceled.' The cancellation of passports means that after July 15, 2016, the Turkish state declared a 'state of emergency' and changed many laws and regulations at will, as explained in the literature review. The cancellation of passports was one of these legislative changes made in the Turkish Constitution. A new section was added to the 22nd article in the "Passport Law" section as;

"Travel abroad; those who have been banned by a court, those who have been found by the Ministry of Interior to have a general security problem in leaving the country, and those who have been found by the Ministry of Interior to be founders and heads of educational, training and health institutions of all kinds abroad, as well as foundations, associations or companies that have been found to have affiliation, connection or contact with terrorist organizations (...) (1) No passport or travel document shall be issued. (...) They shall be prevented from leaving the country and no passports or documents shall be issued to them; if they are issued, they shall be recovered." (22nd Article of Turkish Constitution)

According to this new law, which was amended by a legislative decree immediately after July 15, 2016, hundreds of thousands of people, including the informants of this investigation, were not allowed to use their passports and had to cross the Turkish-Greek border illegally, losing their lives or being captured by Turkish security forces. Moreover, a 'travel ban' was imposed on most of them as soon as they were accused of being members of an anti-government

organization. Therefore, their right to freedom of movement was violated by the state because according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "Everyone has the right to move and reside freely within the borders of any state" and "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13).

Emre A. tells of his journey to and from the river Maritsa as;

"I had a passport, but it was declared invalid by the state, so I had to cross the Greek border illegally. Me and another journalist friend of mine, arrived in Edirne to meet the 'human smuggler'. We met in a forest area and jumped into his car to drive to Maritsa. We pretended to be Syrian refugees, by the way, because the smugglers did not want to take Turks because they knew the Turks were all political 'criminals' and were freaking out of Erdoğan. I found this incredibly tragicomic (...) After being chased by the security forces, we found a muddy pit, then we moved on when we were sure that security forces were not chasing us, and somehow managed to reach the shore and immediately took the boat. But there was a hole in the boat. It was the middle of the night, and it was cold and muddy. Fortunately, we were able to get to Greece, but it was very difficult. After that, I felt that a completely new chapter in my life began, not necessarily good or bad, but a new phase. I flew from Greece to Sweden as a different person." (Emre A., 34-year-old former journalist)

As Emre A. mentioned, all the informants who crossed the Greek-Turkish border illegally had passports and visas, but they were canceled by the Turkish state. What is interesting here is that after crossing the border, they were able to use their passports in Greece without any problems until they arrived in Sweden. This shows that the cancellation of the passports was not based on international law and that those who managed to cross the Turkish border were able to use their passports and ID cards until they applied for asylum in Sweden.

There were also some journalists who were able to fly directly from Turkey to Sweden before their passports were canceled, knowing that this could happen at any moment before they were arrested.

Baran E. talked about his journey as;

"We had a lot of lawsuits on our hands and were accused of being part of various leftist organizations and participating in various protests. But somehow we did not have the travel ban yet. I was just married at the time, and we were planning a honeymoon to Sweden with my wife, and we got a visa for Sweden. We immediately arranged everything and flew to Sweden. We had a tourist visa for one week, it was our honeymoon. Then we applied for asylum and the honeymoon was over." (Baran E. 31-year-old journalist)

Erdem C. (36), a lawyer and former journalist, was also charged with being a member of a left-wing and Kurdish organization and was able to leave Turkey by direct flight to Sweden along with another journalist friend. He was also a lawyer for an LGBTQ organization and they were planning a project in Sweden. Therefore, he was able to fly directly to Sweden and later applied for asylum because the situation in Turkey became very dangerous for him. He considers himself 'very lucky' because he was able to fly directly to Sweden. However, he stated that: "It was an incredibly stressful journey, I thought they would arrest me, as they did with many people at the airports, but here I am."

There are other journalists from Turkey who were in different countries when the coup happened and they flew to Sweden directly from those countries.

For example, Adem F., who was in Philippines when the coup happened talks about his reaction when he heard the coup and what did he do after that;

"I was not in Turkey at the time of the coup, I was in the Philippines for a while to get an education. I had a Schengen visa, but my friends and family did not have one, and we did not hear anything from the embassies we went to and explained our situation, like those of the U.S. and Canada. Then we bought a connecting ticket to another country through Stockholm and applied for asylum right after we landed at the airport in September 2016. I still can not believe how we planned and did that. It shows that you do everything for the safety of your family to

save your freedom." (Adem F.)

Overall, the way these journalists came to Sweden varies depending on the situation in which they had to leave Turkey and how they decided to come to Sweden. However, there is one commonality. They were forced to leave Turkey and they had to leave as soon as they had the opportunity, even if it was deadly dangerous. Either by a direct flight from Turkey to Sweden or connecting flights from another country, or they had to cross the Greek border illegally before they could fly to Sweden - they were all forced to do so and stated that they would never do such a thing unless they were sure that staying in Turkey would mean death or the loss of their freedom. However, they all had different motivations when they chose Sweden as their final destination, no matter which way they could get to Sweden.

Why Sweden?

As it was pointed out in the literature review, apart from the worker immigration that started in the 1960s, Sweden has been the place for highly skilled, political and oppressed migrants from Turkey that belong to different ethnic groups since the early 1970s (Baser and Levin 2017, p.3). The following military coups in 1971, 1980 and 1997 also led different groups of critical people to flee from Turkey to Sweden. Those groups were mostly Kurds, Christian Assyrians, Turks and Kurds who had associations with the leftist and socialist group (Baser and Levin, 2017, p.3-4). After 1971, Sweden became a destination for the oppressed Kurdish, Turkish and Assyrian intellectuals who are oppressed or in danger because of their political activities and stance in Turkey. Especially after 1980's, Kurds from Turkey formed a new diaspora in Sweden and it led more people from Turkey, especially ethnic and political groups, such as Kurdish intellectuals to come to Sweden from Turkey (Zettervall, 2013).

After the first political and ethnic groups that came to Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, there was already a diaspora from Turkey that came to Sweden for political reasons. As the number of these highly educated and skilled political and ethnic migrants from Turkey increased, others began to view Sweden as a safe paradise (Zettervall, 2013).

As Zettervall (2013) noted, when I asked my informants about why they chose Sweden in the first place, they responded that they knew from previous political groups who had emigrated to Sweden that it was a safe and peaceful country, after a chaotic political climate in Turkey. And they added that they knew from the previous groups that they could do journalism in Sweden and that they would have a good life here for themselves and their families. Also, many of them said that security was their biggest concern after feeling threatened by the Turkish government, and that Sweden was the safest option for them as it is known as one of the safest countries in the world. Therefore, they did not hesitate to find their way to Sweden for themselves but also for their families to start a new life.

Diasporic Ambivalences of different identities

Some respondents described their decision to come to Sweden as an overall good decision, while some regretted coming here. However, there is no black and white when talking about how they feel as exiles in Sweden. Most of the interviewees knew someone who used to live in Sweden, or they heard about previous critical figures who had immigrated to Sweden and followed them in the hope that they would find a place in society and the diaspora that already existed in Sweden, or to create a new one with all the people who came to Sweden at the same time after 15th of July failed coup. What they experienced, however, was very different from what they heard. Not necessarily good or bad, but simply different, because they experienced Sweden in a completely different time and within different diasporic communities with different backgrounds, but above all as 'exiles' with diasporic ambivalences.

For example, journalist Mahmut C. talks about his reason to come to Sweden in the first place as the things he heard about Sweden from his former colleagues who were also political exiles in the 1980s. He says;

"Some of my former colleagues came here as political refugees in the 1980s. They are much older than I am, but we often talked about Sweden without my knowing that I would end up here

like them. Overall, I am happy to be here. But it is also difficult to say that I have found what I expected from Sweden." (Mahmut C.)

When I asked about how he identify himself and how he feels about being in Sweden as an exile his answer was;

"Being an exiled journalist is now one of the biggest parts of my identity. Life in exile has many difficulties, no matter how educated you are. The asylum process here is very stressful and takes a very long time, which makes you learn that your identity is first and foremost an 'exile', and that is sometimes very hard to bear. Also you don't feel really safe with this identity even in Sweden knowing the existing diaspora." (Mahmut C.)

Mahmut C. spoke about his feeling of being an exile in Sweden, a kind of identity that separates him from the existing diaspora and also from Swedish society. And he was not the only one who felt the same ambivalences. According to the informants in this study, being an exile is seen as something to hide and even makes you a target within the diaspora. They all said that they do not really feel that they belong to the Turkish or Kurdish diaspora in Sweden. On the contrary, they try to run away from them because they are not sure how they will be perceived with their political positioning.

Bariş K. (30), a Kurdish journalist who came to Sweden as a student, spoke about his expectations and the realities he experienced in Sweden and within the Kurdish diaspora as 'quite complicated' but above all 'burdensome' He said he knew that Sweden was a country where it was very difficult to fit into Swedish society. However, he had hoped that he would feel comfortable in the Kurdish diaspora, but it was a 'disappointment' for him because they do not share the same values as many of them. Above all, being an exile in the already existing diaspora seems to him as something to be pitied and he does not feel comfortable with it.

Erdem C. also talks about not being able to find a place in the Kurdish diaspora, thinking that they have been here for so long that they have nothing in common anymore. He says that his

identity as an exile outweighs his Kurdish identity when he meets them, and that as someone who wants to return to Turkey at some point, he can not really feel connected to them.

Informants who worked as journalists for the pro-Gülen newspapers and ended up in Sweden shared similar sentiments about not feeling as connected to the already existing diaspora for different reasons. They all pointed out that the existing Turkish diaspora in Sweden is predominantly seen as pro-Erdoğan and they do not feel safe in their midst. For example, one of the informants of this study (for security reasons, I will not even mention his already changed name here) was brutally attacked by an Erdoğan supporter in front of his house where we conducted his interview a few days before the incident. Unfortunately, he had to stay in intensive care for almost 2 weeks and I could only reach him afterwards. After he was released from the hospital, he pointed out that he did not feel safe in Sweden, knowing that he would always be a target in the Turkish diaspora.

Another point within the pro-Gülen and exile journalists in Sweden: In their first year in Sweden, they were quite close and even created their 'alternative diaspora' where they supported each other personally and professionally. However, when some of them changed their political views about the earlier events that had driven them into exile from their former jobs and the Gülen movement, some of them started to isolate themselves from this subgroup as well. One of the informants, who does not describe himself as a member of the Gülen movement, said that he felt this as 'exile in exile' and he got into many complicated situations and feelings because of this separation.

Baser (2016) talked about diasporas as multi-layered groups that include many subgroups that can have different and complicated realities (Baser, 2016, p.21), and these journalists are perfect examples to prove this point of hers. I would also like to add that diaspora can sometimes be the main problem in terms of security, as opposed to its portrayal as a concept where people from the same country feel connected and share their feelings towards their home and host country. This means that pre-existing communities can be the most hostile aspect of the host country, causing people to be afraid to voice their opinions in the diaspora. For people who are well-known in

society, such as journalists, a pre-existing diaspora can pose an even more complicated phenomenon.

How and why to be a journalist in exile?

Among the 10 informants in this study, there are 6 journalists in exile who still practice journalism as their only profession and make a living from it, and 2 journalists who practice journalism part time. The interviews and long conversations with the journalists in exile in Sweden have shown that the way they create media, their motivations and de-motivations behind their journalistic activities in Sweden have many similarities, although they come from different political, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, which will be explored in this section.

First, I will talk about how they practice 'exile journalism' by using digital tools and creating media content, whether they are full-time or part-time exile journalists, then I will explain their motivations and driving forces for creating media content in Turkish for Turkish-speaking audiences in Sweden. Finally, I will discuss the reasons why some of these journalists have given up journalism altogether and how and in what ways they create media that have nothing to do with journalism.

The transition from the traditional way of doing journalism to 'web journalism' is the result of changes in technologies, financial, social and political conditions, and much more (Dahlgren 2013, p.109), and this allowed more people, including exiles, to do journalism without needing a media company. In the case of this research, all of the exiled journalists who are still working full-time are now working with digital media. They were all used to working in a traditional media outlet in Turkey (printed newspapers or magazines, public TV channels, etc.) and did not have their own digital media outlets. However, after their exile, they all started using digital and online media platforms.

Specifically, they all work in digital and online news outlets, have their own websites or use social media platforms to make money. These include YouTube and Patreon to complement their Twitter, Instagram and Facebook accounts, which they use for various purposes.

"I am grateful for the existence of digital media. We are like being on a desert island in exile, and they are like a rescue ship saving our lives on a desert island. We did not really know this country, we were not familiar with anything here, our options were almost nil. The only way to show our struggle and prove our existence was through digital media. In our early days, but also now. The existence of digital media is as important to me as breathing or drinking water." (Zeki G.)

He continues journalism by writing for an international digital media company where he collaborates with other exiled journalists from Turkey who live in different countries. He also talked about having multiple accounts on social media: YouTube and Patreon, where he can earn extra money from individual journalistic contributions, a Twitter account that has over 250,000 followers, and an Instagram account where he posts journalistic content but also scenes from his daily life in Sweden. He used to work at a printed newspaper and magazine in Turkey, where he had almost nothing to do with digital journalism and the social media accounts that allow him to make money and have his voice heard around the world. He describes this change in his approach to journalism as follows: "I shifted my journalistic work from the traditional to the digital and online world to continue being a journalist in exile."

Tarik B., another informant who still earns his living from journalism in digital media, talks about his experiences as;

"I was an 'old school' journalist in the age of new media. I worked at a public TV channel where I just talked into the camera, I worked at a newspaper and magazine where I just used my computer to write. I had no idea about the rest of the work. Now I do everything myself, record, edit, publish, post whatever I want on my accounts... It's a big responsibility, but that's how I live as a journalist in exile, I live with the Internet. I could not be a journalist in Sweden if there were no digital platforms that I use now." (Tarik G.)

Another informant, Adem F., who actively uses his YouTube and Patreon accounts, which are the only sources of income for him, as well as his personal website, emphasizes that the use of digital media has liberated him in a way that he feels he no longer has to work 'somewhere' to be a journalist.

"It is a liberation for me that I can be a journalist even in exile. Before, I didn't even know that was possible. We were so used to working under the umbrella of a media company. Now I feel like the sky is my roof, even though I am in exile and my freedom is limited." (Adem F.)

Besides the freedom and independence in creating media content and the way journalism is done, there is another reason for exiled journalists to become 'web journalists' if they want to continue being a journalist in exile. The reason is that they do not have access to the job market in the field of media and journalism in Sweden. Baran E. talked about his experience of not being able to find a job as a journalist in Sweden, so he decided to become an independent 'web journalist' by setting up his own news website and social media accounts;

"In my early days (in Sweden), I was so depressed that I thought about how I could work as a journalist in Sweden without speaking a language and without contacts with Swedish media. I knocked on all the doors, which I still do, but no media company here wants to work with me. As a foreigner, it is almost impossible to work as a journalist in Swedish media. Internet journalism was my only option to work as a journalist in exile, although I was not familiar with this world at all. At the beginning I had some reservations, but now I am glad I am doing it." (Baran E.)

It was also noted that whistleblowers doing web journalism in exile through online platforms such as YouTube and Patreon have gained thousands of followers on these online platforms in a short period of time. When I asked them about it, one of the informants pointed out that they were quite famous journalists who had worked for major media outlets for a long time. Although all the media outlets they worked for in Turkey were closed down by the Turkish state and their names were 'banned' in Turkey, they already had an audience waiting for them to start their own online media platforms. Then there was another type of audience that was looking for alternative

media because the mass media is owned or controlled by the government. Therefore, these exiled journalists were able to reach thousands of followers (50,000-250,000 on various online platforms) within a short period of time, which led them to become professional web journalists in exile.

Dahlgren (2013) points out that the transition from traditional mass media to online media brought not only journalists, but everyone to practice journalism with the help of the Internet (Dahlgren 2013, p. 109). The only thing needed to do journalism is the Internet, which is why he points out that anyone who wants to can be a journalist anywhere.

This statement is true and accurate in a sense, although there are many discussions in the literature about what is real journalism and who are the real journalists and so on. In this study, we will not discuss the quality of journalism by professional journalists compared to non-professional journalists doing web journalism, as this is widely discussed in the literature. Instead, I would like to point out the 'easier' access of these journalists to a wide audience on online platforms. This is due to their long professional careers as journalists in traditional media in Turkey. When they started web journalism in exile, they already had an audience, and it was easy for them to grow outside of Turkey, produce for the Turkish audience and reach a point where they could make a living doing their job.

In summary, all of the exiled journalists who are informants in this research still practice journalism using digital media for similar reasons, and none of them work on a mass media platform in Sweden in order to perform their job. First, working as a 'web journalist' in an online media company or as an independent journalist using online platforms gives them the opportunity to exist as a journalist in exile, while they cannot work in a mass media company. Second, the way they do journalism through online platforms gives them a liberation, as they do not feel responsible or obliged to follow certain guidelines or rules of media companies.

Before they went into exile, they had never worked with digital media, and now they are discovering new opportunities to work as web journalists through digital media and say whatever they want to say freely. Thanks to their audience, which they already had from their previous

journalistic work in Turkey, it was also quite easy for them to do everything in Turkish even though they live in Sweden.

Most of these journalists were quite famous, and when they set up these online media accounts, they gained supporters and followers in a short time, which allowed them to continue working as web journalists in exile.

Finally, the way they practice web journalism is partly a result of their situation in Sweden as refugees or exiles. The fact that they were highly skilled professionals trying to find a position in the Swedish media led them to start their own businesses through their online media accounts such as YouTube and Patreon. This may be the result of a lack of language skills, a lack of a network in the Swedish media, or not focusing on topics that the Swedish media is interested in, but this may be the subject of another research.

Motivations behind performing journalism in exile

From the interviews and long conversations we had with the exiled journalists in Sweden during our time together, it is clear that their motivations for doing journalism in Sweden have much in common, even though they come from different political, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, which is advocating for the rights violations in Turkey, thinking that being free from the oppression that they were subjected to in Turkey is a responsibility towards people who have to experience that.

After their arrival in 2016, journalists associated with the Gülen movement supported and motivated each other to pursue journalism in exile because they felt the urge to be the voice of what was happening to them and to people in opposition to the government. They did this by founding a human rights organization focused on reporting on the unlawful incidents that have taken place in Turkey since July 15. The three journalists I was able to meet for this research played a crucial role in the establishment of this organization and volunteered there for at least one to two years with the motivation of advocating for the human rights violations in Turkey.

"We founded this organization out of a 'journalistic urge' to 'do something' just a few months after we were exiled to Sweden with a small group of journalist friends who came here around the same time and experienced the same thing after July 15. After a few months of being 'paralyzed', sad and even scared, we realized that we needed a human rights organization to document what we had been through and what was going on in Turkey. Not specifically for the people associated with the Gülen movement, but for everyone who is a victim of the Erdoğan regime. Everything we did was on a voluntary basis and we worked very hard because we were so motivated to help people like us. It was like a refuge for us in many ways, it was like a fresh breath to do this work after being in exile." (Mahmut C.)

Another founder of that advocacy platform Adem F. also said;

"It was something we did with high moral satisfaction and motivation from that, it was like the first sprout of hope. We felt like what we were doing was some sort of advocacy work which was very necessary at that time." (Adem F.)

Among the informants of this investigation are two exiled journalists who identify themselves as socialists, who know each other from Turkey and have worked together on various projects and have now jointly founded a news website in Sweden. Although the journalists who founded that news website live in exile in Sweden, according to Baran C., one of the founders of the website, this platform is supported by many other Kurdish and Turkish journalists in exile around the world, but there are also those who still live in Kurdistan or Turkey. When I asked him about his motivation to continue journalism in exile, he said:

"Journalism is the profession I want to pursue for the rest of my life, and writing has been the only thing that has guided me throughout my life. I have the same drive and motivation as the day I first dreamed of becoming a journalist. Now, in my life, I have become 'the news', how can I stop being a journalist? But this platform gives me and many other exiled journalists in different countries a place to exist as a journalist."

When I ask Erdem C., the other founder of the website about his motivation he answers as follows:

"Many people have contacted us through this website. For example, people who had complicated problems with the Migration Board came to us and told their stories and asked us if we could make news out of them so that their voices would be heard. Or people who wanted information about certain things in Sweden or Europe and were looking for a trustworthy source. Then we met many artists, journalists and writers from Turkey who belong to different ethnic and social backgrounds; some of them also live in exile. They are all a great motivation for us, and we hope to expand our scope once we have more time and resources."

These examples relate to what Skjerdal (2011) and Arafat (2021) refer to as advocacy journalism in the diaspora that is critical of the governments of their home countries (Skjerdal, 2011; Arafat 2021).

The journalists who collaborated in the organizations and on the websites they created came together through their pre-existing journalistic contacts in Sweden, who worked for the same newspaper or media outlet, shared similar viewpoints, and experienced the same human rights abuses that eventually led them into exile. Creating a human rights platform by using their journalistic skills also helped them overcome the initial shock of exile, as they found people there who were going through the same traumas. It was a safe space or, as they said, a 'shelter' for them to come together in an environment where they did not trust or know anyone, and to do journalism, but also to help people who were not able to do what they were doing at the time .

The first motivation for them to continue to be a journalist in Sweden was the realization that they already had a community where they could be safe and do journalism, and that they could do research in exile, even though they did not have access to many things while they were asylum seekers.

After connecting with people who had experienced the same thing and wanted to do something about it, they did 'advocacy journalism' in this "safe space," which was the second motivation for these journalists.

As we see in the case of the informants in this research, they were motivated to do 'advocacy journalism in exile,' which has a very specific starting point and goals: to advocate for the rights of people affected by the political atmosphere in Turkey.

LIMITATIONS

Telling the story of an exile is a very difficult task, as there are many untold stories, even when they talk about the reasons for their exile, what led them to the place where they are now, and to justify their actions. Delving into the exile stories of ten journalists and trying to understand their migration histories, their ambivalences, their identities, and the ways in which they still practice journalism in exile was a task ten times more difficult, which could easily be seen as a limitation of this research.

Aside from the complexity of the topic, there were several other limitations due to the nature of the qualitative method itself. Interviewing ten informants for such a study was very time-consuming and a very extensive task, as I conducted ethnographic research in addition to the interview. However, this scope can be considered small in order to obtain general answers to the research questions, as is the case with many other qualitative studies.

Although this study includes a section of 'self-reflection' in which the author attempts to justify her own positioning, the time spent with a highly vulnerable group of people was taxing, considering the author's own experiences as a migrant in Sweden.

Also, I initially wanted to tell more of the stories of those journalists with more details and one by one, but it was not possible given the scope of the thesis.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey, different ethnic, political and minority groups experienced oppression and no matter what group it was, journalists were always within those groups as people who are in front responsible for telling the truth. However, until the AKP era, it was always one group therefore one group of journalists who were sharing the same view was targeted. When we look at the AKP era, we see that it is enough to be an opponent of the government to be oppressed and in extreme cases like the case of this research, end up in exile. This research tried to answer research questions below by conducting an ethnographic research and interviewing 10 Turkish and Kurdish exiled journalists who are living in Sweden.

-Why were journalists exiled from Turkey after the failed coup of July 15, 2016, and what is their migration story?

To answer this research question, the literature review details the most important events up to July 15, 2016 and their significance. From this, it can be seen that at the time of the failed coup, Turkey was already a country ruled by a hegemonic party and an authoritarian leader who used the failed coup as an opportunity to increase his oppression. In the exercise of this repression, the media and journalists are one of the first groups, since it is their job to report the truth, no matter what the circumstances. Therefore, until July 15, critical media and journalists were subjected to various forms of censorship and suppression of their freedom of expression, and some of them have already been charged for their articles and tweets directed against Erdoğan's policies.

After the failed coup, this censorship and suppression of the media and journalists reached a point where they could not even live in Turkey, as they were all issued arrest warrants just for doing their jobs. Immediately after July 15, all of them tried to find a hiding place in Turkey, and then left the country as quickly as possible through various means.

Some of these journalists had to flee Turkey by illegally crossing the river between Greece and Turkey because they could not use their passports, others still had the option of taking a flight from Turkey or another country. In the analysis part, I then reported on their individual migration stories.

-How do these journalists identify themselves and how does their exile affect their personal and professional lives in Sweden?

The journalists who are the subject of this work are ethnically Turkish or Kurdish, and politically they belong to different views. However, when asked in the course of this research how they would describe themselves, their first answers were always 'I am a journalist' and 'I am a journalist in exile.'

This study suggests that living in exile creates such a strong 'exile identity' that can be even stronger than a person's pre-existing identities. Based on the informants' responses and the scope of this study, being in exile is an extraordinary and unexpected experience, being someone who is not wanted in their home country, and disrupts everything that was there before. The second identity of the informants in this study was their profession, journalism. Almost all of them used the term 'exile journalist' to identify themselves, while being aware of the complications involved.

Calling themselves exile journalists affected their lives, from how they felt about their homeland and host countries to how they felt and positioned themselves within pre-existing diaspora communities. Exiled journalists, as a very specific and vulnerable group, simply do not feel connected to the Turkish or Kurdish diaspora because they do not feel safe in their surroundings either. Therefore, as an addition to the existing literature on diasporic ambivalences, this study added a perspective of exiled journalists and their even more complicated positioning within already existing diasporas.

-How and why do these exiled journalists from Turkey create Turkish media content in Sweden? What are the motivations behind this?

This study examined the ways in which exiled journalists practice journalism by taking advantage of the existing literature on 'diaspora advocacy journalism' (Arafat, 2021) and 'exile journalism' (Sarıaslan, 2020) and analyzing it through the exiled journalists in Sweden who are the subjects of this study.

As Dahlgren stated, one of the most efficient ways to be a journalist in exile is web or digital journalism, i.e. journalism using the Internet and technologies (Dahlgren 2013, p. 109), as exiled journalists in Sweden have done. According to the findings of this thesis, none of the informants in this research work in a Swedish media outlet and they all have their social media accounts, websites, and platforms where they create Turkish content for the Turkish-speaking audience. This gives them the freedom to create their own media without asking a higher authority and allows them to earn money to live.

The research also showed that digital journalism in exile is driven by a very high motivation of advocacy. Exile journalists feel a responsibility to live in a free country where they can express themselves and have free access to information for people who cannot in their home countries. They do this either by joining forces with journalists or professionals from the same organization and using their previous and new contacts, or they do it alone on their social media platforms or websites.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Consent Form

This masters thesis seeks to explore the experiences of exiled journalists from Turkey who live in Sweden. Each interview will last around 60 minutes and the data gathered from it will only be used for the thesis.

I would like to record the interview and use it for our findings, only if you consent to it. Please feel free to talk as much as and as little as you want and you can refuse to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable.

If you want your identity to be anonymous, kindly let us know and we will respect that.
If you agree to take part in this study, please sign below.

Name:

Signature:

If you have any questions before we start the interview, you can contact Irem Corekci @ iremcorekci@gmail.com

Appendix 2: Informant Chart

	Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic Background	Reason for being exiled	Current Job	Content Production, if any
1	Emre A.	M	33	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Former Journalist- now Software Developer and	Apolitical writings on his blog, photography and art

						Photographer	related content in his social media, in Turkish, English, Swedish
2	Tarik B.	M	56	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish
3	Erdem C.	M	35	Turkish	Various socialist organizational trials	Doing various jobs, part time Journalist	Turkey-Kurdistan related content in digital media, in Turkish
4	Mahmut D.	M	53	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Academic, part time Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish and English
5	Baran E.	M	30	Kurdish	Various socialist organizational trials	Workman, part time journalist	Turkey-Kurdistan related content in digital media in Turkish
6	Adem F.	M	44	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish
7	Zeki G.	M	55	Turkish	FETÖ Trials	Active Journalist	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish
8	Ali H.	M	38	Kurdish	Various socialist	Teacher, part time	Turkey-Kurdistan

					organizational trials	journalist	related content in digital media, in Turkish and English
9	Ata K.	M	66	Turkish	Trials regarding being opposition	Journalist and Researcher	Turkey related content in digital media, in Turkish and English
10	Bariş K.	M	29	Kurdish	Trials regarding being opposition	Student, former journalist	Apolitical writings on his blog, photography and art related content in his social media, in Turkish, English, Swedish

Appendix 3: Interview questions

The first plan of the interview questions was as it was presented below. However, depending on the flow of the interview, I had to skip some questions as they were already answered or sometimes I had to add an extra question depending on the following questions that I wanted to ask.

Opening questions

- Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and your background?

- When, how and why did you come to Sweden?

Life in Sweden as an exiled Journalist

- How would you describe your first impression about Sweden when you first came?
- What is the most peculiar memory you remember about Sweden you lived in after you came from Turkey?
- How would you describe your daily life in Sweden compared to your life in Turkey?
- What do you think about the city you live in? Do you feel comfortable and happy living here?
- Are there groups or people you try to avoid? How do you position yourself within the already existing diaspora?

Integration Process

- Do you feel integrated or do you feel like an outsider in Sweden?
- What do you think about Swedish society? Is it easy to blend in or not?
- What are the things you learnt and surprised about the ‘Swedish way of living’?
- Did you apply for asylum? Did you get it?
- How was the process of seeking asylum?
- How did your life change once you were granted asylum?
- Would you stay in Sweden if you could have a chance to go back to Turkey?

Identity

- How would you identify yourself? What part/parts of identity is the most important for you? Is 'journalist' one of them?
- What is political identity for you? Do you have a political identity? If so, what?
- How do you feel about your identity as a whole? How did it shape your life in Turkey and how is it affecting your life in Sweden?
- Do you ever experience a clash between your identity and Swedish society or other diasporas in Sweden?
- Do you feel like you are being yourself in order to exist in Swedish society, or not?
- Do you feel comfortable talking about your identity when you introduce yourself in a new social environment?

Journalism in Exile

- Do you continue journalism in any form? Are you freelance or are you working full time for a media outlet?
- What are the tools you use in order to create media content? Can you tell me or show me?
- What kind of content do you create and why?
- Do you feel comfortable and safe about creating media content in Sweden?
- In what language do you create content? (If Turkish is one of them- how do you feel creating Turkish content while you can not go to Turkey and while you live in Sweden?)
- Who are your target audience and what is your goal and motivation when you create content?
- Do you think you are reaching your target audience?

- How many people and what kind of people do you think you are reaching with your content?
- Do you think Swedish society is interested in the cases you work on?
- Do you have social media accounts and how often and in which ways you use them?

-If yes, do you talk about your life in Sweden there? What are the personal things you share on your social media?

Engagement With Turkey

- How would you describe the current situation of the media from your perspective?
- How often do you follow Turkish media? What are the sources?
- What do you think about the role of the government in the Turkish media?

Conclusion

- How do you imagine your future as a journalist?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 4: Interview Sample

A: Could you briefly tell us about yourself and your past?

B: I was born in 1978 in Hatay/Antakya. I am from a civil servant family. I graduated from Istanbul University, Department of Public Administration, but I always wanted to be a journalist. That's why I started writing in different places during my university years. Then I got a job at a magazine. Then I left there and applied to Zaman newspaper as an intern. I went to Zaman

Newspaper by buying the magazines I had previously published. I said, I've made something like this and I want to be a journalist. That's how I started as an intern. And I continued.

A: How did you come to Sweden? What was the process that led you to end up in Sweden?

B: I asked a question to Erdoğan... After the 17-25 corruption scandals, Erdoğan attacked us on a daily basis, during press conferences or at any opportunity he had, he blamed us for the operations against his inner circle. One day, I asked him a direct question about the corruption scandals in a press conference he held with the Spanish prime minister. Before the conference, we agreed with the other journalists in the room that I would be the one to ask the question because everyone was afraid of losing their job or worried about their safety. I said, 'He is already oppressing us, I have nothing to lose.' And I did it because I saw it as a way to respond to this oppression by simply doing my job. He responded to my questions very, very, very aggressively. After that incident, I became quite famous because I was the first journalist to ask Erdoğan a question about the corruption scandals and he started to target me personally. I began to be harassed by AKP supporters on a daily basis. I was no longer safe in Turkey and for the first time I thought of leaving the country for a while.

They opened several court cases against me. Both former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım and Tayyip Erdoğan filed lawsuits and demanded in court that my house be raided, all my digital materials be confiscated, books be confiscated, and new editions be blocked. After that, the anxiety began for me. Every morning the fear of being arrested began. Because in the meantime, journalists or some dissidents had also been arrested. For example, many of my colleagues were arrested after December 17-25.

I left Turkey on 25 November 2014. I went to the Philippines. The reason why I went to the Philippines was to study English. Because it is a country whose official language is English. I chose the Philippines because it is an English-speaking country on the street and it is cheaper than other English-speaking countries and I can barely afford it. As I said there, my predictions were not in vain. I was there on 25 November 2015. Can Dündar and Erdem Gül were arrested either on November 26 or November 27, the day after we arrived in the Philippines. We read it on our first day there, and I said I'm glad I left. After that, it got worse day by day. As I said, Zaman Newspaper was confiscated on March 4, 2016.

A: What were you accused of?

B: Insulting the President, countless slanders... At the same time, for Binali Yıldırım. Then both lawsuits, the lawsuits filed by the two separately, were combined and adjourned until November. In other words, the hearing in May 2016 was postponed to November 2016. And things started for me... 'Should I return? There is quite a time. I'm about to run out of money. I can't stay in the Philippines. There is no question of moving to another place right now.' I don't know what to do... Meanwhile, my wife and children came to visit me. We were planning to return to Turkey in August, but there was a coup on July 15, as you know.

A: So why did you choose Sweden when you were in the Philippines? At that time you had a Schengen visa, could you go to any other country?

B: I could have gone to another country, but something happened. Most of the countries that require a transit visa. Even if you buy a connecting ticket from here, many countries require you to get a transit visa when you fly through here. In a research we conducted at that time, we saw that two countries from Europe did not want it. Sweden and France. And as I said when we talked about which country we should choose, we came as four families. Predominantly Sweden. We all decided on Sweden. And as I said, we bought a connecting ticket from Stockholm. Thus, we entered Sweden on September 20, 2016.

A: And after that, did you apply for asylum at the airport as soon as you arrived?

B: Yeah, I went straight to the police. There is a passport control for those who enter the country. I went directly to the police at passport control. I said we want to apply for asylum. I said I am a journalist from Turkey.

A: Do you know other people in your situation where you live?

B: During the first time we came to Sweden, the current Turkish diaspora, or rather people who are already members of the Gülen movement, helped us a lot. And we were not the only ones. There were so many people like us and we were all hopeless. The presence of people who were already living in Sweden was very comforting. Because you are trying to get to know a country. Knowing the country, knowing what to do, knowing the institutions, the language of this place....

In other words, the presence of people who also know their cultural language and codes is comforting. So we lived it. They helped us find a house for the children's school. Also, waiting for the resident permit was such a long process and with the people who were helping us and the newcomers we supported each other a lot. Even later, we established an institution together to publicize the human rights violations in Turkey, and we worked together there for about a year.

A: Are there groups or people you try to avoid? How do you position yourself within the already existing diaspora?

B: It has a very long and complicated answer I guess. First of all not that I avoid them, but I do not share the same values with the Gülen movement anymore. Because I experienced an intellectual and emotional break there. Let's say differences. I went to a parting with that break. And I decided to walk alone. I decided to continue independently. I continued my way through my Patreon page, website and YouTube channel. I still continue this way. Therefore, I can not say that I see them anymore. I feel separated from that group even though we came here together because of the same issue.

Other than that, I can say that I avoid the Turkish diaspora, simply because I do not feel safe around them. Most of the Turkish diaspora here supports Erdoğan. It is very likely to run into them in a supermarket, in a barber, in a park... That's why I try to go to places where there are not too many Turks. That's why I live in a neighborhood where we are the only Turkish family.

A: What was it like for you to leave a collective work environment and return to that individuality, especially as an exile?

B: I can answer this in two ways. On the one hand it is difficult, on the other hand it has a positive side. Here is the positive side. I feel completely free and independent now. There are no publishing policy limits or barriers in front of me. You set the publishing policy yourself. You are now able to apply the journalistic principles and ethical values you have acquired yourself. You control yourself. And that's where you see how much operational value it actually has. You do not have an editor yourself, you do not have an editorial board, you do not have a news director and so on. But that's a great pleasure in the sense that you can write what you want at the same time. You can express your opinion freely. For example, if you work at a newspaper, you think in

terms of A about X's development. But you can not write the news exactly the way you think. Even if you write, it does not sink in. You have to write in accordance with the editorial policy of the newspaper, you keep your own thoughts to yourself. But not so here. You can express it the way you think. You can write, you can write. And you can fully reflect yourself there. You can reflect your style as well as your thoughts. You can fully express your point of view, which is a great pleasure. This is the first time I have experienced that freedom. In that sense, it was good for me. Not only as a journalist, but in fact this process has liberated me in many ways. This has been a period for me to see from different angles, to think, to research, and to realize my own professional dreams and knowledge. In that sense, it's good. I can look at it in a positive way.

But in the sense you mentioned, it's very different to have an institutional power behind you. One does not have financial worries. While doing his job under the umbrella of a newspaper. With a certain name. I have a lot of rights now. For example, insurance. I do not know your alimony, allowances, vacation entitlements. I have an identity card once. With it you have access to many places. And if you put out a paper with everybody, you feel as much responsibility as your own or as much as your share. But you are not in solidarity with others when you are alone in an independent medium. You are alone. Therefore, you have to face all kinds of negativity that can come from all sides alone. If a lawsuit is filed there, your institution will assign you a lawyer. You do not even go to the hearings. Your lawyer follows you, the newspaper's lawyer follows you. And if you get a compensation payment, the newspaper pays for it. Not so here. In other words, this isolation, this certainty of being part of a big institution, provides a comfort, a solace. But I prefer the other comfort to the discomfort. In that sense, I am not troubled by the point I have reached today.

A: What are your motivations for continuing your Turkish journalism in exile?

B: So I want to share what I have achieved with my possibilities. I want to write. And once again, a fascist Erdogan regime is in front of you. And you want to act to refute the theses on which it is based. I think as a journalist with such a motivation, it's a professional responsibility. Yes. I think I have such a responsibility to people. Because, as I say, I keep saying this, but even the opposition in Turkey could not question July 15, not even the Erdoganist pool media, not even those who positioned themselves as opposition could not question it. For example, he was

arrested when one or two journalists appeared who questioned him. They did not dare to raise these things again. Well, at that time, somebody had to do it. That may sound a little idealistic. But I felt compelled to do it. You ask yourself. I felt a responsibility. Both to myself and to the outside world.

A: So this feeling of responsibility motivated you?

B: It really motivated me, I can say that it kept me going.

A: How is your life in Sweden? Can you say that you are used to this place?

B: In general, I can say that I got used to this place. I got used to it and I like it. Of course, there are a few things that I just can not keep up with. But overall, I have liked it. It's become a country where it's not very difficult to get used to. And from where? I do not want to expand on that. In one sentence. Everything I just came up with, all the effort I put in, yeah, it was such a challenge. It was easier for them to kind of get used to this country. It seemed to me that was the least of my problems.

I also can not say that I am somehow outside of Swedish society. The neighborhood we live in is all Swedish. We are the only immigrant family here as far as we can see. We are in the midst of them, and as I said, we are not isolated. The children are already fully integrated. They have passports, their language is now. But I am neither fully inside nor fully outside. The poet says, 'I am neither in time, nor completely out of time,' and so it actually happened a little bit.

However, I don't speak good Swedish and it really bothers me. I have no time for that because I am too busy with my job, which is all in Turkish. It creates this weird dynamic, I have an office at home, I work in Turkish, my kids go to Swedish schools and speak very good Swedish and they are also Swedish citizens already. Very complicated I guess.

A: How do you define yourself as an identity? For example, if I ask about your identity elements, what comes to your mind first?

B: I am a father, I am a husband and I define myself as a journalist in exile among some other things. It's written all over my biography. 'exile journalist'. Or something like this happened. That's very important to me. That's why I thought of journalism first. I was trying, along with July 15, to prove in some way that he wasn't the murderer of his wife, Dr. I mentioned the Kimbell example, so I was trying to save my journalism, I was trying to save my journalistic reputation. Because all of a sudden we were labeled as an extension of the media, a prop of the media, and a stooge of an armed terrorist organization that was bombing its own people. This was a tremendous slander and hurt my incredible pride as someone who had worked for his country all his life. And we were no longer journalists. In other words, in the eyes of the rest of Turkey, we weren't journalists.

A: We were slandered as members of a terrorist organization. That's what we were called. A terrible accusation. In a way, my uprising was a rebellion. No, brother. It isn't. I'm a journalist and I can get along with anyone. That's right, I can almost stand beside him. Or I can stand against the injustice from which it emanates. But I never accept slander. That's why I declared war on all sides, a war against all sides. Of course, this has made me lonely.

A: When you introduce yourself here, can you say that you're a journalist in exile?

B: I say it immediately.. In fact, this may be a factor that I want to say as soon as possible.

A: Do you want people to meet you for the first time with this identity?

B: I think so. We have a history. So I didn't come here to be a burden to the Swedish state. I didn't come here to live a wealthier life, I didn't come here for financial reasons. There is only one reason why you came here: my freedom. And I want this story to be known. We have fought a principled battle. We fought an intellectual battle. We talked about democracy, we talked about freedom of the press, we talked about freedom of expression. We spoke of the rule of law and the rule of law. We spoke of an independent judiciary. We came here for their struggle. And anti-corruption, and on the other hand, if there is any wrongdoing by the community that you're in, I wanted to show you the courage to say it. At the end of the day, that is another aspect of the

issue, but when you get to the question that you asked, I'll tell you who I'm here and why I'm here. And I'm comfortable with that identity, no matter how convoluted it's.

A: So, who is your target audience in the media you are currently producing as an exiled journalist in Sweden? Do you think you reach this audience?

B: I tell myself that I will not address things today, but tomorrow. You write down the date. You call out history. That's probably the right answer to the question. So I write for the future. First of all, I am writing these lines to my children. Because one day they too will ask themselves and look. Why did we come from Turkey, why did we come to Sweden? What have we experienced? What did our fathers experience? What happened, they will look back to see what happened to us. And I'll give them an answer first. They will find the answers to those questions they ask with me. And with my own children, I am writing to all your children and generations. Whether they are interested or not, that's another issue, I am doing my part as a journalist. Also as I said before, I really feel responsible for informing people who have no access to objective information and I still have to be the voice of the ones who can not speak.

A: Would you go back to Turkey if you had a chance and know that you could write freely?

B: This is a very difficult question. I think about it very often. I always think about it. Because why? I could be nothing here. I am someone who has no value in this country. Either that or I have no counterpart now in this country, in Sweden. For this country, I am a nobody. But it was there. Because I write in Turkish, because I speak Turkish, because I produce in Turkish. I am from there, I was born there once, I grew up there, it's my home. So, there's such a big dilemma. We have reached a point where I do not want to go back and live in Turkey. I do not. That is such a big question for once. Now I think it's a totally corrupt society, a society that called me a terrorist just because I was an opposition journalist who dared to ask questions.

A: These are all my questions. Is there anything else you would like to add?

B: We already talked for hours, thank you very much!

Appendix 5: Coding Process

First reactions after hearing about the coup	<p>Ve on gün sonra darbe girişimi oldu, darbe oldu. Her şey alt üst oldu. Hemen Türkiye'den çıkmaya çalıştı arkadaşlar. <u>Bir gazeteci arkadaşım hemen apar topar geldi. Onu karşıladım. Son ailesi geldi. Eşi ve oğlu geldi. Bir müddet aynı evi paylaştık. Sonra gazeteden başka arkadaşlar da geldi. Bu sefer buradan nasıl çıkarız kaygısına düştük. Zaten bir on beş Temmuz'da on gün sonra, yirmi beş Temmuz'da Ankara'daki evim, terör polislerince basıldı. İlk gazetecilere yönelik gözaltı listesinde vardım, kırk iki kişilik. O gün iki defa, komşularımızın söylediği, iki defa polisler geldi ağır silahlarla. Eve aramışlar. Allah'tan yoktuk ve artık dönemeyecektik doğal olarak. O dalgada gözaltına alınan arkadaşların hepsi tutuklandı. Hala içeride olan var, çıkanlar da var az da olsa ama hakları müthiş kısıtlanmış şekilde. Ve bunların bazıları benim yakın arkadaşlarımdı, meslektaşlarım. Hemen hepsini tanıyordum. Her gün tutuklanan gazetecileri okuyorduk orada, farklı illerden. Şimdi mesela İzmir'deki operasyonda başka bir gazeteci arkadaş, tanıdığım, birlikte çalıştım arkadaşlar. Antalya'dan, Adana'dan Hatay'dan Tanıdığım arkadaşlar her gün tutuklanıyor. <u>Korkunç bir kabusun içindeyiz. Ve dışarı çıkmış olan benim gibi dışarıda olan ki 15 Temmuz öncesi çıkmış olan arkadaşlar da vardı. Her gün telefonlaşıyoruz. Eyvah! Şu doldu. Bunu dalmışlar duydun mu? Böyle durum değerlendirmesi yapıyoruz, üzüntü içindeyiz. Bir yandan da tabii</u></u></p>
what did they do afterwards	
emotions (panicking and sadness)	

Thematic coding sample of Adem F.

Appendix 6: Codebook

Theme	Category	Subcategory	Descriptions
-Migration Stories	-The reasons that led them to leave Turkey	-Feeling or being threatened, political pressure and no freedom of speech before the 15th of July 2016 -Feeling or being threatened, political pressure	-There are two groups as the ones who were considering leaving Turkey before or after the 15th of July depending on the allegations, their political views and personal reasons. -Journalists who were connected to the Gülen Movement started to be threatened after 17-25 December 2013 and

	<p>-The way how they left Turkey</p>	<p>and no freedom of speech before the 15th of July 2016</p> <p>-Leaving Turkey via plane with a valid passport</p> <p>-Leaving Turkey illegally without a valid passport</p>	<p>they left Turkey after 15th of July 2016 as they became the open target of Erdoğan. One journalist formerly connected to the Gülen movement left before as there was a lot of pressure on him, whereas other journalists of the Gülen movement left later as they started to be searched after 15th of July.</p> <p>-Kurdish, leftist and liberal journalists were being openly threatened after Gezi Park but they also left Turkey after 2016 because of the ongoing trials connected to their active participation to the protests and advocacy related to Gezi (2013), Reyhanlı car bombings (2013), Ankara bombings (2015 and 2016) and also 15th of July (2016) allegations.</p> <p>-4 of those 10 journalists left Turkey legally as they had valid passports by using different ways. 2 of them fled directly from Turkey to Sweden with their valid Schengen visa. One of them was already living in a country in Asia and fled to Sweden from there. One of them was in another European country and moved to Sweden later.</p> <p>-6 of those 10 journalists left Turkey in illegal ways. Even though they had a valid passport and Schengen visa before 15th of July, their passports were canceled by the state and they were banned from leaving the country. Therefore they all left Turkey through the Meriç River with a boat, reached Greece and later on arrived in</p>
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			Sweden. They were not informed about each other's situation until they met in Sweden. They all left their families behind and reunited them later.
Journalism Practices by using digital media as exile journalists	-The ones who continue journalism practices in exile actively, professionally and make their living by journalism	<p>-Practicing journalism through working in Turkish news and media outlets (in their first years in exile or still) (news and column writing, commenting, editing etc) and as an addition having personal YouTube and Patreon. They make their living by doing both.</p> <p>-Practicing journalism only through personal digital media channels (YouTube, Patreon, personal website). They make their living only by these personal channels.</p>	<p>-5 of those 10 journalists still continue to perform active journalism in exile in Sweden and all of them are doing this in Turkish. Within these 5 people, 4 of them used to work together in SCF and some online news outlet related to the Gülen Movement (such as TR 7/24) when they first exiled to Sweden. Then 3 of them left them as they don't identify themselves within the Gülen movement anymore and created their own media channels within YouTube, Patreon and personal websites. Now, 2 of the informants are still working in TR 7/24 and also they have created their own media channels as an addition to their work in those media outlets.</p> <p>-There are 3 journalists who continue practicing journalism through their personal digital media accounts they created themselves such as Patreon and Youtube. As they pointed out, this is their only income source and they have a large online audience. They also create content only in Turkish.</p>

	<p>-The ones who continue journalism without getting paid and as a part time occupation</p> <p>-The ones who stopped doing journalism as a profession and pursue another career</p>	<p>-Practicing journalism as an addition to their other jobs in Sweden</p> <p>-Not performing journalism professionally nor voluntarily anymore</p>	<p>-2 of those 10 journalists are practicing journalism voluntarily and without getting paid or earning any money through the news and media outlets they established by themselves. They have created a website (it's called Gazete İsveç) and social media accounts (instagram, facebook, twitter, youtube). They create content in Turkish, Kurdish, English and sometimes Swedish. So far they did not make any profit out of it. Therefore, they are doing different jobs for living.</p> <p>-3 informants have left journalism as a profession completely and they are working in different jobs (software developer, photographer, researcher or in different part time jobs).</p>
	<p>-Motivations during early times in exile</p>	<p>-Coming together with other journalists for a</p>	<p>-During their early times in exile in Sweden, journalists who were connected through the Gülen Movement came together and created a human rights platform (SCF) and</p>

same cause and feeling empowered by working on the issue that made them exiled

-‘The journalist urge’ to be the voice who can not freely speak in Turkey

.Feeling responsible for somehow leaving the country for being free therefore trying to their best through performing journalism

.Helping other people in people by creating content and detailed reports about Turkey and 15th of July

.Raising the

some of them worked in the same digital news outlet. Especially SCF, made them feel like they are serving a cause they can be helpful as they have been experiencing the same human rights violation, and also it was like a ‘shelter’ for them in exile as a place they can be journalists again in a safe space.

-All of the informants who somehow continue working as journalists used the term ‘the journalist urge’, as a reason for them to continue journalism in exile. Also, the feeling of responsibility for those who are not able to be noted as one of the biggest motivations of exiled journalists in Sweden. Some of them also feel ‘guilty’ by not being in Turkey with those who are under political and social pressure because of the same reasons as them. Since they are in a democratic country, they feel like they at least need to raise the awareness of Swedish society and Europeans about the ‘realities’ of Turkey and Erdoğan's government.

	<p>-Motivations after first two years in exile</p>	<p>awareness in Sweden and Europe about the political situation of Turkey</p> <p>-Trying to find their own voice after not identifying as a member of a certain group (the ones who are not identifying as a Gülen Movement member anymore)</p> <p>.Motivated through the big audience who follows them in Turkey despite the political restrictions and bans in Turkey</p> <p>.Will to leave a mark in history for the next generations by</p>	<p>-2 informants were formerly a part of Gülen Movement but now they persistently say that they are not anymore. They used to work in media outlets related to the movement and they worked in SCF and TR 7 24 after they came to Sweden but now they are finding their own voices and working independently and doing advocacy for all groups who are oppressed. Other ones (Kurdish, liberal, Gülenist journalists) still remain the same in terms of their political standpoint.</p> <p>-Journalists who are still able to work in a media outlet or independently through digital social platforms have a big Turkish speaking audience even though their names are ‘banned’ in Turkey and they still receive a lot of positive comments from their audience and this motivates them.</p> <p>-All of the exiled journalists who are informants of this research, are the victims of the state as they had a certain political and social standpoint and they all pointed out that they still feel the need to explain themselves to the future generations for them to understand why they were exiled and they did not commit any crime.</p> <p>-These motivations remained for all journalists even after</p>
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	<p>-De motivations for the ones who quit journalism</p>	<p>trying to prove that they were only fighting for freedom and they were not criminals</p> <p>.Same motivations as early years, such as feeling responsible for the ones who are in the same situation but had to stay in Turkey and ended up jail or living a difficult time due to political pressure</p> <p>-Not seeing any point of trying to create for the Turkish speaking audience</p> <p>.Not having a hope for the future of democracy and freedom of speech in Turkey</p> <p>.Feeling tired of</p>	<p>their first two years in Sweden. However, with years they added other motivations or started to feel ‘less inner pressure’ to perform journalism in a certain way.</p> <p>-2 informants of this research stopped performing journalism in any form due to different reasons even though back in Turkey they were working in very big media outlets and newspapers with large circulation. Now they are working in different jobs as they find it more convenient and they don’t want to follow or be concerned about the Turkish media anymore. They pointed out that being exiled and losing everything back home was already a very big burden to carry and they could not bear doing journalism in exile. They also believe that creating or writing on political issues do not remain as they think people will not be interested in what happened in that period of time in Turkey. Instead they want to focus on creating art when they want to express themselves as it stays longer.</p>
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		<p>creating political content</p> <p>.Thinking that life in exile to difficult to do journalism in Turkish and they can not afford it</p> <p>.Wanting to focus on themselves and art (writing non political things, photography etc.)</p> <p>.Journalism is not good for their mental health in exile</p> <p>.Not feeling responsible for doing journalism anymore</p>	
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Appendix 6: Figures

Figure 1: Self made ‘green curtain room’ in Tarık B.’s house where we had the interview



Figure 2: Silver YouTube award of Tarik B. for having more than 100.000 subscribers on his Youtube Channel

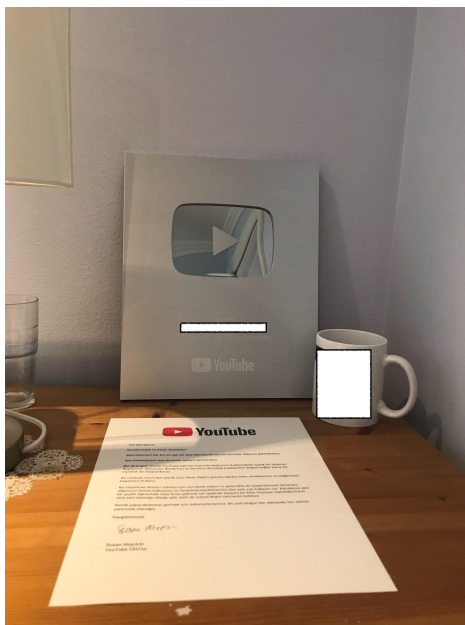


Figure 3: Self made ‘green curtain room’ in Zeki G.’s house



Figure 4: An interview scene from Adem F.’s house, where they served me ‘Traditional Turkish Coffee’



Figure 5: Some field notes-observations from my 60 pages field notebook (mostly in Turkish, mother language of me and my informants)

10.02.2020
 Genel olarak Hırvatlar yetenekli
 91-92 Aralık kamu protestoları, paratekelle ilgili
 (çok) Bilimler - memur olma, İtalya
 Nöbetçiler Desper - Paris
 Bazı paratekellerde sayfa lebreleri tırtıllı
 sayfalar. 91-2000
 Çinceyle ilgili bir ara study. Roma yığı
 dolur İtalya.
 Akademi dedeleyle alakalı bir çalışma
 İtalya yazmaları - daha çok
 Türkiye Erdiğiz'in kadrosu
 Müdürlükler bir odaya dâhilinde ama ~~çalışma~~
 yapılmadığını görüldü.
 Politika müdürlüğü - 2021'le ilgili
 bir bu - editörlük yaparken müdürün odaya
 da gire.
 Anadoluya bir oldu. Barışçılık ve ~~çalışma~~
 müdürlükler (X-taleto müdürlükler) + ~~çalışma~~
 17-25 sene -
 İtalya müdürlüğünde çalışmaya 10 atıldı son rapor
 İtalya bir rapor 200 raporla 75000. verildi
 cesareti bildiren bir raporla
 Anadoluya Erdiğiz'le de sorduk.
 Sınırlarda büyük bir rekabete oldu
 Peşinde
 İtalya dışından Hırvatlar ~~çalışma~~
 Peşinde dışarı geldi. Rıza Ali + Taylan

motivasyonla memur istemini 2010'de
 Edip'in 10000'den fazla Çukurova'ya
 İtalyan edip.
 Proje raporları ve raporlar paratekeller arasında
 bir yer edindi.
 Denizcilik; memur dairesi çok ağır işle
 yapıldı.
 Sığınma evinde sığınma, püçünde iş yapıldı.
 Teşkilatçılarından gelen, çok sayımsı,
 tüm bunların yapıldığı madde-memur
 kriteri hakkında
 çalışmalarını bu konuda bir mifas
 Hedef kitle -
 Adana'ya çalışıldı. Türkiye polisine
 Barışçılık: Fetihçiler Arası paratekeller, ben su
 çalıştı sesteniyon - Geleceğe sesteniyon.
 İtalya İtalyan
 İtalyanlar için ~~çalışma~~ ~~çalışma~~ edipin, arıtların
 yarımına İtalyanlar. Bu sene, benim için
 bakılmı ettirildi.
 Bu sene benim anlamlandırmaya sene.
 Bu yata sonra İtalya ne diye sığınma
 İtalyan.
 İtalyan anlamında ne vardı.
 + sığınma evine ~~çalışma~~ paratekellerin.