Immigration, New Media, and Sense of Belonging of Thais in Berlin

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Abstract: Economic migration tends to be the key element for the push and pull factors of immigrants who expect to improve their living conditions. However, the study found that the "family purpose" is the salient rationale for Thai immigrants in Berlin. The German official statistics presented that more than 58,600 Thais immigrating and living in Germany, among these figures it is approximate that 4,979 Thais residing in Berlin including Thai immigrants as well as 1.5th and 2nd generation Thais. The family-related immigration of Thais in Germany entails individuals' adjustment and diverse degree of integration where globalization and new media have significant impacts on immigrants' overseas life and attachments to their homeland. The paper scrutinises the notions of Thai immigrants and the later generations towards change adaption, effect of mobility, integration, sense of belonging, and identity by exploring Thais in Berlin as a case study based on a qualitative approach. As globalization and hi-technology closely engage with individuals' routine, the paper examines the intersections of immigration, new media, lives and identities of Thais in Berlin. The paper argues that the level of participants' integration and sense of belonging vary depending on their family socialization and personal experiences in Germany, whereas the 1.5th and 2^{nd} generation That in Berlin are clearly shown that they are confident living in Germany. In cases of Thais in Berlin it is found that new media plays a prevalent role in shaping sense of belonging. The paper also argues that Thai immigrants are largely influenced by media and thus individuals interpret their belonging to the country of settlement linking with current immigration issues of German society. The paper contributes to the clear understanding of immigration based mainly on the family purpose and how Thai immigrants' lives have been adapted in the advanced technological era.

Introduction

It is undeniable that today Germany is multicultural. Innumerable amounts of people in need look for the better premise of life, if they can, attempt to migrate to Germany in order to enjoy advanced facilities, education, protection, social welfare including other rights and privileges. Thus, naturalization and citizenship are being highly contested. Among a variety of ethnic groups in Germany, Thai people are also comprised of foreign members. According to Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden (2015), the immigration statistics of Germany collected in the year 2013 reveals that 58,638 Thais reside in Germany. This number includes the first and second generations Thais in Germany who remain Thai nationals, yet it does not include people who are Thai but have gone through the naturalization process or received German citizenship automatically following their parents. There is a substantial number of Thais in Germany in which Thai people have established networks and group activities to stay connected with others throughout Germany. The gender ratio between Thai females and Thai males is very different; the ratio of female is more than six times higher than that of males in total: 7,712 Thai males and 50,926 females (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015).

At present, there are frequent news reports about refugees, immigrants and political reactions towards immigration in Germany; news and media strengthening the issue of immigration. This leads the paper to study a less researched ethnic group in Germany in the contemporary era. The paper investigates Thai immigrants and 2nd generation Thais focusing on how immigration changes and shapes their lives, sense of belonging, and identities. The reason for this is that Thai immigrants are most likely to be long term immigrants as they move for the marriage and family purpose. Changing identities lead to new ways of life which are worthy of making sense of in order to understand the integration process. Diaspora will in every case acquire cultural facets they are exposed to (Nwajiaku, 2009: 148). Adjustment and integration are the key elements of living requiring immigrants to go through a number of changes, and at the same time integration process creates new identities for new comers. Often existing identities are mixed with newer ones in the host society. The paper selects Thai immigrants residing in Berlin as a case study because there are a considerable number of Thais in Berlin. Berlin is the capital city of Germany and there are approximately 4,979 Thais living in Berlin (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015). Moreover, Thai formal organizations are established in the capital i.e. the Royal Embassy of Thailand, Office of the Defence Attache Royal Thai Embassy, Office of Educational Affairs, Germany, and Wat Buddhavihara-Berlin. These organizations enable one to see strong connection and attachment to homeland affairs of Thais in Berlin.

Framework and Methodology

The 'leading' sciences and technologies have influenced language, for instance problems of communication, cybernetics, computers and their languages for the last forty years (Lyotard, 1979: 3). The traditional mass media, for instance newspapers, magazines, television, and radio have been shifted to the use of computer networks, satellites, and telephone connection leading to a digital revolution (Kawamoto, 2003: 9). The information became the basis of economy referring the society to Information Age, which later brought about the term Digital Age (Kawamoto, 2003: 17). As the rise of information, Lyotard (1979) points this condition as the heteromorphous nature of language-games where they can be games of perfect information at any given time. The advanced technology engaging with online information and telecommunication can be considered as the postmodern condition.

Postmodernisim contains a wide range of meanings; it refers to an aesthetic movement in architecture, art, literature and film including an intellectual movement in human sciences, and it can be used interchangeably with poststructuralism (Jones and Holmes, 2011: 177). Post-modernism is defined as an aspect of the way people live now affecting people's lifestyle, fashion, music appreciation, and forms of entertainments (Norris, 2000: 27). Postmodernism also infers to the cultural phenomenon including high-tech consumer and media-driven societies, while postmodernity, involving the geopolitical process, implies the interactive phenomenon (Hassan, 2001). Although containing multiple meanings, the term-postmodernity frequently implies to a social form. Jones and Holmes (2011: 178) present that postmodernity comes after the era of Western modernity, at the same time of the drop of the grand narratives denoting the modern period. The major difference between modernism and post-modernism can be found on grounds of skepticism about the being of any general truths. Modernism is delineated as an attempt to frame the boundary of the diverse bodies of reason, knowledge, and judgement, whereas post-modernism mainly questions about the possibility of knowledge and truth (Norris, 2000). This is the reason why Lyotard (1979: xxiv-xxv) viewed "postmodern as incredulity towards metarratives" and reduced "scientific knowledge is a kind of discourse".

With respect to the above discussion, there are two obvious stances happened in advanced society which can be described as the condition of postmodernity. First is the flow of information, and second, as it is linked to the other, is the emergence of the telecommunications and online connections. The emergence of newer communication channels has adjusted forms of knowledge and means to acquire knowledge. Practically, knowledge can be reached in a number of ways, and both traditional media and newer media become tools for individuals and social organizations to gain and message information. Traditional and digital media thus are necessary for everyday life as they penetrate into the modern way of life and influence perceptions of individuals. The nature of knowledge is required to change within this context of general transformation, and together with the hegemony of computers equipped with a certain logic and set of prescriptions determine knowledge statements (Lyotard, 1979: 4). Moreover, it is useful to comprehend media influences in order to see how media and technology affect people's way of living, perceptions and identities.

The postmodern condition of contemporary society and media are therefore connected in the ways that 1) knowledge and its forms are intensively available to cybernetics, and 2) technologies especially internet and mobile devices facilitate individual users, organization staff, and state authorities to reach and transmit more messages and agenda, 3) the global society is more connected. Knowledge and information can be reached in any given moment by any parties because of the development of handheld phones, the Internet, and telecommunications. Thus, a higher number of people can receive news, messages, and other information more quickly, almost in real time, and 4) Society and media interplay in creating perceptions and mutually influence attitudes of people. Media in both traditional and digital channels are made available to large audiences where media can deliver countless issues to audiences worldwide; therefore, media plays a crucial role in forming and adjusting perceptions, attitudes, and identities. The issue of immigration has largely gained attention from the Media and individuals around the globe, as immigration issues occur in almost every country. Immigration issues become more sensitive as some engage in political conflicts and ethnic wars. The Media becomes an intermediary between state insiders and outsiders in order to report, what is going on to citizens in the state, affected individuals and those who are interested in the issues. Hence, media inevitably plays a part in constructing attitudes of audiences towards immigrants and immigration.

As the delineated arguments above, the paper critically examines the relationships of immigration, new media, lives and identities of Thais in Berlin, by analyzing the social condition concerning immigration for Thais in Berlin and media effects towards them. This is because media is an important factor in shaping immigrants' identities and lives, and to define the known conception of the term 'authentic member' from the viewpoint of Thais in Berlin. Theories pertaining media effects and postmodernism are thus applied in order to explicate findings.

The paper is based on a qualitative research approach mainly applying interview and observation techniques. The secondary data analysis is also utilized in order to draw on governmental statistics and documents. The paper interviews people who have Thai racial background living in Berlin excluding mixed race people. As some participants describe themselves as immigrants, while a number of interviewees consider their status as a mix between genuine member of Germany and Thailand. In some cases, the paper found that interviewees who have Thai biological parents, but born and raised in Germany view themselves as "native" German. Interviews carried out in

Berlin during May 2015 to February 2016 with 12 participants. The talks started with formative questions, for example "Can you describe characteristics of Thais and Germans?", and "Please could you mention names of the king, politician, singer, and actor of Thailand and Germany that you know". Some questions are designed to seek the impression of interviewees whether they lean more to Thailand or Germany in some aspects or whether they are integrated to German society or not, with such questions as "If there is a football match with Thailand against Germany, which team would you support?" and "What are the dishes you often have at home?". The interviewed questions cover a wide range of topics including general demographic background, lives of two spheres – German and Thai societies, education, employment, integration, family formation and related questions for laddering some specific questions. Languages of the interviewees are kept anonymous and interviewees are informed of the purposes of the research, and rights to withdraw from the study.

Immigration, Lives, and Sense of Belonging

New immigrants are represented as transnationals because of the likelihood of new settlers maintaining strong ties with their places of origin and put considerable effort to building their own network of settlers (Ihejirika and Korieh, 2009: 3). A group of Thais in Berlin can also be considered as transnational immigrants as the majority of them remain in contacts with their families and friends, and have been in continuous contact with homeland activities. Although Thais have different reasons to immigrate, the main pattern of immigration for the majority of Thais in Germany over the past 20 years can be described as "family purposes". Females migrate for marriage to Germans and settle their families there. Based majorly on "family purpose", Thai people tend to be categorized as long term immigrants. They settle down, adjust themselves into their new environment, and gradually integrate themselves into German society. Lives of many 1st generation Thais involve with family. Numerous children are born in Germany of mixed-race. Some were born from both Thai parents, while others following their mothers from Thailand to Germany from very young and grow up in Germany. One can find 1st generation, generation 1.5th and 2nd generation Thais in Germany. These groups disclose that they live in two worlds in their lives.

As a child it was not obvious, I didn't feel it was two spheres, but as I grew up, I realized the differences. First, of all, the language, of course, and also behaviors with each other, food, and lifestyle are separated into two spheres. I think in Germany most people are quite direct. They do not hesitate to say 'No' or 'not okay for them'. For Thai people, they are rather polite and indirect. (Vichai, 34 years old, State official, 6 Aug 2015, Berlin)

At home they engage with people of Thai background, whereas in the wider society they interact with German people. Food, language and the decoration of their homes are more distinctly Thai style.

Immigration to Germany entails Thai settlers to adjust many aspects of living. The differences such as weather, culture, language, law, and especially national characteristics of Germans determine an appropriate set of interactions among people in German society. Participants revealed that national characteristics of people from Thailand were obviously dissimilar to those of Germany. Thai characteristics are modest and nice, yet indirect when expressing their attitudes, and feelings. The seniority system is still greatly upheld in Thailand and has a great impression on the settlers. Mostly the Thai people in Berlin socialize within their own groups and hang out only within their circle of friends. As opposed to German characteristics, they are punctual, straightforward, and direct. Understanding the German characteristics is one of the main priorities of immigrants to be aware of, in order to interact properly with German nationals. Many immigrants put in great effort to adjust themselves in German society in the hope that they are healthily included and accepted. However, the obvious biological differences between Asians and Europeans are remarkable, and many immigrants are not welcomed on ground of their ethnicity.

It's racism! And here it's called Neo-Nazism. You have a chance to experience this, even though you speak German perfectly. What I experienced was that they insulted me and I just kept calm. They shouted "SCHLITZAUGEN" (means narrow eyes and the word has an insulting meaning for Asians). I was lucky because there's no danger to my life. (Vichai, 34 years old, State official, 6 Aug 2015, Berlin)

1st and 2nd generation Thais with an Asian appearance are normally generalized as Chinese by the racists in Germany. Participants disclosed that they choose to endure the situation and keep clam, as it is safer to do so. They believe that they are discriminated because of their Asian appearance. According to the participants interviewed; Thais in all generation groups who have Thai appearance, never mind how many years they have been living in Germany or even born in the country reveal that they are unavoidably viewed as immigrants and feel people in Germany might not consider them as a genuine member of the country, although they speak German perfectly. Discrimination occurs generally in everyday life to a number of immigrants depending on the situation. It is also the case that discrimination determines job opportunities of immigrants. For most 1st generation Thai immigrants in Berlin are housewives or occupied in low-paying jobs.

The marriage of Thai females in Berlin does not prove successful for all couples. Thus, divorced Thai females need to find their own way to survive in Germany if they wish to stay; even though citizenship and jobs in Berlin are highly contested. Thai immigrants who cannot adjust themselves or integrate to the host society at a satisfactory level are likely to return to Thailand after divorce or separation. It was also discovered that some Thai females could integrate themselves into German society- those who can speak good German. They can survive well even without assistance from their former partner.

I have been working with Thais in Germany for a while. In the case of Thais in Berlin, I would say the majority of housewives are not very educated, unlike Thais in other parts. They come for marriage purposes. Some are very good. They integrate well in German society and can speak the language. It is impressive you know. After the divorce, they can live their lives just fine. Some have their own business; normally it is in the catering services. Also, many Thai females excluding students in Berlin occupy low-paid jobs such as cleaners and maids. (Suree, 34 years old, Official, 2 Feb 2016, Berlin)

Nevertheless, 2nd generation Thais show no constraints in light of going through job recruitment and getting a job. Education, being a native German speaker or having a high level of German proficiency, possessing social and cultural capital, and holding German passports enable the 1.5th as well as 2nd generation Thais to successfully compete in the German labour market. Integration is a very important factor for Thais who want to be accepted as part of German society. Thus, German language proficiency and network are crucial in order to determine job opportunity and financial status.

Integration and Identity

Integration, identity, and environment are intrinsically linked. The fluidity of self and identity varies significantly dependent on the location of individuals (Ihejirika and Korieh, 2009). Individuals also acquire facets of the culture they are exposed to particularly in the case of international migration (Nwajiaku, 2009). Identities can be seen as consequences of negotiation between global and local contexts, under the globalization phenomenon. There are numerous facets of globalization including a historical period, a contested concept, or political position. All of these facets have challenged national identities, created a provocative discourse and pervaded national, state, and regional boundaries (Ihejirika and Korieh, 2009: 3). The mechanism of transformation and integration resulted from globalization has caused changes in people's identities. Globalization also stimulates immigration because it expands frontiers via technologies. Communication, network, and movement have arisen increasingly after globalization.

Each generation of Thais in Berlin differ in the level of integration. The characteristics of 1st generation aged over 40 years old are likely to be greatly dependent on their German partner in handling matters in Germany, including contact with the royal Thai Embassy. In fact, staff at the Thai Embassy speaks Thai, but many Thai females bring their husband to help fill in the form or enquire questions for them. This group tends to have a set of assumptions towards the state organization, such as bureaucracy, formalization, and complexity. In terms of culture, sense of belonging, and engagement in Thai community, this group is willing to engage in activities concerning Thailand. They show a high level of interest in Thai culture as well as presenting their sense of belonging clearly to it by joining Thai national events and often wearing Thai traditional clothes.

In contrast, the 1.5^{th} and 2^{nd} generation Thais in Berlin are more confident when contacting state organizations. They are aware of their rights and can deal with their issue self-sufficiently. The pre-notions regarding state bureaucracy or formalization do not appear to bother them. However, interest in Thai culture, sense of belongings, and engagement with the Thai community of the generation 1.5th and 2nd generation Thais are not as prevalent as the 1st generation immigrants. The 2nd generation however consisting of young and grown up adults are not keen to participate in activities organized by the Thai community and seem to move away from the Thai groups if their families did not bring them along, they would simply not go by their own volition. The 1.5th and 2nd generation Thai children are found taking part in many activities such as performing Thai dancing, playing Thai traditional musical instruments, and learning the Thai language. The tendency of homeland activity participation of the younger generation Thai children is correlated with attitudes and reactions of their parents. Parents who have strong ties to Thailand and belong to a Thai community will also involve their children in the community as opposed to those who are not. In terms of knowledge concerning Thailand, the 2nd generation Thais demonstrate limited knowledge. Nearly half of the participants cannot mention any names of the Kings of Thailand as well as Thai politicians. However, they can recognize the King and famous politicians from the Media and pictures of the King in their mothers' homes.

In the contemporary era, people are unique and have very different viewpoints and preferences. A sense of belonging to nations is also varied among Thai immigrants. Some people in all generations view themselves as Thai and support anything that could represent Thailand including sports. While some participants who were born in Germany or followed their parents from a very young age see themselves as German. This line of argument leads to other questions which are set to confirm their sense of belonging. Participants were asked: "If there is a football match with Thailand against Germany, which team would you support?" Three out of 12 participants supported Germany by rationalizing that the German team is efficient and they have a more chance of winning. For those who support Thailand, the reason follows in the same direction: "Because I am Thai, so I support my country".

Findings concerning identities of Thais in Berlin are compatible with Nwajiaku's work (2009) which studies the adjustment of African societies in Europe. Findings reveal that people have different degree of integration and adjustment depends on each individual consideration. Surprisingly, during the interviews it was found that some participants were brought up together in the same family, but they view themselves as belonging to different nations. At the end, a brother had gone through the German nationalization process, whereas a sister prefers to hold Thai citizenship like her parents and did not apply for the German citizenship. They described themselves in distinct nationality, fancy dissimilar kinds of food, speak different language at home, support separate national football team, even preferring different race partners. The level of integration and factors shaping immigrants' identities are complex phenomena. In contemporary era, the subjectivity becomes the salient explanation to make sense of social complexities, of course including areas of identity and integration of Thais in Berlin.

New media and Rethinking who is "native" in Germany

International migration processes joint with the availability of new technologies and media markets make it possible for migrants and their family members to maintain ties with their homeland through migration networks. The mobile phone is regarded as a symbol of new media alongside the internet (Fortunati, 2014). Mobile phones are argued to be the most used of all the electrical handheld media devices (Vincent and Fortunati, 2014). Vincent and Fortunati (2014: 312) view mobile phones function as "the emotional glue that keeps the fabric of society together" and has changed the ways that people communicate around the world. One can employ smartphones to search information, map directions, and give instant messages. A number of media platforms provide instant message services, for example Skype, Facebook, websites, including apps-Viber, Line, WeChat, Kakao Talk, and via operating systems providers such as the Blackberry Message Service (BBM) and Apple's i Message (Lobato and Thomas, 2014: 119). One can chat with people from another side of the world without extra cost through the internet as the carrier. On the contrary, landline phones are based on the telecommunications network which varies the cost to distance. Moreover, applications through media platforms and operating systems providers allow users to enjoy not only sending and receiving messages, but also pictures, video clips, and music. Through the internet, media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Apple's all-inclusive system create large social networks and enable many social issues such as refugees, wars, and human rights to "go viral".

The rise of virals in online media brings about pressures to related parties such as the nationstates, organizations, citizens, and affected individuals to reconsider their responses and prompt appropriate actions, as the issues are high in the public's eye. Media plays a crucial role in the socializing processes because people cannot access all scenes of a situation. Media, then, becomes mediators and, at the same time, the shaping agents of cognitive structures, attitudes, and behaviours of people. As stated by interviewees, news vis-à-vis refugees in Germany intensify awareness and evoke a rethink of the known definition of what it means to be "native" from the viewpoint of Thais in Berlin. Interestingly, only two interviewees who followed their mothers to Berlin from very young (2-9 years old) accept their status as "immigrant". All interviewees reported they heard news concerning the Middle-East refugees. The majority of interviewees interpret the term "immigrant" in the same way as "refugee" and, thus, firmly deny their status as "immigrant". The 2nd generation Thais, however, have a clear attitude of their status and state promptly there is no connection with them and the term "immigrant". However, some 2nd generation Thais are reluctant to call themselves a "native" German.

No, I am not immigrant. I came to Germany for 30 years. I am not new generation like those in the news. (Monkol, 35 years old, Chef, 12 Jul 2015, Berlin)

I grow up in Germany, and thus I am German although I don't hold German citizenship, but my kid will surely get the German citizenship anyway. (You don't see yourself Thai?) Well, I think maybe half Thai and German. I never think about this. (Natcharee, 28 years old, Beauty/Salon freelance, 18 Aug 2015, Berlin)

I have sympathy for them (refugee). When I watch television and see what they have been through, I want to help and am glad Germany is not like that. I have friends at the school and they say their families from Turkey. They could be immigrants or refugees... I don't know. But, I am not both because I don't have such appearance. (Lalin, 14 years old, Student, 19 Aug 2015, Berlin)

Immigrant refers to one that enters another country and settles down there. However, many Thai immigrants do not see their status as belonging to this criterion. The integration and sense of belonging have been internalized to their attitudes and behaviours leading them to feel part of the German society irrespective of their appearance. Media helps establish people's perceptions and thus plays an important role in cultivating people's attitudes.

Bryant and Zillman (2009) address five effects of media consisting of behavioural, attitudinal, cognitive, emotional, and physiological. Behavioural effects explain actions people do at the same ones presented by media. Attitudinal effects refer when media construct message consumers' opinions, beliefs, and values, whereas cognitive effects point to outcomes reflecting that media can alter message consumers' presupposition. Emotional effects are results of feelings generated by media, for instance fear and anxiety. Lastly, physiological effects explicate those changes in physical bodily reactions happened after consuming media (Bryant and Zillman, 2009). These effects were found to be important in people's lives even though media effects did not bring direct and immediate changes in behaviours (Bryant and Zillman, 2009). In the case of refugees, the study found that emotional issues happened during their journey. Many pictures from the Media lead to the sympathy of innumerable refugees displaced in Germany. These imply that media leave attitudinal and emotional effects on people in Germany including Thai groups in Berlin. However, media also presents another angle of refugees, which provokes concerns as well.

One mind I feel sorry for their unfortunate fate, but another I think we have too many of them. Yes, I am immigrant too, but I doubt why Germany is the only option for them. The number is too much and I feel unsafe. If the new comers commit crime, we can't do anything as they don't hold any legal document. Near my neighborhood the hospital located with a big field, there are countless refugees staying in their tents. I am a female and finish work late, if something happens, who can pay responsibility? (Ornprecha 22 years old, Waitress, 22 Sep 2015, Berlin)

The coming of refugees brings about insecure feelings. The negative images of immigrants provoke many people to characterize diverse ethnic groups in Germany. Some people also distance themselves from other immigrant and refugee groups by simply generalizing them from the overall characteristics. Groups' characteristics, the beliefs, expectations, and stereotypes of groups, notwithstanding accuracy are made known depending largely on ways of representation (Mastro, 2009). Knowledge about group members is linked with forms of features, attributes, beliefs, behaviours, places, emotions and the like; these forms can be generalized as schema (Mastro, 2009: 378, and Price and Feldman, 2009). People learn about groups' characteristics from socialization processes. This is the prevalent way that both traditional and new media influence the image of immigrants and refugees both positively and negatively. Although there are convincing frameworks explaining media effects, it is not always the case that the notion of causality – cause and effect can predict the direct effects of media towards message consumers, only probability (Bryant and Zillman, 2009: 14). With direct and indirect impacts of media, there is a reconsideration of Thais in Berlin regarding what it means to be "native" and "immigrant" in Germany. The terms, interviewees define "native" and "immigrant", are subjected to their own experience, impression, attitudes, and interpretation. The understanding of these terms is fluid and unfixed.

Conclusion

New media brings about a wealth of information accessible online. The interaction between new media and immigration is key in reflecting how immigrants live in the contemporary society and to illustrate the role new media plays in Thai immigrants' lives and the effects they have on how immigrants think and act towards the definition of "native". The terms "native" and "immigrant" Thais give are subject to their interpretation and experiences where media is the great influence. The level of integration depends on individual, but family plays a crucial role to cultivate Thai culture. New media has been growing with the emergence of globalization. Both new media and globalization connect people, and establish networks beyond borders. It is unavoidable that the emergence of globalization and new media causes changes of immigration. Trends of Thai immigrants moving to Germany have changed over the last 20 years. Thais in Berlin mostly described themselves as housewives, while Thais in other parts of Germany such as Munich and Frankfurt are of a more professional nature of immigrants. The ratio of Thai male immigrants has also increased and Thai females today are likely to migrate more to Germany for studying, training and career purposes. Immigrants from the new generation are more confident than the older ones. Changes of immigration largely occur due to the rise of new media, mobile technology, and online social networking. The ever expanding communication and network, stimulate immigration for potential migrants and facilitate those who live the overseas life.

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Notes

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