



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Translation and Interpreting

**TRANSLATION AND POLITICS OF IDENTITY
TÜRKİYE IN THE EYES OF EUROPE (1999-2008)**

Fatma AKSOY

Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2024

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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Fatma AKSOY

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ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandıđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadıđımı, yararlandıđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, **Do. Dr. Hilal ERKAZANCI DURMUŐ** danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.

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ABSTRACT

AKSOY, Fatma. *Translation and Politics of Identity: Türkiye in the Eyes of Europe (1999-2008)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2024.

This thesis examines the English and French translations of Turkish literature, viewing the world translation system as a transnational cultural system, following Johan Heilbron (1999, 2010). It aims to explore how the Turkish identity is (re)framed in the mass media, considering Türkiye's historical background and its socio-political dynamics with Europe. Using Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory (1990, 2012, 2013), particularly his concepts of communication, autopoiesis, systemic differentiation, and observation, the study analyzes translations in their broader socio-political context. It also employs social narrative theory by Margaret Somers and Gloria Gibson (1993, 1994) to understand media discourse from 1999-2008.

The thesis focuses on the discourse surrounding two bestselling novels by prominent Turkish writers: *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk and *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Şafak. It analyzes the narrative strategies in press articles and the paratextual elements of translations in the British and French subsystems of the European system, aiming to uncover how translation and media representations shape the portrayal of Turkish identity. The findings suggest that the 'narrative of difference' based on comparing Europeanness and Turkishness centers on the 'bridge' metaphor, indicating the hybridity of Turkish identity as both Eastern and European.

The study emphasizes that the European perception of Türkiye and Europe's self-referential reproduction (systemic autopoiesis, survival, and autonomy) are influenced by mass media representations of Türkiye. These representations, constructed through translational and paratextual data, highlight the differences between Europe and the Turkish Other. The thesis concludes that this narrative influences the global reception of Pamuk and Şafak. Pamuk is widely regarded as an internationally consecrated writer, often considered a classic, especially within the French subsystem, while Şafak's status in the global literary landscape leans more towards popular literature, with relatively less recognition in the British and French subsystems.

Keywords

Translation sociology, world translation system, social systems, social narratives, the representation of Turkishness, mass media, European system

ÖZET

AKSOY, Fatma. *Çeviri ve Kimlik Politikaları: Avrupa'nın Gözünde Türkiye (1999-2008)*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2024.

Türk edebiyatının İngilizce ve Fransızca çevirilerine odaklanan bu tez, Johan Heilbron'un (1999, 2010) tanımına dayanarak, dünya çeviri sistemini ulusötesi kültürel bir sistem olarak görmektedir. Bu bağlamda çalışma, Türkiye'nin tarihsel arka planı ve Avrupa ile ilişkisini şekillendiren sosyo-politik dinamikler ışığında, Avrupa sisteminin temel gözlemcilerinden olan medyanın Türk kimliğini nasıl (yeniden) çerçevelediğini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çeviri sosyolojisi çerçevesinde, Niklas Luhmann'ın (1990, 2012, 2013) Sosyal Sistemler Teorisi'ni (SST) ve özellikle iletişim, autopoiesis, sistemik farklılaşma ve gözlem kavramlarını kullanmaktadır. Ayrıca, Margaret Somers ve Gloria Gibson (1993, 1994) tarafından geliştirilen Sosyal Anlatı Teorisi'nin analitik araçları kullanılmaktadır. Bu çerçeve, belirli bir zaman diliminde (1999-2008), belirli medya söylemi türlerinde neyin nasıl iletildiğine ışık tutmaktadır.

Çalışma, Türkiye'nin önde gelen iki yazarın çok satan iki romanı hakkındaki söyleme odaklanmaktadır: Orhan Pamuk'un *Kar* ve Elif Şafak'ın *Baba ve Piç* eserleri. Bu eserler üzerine geliştirilen yan metinler, Avrupa sistemi içerisindeki (İngiliz ve Fransız alt sistemleri) basın makalelerinde kullanılan anlatı stratejilerini ve çevirilerin metin dışı unsurlarını analiz edilerek, çeviri ve medya çerçevelemelerinin Türk kimliğinin temsilini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışma, Avrupa'nın Türk kimliği imgelerinin ve Avrupa'nın kendine atıfta bulunan yeniden üretiminin (sistemik autopoiesis, hayatta kalma ve özerklik) Türkiye'nin çok yönlü medya temsilleri tarafından sağlanan çevresel gözlemlerden etkilendiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu temsiller, Avrupa ile Öteki olarak nitelendirilen Türkiye arasındaki farklılıkları vurgulayan çeviri ve yan metin verilerine dayalı olarak inşa edilmektedir. Bulgular, Avrupalılık ve Türklük karşılaştırmasına dayanan 'farklılık anlatısının', Türk kimliğinin (hem Doğulu hem Avrupalı) melezliğine işaret eden 'köprü' metaforuna odaklandığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, bu baskın anlatının Pamuk ve Şafak'ın küresel alımlanmasında daha da kavramsallaştırıldığı sonucuna varmaktadır. Pamuk, uluslararası alanda kutsanmış bir yazar olarak tanımlanırken, özellikle Fransız alt sisteminde klasikleşmiş edebiyat kavramı çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. Şafak'ın küresel edebiyat sistemindeki statüsü ise daha çok popüler edebiyata doğru evrilirken, yazar İngiliz ve Fransız alt sistemlerinde nispeten daha az kutsanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Çeviri sosyolojisi, dünya çeviri sistemi, sosyal sistemler, toplumsal anlatılar, Türklüğün temsili, medya, Avrupa sistemi

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INTRODUCTION

The sociology of translation is an interdisciplinary research field that investigates the complex interplay between translation practices and their social contexts. It looks at how translation functions not just as a linguistic activity, but also as a social process that both impacts and is impacted by diverse social, cultural, and political influences. By applying sociological theories and methods, this field aims to comprehend how translations are shaped by and also shape power dynamics, cultural interactions, and identity representation.

Niklas Luhmann's concepts, such as "social system" and "communication", are very much in line with the sociology of translation since they offer a framework for understanding how societies operate and self-organize through communicative processes. According to Luhmann, social systems are formed by the interactions and communications among systems, rather than by individuals themselves (1990). By viewing society as a network of communications, Luhmann's theory provides a comprehensive lens to analyze the complexities of social interactions, institutions, and the evolution of societal norms, making it highly pertinent not only for fields like sociology and anthropology, but also Translation Studies.

The sociology of translation is an interdisciplinary domain that investigates the complex interplay between translation practices and their social contexts. It looks at how translation functions not just as a linguistic activity, but also as a social process that both impacts and is impacted by diverse social, cultural, and political influences. By applying sociological theories and methods, sociology of translation aims to unearth how translations are shaped by and also shape power dynamics, cultural interactions, and identity representation.

The aim of the thesis is twofold. First of all, my purpose is **to pinpoint the dominant narratives about the Turkish identity after its candidacy to the European Union, and to sketch the state of the European system** (i.e., the socio-political context in Europe). The present study, which scrutinizes the public discourse on the Turkish identity, is thus motivated by an attempt to understand the background against which translations are produced and to inquire whether topics selected by the European media

have an influence on the discourses embedded in and around translations from Turkish either during the selection or the introduction processes of these translations into the European system.

An equally important objective in the present part of the thesis is to provide a promising **research programme** enabling us to approach the corpus both conceptually/theoretically and empirically: by juxtaposing Luhmannian concepts (e.g. “social system”, “autopoiesis”, “communication”, “observation”, “structural coupling”, and “irritation”) with narrative analytical tools, this study seeks to engage Social Systems Theory with the analysis of texts within their broader socio-political context. The advantages of such a perspective is twofold. On the one hand, “[t]he abstraction we gain with the concepts like observation and description [...] has, above all, the advantage of making us independent of historical limitations and specific social situations” (Luhmann, 1998, p. 79-80), thus enabling to observe seemingly different systems – whether psychic or social – as well as to apply SST concepts to diverging discourses such as the discourse promoted in the press, in politics, in literature, and the like. On the other hand, a socially-oriented narrative theory (Somers and Gibson, 1993 and 1994) allows us to approach the texts constituting corpus on news articles within their specific situatedness both in time and space by pinpointing the narratives about Türkiye as well as the framing strategies activated by the system of the mass media.

The focus of this thesis is placed on the introduction process of translations, that is, on their contextualization by the systems responsible for the presentation and dissemination of texts in their new social milieu. The contextualization on the part of the readers would be equally interesting but would make the object of another full-length study. It would necessitate the cognitive dimension to be taken into consideration, as well. Rather than adopting a psychological point of view, I choose to subscribe to a sociological perspective in the present endeavour and I exclusively concentrate on what is communicated by the European system through the mass media. Wolfgang Teubert argues that “once we accept that the object of corpus linguistics is to make sense of what is said in the discourse, we move away from the psychological or mental perspective of linguistics which is underlying the paradigm of cognitive linguistics” (2007, p. 57). Accordingly, I am trying to make sense of what is said in a certain type of communication at a certain period of

time from a sociological point of view, mainly, though not exclusively, from a social systemic perspective.

Luhmann's definition of communication which consists of the triad: information, utterance and understanding the diachronic dimension of meaning has to be taken into consideration along with the synchronic dimension. Communication encompasses everything that has been uttered in the discourse so far, therefore is synonymous to paraphrase in a certain way (Teubert, 2005, p. 6). Since meaning is context-dependent and temporary, new elements are continuously added as we (re)produce narratives. For instance, a 'Turk' is more than its meaning in the dictionary; it means more than a person from Türkiye or of Turkish descent. The meaning of the word 'Turk' encompasses all the attributes used in the communication process, even if one believes that these attributes do not reflect reality or that they contradict each other. The constructivist nature of Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory (2012, 2013) reminds us that there is no reality out there dissociated from discourse. Reality resides in discourse and one can only reach it through language or other communicational forms. Similarly, we cannot access the minds of individuals; only discourse as materialized in verbal or visual forms can be reached. And finally, we can only grasp fragments of this materialized form of discourse and not its totality.

This thesis examines **Europe as a self-referential system**, emphasizing how its self-production (autopoiesis) dictates its interactions with its environment, more specifically Türkiye. Europe functions as a self-referential communication system using a "European/non-European" binary code, highlighting the Luhmannian notion that such systems are defined by binary distinctions that govern their operations and processing of information (Luhmann, 2000, p. 17). Europe's perspective aligns with the Luhmannian idea of an observer, identifying "the Other" – in this case, Turkish identity – through systemic differentiation. From a social systemic perspective, mass media operates as an autopoietic system, potentially causing irritation in other communication systems like Europe through its selective translation (i.e., translation agents' selection of particular works, authors, and/genres for translation) and reframing of the Turkish context.

This thesis investigates the concept of a European system, focusing on two of its subsystems: **France and the United Kingdom**. The research spans **a decade from 1999 to 2008**, a period marked by the significant milestone of Türkiye's candidacy approval

for the European Union in 1999. This historical context provides a fertile ground for exploring how Turkish identity has been represented within the European system.

The core of this study revolves around **two major analyses**, with a particular emphasis on the role and importance of mass media in the representation processes. **The first is a comprehensive examination of press articles from France and the UK that specifically address Turkish identity.** By analyzing a substantial corpus of media content, this research aims to uncover the narrative strategies and thematic patterns employed by the press to frame Türkiye and its people. Given the media's significant influence on public opinion and policy-making, understanding these patterns is crucial for grasping how mass media shapes perceptions of Turkish identity within these European nations.

The second analysis delves into the paratextual elements of two best-selling novels by Turkish writers: *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk and *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Şafak. These novels have been selected as case studies because of their prominent status as bestsellers both in Türkiye and across various European countries, which has resulted in extensive media coverage. This widespread acclaim and attention make them highly influential in shaping representations of the Turkish identity within European contexts. Analyzing the paratextual elements, namely epitextual and peritextual elements such as book covers, reviews, and interviews associated with these works in the French and British print media allows for a deeper understanding of how translation can strategically impact the framing of Turkish identity, revealing the power dynamics and cultural exchanges between the European system and its environment.

Through these analyses, **the thesis seeks to uncover the mechanisms by which translation and paratexts (i.e., media representations) contribute to the (re)framing of Turkish identity in Europe.** Additionally, it aims to illuminate the power dynamics at play between the European system and its environment, highlighting the complex interplay between translation, identity politics, and cultural exchange. This investigation not only enhances our understanding of European-Turkish relations but also provides insights into the broader phenomenon of how cultural identities are negotiated and constructed in an increasingly interconnected world society.

Composition of chapters:

Chapter I scrutinizes the theoretical and methodological framework underpinning this thesis. It begins with an overview of how sociological approaches have contributed to translation studies, emphasizing the integration of social context in understanding translation processes. Following this, I present the basic principles and concepts of Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory and the sociological use of narrative theory, elucidating their relevance to translation studies. The chapter then summarizes the application of Social Systems Theory and its pertinent concepts within translation studies, highlighting its utility in analyzing the dynamics between translations and their sociocultural environments. Finally, I explain the specific use of Social Systems Theory in this thesis, detailing the originality of my project. This includes methodological insights such as the rationale for focusing on France and the UK, the time delimitation, and the emphasis on mass media as a crucial observer in the interplay between translation and cultural representation.

Chapter II examines the discourse surrounding Türkiye's potential accession to the European Union as represented in the European press, with a focus on identifying dominant narratives about Turkish identity following Türkiye's EU candidacy. It explores the socio-political context within Europe to understand the significance of these narratives. The study investigates how the mass media serves as the eyes of the European system. The chapter aims to answer two main questions: What topics are covered by the mass media regarding Turkish identity, and how is the prevailing narrative structured? It seeks to determine the predominant narratives disseminated by the British and French press, the diverging framings of these narratives, and the arguments used to support these processes.

Chapter III investigates how translation has profoundly influenced the transformation of Turkish society and the creation of a unique national identity, distinct from its Ottoman past, and how translation is used to project Türkiye's identity on the international stage. It also includes a quantitative analysis reviewing Turkish-into-French and Turkish-into-English translations, examining the translational contexts of France and the UK to highlight similarities and differences. At the heart of this investigation lies two crucial research questions: How do individual translation choices collectively result in dominant translational preferences regarding the choice of texts and authors? In what ways has

translation influenced and continues to influence Türkiye's cultural and social fabric, both within the country and globally?

In **Chapter IV**, Europe is presented as an observer that constructs the identity of the Other – here, the Turkish identity – through self- and other-reference, which refer to internal comparisons with other identities, with foreign news articles, translations, reviews, and interviews. The focus is on how translation products are strategically used to influence the reception of Turkish identity within the European system. Key research questions include: What stories and portrayals do the media and translations from Turkish into English and French offer about the Turkish identity? How are the selected Turkish translations evaluated and represented in the British and French contexts? Were these literary works judged solely on their artistic merit, or did other factors, such as cultural or political considerations, affect their reception?

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The focus of this study is on how translations are introduced and contextualized by those responsible for presenting and sharing texts in a new social setting. The process of contextualization by readers is also of interest but would require a separate study considering cognitive dimensions. The author takes a sociological perspective and emphasizes understanding communication rather than a psychological viewpoint. The concept of parole-linguistics is referenced, highlighting the importance of making sense of discourse from a social systemic perspective.

If we wish to understand the stakes involved in translation, we need to look inside the texts as well as outside them as both aspects are interrelated. In other words, we need to adopt a multifaceted analytic model: when analysing the importation and exportation of cultural products, which constitutes the macrostructure, it is necessary to combine it with the examination of microstructures, that is, texts. From this perspective, the social situatedness of these products, which travel by means of translation, becomes extremely important.

Contextualization however, is not a clear-cut process. Context is a highly ambiguous term. Which aspects of a situation fall within context, excluding other aspects? Which elements influence the production and understanding of a text or speech? It goes without saying that one cannot fully grasp the context since it is very much like a continuum. It is therefore difficult to isolate moments of a discourse from the previous or subsequent ones. The continuity inherent in discourse does not facilitate the work of the researcher interested in setting the context and detecting the situational aspects of a given phenomenon.

Linguistic and cultural transfers are not only determined by the translated system but also by the translating system – as argued in *Descriptive Translation Studies*. Moreover, the introducers of translations (literary agents, editors, translators, etc.) as well as their receivers, those who read and make use of them, can by no means be isolated from this contextualization. More importantly, the way these different groups perceive and interpret the transferred texts and what function they ascribe to them will ultimately influence how readers make use of them. Then, to ‘fully’ grasp the context, the background of these

different actors (agents, publishers, translators, commentators, readers, etc.) is also crucial. Furthermore, it is always possible to relate one situation of the context to another, that is, to relate one situation to the more general social discourse, which means that one has to take intertextuality and interdiscursivity into account. It is precisely this historical and social dimension of discourse which makes it so complex.

Based on this larger perspective of contextualization, the following pages will scrutinize the contributions of the sociological approach in Translation Studies and will offer a summary of the two theories juxtaposed within the framework of this thesis: mainly Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory, and the socially informed Narrative Theory conceptualized by Somers and Gibson (1993 and 1994).

1.1 SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

The sociology of translation studies the social dimensions and consequences of translation activities. This interdisciplinary field explores how translation is influenced by various social, cultural, political and economic factors and, conversely, how it affects and/or reflects social configurations and interactions. Key themes in this field encompass power dynamics, cultural exchange, identity negotiations, language politics and the role of translators as mediators between different communities.

From a sociological perspective, translation is not only a linguistic practice; translation is also recognized as a social phenomenon. Translators are considered active actors whose choices are shaped by and contribute to shaping the contextual environment in which they operate, as well as their social status, values and perspectives. Moreover, the translator is only one of the actors involved in the translation process. By considering the different actors involved in the translation process, the sociology of translation explores how translated texts contribute to the shaping and dissemination of ideas, knowledge and identities in different cultural and social spaces. Translations have the potential to influence perceptions of other cultures, challenge dominant narratives and promote cross-cultural understanding. They can also serve as tools of empowerment or resistance for marginalized communities seeking to be heard in the global arena.

In general, the sociology of translation offers a critical perspective on the complex interplay between translation practices and social dynamics. By examining translation

through a sociological lens, scholars can better understand how language and culture intersect with broader social processes and how translation can both reflect and reshape power relations and social structures in different contexts.

In her introduction to *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, Michaela Wolf emphasizes that since the 2000s there has been a remarkable development in the “sociological perspective”, especially in relation to translation studies (2007, p. 13). This evolving perspective has now merged with what is commonly referred to as the “sociology of translation” and in the 15 years since the book was written, there has been a significant increase in theoretical writings as well as case studies (Sapiro, 2008; Tyulenev, 2012; Erkazancı Durmuş, 2020; Brisset & Rodriguez 2020). Under this broad umbrella, various branches of sociological research have emerged, each shedding light on different aspects of the translation phenomenon.

First, as Wolf notes, one strand of translation sociology, drawing on the classical sociological tradition, focuses on the actors involved in translation production (2007, pp. 14-15). This perspective examines translators as social actors situated in specific cultural, political and economic contexts. It examines in depth their motivations, constraints and actions in mediating between source and target languages and cultures. By examining translators’ social backgrounds, networks and professional practices, this approach reveals the complex interplay between power dynamics, status differences and ethical considerations inherent in translation activity. In particular, it draws on the theoretical framework of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (see Gouanvic and Schultz 2010).

Second, another strand of translation sociology focuses attention on the translation process itself (Wolf, 2007, pp. 15-16). This perspective focuses on the social interactions, negotiations and power struggles that occur during the act of translation, exploring how translators negotiate linguistic, cultural and ideological barriers as they transfer meaning from one linguistic and cultural context to another. By analyzing translation strategies, choices and challenges, this research series aims to illuminate the complex dynamics involved in bridging linguistic and cultural divides. In examining the translation process, it recognizes that texts are not only linguistic products but also deeply embedded in social discourses. A three-dimensional model of translation can help conceptualize this complex relationship. The first dimension includes the source text and its cultural context. The second dimension focuses on the translator as an intermediary between texts and their

social contexts, influencing the interpretation and perception of the translation. The third dimension involves the target text and its reception within the target culture, where it acquires new meanings and resonances. This model emphasizes the dynamic nature of translation and the importance of understanding the social context of texts in intercultural communication (see Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008).

Finally, the third strand, known as the “sociology of the cultural product”, aims to examine the broader social consequences of translated texts (Wolf, 2007, pp. 16-18). This approach focuses on how translations contribute to the construction and negotiation of social identities, norms and values and shape social perceptions, representations and discourses. By analyzing the reception, circulation and impact of translated texts, this approach aims to reveal how translations influence intercultural relations, cultural politics and globalization processes. It also seeks to understand how translation plays a multifaceted role in explicitly or implicitly shaping various aspects of society, such as social identity, representation, social roles and ideologies. In other words, it emphasizes the complex relationship between translation and social dynamics by demonstrating that translation affects broader social phenomena (see Shavit, 2002).

To the three different dimensions mentioned above, one more can be added: the perspective pioneered by Gisèle Sapiro and Johan Heilbron in particular, which approaches translated texts not only as socio-cultural products but also as economic products. Heilbron and Sapiro laid the foundation for this field of study in a systematic way in the early 2000s. In their article entitled “Outline for a sociology of translation: Current issues and future prospects” (2007), they emphasize that the interpretive perspective, which is widespread in translation studies, and the economic perspective, which is accepted and practiced among sociologists, and which is more dominant in society but less common in translation studies, have points that cannot be illuminated by the economic perspective alone. And both approaches tend to simplify the existing complexity in slightly different ways (Heilbron and Sapiro, 2007, p. 94). Instead of focusing on the uniqueness of a text and its author, the economic approach classifies translated books as products that are subject to production, distribution and consumption based on national and international market principles. However, viewing translated books as mere commodities fails to take into account their cultural significance and the unique strategies involved in producing and selling them:

The international translation system can be defined as a structured ensemble of articulated relationships demonstrating various shared mechanisms. By utilizing statistical data related to the international translation book market, the structure of these transactions can be broadly explained. (Heilbron ve Sapiro, 2007, s. 94)

In the light of statistical data representing international translation movements, one of the most striking results is that the asymmetrical positioning of languages is reflected on translation flows between languages. At this point, it is useful to remind the basics of Abraham De Swaan's International Language System, which proposes that language is a key factor in the formation and maintenance of social structures and relationships on a global scale. He argues that language serves as a tool for creating common bonds and facilitating communication among diverse groups in different societies. According to De Swaan, the international language system is characterized by the use of specific languages for certain purposes and contexts, highlighting the power dynamics and social hierarchies embedded within linguistic interactions. This framework underscores the importance of language in shaping interactions and relationships in the international arena (De Swaan, 2001, p. 23).

Abraham De Swaan's International Language System categorizes languages into three main groups: hyper-central, central, and peripheral languages; which highlights how language is not just a means of communication but also a key determinant of social, economic, and political relationships on a global scale (De Swaan, 2001, p. 45).

Hyper-central languages are typically used in international contexts, such as diplomacy, international business, and global media. These languages hold significant power and influence in the world system, with speakers of hyper-central languages often having a privileged position in transnational communication and interactions. English is a prime example of a hyper-central language, given its widespread use in international relations, trade, and cultural exchange.

Central languages, on the other hand, are languages spoken in countries that play key roles in the global economy or politics. They are influential within certain regions or specialized domains but may not have the same global reach as hyper-central languages. Examples of central languages could include Spanish in Latin America or Mandarin Chinese in East Asia.

Peripheral languages are spoken in countries that have less influence on the global stage and are often marginalized in international communication. These languages are typically

confined to specific geographical regions and lack widespread use beyond their borders. Speakers of peripheral languages may face challenges in participating in global discourse and may be at a disadvantage compared to those who speak hyper-central or central languages.

In this context, Heilbron explains the main concern of the sociology of translation as follows:

[T]he most general issue in the sociology of translation [is] the translation of books considered as an international system. The objective is to present a structural analysis of the international flows of translated books, and to demonstrate why such an analysis is indispensable for understanding the actual process. Two more specific questions are central in this respect. How can one account for the uneven flows of book translations between various language groups? And how can one explain the varying role of translations within different language groups? In proposing an answer to both questions, the various activities involved are considered to be interdependent and are therefore best understood as constituting an international or even a world-system. (1999, p. 431-432)

In his work, Heilbron (1999) also offers a perspective that challenges traditional notions of society as being confined within the boundaries of the nation-state. Drawing from the theoretical frameworks of Adam Smith, Auguste Comte, and Karl Marx, Heilbron argues for a reconceptualization of society as a transnational entity that spans beyond national and state borders. This redefinition encourages a shift in focus within the social sciences towards understanding the world system as a transnational society, emphasizing the interconnectedness and interdependence of individuals and institutions on a global scale. It prompts a reevaluation of the concept of ‘society’ and challenges the prevailing paradigm that associates society solely with the nation-state. Heilbron’s call for a broader, more inclusive understanding of society paves the way for a reexamination of societal structures and dynamics within the context of an increasingly interconnected global community (Heilbron 1999, p. 19), which is somehow in line with the Luhmannian conceptualization of ‘world society’.

1.2 SOCIAL SYSTEMIC APPROACH TO TRANSLATION

As explained above, the sociology of translation is a dynamic field that explores how translations influence social interactions, relationships, and structures. Luhmann’s theory of social systems and communication provides a framework for analyzing the role of

translations in shaping and maintaining communication. By focusing on how translations mediate communication between different social spheres and systems, Luhmann's theory helps elucidate how translations contribute to the (re)construction of social 'reality'.

1.3 BASIC CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS THEORY

Niklas Luhmann's notion of **world society** revolves around the idea that the global community is deeply interconnected and interdependent, with communication playing a vital role in facilitating cross-border interactions. Luhmann argues that traditional nation-states are insufficient for addressing the complex issues of today's global environment. He suggests that the formation of a world society transcends individual state boundaries, encompassing a network of diverse social systems that operate on a global level (Luhmann, 1998, p. 733).

Luhmann emphasizes that world society is characterized by increasing interconnectedness and interdependence among various societal systems, including politics, economy, culture, and communication. This growing interrelation has led to global challenges that require cooperative responses and coordination among different actors on the global stage (Luhmann, 1998, p. 735). He asserts that world society does not have a central governing authority; instead, it functions through a decentralized web of communication and interaction across distinct social systems and regions.

Furthermore, Luhmann highlights the crucial role of communication in shaping world society, noting that global communication networks are essential for connecting individuals, organizations, and countries worldwide. Through these communication channels, information is disseminated, perspectives are shared, and decisions are made that influence the functioning and development of world society (Luhmann, 1998, p. 748). Luhmann's notion of world society underscores the importance of understanding global interconnectedness and the complex interactions that occur on a global scale, emphasizing the need for effective communication and cooperation to address the challenges facing contemporary global society. Through an emphasis on communication and differentiation, Luhmann's theory of social systems furnishes a framework for comprehending the intricacy and dynamism of societal frameworks. It illuminates how systems maintain their coherence and continuity while adjusting to external

transformations, securing their ongoing existence in a complex and evolving setting. From this perspective, social systems are depicted as dynamic entities that harmonize internal stability with external adaptability, shaping and being influenced by the broader social milieu (Luhmann, 1995, p. 25).

Niklas Luhmann's **theory of social systems** is a fundamental aspect of his systems theory, which perceives society as an intricate network of interconnected systems functioning independently yet interacting with one another. Luhmann posits that a social system is characterized by its capacity to establish and uphold boundaries through communication, distinguishing itself from its surroundings (Luhmann, 1995, p. 12). These boundaries are not physical but operational, determined by the specific codes and communications that define the system's internal processes.

Luhmann asserts that social systems are self-referential and autopoietic, meaning they are self-generating and self-sustaining through their communicative activities. Each social system, such as politics, economy, or education, adheres to its unique logic and codes, which shape its communications and engagements (Luhmann, 1995, p. 17). For instance, the economic system operates based on the payment/non-payment code to conduct transactions, while the legal system functions on the legal/illegal code to resolve disputes. Communication plays a pivotal role in the operation of social systems, facilitating information exchange and action coordination within the system. Luhmann underscores that social systems are non-hierarchical and comprise numerous functionally differentiated subsystems that collaborate to ensure societal stability and adaptability (Luhmann, 1995, p. 21). These collaborations are governed by structural coupling, where systems mutually influence each other through persistent, reciprocal irritations and resonances without compromising their operational independence (Luhmann, 1995, p. 23).

The concept of **social systems** centers on the idea that society is composed of interconnected systems that function independently. He posits that these systems, such as politics, economy, and education, are self-referential and communicate using specific codes and symbols (Luhmann, 1995, p. 54). Rather than being hierarchical, these systems operate as distinct entities that interact to maintain the overall stability of society. Luhmann highlights the crucial role of communication in the formation and maintenance of social systems, as it facilitates the exchange of information and the coordination of

actions (Luhmann, 1995, p. 78). This communication enables social systems to adapt and evolve in response to external changes, ensuring their persistence in a complex and dynamic environment.

Luhmann further elaborates on his theory by introducing the concept of **functional systems**, which are specialized systems serving specific purposes within society. Examples include the legal system and the healthcare system, each with its own unique codes and communication methods that allow them to perform their functions effectively (Luhmann, 1995, p. 102). According to Luhmann, these systems operate autonomously, driven by their internal logic rather than external control. By focusing on their specific roles and maintaining internal coherence, functional systems enhance society's overall complexity and differentiation, aiding its continued functioning and adaptation to evolving conditions (Luhmann, 1995, p. 115). Through his exploration of functional systems, Luhmann provides insight into the complex interactions between different societal components and their contributions to the broader social structure.

Niklas Luhmann's theory on **communication** plays a vital role in his concept of social systems, underscoring that communication involves distinct phases: information, utterance, and comprehension. Luhmann argues that communication commences with the selection of information, which embodies a specific piece of knowledge or data. This information is then transformed into an utterance, the act of conveying the information through speech, writing, or other forms of expression. Subsequently, comprehension occurs when the recipient interprets the utterance and assimilates it into their cognitive framework. Luhmann asserts that these stages are essential for the self-referential nature of social systems, enabling systems to independently generate and reproduce meaning. Each phase in the communication process enhances the system's capacity to manage complexity and ensure continuity, underscoring the central role of communication in the operation and development of social systems. Through this multi-step process, Luhmann highlights the fluid and iterative nature of communication within societal frameworks (Luhmann, 1995, p. 142).

Following this research program based on Luhmann's definition of **communication**, the diachronic dimension of 'meaning' has to be taken into consideration along with the synchronic dimension. Communication encompasses everything that has been uttered in the discourse so far, therefore is synonymous to paraphrase in a certain way (Teubert,

2005, p. 6). Since meaning changes is context-dependent; it is provisional, new elements are gradually added as we write or speak. For instance, a ‘Turk’ is more than its meaning in the dictionary; it means more than a person from Türkiye or of Turkish descent. The meaning of the word ‘Turk’ encompasses all the attributes actualized in the communication process, even if one believes that these attributes do not reflect reality or that they contradict each other. The constructivist nature of SST reminds us that there is no reality out there dissociated from discourse. Reality resides in discourse and one can only reach it through language or other communicational forms. Similarly, we cannot access the minds of individuals; only discourse as materialized in verbal or visual forms can be reached. And finally, we can only grasp fragments of this materialized form of discourse and not its totality.

In addition to communication, Luhmann integrates the notion of **autopoiesis** to elucidate how social systems maintain themselves, survive, and evolve. Drawing from the field of biological sciences, autopoiesis refers to a system’s capability to reproduce and sustain itself through its own processes. Luhmann posits that social systems are autopoietic as they create and uphold their structures through communication, perpetually generating and reproducing their own components (Luhmann, 1995, p. 189). This self-generative characteristic enables social systems to adjust to environmental changes while upholding their fundamental identity. Autopoiesis highlights the autonomy and self-reliance of social systems, emphasizing their ability to develop internally without external influence. Through the integration of autopoiesis with his communication theory, Luhmann establishes a comprehensive framework for comprehending the self-sustaining and adaptable nature of social systems (Luhmann, 1995, p. 191).

Another important concept is **observation**, a foundational aspect of his systems theory, delineating between first-order and second-order observation. First-order observation involves directly perceiving and describing phenomena based on the observer’s immediate experience and perspective, without questioning the act of observing itself (Luhmann, 1995, p. 93). In contrast, second-order observation focuses on observing the observer, examining the processes and distinctions that inform how observations are made (Luhmann, 1995, p. 95).

Expanding on the concept of observation, Luhmann introduces the idea of form, which revolves around the act of making distinctions. According to Luhmann, every observation

entails differentiating what is included within a form from what is excluded from it, establishing a boundary that gives meaning to the observed phenomenon (Luhmann, 1995, p. 101). Form goes beyond identifying elements within a system, emphasizing the process of differentiation as fundamental to meaning-making. By emphasizing the importance of drawing distinctions during observation, Luhmann highlights the selective and constructed nature of perception and understanding within social systems.

Luhmann contends that this process of **drawing distinctions** is crucial for the self-referential functioning of systems, enabling them to delineate their internal structures, differentiate themselves from their surroundings, and facilitate communication and adaptation (Luhmann, 1995, p. 103). Through this framework, Luhmann offers a deeper understanding of how social systems construct reality and maintain their coherence in the face of complexity.

Niklas Luhmann's concept of **structural coupling** pertains to the interaction between different systems, wherein they influence each other while preserving their individual operational closure. According to Luhmann, structural coupling occurs when multiple systems establish stable relationships that enable them to coordinate their functions without sacrificing their autonomy (Luhmann, 1995, p. 212). This phenomenon underscores how systems can form interdependencies by sharing certain structures or communication patterns that allow them to respond to each other's changes and disturbances.

Luhmann employs the concept of structural coupling to elucidate the coexistence and mutual development of systems such as the economy, law, and education. For example, the legal system and the political system are structurally coupled, as legal decisions impact political actions and vice versa, while each system retains its unique operational logic and code (Luhmann, 1995, p. 214). This coupling is facilitated through common reference points, like laws and policies, which establish a shared basis for interaction without amalgamating the systems.

By emphasizing structural coupling, Luhmann demonstrates that although systems are **operationally closed** – being self-referential and maintaining their boundaries – they are **cognitively open**, enabling them to be influenced by and react to their surroundings (Luhmann, 1995, p. 216). This dual capacity permits systems to adapt and evolve in response to external stimuli while upholding their individuality and operational

coherence. Structural coupling plays a pivotal role in the complexity and resilience of social systems, enabling them to sustain their functions and engage effectively within the broader societal milieu. Furthermore, Luhmann's concept of structural coupling incorporates the concepts of irritation and resonance, which are fundamental in understanding the dynamics of how systems interact and impact each other.

Irritation signifies the disruptions or disturbances caused by one system to another when their operations intersect. These irritations do not directly govern or dictate the behavior of the affected system, but rather serve as triggers for the system's internal processes to respond and adapt (Luhmann, 1995, p. 219). On the other hand, resonance refers to the degree to which these irritations are perceived and addressed within the system. It reflects the system's capability to detect, interpret, and integrate external disruptions into its functions (Luhmann, 1995, p. 221).

The interplay between **irritation** and **resonance** is critical for structural coupling, as it dictates how effectively systems can adjust and co-evolve. When a system is irritated by another, its resonance – its ability to sense, interpret, and incorporate external disturbances – determines whether it will adapt constructively or overlook the perturbation. For instance, market fluctuations caused by the economic system may irritate the political system. The political system's resonance with these economic changes influences how policies are modified in response (Luhmann, 1995, p. 223). This dynamic equilibrium allows systems to remain independent yet responsive, fostering a stable yet flexible interaction framework. By integrating irritation and resonance into the concept of structural coupling, Luhmann illustrates how systems uphold their uniqueness while engaging dynamically and evolving within a complex societal context.

1.3.1 Mass Media as a Functional System

All of our knowledge about society and the world around us is acquired through the mass media, as stated by Niklas Luhmann in his book *The Reality of the Mass Media*, first published in German in 1996. Although Luhmann emphasizes that there is no hierarchy among functional systems in terms of domination or dependence, the mass media occupy a privileged position within the functionally differentiated modern society, mainly due to the impetus communication technologies have gained since the beginning of the new

millennium. In his analysis of the mass media, Luhmann argues that in order to understand their functioning it is necessary to look at “the reality of the mass media in a dual sense” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 3). The first refers to how they operate, i.e., how information is filtered by them, and how communication occurs through them. Whereas in the second, the term is used “in the sense of what appears to [the mass media], or through them to others, to be reality” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 4, emphasis in the original). This duality attributed to the system of the mass media constitutes the central focus of the present part of the thesis as well: how does a given reality appear to the system of the mass media and how is that specific reality presented to the readers? More specifically, how is the Turkish identity depicted in the European media and why do certain representations dominate over others? To put it in SST terminology, which side of ‘reality’ is included in the system and which side is left outside the communication process, that is, which side of the form is marked and which side is left unmarked and why? Finally, what are the operations and distinctions privileged by the mass media in this process?

In an attempt to provide answers to the above set of questions, the thesis analyses the debate over the accession of Türkiye to the European Union and the reviews of novels from Turkish writers, as manifested in the European press. In that sense, the system of the mass media, as emphasized in the introduction, will be considered as the eyes of the European system. The latter needs a subsystem to fulfil this function and the mass media is well suited for such a task, mainly because every intrasystemic and/or intersystemic communication is somehow dependent on the functional system of the mass media when representations of society are at stake – except for the direct interaction between two or more psychic (human) systems. This is to say that to communicate beyond spatio-temporal restrictions, the European system – and indeed any type of social system – must have recourse to the mass media.

Keeping in mind that “society is a social system that is constituted by communications and only communications” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 207) and recalling the motto of Social Systems Theory that “only communication can communicate” (Luhmann, 2002, p. 156), no psychic system can be conceived of as fully integrated in a given functional system, and this is also valid for texts – which are the core material of the present thesis. In other words, “[s]ociety is not composed of human beings, it is composed of the communication

among human beings” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 30) and psychic systems can only participate in a social system as long as they communicate according to the specific code of the latter, that is, as long as they translate their consciousness into the language of the receiving system.

As such, books, newspapers or television do not belong to a given functional system. They do not constitute the mass media either. Rather, mass media are comprised of communications, which only occasionally use “the technology of dissemination” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 2).

[T]he term ‘mass media’ includes all those institutions of society which make use of copying technologies to disseminate communication. This means principally books, magazines and newspapers manufactured by the printing press, but also all kinds of photographic or electronic copying procedures, provided that they generate large quantities of products whose target groups are as yet undetermined. Also included in the term is the dissemination of communication via broadcasting, provided that it is generally accessible and does not merely serve to maintain a telephone connection between individual participants. (Luhmann, 2000, p. 2)

Two crucial conclusions can be drawn from the above passage. First, because “[c]ommunication only comes about when someone watches, listens, reads – and understands to the extent that further communication could follow on” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 4), the mass media obviously have to reach more than just one psychic system; on top of that, they have to reach masses. Second, communication carried out within the system of the mass media is always interrupted by printing or broadcasting technologies and therefore different from the face-to-face interaction experienced by psychic systems in that “[t]he organizations which produce mass media communication are dependent upon assumptions concerning acceptability” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 3). For this reason, they can never be certain of who reads or watches them, and most importantly, they can never be certain about how their utterances have been understood/misunderstood. This is to say that they have to rely on their selective memory in the selection and utterance of environmental themes. According to which criteria do social systems, and particularly the mass media, engage in different selection processes?

Mass media as a functional system have their own environment, in which other systems and subsystems exist. They differentiate themselves from other social systems by referring to distinctions built within themselves, that is, by referring to their own

observations and operations. Mass media are characterized by the unlimited capacity to disseminate topics of interest, which constitutes the practice of its function. However, they cannot disseminate everything and/or anything in their environment. The possibilities available in the environment need to be filtered, an operation allowing the system to reduce the environmental complexity. In that sense, self-reference/self-observation and other-reference/other-observation are crucial operations for the system to fulfil its principal function of news making and news dissemination.

Before moving to the conditions and consequences of self- and other-reference for the mass media, the notion of systemic reference should be further clarified:

The concept of “reference” should be defined in a way that moves it closer to the concept of observation. With it, we would like to designate an operation composed of the elements distinction and indication (in Spencer Brown’s sense). This concerns the indication of something within the context of a (likewise operatively introduced) distinction from something else. Referring becomes observing when the distinction is used to acquire information about what is indicated (which generally requires distinctions that are understood more narrowly). Normally referring is accompanied by an interest in observation and thus by an interest in acquiring information. (Luhmann, 1995, p. 440)

This statement explains why systems, the mass media in the present case, develop an interest in its own environment. The former observes the latter—to search for intrasystemically relevant information. It then refers to itself in order to selectively utter the selected information, a recursive phenomenon constantly repeated.

Self-reference, the most central aspect defining systems, is guaranteed by the system’s binary code, a double-sided form continually reproduced by the system itself. This binary code “is sufficient to determine which operations belong to the system and which operations (coded differently or not coded at all) are going on in the environment of the system” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 17). The code allows the system to draw communicative distinctions and gives the system the competence to decide what will be marked and what will remain unmarked, that is, which information will find resonance within the system, hence uttered by the system, and which elements will stay in the environment. The binary code enabling the mass media to draw such a distinction is information/non-information. By proceeding in this way, the system attributes positive or negative values to information with regard to its internal selective processes. The fact that certain pieces of information enter the system while others stay in the environment means that a horizon of possibilities

is available out there in the environment. Therefore, the environment is particularly crucial for the mass media. Like every other system, it has to refer recursively to its environment in order to function properly. In other words, self-reference has to be interrupted or refracted by other-reference. Otherwise, the circularity of the system would result into nothing other than absolute tautology. As dynamism is an indispensable factor for the survival of systems, a tautologous mechanism would not permit the system to change or evolve over time.

For the system of the mass media, other-reference, i.e., reference to the environment, takes place by means of topics. Indeed, topics “serve the structural coupling of the mass media with other social domains” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 13). The system of the mass media is thus dependent on other social systems, which provide information for the former. Furthermore, “[i]t is the topics of communication which ensure that the mass media, in spite of their operational closure, do not take off, do not leave of society” (Luhmann, 2000, p. 12). This assumption about social systems is especially significant for the mass media system in that the latter has the function to set or guide the agenda without growing too distant from the general concerns of the world society. Only informationally valuable and publicly attractive communication can pass through the boundary and can be appropriated by the system.

Self-reference and other-reference lead to self-observation and other-observation to make sense of the world we live in. Thus doing, systems transform the inherent complexity of the environment into a more understandable and reachable, that is, into a more structured complexity. They observe the observations of other functional systems not only for the selection of information but they also operate selectively while producing utterances about the selected topics in that they also choose to present them in particular patterns. By uttering the selected information, the mass media are constantly initiating new information to be understood (or misunderstood) by other systems. As it is the case for politics working selectively “both with regard to the selection of fields of problems and with regard to the formula for their analysis” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 78), while disseminating their observations, the mass media use their own filtering mechanism not only in the selection of *what* to cover but also *how* to cover what has been selected to be part of the agenda. These two selective processes, followed by a third selection on the part of readers, is the reason why “communication cannot be understood as a ‘transference’ of

information, reports or elements of meaning from one side to another” (Luhmann, 1990, 207). The code of the system and the distinctions informing this very code that are actualized in the communication process determine which themes will be “in part overexploited” in the communication process and which ones will remain “in part unexploited” (Luhmann, 1990, 207.). However, it does not end here. Once selected for coverage, some aspects of the theme may be highlighted while others may be kept in the dark, the latter constituting the blind spot of the observing system.

It should be clear thus far that the mass media rely on their environment for the selection of information but these cannot be interpreted as inputs from the environment but only as irritations. The system of the mass media only “give form to [their] medium” (Luhmann, 1990, 210). Only internal operations can determine how the medium will be processed and uttered for subsequent communications. The medium at stake for the mass media is the public opinion, which allows the system’s structural coupling with its respective environment consisting of a variety of social and psychic systems. The public opinion is thus an important element from the environment to which the system of the mass media refers in order to set its own communicative boundaries.

The analysis of public discourse on the possible inclusion of Türkiye to the European system indicates that the topic is extensively covered. Following Luhmann’s logic though, this controversial issue is not the product of the mass media per se. It can even be advanced that it is primarily political, because it is the political system, that is, the political operations within each and every member state of the EU, which will decide whether Türkiye should and will eventually be a full member of the EU. The topic is only taken up by the mass media and moulded in a particular way, that is, in a different way when compared with other functional systems such as politics, economy, law, science, and the like.

In this case, one may legitimately ask: if it is the political system that has the final say in the decision-making process, why should we be interested in the observations of the mass media and the public opinion itself? The answer is pretty straightforward: “[i]n democracies, this opinion cannot be ignored because a change of government is never further away than the next election” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 7). Above all, in the case of the Turkish candidacy, most European countries have decided that any future enlargement of the EU will be subject to referendums; in which case, the public would be directly

involved. Consequently, both the political system and the media system have to pay close attention to public opinion.¹

As stated earlier, the mass media as a self-referential social system observe their environment through a filtering mechanism of their own. As previously seen, Luhmann extends the concept of observation, which is primarily a conscious act carried out by psychic systems, to the realm of social systems. Any type of social system, whether it is a societal, organizational or interaction system, observes its environment by drawing a communicative distinction; thereby distinguishes between a marked and unmarked space. However, one disparity remains between the observation of psychic systems and that of social systems: “[t]he self-observation of psychic systems involves consciousness. That of social systems involves communication.” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 119). The ideal place to observe self-descriptions of the world society, and particularly that of Europe, is communication disseminated by the mass media as we do not have access to people’s mind other than through communication, that is when their perceptions enter into interaction with society. For this reason, public opinion cannot be conceived of as the sum of the psychic systems’ thoughts:

The concept of public opinion refers to the social system of society. It does not refer to what actually occurs in the consciousness(es) of individual/many/all persons at a particular point in time. (Luhmann, 1990, p. 205-206)

News, as disseminated by the system of the mass media, are such a site where we can move beyond the minds of individuals towards the realm of social systems. Furthermore,

¹ It can be advanced that when an important part of the public opinion is ignored, a need for a new subsystem may arise (e.g., the use of social media in Türkiye during the Gezi events in 2013 and afterwards). Issues and/or their alternative interpretation, which could not irritate the mainstream media in Türkiye, entered the societal system by means of social media. An important part of the public opinion was ignored during these events, which led to questioning the legitimacy of the mainstream media in Türkiye. When deciding what should be marked as information, the mass media have to refer to the public opinion to which it is structurally coupled. Otherwise, other subsystems would appear to fill in the gap and to actualize the communicative distinctions projected by a considerable part of the public.

news are everywhere; every single day the mass media observe themselves and their environment. The observations of the mass media, selecting certain elements from a horizon of possibilities and thereby reducing the complexity inherent in their environment, feed the latter by providing legitimate sources of information about the world society. In return, mass media are irritated by the environment, the latter providing topics to be covered for the former. Within the scope of this study, this circular relationship is most characteristic of the political system and the mass media. Their mutual interdependence (in terms of topics of course, and not in terms of their internal functioning) makes them structurally coupled systems, and the medium of this coupling, as emphasized earlier, is public opinion, which is essential for both systems (see Luhmann, 1990, p. 6-7).

The structural coupling between mass media and politics enabled *through* public opinion constitutes the motivation behind the selection of public narratives as the object of inquiry in the present part of the study. However,—public opinion may diverge slightly or extensively from one country, or group of people, to another. Furthermore, the central concern of the present endeavor is not the description of public opinion itself. Rather, since the mass media “‘transfer’ nothing” and since “[t]he press and broadcasting give form to [the] medium [of public opinion]” (Luhmann 1990, p. 210), the fundamental question relates to how they give form to this specific medium?

It [...] makes little sense to ask whether and how the mass media distort reality; they generate a description of reality, a world construction, and this is the reality on which society orients itself. (Luhmann, 2013, p. 318)

That being said, as it is obviously impossible for a single researcher to analyze how public opinion is disseminated in every single member state of the EU, a selection is necessary. I chose to scrutinize narratives circulating in two different subsystems: France and the UK.

1.4 BRITISH SUBSYSTEM VS. FRENCH SUBSYSTEM

The narratives and images of Turks and Türkiye in the French and British print media will be analysed, based on representative news items and reviews surrounding translations within two subsystems of the European system. This choice is by no means accidental. In

both subsystems, political discourse varies significantly in terms of what the EU is and what the EU should be. Also, the political traditions these countries have been associated with differ radically. The official immigration policy has been more assimilative in France than in the UK, the latter being known for its multicultural policy.² With regard to the European project, the French government is more in favour of a federalist system whereas the British government has been supporting a Union that would be closer to a Commonwealth. Furthermore, the fact that political discourses about the accession of Türkiye to the EU, in accordance with these countries' foreign policy traditions, vary significantly invites the researcher to comparatively analyse them.³

However, the fact that I have chosen to focus on the narratives of Turkish identity in France and the UK must not be taken to imply that I see these countries and their narratives as representative of the EU as a whole. Indeed, much of the reflection on Türkiye I draw on here comes from British and French decision-makers, journalists, politicians, in short, holders of a high level of symbolic capital that can access masses. I have chosen to examine the public discourse in the French and British subsystems mostly because they deserve special attention given their locomotive role in EU politics and their voting power in the European Parliament.⁴

² A precision needs to be made: Multiculturalism is not the characteristic of a society made up of diverse cultures. If it were the case, France and the UK could equally be called multicultural. Multiculturalism is based on the principles of mutual respect and understanding and necessitates mutual learning about each other. In multicultural societies, tolerance and integration are keys for the co-existence of different communities.

³ Without doubt, it would have been equally important and interesting to sketch the general picture of the discourses on the Turkish identity in translations and around them in Germany as well, the European country in which the number of Turkish originated immigrants is highest. I could not include the German case because of linguistic barriers. At this point, I would like to invite researchers who speak German to further complete the present project.

⁴ The weight of the Turkish membership debate in the European press varies significantly. In some of the European countries, the debate over Turkish membership is not as dense as in France, the UK, Germany, Austria, to name a few. One example where the debate is not very popular is Spain. According to Marin, Garcia and Barosso "the fact that there is no discussion over the accession of Türkiye to the Union on the political level makes it less attractive for journalists, or at least, is not seen worth transferring as it does not cause any conflict." (2007, p. 186)

Moreover, I am aware that different positions on the Turkish-EU relations exist in France and in the UK and generate highly questionable, incoherent and conflicting narratives. In France and the UK, as well as in other parts of Europe, there exist parties or politicians that are in favour of Türkiye's accession to the EU. There are, however, groups and individuals that are against it as well. From a social systemic point of view, though, it is not pertinent to analyse who is 'for' or 'against' the membership of Türkiye. Rather, we should try to understand 'why' that is so. In this sense, two questions seem to be mainly relevant: What are the topics dealt with in the discourse and how is the argumentation structured? In other words, what are the narratives disseminated by the British and French press and what are the arguments advanced in order to support these narratives?

I will present both past representations of the Turk in Europe and the results of my analysis on the European press in the forthcoming sections. First, I would like to present some interesting observations stemming from the "Eurobarometer 66 - Public Opinion in the European Union" (2007, field work was carried out in September-October 2006), conducted under the auspices of the European Commission in 25 EU countries and in the candidate countries (Türkiye and Croatia, which became a full member in 2013). This poll addresses many questions related to the Union, among which any further enlargement and the candidacy of Türkiye also appear as a separate section. According to the results of this survey, support in all member states for Türkiye's accession to the EU is not very widespread: 26% in favour and 37% against in total.

When we look at the total of the 25 EU countries, the results of the Eurobarometer 66 are not very optimistic for Türkiye. First of all, a significant majority of interviewees think Turkish accession should be subject to certain conditions, mainly two: the systematic respect for human rights (85%) and a significant improvement in its economic level (%77). This mainly suggests that most of European citizens believe that, in some way, human rights are not protected and the country's economic status quo does not meet the European standard. Second, opinion polls show that a large number of interviewees (66%) "fear that Turkish membership would encourage immigration to the most developed countries in the EU" (Eurobarometer 66, 2007, p. 224). Third, "only 33% of European citizens feel that Turkish membership would strengthen security in the region while 51% disagree" (Eurobarometer 66, 2007, p. 224).

One of the most relevant questions addressed in the survey is about the “cultural difference” between Türkiye and the EU. Interviewees were asked whether “the cultural differences between Türkiye and the EU member states are too significant to allow it to join the EU” (Eurobarometer 66, 2007, p. 226). Assuming that there is a certain difference, interviewees are interested in knowing whether the difference is “too” significant or “too” big. In total, 61% respondents believe that it is the case. The issue of cultural difference becomes even more interesting when we look at the results by country. Within the member and candidate states participating to the poll, Austria (84%) has the highest percentage of positive responses; followed by Greece (79%), Luxembourg (77%), the Republic of Cyprus⁵ (75%) and Germany (74%). The number of respondents in France believing that there is a significant cultural difference between Türkiye and Europe is also relatively high (65%). On the contrary, the countries where the highest percentage of people believing that the cultural difference is not too big are: Romania (32%), Spain (46%), the UK (47%), Bulgaria (48%), and Portugal (49%).

In the UK, France, and other parts of Europe, there are political parties and politicians who support Türkiye’s entry into the EU, such as Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac. However, there are also those who strongly oppose it, like Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, Nicolas Sarkozy, and Angela Merkel. Instead of focusing on who is for or against Türkiye’s EU membership, it is more important to understand the reasons behind these opinions and how they relate to the European system. The European press often portrays Türkiye’s eagerness to join the EU as universally supported, but the discourse in Türkiye, as in France and the UK, is divided. A public opinion poll from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends 2010*, shows a significant decrease in

⁵ A footnote on the Eurobarometer states that “Cyprus as a whole is one of the 25 European Union Member States. However, the “*acquis communautaire*” is suspended in the part of the country that is not controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus. For practical reasons, only the interviews conducted in the part of the country controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus are recorded [...] and included in the EU25 average.” If the interviews conducted in Northern Cyprus were part of this category too, and if the opposition to the Turkish membership were added too, the results would be significantly different, most probably lower. “The interviews conducted in the part of the country not controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus are recorded” in a separate category.

support for Türkiye's EU membership, with only 38% of Turks believing it would be a good thing for their country in 2010 compared to 73% in 2004. Additionally, 63% of Turks now believe it is unlikely that Türkiye will actually join the EU.

Overall, there is a wide disparity of opinion between citizens across the EU as to whether Türkiye meets the accession criteria and whether its membership would be beneficial for the EU. Taking the results of the poll into consideration, it can be said that one of the biggest obstacles for Turkish membership to the EU is the existing public opinion towards Türkiye. Most importantly, the fact that the majority of European citizens believe that the cultural difference is too wide leads to the following question: What makes Türkiye so different? Put in another way, what makes the European system think that Türkiye is so different?

1.5 NARRATIVE THEORY

Somers and Gibson's Socially Informed Narrative Theory offers a unique and insightful perspective on the role narratives play in shaping individual and collective identities within society. Rooted in the belief that narratives are not just stories, but also instruments of social power and control, this theory explores how narratives are created, disseminated, and accepted as truth by various social actors. By examining how narratives influence our understanding of the world and ourselves, Somers and Gibson provide a framework for understanding how social structures and power dynamics are constructed and maintained through storytelling. This theory ultimately highlights the intricate relationship between narrative, identity, and society, shedding light on the ways in which narratives define and shape our social reality.

The selection and construction of news contributes to the (re)production of narratives that can be defined as stories we tell about ourselves and about others, stories that we are told, and stories that others tell about us (Baker, 2007, p. 151). These narratives, according to Somers and Gibson, should not be merely seen as forms of representations; "traditional rendering" of narrative "as limited to a method or form of representation", they say, does not take account of temporal, relational, cultural and institutional aspects attached to them (1994, p. 41). They should be rather understood as "*constellations of relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal emplotment*", by

means of which “we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities” (1994, p. 59, emphasis in the original). Succinctly, apart from being sources for the understanding and interpretation of the world we live in, narratives are also the result of these understandings and interpretations, which in turn, shape and influence future communications.

This perception of narrative as a dynamic phenomenon and as shaper of both individual and social understanding points at the existence of different dimensions of narrativity, that is, (a) ontological narratives, which are “used to define who we are”, (b) public narratives “attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions”, (c) conceptual narrativity “constructed by social researchers”, and (d) metanarrativity, which “refers to the ‘master-narratives’” such as modernism, progress, enlightenment, and so forth (Somers and Gibson, 1994, p. 61-63).⁶

It should be noted that it is impossible to analyse narratives in isolation and that the above-mentioned categories cannot be fully dissociated from each other. However, for the purpose of this study, the second and fourth categories – public narratives and metanarratives – will be specifically relevant and I will mostly be interested in the presentation of public narratives disseminated by the British and French press while acknowledging some of the metanarratives that are activated in the news making process. Mona Baker draws on the same typology in her manuscript entitled *Translation and Conflict* in order to discuss that translation and interpreting are essential not only for creating narratives, but also for “circulating *and* resisting” them (2006, p. 2, emphasis in the original).⁷ She bases her study on “the notion of narrative as elaborated in social and

⁶ See Harding (2012) for a slightly different typology of narratives divided in two categories: personal vs. shared/collective narratives (which include local, societal, theoretical, and meta-narratives).

⁷ The work of Mona Baker looking at translation and interpretation from a narrative theory framework is very useful to understand that the translating or interpreting agent (observers, in Luhmannian terminology) cannot escape narratives, since they constitute the very basis of our identity design. Although the examples she gives in her book *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (2006) and her article “Reframing

communication theory, rather than in narratology or linguistics” and further elaborates on the dynamic aspect of narratives by acknowledging that “they change in subtle or radical ways as people experience and become exposed to new stories on a daily basis” (Baker, 2006, p. 3). One of the consequences of such dynamism is the abundance of narratives and/or the competition between different versions of the same narrative.

Any narrative, from the story of the invasion of Iraq to the story of human evolution, circulates in many different versions. Some of these versions may be completely at odds with each other; some may differ only in minor details or points of emphasis. Over time, different versions of a narrative may become more or less valued and may achieve more or less currency through various processes of re-enforcement and contestation. Because narratives of the past define and determine the narrative present, competition among different versions of a narrative may continue for centuries. To contest and challenge the present, both individuals and communities will draw on past narratives to highlight salient features of the current situation as elaborated in their narrative of the here and now. (Baker, 2006, p. 23)

As noted in the above excerpt, a same fact, issue, or problem may circulate in many different versions. In other words, on the one hand, different parties to a conflict are very likely to resort to diverging linguistic and/or verbal framing strategies in the mediation of the narratives they ascribe to; on the other hand, they may work for the promotion and dissemination of their version of the story as widely as possible. To formulate this in social systemic terms, the same information may be uttered in different ways, depending on which psychic or social system is observing. Luhmann draws attention to the fact that this is exactly the reason why the mass media is generally interested in intensively debated issues:

The success of the mass media throughout society is based on making sure that topics are accepted, regardless of whether there is a positive or a negative response to information,

Conflict in Translation” (2007) are equally interesting and stimulating, one criticism that may be addressed is that she only gives fragmented and isolated examples to explain the use of narratives and framing strategies, and that she does not examine an aggregate of texts in a systematic way.

proposals for meaning-making or recognizable judgements. Interest in a topic is frequently based precisely on the fact that both positions are possible. (Luhmann, 1990, pp. 12-13)

Luhmann further clarifies:

A topic is presented as a conflict if one can show who occupies the position ‘for’ and who the position ‘against.’ And it is understood that there are also undecided and middle positions. But these depend on the form of conflict and could not appear if there was no conflict to begin with. (Luhmann, 1990, p. 214)

The attribution of positive or negative judgments to an event or an object, and thus the use of diverging signifiers to describe them, can be explained with what Erving Goffman names “frame ambiguity”, which is meant to express “the special doubt that can arise over the definition of the situation” (1974, pp. 302-303).⁸ Frame ambiguity manifests itself in two different types: “one, where there is a question as to what could possibly be going on; the other as to which one of two or more clearly possible things is going on.” (Luhmann, 1974, pp. 302-303). The concept of frame used here refers to what Baker suggests, that is, “strategic moves that are consciously initiated in order to present a narrative in a certain light” (2006, p. 167). This kind of ambiguity is a phenomenon we constantly face in political debates, where parties interpret things and events according to their own ideological stance, i.e., where systems base their observations on their own respective binary code and on the multiple communicative distinctions arising from that very code. Finally, these systems contribute to the (re)-framing of these narratives which

⁸ Although Erving Goffman concentrates on the details of everyday life – unlike this present endeavour – I believe the notion of frame ambiguity can be applied to larger contexts as well, and therefore is quite relevant for this study. Another important divergence between his approach and the one adopted here is that he refers to terms such as “misframing”, “misperception”, “errors in framing”, and “wrongly oriented behaviour” because the framings that he talks about concern more concrete facts, such as the response that an individual would give to an alarm going off or to an unidentified sound, that is, how an individual would interpret the situation and how s/he would react against this vagueness or uncertainty. Whereas in the present project, the ambiguity at issue raises from consequences attributed to socio-political facts, for which it is not possible to judge whether one of the framings is right or wrong. Besides, it seems legitimate enough to ask: right or wrong according to whom?

is defined as “an active process of signification by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality” (Baker, 2006, p. 167).

Concluding this chapter, it should be reminded that, in the realm of translation from Turkish, the horizon of possibilities is vast and expansive. Each text carries with it a multitude of meanings and nuances that must be carefully navigated. Translators and/ or other agents involved in translation act as filtering mechanism. The opening of the system lies in what to translate. However, the closing of the system depends on how we translate and ultimately how we present it to the audiences. It is through this delicate balance that we are able to truly grasp the complexities of language and communication.

In line with the interpretation of Tyulenev’s Social Systems Theory (Tyulenev 2011), the present thesis conceptualizes translation is as a boundary phenomenon functioning within the social system, overseeing the transfer of ‘texts’ or their components from the external environment into the system (Tyulenev, 2012, p. 84). It is argued that a more productive approach is to perceive translation as a subsystem whose main function is best understood within the wider societal system. Translation serves to separate the system from its surroundings while also establishing connections with the external environment (Luhmann, 1995, p. 29). When translation enables the flow of texts into the system for processing, it acts as an opening mechanism. However, by filtering and altering texts during the translation process – such as omitting parts or adjusting genre characteristics in verbal texts, or modifying technologies, values, and customs in a broader interpretation of translation – it can either partially or completely close the system (Tyulenev 2011: 16).

CHAPTER II

EUROPE'S OBSERVATION OF THE TURKISH IDENTITY

Les Turcs ont passé là. Tout est ruine et deuil.

Victor Hugo, L'Enfant (Les Orientales, 1829)

Introductory points:

- Mass media plays a crucial role in society, as highlighted in Niklas Luhmann's sociological theory. The mass media is crucial for the European system to communicate beyond spatial and temporal constraints. The analysis in the present chapter focuses on how the mass media, as a functional system, operate and project the perception of specific narratives regarding the identity issues. The mass media relies on other systems for information and maintains relevance through topics of public interest, which reflects its structural coupling (i.e., recurrent interaction), namely with the functional system of politics.
- This chapter focusses on the examination of how Turkish identity is portrayed in the European media and which representations of Turkish identity prevail in the media. As observed in Chapter II, Europe operates through a 'European/non-European' binary code in the construction the identity of the Other (Türkiye). Europe as an observer constructs Turkish identity through systematic distinctions.
- Diverse and conflicting framings of the same narrative about the Turkish identity exist throughout the history of the European system, however they are all centered on one predominant narrative: "Türkiye is unique / different".

"Whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media." This statement by Niklas Luhmann (2000, p. 1) from his work *The Reality of the Mass Media* underscores the profound role the media plays in contemporary society. Although Luhmann contends that no functional system dominates

or is subordinate to another within the framework of functional differentiation, mass media maintain a unique, privileged position. This stature is particularly pronounced due to the accelerated advancements in communication technologies since the start of the new millennium. Luhmann's analysis of mass media is twofold, navigating the dual reality of how media systems operate and how they project perceived reality.

In this chapter, I aim to delve into this dual reality through a focused inquiry: How is a given "reality" presented within the functional system of mass media, and how is that specific reality constructed and conveyed to the audience? Central to this investigation is the question of how Turkish identity is portrayed in the European media and why certain representations prevail over others. This reflection is particularly salient in terms of systems theory terminology, which questions which facets of "reality" are included in the media narrative and which are excluded, as well as the marked and unmarked sides within the communication process, with an emphasis on the driving forces behind these choices (Luhmann, 2000).

To explore the above questions, the present chapter examines the discourse surrounding Türkiye's potential accession to the European Union as represented in the European press. Here, the mass media serve as the eyes of the European system, fulfilling a crucial function wherein intra- and inter-systemic communications depend significantly on media representations. Thus, for the European system to communicate beyond the spatial and temporal constraints, it must inevitably resort to the mass media.

The present chapter endeavours to identify the dominant narratives about the Turkish identity in the period following Türkiye's EU candidacy. This entails sketching the socio-political context within Europe, against which these narratives gain significance. A socially-grounded narrative theory allows for analysing the texts in the corpus within their specific temporal and spatial contexts, unearthing the underlying narratives and framing strategies employed by the media system. Two main questions guide this analysis: What topics are covered in the discourse, and how is the argumentation structured? Specifically, what narratives are disseminated by the British and French press, and what arguments support these narratives?

This chapter leverages Luhmann's Social Systems Theory alongside a socially-oriented narrative theory to analyse how the mass media function within their unique environments, coexisting with various other systems and subsystems. They distinguish

themselves by referencing their own observations and operations. Characterized by an unlimited capacity to disseminate topics of interest, the mass media perform its primary function of news dissemination. However, it must filter environmental and endless possibilities to manage complexity, making self-reference/self-observation and other-reference/other-observation crucial for selecting, framing, and disseminating information. The concept of “reference” aligns closely with “observation,” comprising distinction and indication (Luhmann, 1995, p. 172). Referring becomes observing when distinctions are used to gather information about what is indicated. Systems, including the mass media, develop an interest in their environments to search for relevant information, which they then selectively communicate. The mass media system relies on other social systems for information and maintains relevance by focusing on topics of public interest. This structural coupling ensures that the media do not become disconnected from societal concerns, facilitating the dissemination of valuable and publicly appealing information.

The public discourse surrounding Türkiye’s potential inclusion in the EU is extensively covered by the mass media, although this issue primarily falls under the political system. Political operations within EU member states will ultimately decide Türkiye’s membership. The mass media, however, mold this topic in unique ways compared to other systems like politics, economy, and law. Despite the political system having the final say on the potential membership of Türkiye, the observations of the mass media and public opinion are crucial in democracies, where the public can influence electoral outcomes. Many European countries have decided that future EU enlargements will be subject to referendums, necessitating close attention to public opinion by both political and media systems.

Obviously, there are diverging and conflicting narratives about Türkiye-EU relations in France and the UK, reflecting diverse and sometimes contradictory positions. To understand the base and background of the different narratives activated by the mass media and how they are framed, past representations of the Turk in Europe will be explored first, which constitute the diachronic overview on the Turkish identity. Afterwards, I will move on to the synchronic dimension and analyse the contemporary representations of the Turkish identity in Europe by means of the analysis of the public discourse in French and British printed media.

2.1 DIACHRONIC OBSERVATION: PAST REPRESENTATIONS

Throughout history, the evolvement of Turkish and European relations has been quite turbulent. For Türkiye, Europe has been a source of aspiration on the one hand, and frustration on the other. Likewise, Türkiye (and the Ottoman Empire) has sometimes been admired, and sometimes despised by Europe. For this reason, to better understand how Türkiye is depicted in certain ways today it is crucial to be informed of the past image(s) of Türkiye and of the Turk in the European collective imaginary, as well as about historical milestones that have constructed these images.

Imagology, a discipline founded by comparative literary scholars “which deals with the discursive and literary articulation of cultural difference and of national identity” (Leerssen, 2000, p. 269), sees the notion of image

as the mental silhouette of the other, who appears to be determined by the characteristics of family, group, tribe, people or race. Such an image rules our opinion of others and controls our behaviour towards them. Cultural discontinuities and differences (resulting from languages, mentalities, everyday habits, and religions) trigger positive or negative judgments and images. (Beller, 2007, p. 4)

The concept of image is especially relevant in the present project as it allows to grasp the broader picture concerning the representations of Türkiye and the Turk. Although my primary goal is to describe the present observations over the European system, it is equally important to look at which images constitute the “mental silhouette” of the European system to better understand why the specific narratives and framing processes have been selected in the news making process.

The wording ‘Turk’ first appeared in Orkhon inscriptions written in the eighth century in the oldest Turkic alphabet known so far. These monumental inscriptions were found in the Orkhon Valley situated in today’s Mongolia. Since its first appearance in written form and most probably well before that, one can argue that the definition of the Turk has always been controversial. In the introduction to the first chapter of his magnum opus *Türk Kimliği* (1993), Bozkurt Güvenç starts his reflections on the Turkish identity by asking “Who are those Turks?”; and continues:

We, Turks,
Are we Asian or European?
Shamanist, Muslim or secular?

Settled peasants or nomad Turkmens?
 Grand-children of Mehmed the Conqueror or the children of Atatürk?
 The sword of Islam or the punishment of Christianity?
 Ottoman orphans or citizens of the Turkish Republic?
 Conquerors or conquered?
 Warriors or a nation?
 Westerners or the protectors of the West?
 Modern society or a historical bridge?
 Eastern, Anatolian or Western?
 Who are we?⁹ (Güvenç, 1993, p. 21)

This passage signals that not only Europe is confused about particularities that shape the Turkish identity, but the same problematic is prevalent in the minds of Turkish anthropologists and sociologists, as well as the Turkish people. However, from the time when they started to move away from the steppes of Central Asia towards Anatolia, Turks have always dreamed to advance westward. They have spread into a relatively large geography – by means of war in the past and by means of migration nowadays, two phenomena that have had significant impact on Europe’s collective imaginary on Turks and Türkiye.

As for the appearance of the wording ‘Türkiye’, Bernard Lewis explains that

[t]he name Turkey has been given to Turkish-speaking Anatolia almost since its first conquest by the Turks in the eleventh century – given, that is, by Europeans. But the Turks themselves did not adopt it as the official name of their country until 1923. When they did so, they used a form – *Türkiye* – that clearly revealed its European origin. (Lewis, 1961 [1960], p. 1-2, emphasis in the original)

The literature on the representations of Turks and Türkiye in Europe is voluminous and suggests that the western image of the Turk has evolved quite interestingly. Furthermore, there seems to be a consensus on the fact that many phases in Turkish history have been influential in the shaping of the Turkish image in Europe: the pre-Islamic period, migration to Anatolia, the subsequent contact between Turks and the civilizations living

⁹ Unless specified otherwise, all translations from Turkish and French are mine.

in this geography, the foundation and expansion of the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman aspirations of Westernization, the declaration of a secular republic striving for western values, finally, Turkish aspirations to become a full member of the EU.¹⁰

It is unfortunately impossible for one researcher to cover all these phases in such a limited space. Besides, it would not contribute much to the purpose of the present project. For these reasons, I will concentrate on a brief literature survey which would cover the pre- and post-republican periods of Turkish history.

2.1.1 Pre-Republican Era

The first encounters – rather conflictual – between Turks and Europeans date back to the eleventh century, when Turks started to move from Central Asia: “The year 1071 marks the victory of the Seljukide Turks in the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt) against the Eastern Romans and their subsequent retreat and decline in front of the newly arising Muslim power” (Soykut, 2010, p. 47). With the victory of Turks against Romans, a long history of clash and war had started in Europe, and only naturally, the first image of the Turk in medieval times was epitomized as “the Muslim warrior who fought against the Christian knights” (Tekin, 2010, p. 28).

After the emergence of such an image of the Turk in Europe various themes regarding Turks have been treated in writings and visuals. In her article entitled “A Glimpse at Various Stages of the Evolution of the Image of the Turk in Europe: 15th to 21th Centuries”

¹⁰ One more important historical phase can be added to this non-exhaustive categorization: the year 2008 and onwards. In this period, it became more explicit, especially for the European media, that the current political party in power, that is, the Justice and Development Party was more interested in the relations Türkiye has with its eastern neighbours. Besides, the year 2008 is also critical in that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the current President of the Republic (the leader of the Justice and Development Party for more than 20 years), started to lose his support from the part of the European media, and has been criticized for his harsh initiatives. He was also accused of Islamizing the country by many European commentators. These criticisms have reached a zenith during Gezi protests in 2013 and the British weekly magazine *The Economist* dated 8-14 June 2013 has brought controversy, showing a sultan-dressed Erdoğan and entitled “Democrat or sultan”. The issue in question was censored in Türkiye.

(2010), Turkish translologist and imagologist Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu gives an account of the different transformation phases of the image of the Turk in Europe and enumerates some of the diverging themes used in the depiction of Turks as the Other of Europeans, and Islam as the Other of Christianity:

From the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and the capture of Istanbul from the Byzantines by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II in 1453 (marking the end of the Eastern Roman Empire) until the second siege of Vienna in 1683, the hegemonic expansion of the Ottoman Empire in South-Eastern Europe provided European Christendom with its strongest Other: Islamic, alien, cruel and tyrannical. The Ottoman Empire thus became the very prototype of that 'Oriental despotism' which was also imputed, at various other periods and in other modes, to empires like Russia and China; in this case, the image included the additional element of a reputedly sybaritic life of 'Oriental luxury' (which, untrammelled by Christian virtue and fired by its Southern climate, as replete with the sinfully sensuous delights of sherbets, harems and belly dances). (2000b, p. 254-255)

As affirmed at the beginning of the above passage, the capture/conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul in 1453 announced the beginning of a new era and was a crucial stage in the development of the image of the Turk in Europe, which produced an unprecedented discourse in Europe in political, social, cultural, and literary fields. Following the fall of Constantinople, with the influence of the Ottoman expansion into European territories, the rival Islamic civilization was mainly seen, from that period on, to be represented by the Turks of the Ottoman Empire.

In parallel with Kuran-Burçoğlu's observations on the relationship between Turks and Europeans, Serhat Ulağlı also accentuates the Self/Other dynamics between Islam and Christianity:

The positioning of the East as a strong power in relation to the West dates back to the heyday of the Ottoman Empire. It is especially at this period that the West begins to amalgamate the notions of "Muslim" and "Ottoman Turk". Thus the country of the Turks becomes a metonym for the East as well as for Islam. (2007, p. 32)

Numerous studies focusing on the Turkish Other in the eyes of the European Self put emphasis on the fact that the Ottoman and Islamic cultures have been not only employed in the self-reflections of Europe, but they also have been a source of threat for the latter. Another relevant passage is worth quoting at length:

The terror aroused by the Turks in the sixteenth century Europe is well-known. In Western eyes, the distinctive feature of Turks was that they constituted a real danger to Christendom,

even to Rome itself. Thus, they were not only a barbaric eastern nation but a real threat to Christianity. Naturally many books were written on Turks, in Latin, Italian and French and towards the middle of the sixteenth century, works in English began to appear. From these books it can easily be understood that even in England (though it was so far away), Turks were felt to be a living menace. (Aksoy, 2010, p. 198)

In a similar way, in his impressive review of five centuries of Turkish-European relations, that is, from the fifteenth century to the twentieth century, Stéphane Yerasimos argues that the status of the Turk in the eyes of the Western world may have changed from one period to another. Yet he approves the fact that Turks have mostly been associated with sentiments of menace, fear, and despise:

[...] between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, the Turk ceased to be a model to serve as a repellent, it is no longer his virtues but his vices that will be highlighted to serve as a criticism of Western morals. One will pass from the Turk admired as he is feared to the Turk all the more hated as he is despised. (1994b, p. 30)

Most instrumental in expanding and disseminating the image of the Turk in Europe is, without any doubt, the French literature; a topic that has been addressed by imagologists and linguists as well as political scientists (Ulađlı, 2007; Yasri-Labrique, 2010; Tekin, 2010). Among these researchers, Eléonore Yasri-Labrique explores the representations of the Turk in French literature starting with Rabelais and Montaigne from the 16th century and describing the *turqueries* as represented in Molière, Corneille and Racine in classical theatre in the 17th century. She points out that in the 18th century, Montesquieu, one of the most important representatives of the French literature, depicts a “rather negative” image of the Turk in his letters published under the title *Lettres persanes* (1721): “The terms ‘perfidious’ and ‘barbarians’ are used; the Turks are perceived as indolent and uneducated, violent and ridiculous, and rather sinister.” (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 126). Within the same period though, a different and more positive representation is disseminated by Rousseau: “Under his pen, the Turk is passionate and worthy of respect, even if his customs may seem surprising in Paris or Geneva.” (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 133). In the 19th century, French writers are divided once again. If we were to categorize them very roughly as “islamophile”/“turcophile” and “islamophobe”/“turcophobe”, we would have Lamartine, Pierre Loti and Nerval in the first column while Hugo, Chateaubriand and Gide would take place in the second. On the one hand, writers in the first category compliment on the seductive atmosphere stemming

from rare materials and perfumes; they talk about the Ottoman society's tolerance towards different religions: "many authors talk about the Turkish religious tolerance offered to all religions coexisting in the Turkish Empire" (Ulađlı, 2007, p. 77-78). For example, Pierre Loti expresses his fascination for the Ottoman Trkiye, and notably for Islam: "Loti describes Islam as an ideal formed for life and presents it as a remedy for all miseries" (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 90). On the other hand, writers in the second category depict Turks in unfavorable terms, for instance, Victor Hugo in *Les Orientales* (1829): "he gradually strips them of their humanity, making them, throughout the collection, vile and ferocious characters, devoid of compassion and thirsty for blood" (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 139). In a similar vein, the works of Chateaubriand are also without mercy against the Turk and the Islamic culture, and, once again, the association of Turkishness and Islam seems to be inevitable:

Chateaubriand's image of Islam is based on bellicosity, fanaticism, intolerance, cruelty, superstition, greed, contempt, and fatality. There is nothing good that comes out of Islam. This religion preaches only vice and misery. The picture of Islam painted by the writer is very similar to the one he paints of the Turks. (Ulađlı, 2007, p. 62)

The French literature deserves to be taken into consideration because this particular field is especially representative: "French writers who describe the Turks as different in essence and intrinsically evil and dangerous are more the *promoting a Christian and European imaginary than a strictly national one*" (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 143, emphasis in the original). Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize, through the micro-sample of the French literature, that Turks have clearly been a source of both hatred and admiration in the European collective imaginary. However, it should be noted that although acceptance and tolerance is also part of writings on Turks and although the representations of the Turk in Europe are too complex and too fragmented, one particular theme is very dominant.

As Yasri-Labrique points out, the primary element, which runs through the eleventh to the twentieth centuries, consists in depicting the Turks as "different by nature" (2010, p. 142). She goes on adding that this "natural difference" is also characterized by a "cultural difference":

On the semantic level, the result is a categorization that classifies Turks as foreigners, denies them access to civilization and confines them to a world of ferocity. On the

axiological level, the perception of Turks thus remains globally negative, even if other parallel evolutions are emerging. (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 143)

Referring to the literature on the Turkish image in Europe, it is possible to observe that cultural difference becomes an attractive theme for European writers especially from the 18th century on, which signals a selective communication about the Turkish identity. It goes without saying that any historical reading and observation can only be selective and partial. Obviously, positive as well as negative images coexist. Besides, negativity and positivity of a given attribute is a subjective question depending on the diverging communicative distinctions used by different observers. European observers mostly perceive Turks as strangers and exotic people whose customs and traditions vary significantly from that of Europeans. European writers are frequently interested in everyday life and elements pertaining to clothing, the harem, hamams, religious feasts, monuments, markets, cafés and even scents. In cases where strangeness is interpreted in positive terms, Türkiye is painted as an interesting place to visit, and Turks are mostly appreciated for their hospitality and tolerance towards visitors. Whereas, once we transcend the scope of their own boundaries, they are mostly associated with a negative perception of cruelty and barbarism fed by feelings of fear and phobia (see Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 143-144).

To continue with a different and important phase in Turkish-European relations and its repercussions on the European observations of the Turkish identity, the 20th century is of great significance.

After two successive defeats on the gates of Vienna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the decline of the Ottoman Empire was inevitable. Year after year, the Empire was losing territories and the downfall had reached its peak in the beginning of the twentieth century. Finally, the First World War announced the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was declared with the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920; European powers were convinced that the end of the Turks had come:

Hundreds of pamphlets and articles – without counting the daily press – constitute a corpus, unique in its kind, of death condemnation of a people, in its totality, without any exception and without any nuance, with a violence of words rarely reached. [...] Rarely has the West in its quasi-totality been nourished with such a persistent negative image, and so violent in its final explosion. (Yerasimos, 1994b, p. 48)

2.1.2 Post-Republican Era

The First World War did announce the end of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) since the Ottomans had practically lost their entire territories by the end of the war. The 20th century thus witnessed not only the end of an enormous empire but also the birth of a nation-state from the ashes of the latter; which was an unexpected incident from the perspective of western countries. The National Assembly established in 1921 did not recognize the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres and declared the foundation of a new republic in 1923, that is, the Turkish Republic. To emphasize the detachment from the Ottoman Empire, Ankara was proclaimed the new capital. For Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his companions of the Independence War, it was unacceptable to establish a new monarchy based on sharia – religious law. The most important feature of the newly established state was hence the introduction of a democratic and secular system aiming to accommodate values based on equality, liberty, justice, and prosperity. To this end, a full-scale enlightenment project was launched and many reforms in social and political life were adopted: the abolishment of the caliphate, the declaration of a secular Republic, the adaptation of a new civil code guarantying the protection of human rights as well as reinforcing the position of women within Turkish society, reformation in education, culture planning, and the like (see Chapter III for a more detailed explanation of the Turkish reformation and the role translation played within the process). The motto of this project was modernization, or westernization, bearing the same meaning for the Turkish system since the model to be followed was a very recent enemy, that is, Europe.

The breakdown experienced in the 1920s approached Türkiye to Europe; the very objective of reforms during the Republican period was to create a new national identity detached from the Ottoman background and based on western values. This historical rupture brought by social reforms also affected the image of the Turk and Türkiye outside its borders and was well-received by Western countries. Indeed, two different phases, without excluding each other, can be identified regarding the image of the Turk throughout history: the Ottoman vs. the Republican images of the Turk. The former image is typically associated with cruelty and savagery whereas the latter's most important dynamics include secularism and democratization (Baydur, 2005, p. 169). It should be noted that, after the declaration of the republic, more positive images of Türkiye

emphasizing modern aspects of the newly established state were added to the repertoire of European representations of the Turkish identity alongside the already existing images of the Turk associated with the Ottoman Empire.

Even though more positive images started circulating in the beginning of the post-republican period, many writers agree that today a rather negative image predominate in most of the European countries. Among these writers, Aydın who examines travel writings and thrillers from the 20th century in his book entitled *Images of Turkey in Western Literature* points out that “the negative stereotype [of Turks] continues to be produced” and that “it is almost impossible to discuss the prevalent images completely dissociated from early religious and historical stereotypes of Turks, which can be traced back to the Crusades” (1999, p. 136). In the same line, writers such as Inalcık (1998), Kuran-Burçoğlu (2000a, 2000b) and Tomenendal (2009) emphasize the effect of major historical events such as the Crusades in the eleventh century, the capture of Istanbul (1453); the conquest of Belgrade (1521), Budapest (1529) and Cyprus (1571), and the siege of Vienna twice (1529, 1683) in the current depiction of the Turkish identity. These writers all agree on the fact that these confrontations, which created western stereotypes of the Turk associated with savagery, cruelty, and barbarism, paved the way for the European description of Turks as a physical and cultural threat.

This is mainly due to the fact that the twentieth century, notably the period after the declaration of the Turkish Republic, is also marked by direct and indirect confrontations between Türkiye and European countries. On the one hand, history witnessed direct confrontation between Türkiye and Europe during the First World War. On the other hand, many confrontations have taken place over diverging socio-political issues.

In his survey on the image of Türkiye in Germany covering the post-republican period and based on an analysis of the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, Buğday stresses that the modernization project had a favorable impact on the perception of the newly founded republic (2010, p. 297). Gradually, the positive approach towards the “new” and “modern” Türkiye had deteriorated because of indirect confrontations over Cyprus and the events of 1915: “When Türkiye launched the intervention of Cyprus in 1974, the ‘barbarian Turk’ was immediately recalled to the mind of the Spiegel editors” (Buğday, 2010, p. 306). The Cyprus and Armenian questions have been intensely debated, especially since the negotiations for full membership of Türkiye to the EU started. Even

nowadays, these issues are constantly brought up in parliamentary debates and progress reports drafted by the European Commission.

In addition to confrontations on the Cypriot and Armenian issues, the European media suggest that European and Turkish values have been in conflict, too. Several military coups were staged after the declaration of the Republic (1960, 1971, 1980), and the situation of minorities has been criticized very harshly in the British, French, and German press (see Buğday, 2010; Walter and Albert, 2009). Indeed, referring specifically to the German news coverage, Walter and Albert state that “[e]very article dealing with Turkey as a political system describes it as a deficient democracy in contrast to Western European standards, especially in the aftermath of the first Turkish *coup d’état* in 1960” (2009, p. 235). In their analysis, they also argue that “[n]umerous alarming voices can be found in British news coverage in the aftermath of the Turkish *coup d’état*” (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 237), referring to the first coup witnessed in 1960.

A similar European reaction prevails for other political controversies in Türkiye. The attitude of the Turkish government towards the Kurdish people is not fully understood by the European authorities and has been extensively criticized by the latter. According to Buğday, that is why “[t]he absolutely lowest point of the Turkish image was reached around the year 1992 when the Turkish army was operating in Türkiye and beyond the Turkish-Iraqi border against PKK terrorists” (2010, p. 303).

In a nutshell, the Armenian issue, military coups, the intervention in Cyprus, and the Kurdish question all contributed to the gradual deviation of the Turkish image from “modern”, “civilized” and “democratic” to “authoritarian”, “uncivilized” and “anti-democratic” state. These topics have all been frequently recalled in debates on Türkiye’s potential membership to the EU (which I will analyse in a more detailed way in the following pages of this chapter).

Finally, it is almost impossible not to mention another significant element – a visual one – in the representation of Türkiye: *Midnight Express* (1978) directed by Alan Parker and adapted into screenplay by Oliver Stone. The movie, which found considerable resonance within the European system, is based on the story of Billy Hayes and appeared only one year after the publication of the book written by the latter himself. Clearly, the cinematographic images disseminated in the movie, and most particularly, Billy Hayes’ ill-treatment in a Turkish prison after his capture while smuggling drugs is still vivacious

in the minds of the viewers. Overall, an image of Türkiye characterized by corruption, violence, cruelty, torture, and perversion is disseminated throughout the story (see Adiloğlu, 2005; Çelikel, 2009; Aydın, 2010; Yasri-Labrique, 2010).

Midnight Express is clearly not the sole cinematographic example – though one of the most popular – where Turks are attributed negative characteristics. In his analysis on popular written and audio-visual texts from the 20th century, which deals with Türkiye and its people, Aydın concludes as follows:

It is striking that with these films and documentaries, in the twentieth century, the creation of negative Turkish stereotypes becomes more effective and more convincing through explicit or implicit comparison of the Turk, the ‘Oriental’ and ‘Other’, with the American, the ‘Occidental’ and ‘Self’. In other words, all protagonists or heroes chosen from Americans or Europeans are provided with positive physical and intellectual qualities, whereas antagonists or villains are drawn from Turks, who are given brutal, sadistic, ignorant, and deviant personalities as well as distorted, repulsive physical features. (2010, p. 322)

Numerous studies on the depiction of Turks and Türkiye throughout history suggest that the Western representations of the former must be considered not only within the dynamics of Europe but also within the realm of historical developments in Türkiye as well as in the Ottoman Empire. Researchers therefore agree that milestone events are of paramount importance in the dialogue between Türkiye and Europe.

The hostile representations, which are by the way reciprocal between Europeans and Turks, are nourished by the enumeration of a great number of historical events that each party selects and puts forward according to its own perceptions and objectives, and which can vary according to the current developments. (Yerasimos, 1994b, p. 69)

When considered as subsystems of the world society, it could be said that both Europe and Türkiye observe their respective environment selectively and all systems can only do so. As explained in the first chapter of this thesis, offering a theoretical overview, self-reference and other-reference which lead to self-observation and other-observation are used by systems to make sense of the world we live in. This way, systems transform the inherent complexity of the environment into a more understandable and reachable, that is, into a more structured complexity. They observe the observations of other systems not only for the selection of information but they also operate selectively while producing utterances about the selected topics: they also choose to present them in particular

patterns. While disseminating their observations, social systems use their own filtering mechanism not only in the selection of *what* to utter but also *how* to utter what has been selected to be part of the communication process. These two selective steps, followed by a third selection on the part of readers, is the reason why “communication cannot be understood as a ‘transference’ of information, reports or elements of meaning from one side to another” (Luhmann, 1990, p. 207).

Here, how the concept of observation is defined and adopted by Social Systems Theory should be reminded: Luhmann extends the concept of observation, which is primarily a conscious act carried out by psychic systems, to the realm of social systems. Any type of social system, whether it is a societal, organizational or interaction system, observes its environment by drawing a communicative distinction; thereby distinguishes between a marked and unmarked space. While observing their respective environment, systems choose to mark one side of the form and leave the other side unmarked. Once such distinction is drawn, the unmarked side of the form is not taken into consideration within that particular time and space. Nevertheless, the unmarked side is not omitted or deleted, it remains in the horizon of possibilities and is thus available for future communication. Although referring to psychic systems (i.e.) per se, an imagologist Manfred Beller draws on a similar ground in his article entitled “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey” where he states that “people can only experience empirical reality in part”; however, this is not to mean that this partial experience should be underestimated since “[o]nce textually codified, the partial representation will represent the whole” (2007, p. 5). The following extract reflecting on this matter is worth quoting at length:

The various national characterizations attributed to the different nations and countries of Europe turn out to be highly variable according to context, historical moment, or discursive configuration. Whether a given nation is configured as central or peripheral, northern or southern, threatening or harmless, will call radically different predicates into play. Accordingly, we see over time how the images of various nations are likely to undergo remarkable oscillations and changes [...]. These changes do not occur by way of falsification. Old images are not abrogated by new developments; they are merely relieved from their duties pro tem. They remain subliminally present in the social discourse and can always be reactivated should the occasion arise. (Leerssen, 2000, p. 278)

Partial or selective reading of reality engenders multiple and sometimes contradictory images. Although imagery is characterized mainly by its ambivalence and diversity, the literature on the representations of the Turkish identity suggests that Türkiye has mainly

been depicted as Europe's Other in one way or another. Even in writings leaving an impression of acceptance and tolerance, writers put emphasis on the fact that Turks belong to a different civilization: "the Turk belongs to another spatial (he is foreign), temporal (he does not know the values of modern civilization) and moral sphere (he is violent, devious, cruel, fierce)" (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 145). The central narrative which can thus be discerned from the past representations and which is omnipresent in both favorable and unfavorable depiction of the Turk and Türkiye can be briefly formulated as follows: *the Turk/Türkiye is different*. In the pre-republican era, Turks are described as Europe's strongest or ultimate Other: Turks are different because they are not Christian; they are Muslim. They are thus depicted in exotic/oriental terms as well as by means of barbaric attributes. Within the same line, in the post-republican period, Turks are still observed as the Other of Europe in terms of democratic values; and although Europe's ultimate Other starts to be replaced by the Soviet Union in the middle of the twentieth century (see Walter and Albert, 2009) – and by the Islamic world in the new millennium, as it will be argued in the following pages – the difference in values constituting European vs. Turkish identities is still central in the self-definitions of the European system nowadays.

2.2 SYNCHRONIC OBSERVATION: CONTEMPORARY REPRESENTATIONS

The quest for historical representations of the Turk and Türkiye was the first step in an attempt of contextualizing the travel of cultural products through translation. The second step consists in focussing on multiple facets of today's European public discourse. The primary purpose of the present inquiry is to offer an explanation of the contextual knowledge regarding Europe's observations of the Turkish identity. To this end, I will seek to provide answers to the following set of questions: Is the Turk still described as oriental and alien in regard to the western culture? Has the rupture experienced in Turkish history affected the perception of the Turk in Europe? What are the characteristics and traits attributed to Europe and Türkiye by European observers from the press? Finally, how is Türkiye's candidacy to the EU interpreted and - which narratives justify or destroy the possibility of Türkiye's full membership?

2.2.1 The Corpus on News Articles

Europe has been a model for the Turkish Republic since its foundation – a topic that I will address in the Chapter IV analysing how Türkiye conceives of its own identity and how the Turkish system wants to project itself, specifically outside its national boundaries. But why continue taking Europe as a model if there is a chance to be part of it? It is in such a perspective that the Turkish Republic has first applied for candidacy to the EU – the European Community (EC) at that time – in 1959. The Association (Ankara) Agreement, developing closer economic ties, was signed between Türkiye and the EC in 1963. Türkiye’s first application for full membership to the EU was dismissed by European leaders. However, the economic integration of Türkiye to the EU deepened with the enactment of the Customs Union in 1996. After many decades, Türkiye was finally accepted as a candidate state during the Helsinki Summit in December 1999. Negotiations that aim to harmonize the Turkish legislation with the *acquis communautaire* (rights and obligations accepted in all legal acts of the EU) started in October 2005. However, the progress has been rather slow compared to previous candidates. Until today, many chapters were opened to negotiation, but some chapters are still pending on grounds that Türkiye does not fulfil the obligations set by the EU legislation, mainly the political recognition of all member states of the EU.¹¹

Table 1. Significant dates in Turkish-EU relations

Dates	Significant events
December 13, 1997	The European Council declares that Türkiye is not eligible for membership to the EU during the Luxembourg Summit

¹¹ In 2004, Türkiye refused to extend the Ankara Agreement to the ten new members that joined the EU, since this would mean that Türkiye officially recognizes the Republic of Cyprus. However, Türkiye could not resist for a long time and decided to sign the protocol extending the Ankara Agreement to the new member states in 2005 mainly because the negotiations had been suspended by the EU. Yet Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that the signature of the Protocol should not be interpreted as the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus.

December 11, 1999	The European Council approves the candidacy of Türkiye for full membership to the EU at Helsinki Summit
December 12-13, 2002	The European Council decides at the Copenhagen Summit that if Türkiye meets the political criteria by December 2004 the EU will open membership negotiations without delay
April 24, 2004	Referendum on the Annan Plan which stimulates the unification of the Republic of Cyprus (rejected by 76% of Greek Cypriots and accepted by 65% of Turkish Cypriots)
May 1, 2004	10 new member states join the EU (including the Republic of Cyprus)
June 13, 2004	European Parliament elections
December 17, 2004	The European Council sets the date of opening negotiations with Türkiye at Brussels Summit
May 29, 2005	Rejection of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe by referendum in France (the UK referendum earlier announced by the Prime Minister Tony Blair was cancelled)
October 3, 2005	Opening of membership negotiations between Türkiye and the EU
December 11, 2006	Eight chapters are frozen since Türkiye refuses to extend the Ankara Agreement and to apply the Additional Protocol for Cyprus
January 1, 2007	Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU as full members

Despite Türkiye's long-standing motivation to become a European country and its endless efforts in this direction, it was acknowledged in the previous section that Türkiye's overall image in the European collective imaginary is not very flattering. As for the contemporary framing of the relations between Europe and Türkiye in European public discourse, a corpus comprised of press articles from European daily newspapers will allow us to map the current situation. The main purpose of this endeavour is to conduct a text-based analysis centred on the narratives that were used to characterize Turks and Türkiye during a politically crucial time for Turkish and European relations, that is, 1999-2008. The

corpus has been reassembled by means of *Factiva*, an electronic database for international newspapers and periodicals.¹²

In the following, I will give a detailed account of selection strategies and analytical tools that will be used in the analysis of the first corpus which is comprised of press articles (the second corpus related to translations will be treated in the second part of the thesis). As the period of study consists of 10 years (1999-2008) – which is very large when we consider the fact that thousands of articles on Türkiye were published in the selected newspapers – it was necessary to lay down some criteria and focus on a limited number of texts.

The general strategies in the selection of newspapers are based on factors of *accessibility* (by a larger readership but especially by decision-makers), and *plurality* (in opinion). Let me further clarify what I mean by accessibility and plurality.

I have exclusively analysed the discourse of news as they appear in the press and therefore excluded the audio-visual media mainly because commentary is more often present in daily newspapers. Given the abundance of space, the press, more than any other media, promotes plurality in opinions and the setting of a more sophisticated argumentation.

Compared to competing news media, the daily newspaper benefits from some very valuable assets from the point of view of pluralism: the abundance of space to develop information and the ability to provide an overview. The abundance of space makes it possible to reflect, more than in other media, the diversity of conceptions, points of view, and sensitivities. It also facilitates the possibility of seeking ideas, opinions or expressions that are still very marginal in the public debate. It invites us to question groups, segments of society that only exceptionally find their place in audio-visual media which is structurally hierarchical and selective. (Charon, 2005, p. 113)

Moreover, taking the accessibility criterion into consideration, regional dailies were also excluded since their audience is much more limited compared to national newspapers.

¹² The selected newspapers were all available on *Factiva* for the years concerned (from 1999 to 2008 included). This database allows to make very refined searches by combining keywords and determining the number of occurrences for each keyword. E.g.: *atleast10 Türkiye and atleast5 EU or Europe and (atleast5 member or atleast5 candidate or atleast5 criteria)*; *atleast10 Turquie and atleast5 UE or Europe and (atleast5membre or atleast5candidat or atleast5 critère)*.

In accordance with the principle of plurality, the analysis includes more than one newspaper for each country, reflecting diverging political inclinations in their country of origin: three in France and four in the UK were retained (see Kuhn, 2007, p. 3 for the English press, and Charon, 2005, p. 35 for the French press). Popular daily newspapers were left aside because of their sensationalist approach and their lack of detailed argumentation when providing information. The overall editorial policy of popular newspapers aims more specifically to follow the public opinion in order to attract a larger readership.

To summarise, only “quality” national dailies that are of greater distribution and which of commentaries are generally more developed than the “popular” ones have been taken into consideration: “[daily newspapers] are characterized by a particularly developed processing of information, whether in terms of the diversity of the areas covered or the in-depth study of each subject” (Charon, 2005, p. 35). Furthermore, quality newspapers cannot directly be identified with a political party; their editorial policy can nevertheless be attached to a certain ideology. Being ideologically oriented though does not mean that all the journalists and commentators working for the same newspaper share the same opinion. It is indeed possible to find diverging or opposing stances about the same problematic. Finally, it should be noted that readers of quality newspapers are holders of a higher level of symbolic capital such as “high-level economic actors but also executives and intellectual professions” (Charon, 2005, p. 36). It is very likely that opinions of these actors will find a stronger resonance, that is a stronger impact, within the European political system.

Table 2. Selected newspapers for the analysis of the public discourse in Europe

The United Kingdom		France	
1.	The Daily Telegraph	5.	Le Figaro
2.	The Guardian	6.	Libération
3.	The Independent	7.	Le Monde
4.	The Times		

Being mostly interested in the thematic structure defined as the “overall organization of global ‘topics’ a news item is about” (Van Dijk, 1985b, p. 69), I began my analysis by

browsing the headlines of articles about Türkiye. The focus on headlines and leading paragraphs allowed me to highlight topics of interest and dominant subjects.

2.2.2 First Degree of Reading

Taking into consideration that readers rarely read all the articles in a newspaper and that the headline is an important metatext presenting and guiding the reading and understanding of the co-text, the first step of the analysis consisted in examining headlines and leading paragraphs. As Nord states, “all titles are metatexts identifying their co-text and establishing a first contact with a ‘prospective’ audience” (1995, p. 266). Likewise, Van Dijk argues that the headline “has a very specific thematic function: it usually expresses the most important topic of the news item” (1985, p. 69) and “are used to express or to infer the theme or topic” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 77). These essential characteristics attached to titles and headings make them important means to understand the different functions attributed to the co-text and the stakes involved in the production of the public discourse. Among others, the primary function of titles is to attract the attention of the readers. Indeed, the first contact with readers is established via titles and headlines. However, this is not their sole function.

Christiane Nord discusses that titles – mainly talking about book titles – have essential and optional functions.¹³ Among their essential functions, she cites distinctive, metatextual and phatic functions whereas the optional functions include the referential, the expressive and the appellative (Nord, 1995, p. 266). According to the distinctive and

¹³ In her article, Christiane Nord states that titles and headings “are not only typical texts but even ‘prototypical’ texts” and “do not present any features which cannot be found in other texts as well.” (1995, p. 281). She uses this specific kind of text to explain that translators have to reconcile functionality and loyalty when translating. In accordance with these principles, the translator not only has to make sure that the instructions and demands of the commissioner are satisfied but also “has to take due account of the sender’s communicative intentions” (if they can be discovered) (Nord, 1995, p. 281). One cannot help but ask what happens when these are not reconcilable or if intentions cannot be discovered or indeed how they can be discovered. Despite these questions left without answer, the article is relevant for the purpose of the present study in that it points at the importance of titles and headings.

metatextual functions, a title, being unique, identifies and presents the co-text and states the main topic of the text. The third function, which is the phatic function, refers to the one mentioned earlier, that is, titles are selected and formulated “to attract the attention of its culture-specific audience and if necessary to be remembered over a certain period of time (Nord, 1995, p. 275). However, apart from attracting readers, titles also fulfil the role of “guiding the reader’s interpretation”, what Nord calls “a kind of advertising function” (Nord, 1995, p. 278). Together, these two characteristics form the appellative function. In accordance with the referential function, titles carry information and give clues about the main topic of the co-text. Finally, their expressive function consists in conveying opinions.

Although expressive and appellative functions may be optional for book titles, it can be argued that these are essential functions when it comes to the media and the press. Press articles not only give information about an event, but they usually convey opinions too and most importantly, they argue for or against something. The author of the press article usually tries to convince the readers and wants them to join his/her stance. In order to convey these functions, writers use different means and, generally speaking,

the advertising function is achieved either directly by poetic and rhetorical means or indirectly by presenting attractive content elements, by alluding to familiar stories or myths, by using addressee-specific language, by presenting an interesting evaluation of the referent, etc. (Nord, 1995, p. 278)

The titles of press articles on Türkiye that appeared between 1999 and 2008 (included) in the British and French press deal with a variety of issues. In the year 1999, titles are mostly related to economic crises, earthquakes that caused thousands of deaths, the capture and trial of Abdullah Öcalan (leader of the PKK, Kurdistan Workers’ Party), the Kurdish question, and finally the potential membership of Türkiye to the EU. During the Helsinki Summit held in December 1999, Türkiye has been officially declared candidate state to the EU. After 1999, it is possible to notice an increase in the number of titles on the relations between the EU and Türkiye. The debate over the Türkiye’s membership process to the EU reaches its zenith in 2004 and 2005, which coincides with the period before and after the beginning of accession negotiations.

In 2000 and 2001, The Kurdish question, the Armenian issue, the closure of the Islamist party Fazilet and the political ban of its leader Necmettin Erbakan for provoking hatred

are among noticeable topics. However, the most popular topic is the Turkish economy, which has reached a critical phase in those years since successive crises and earthquakes made the status quo even more fragile than it was before. The EU and the IMF came in rescue and gave Türkiye emergency aids and loans increasing the country's external debt burden. This, in turn, increased the inflation up to 33% in February 2001 and citizens staged protests across the country.

The year 2002 was mainly about general elections that took place in November and the enlargement of the EU. The victory of Türkiye's Justice and Development Party was generally interpreted by the press as the opening of a new era since Türkiye had not been ruled by a single party for the last fifteen years. As for the enlargement of the EU, the press brought the 'double standard' debate to the fore. The British press mostly emphasized that the delay of talks between the EU and Türkiye was interpreted as a double standard by many Turks and that talks between the parties should start as soon as possible. The press attributed extensive coverage to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's statements, former President of the French Republic and President of the Convention on the future of Europe from 2002 to 2003, who declared several times that Türkiye is by no means a European country and its entry to the EU would be "the end of Europe".

In 2003, the USA asked to use Türkiye's south-eastern front as a launching point for the Iraqi war but the Turkish Grand National Assembly denied the entry of American troops into Turkish soil, thus preventing an intervention from Turkish territories. This was greeted as a surprise by the British and French press since Türkiye has been a strategic ally of the USA for a long time.

In 2004 and 2005, the most prominent issue was the debate over the beginning of accession negotiations between Türkiye and the EU. The press gave extensive coverage to contrasting opinions and discussed at length the conditions that Türkiye has to meet in order to become a full member. Another significant development in that period is the frequent appearance of Orhan Pamuk's name in news for political and legal reasons. A trial was launched against Pamuk on grounds that he offended and insulted Türkiye's national character. These accusations were based on an interview he gave to a Swiss newspaper, including comments on Armenians and Kurds. All charges dropped in January 2005 but criticisms over the lack of freedom of expression and the democratic deficit have never ended.

Orhan Pamuk's comments on minority rights in Türkiye were echoed in 2006 in the European press, the year he won the Nobel Prize. This award gave him an unprecedented visibility in the media and Pamuk was interviewed by many leading European newspapers. Besides Pamuk's opinions, other factual issues appeared in daily newspapers in 2006. Among these are the bird flu and the bomb attacks in Istanbul and Antalya. No need to mention anymore that the enlargement of the EU and whether Türkiye should be a member of the union or not were also pressing topics.

In 2007, general elections and presidential elections brought democracy and secularism to the centre of European debates. Abdullah Gül, a member of the Justice and Development Party, was elected President of the Republic of Türkiye. The biggest issues regarding Gül's election to presidency by the Turkish Parliament were his Islamist background and his wife's headscarf, which too found extensive resonance in the British and French press.

Lastly, in 2008, the British and French press frequently accused the governing party on grounds that it was acting against secular values of the Turkish Republic. Another criticism addressed to the Government was the changing attitude in foreign policy. The establishment of closer relations with Middle Eastern and the Arab countries brought forth the debate that Türkiye was starting to walk away from the EU membership path. In overall, the year 2008 has been mostly interpreted, by the press, as the beginning of a change in the direction of the Justice and Development Party Government (the same concern was voiced by the opposing parties and media in Türkiye). More positive coverage in the European press in terms of EU-Türkiye relations included the efforts to forge a Turkish-Armenian rapprochement and the historic visit of the Greek Prime Minister Kostas Karamandis to Türkiye, first official high-level visit from Greece in the past half-century.

The above passages offer a review of the main topics covered by the European press from 1999 to 2008. Since the period of study consists of ten years, it is impossible for one single researcher to analyse all of the articles published in this timeline. Therefore, I was obliged to narrow the analysis and to focus on a limited number of topics. The exploration of headlines based on keywords "Turkey" and "Ankara" shows that the number of articles published between 1999 and 2008 for each newspaper is over a thousand. The analysis of headlines allowed me to identify the most dominant topics on Türkiye and to extract the

most relevant articles in the British and French press. Given the huge amount of news items, only articles with the highest number of occurrences of respective keywords have been retained.¹⁴

Table 3. Dominant topics regarding Türkiye in the British and French press

	Categories	Keywords
1.	Enlargement of the EU	membership, member state, candidate, criteria, European values
2.	Secularism vs. Islam	secular(ism), religion, Islam
3.	Democracy and human rights	democracy, human rights, women rights, headscarf, freedom, minority(ies)
4.	Türkiye and its neighbours	Armenia(n), Cyprus/Cypriot, Iraq, Greece/Greek
5.	Government of Justice and Development Party and elections	elections, Erdoğan, Gül, Justice and Development Party
6.	Economy	economy/economic, crisis, IMF, loan, debt

Even after this first refinement based on the keywords' occurrences, the number of articles was still beyond the limits of a deeper analysis. Thus, a second step was needed, which consisted in excluding articles that were too short since they would not demonstrate a detailed argumentation. Finally, the third step consisted in selecting one article from each newspaper – for each respective category. This was not difficult because by means of the database *Factiva*, the keywords were already extracted and highlighted. *Factiva*

¹⁴ Allow me to make a precision. Not only the occurrence of the key words selected for each category is important here, the occurrence of the key words “Türkiye” and “Ankara” is also crucial. If there are few occurrences of “Türkiye” or “Ankara” but many occurrences of “democracy” for instance, this means that the text is more about democracy than democracy *in* Türkiye. It may be an article that primarily focusses on democracy and at one point gives an example from Türkiye among many others. That is why I was especially careful to exclude articles where less than 5 occurrences of Türkiye were seen. Since my focus is on Türkiye and the Turkish identity, it is necessary to look for articles that mainly deal with Türkiye, as well as issues on democracy, human rights, religion, economic crisis, terrorism, etc.

also allows to find the articles containing the highest number of keywords. This constitutes a crucial criterion in the selection procedure because texts referring to Türkiye or Turks for purposes of examples or as accessories would not contribute much to the purpose of the study. Once these three steps completed, the most representative and developed articles were chosen.

Table 4. Distribution of selected news articles according to the year of publication

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
the UK	0	0	2	3	1	4	3	0	8	3
France	1	0	0	5	0	5	3	3	1	0
Total	1	0	2	8	1	9	6	3	9	3

The total of 42 articles was examined for instances of repeating narratives and arguments. The year 1999 is certainly a milestone not only in the political relations between Türkiye and Europe but also in terms of the politics of their respective identity. Türkiye has become much more visible in the European media and has constantly been compared and contrasted to European countries. Furthermore, the distribution of the articles according to the year of publication is indicative of the fact that internal as well as external factors and events trigger the same debate over Türkiye's Europeanness, a topic which demonstrates a very high degree of "reactualization" (Luhmann 1990, p. 212), that is a topic which is covered over and over in the media. Among others, these events include EU summits, elections (both in Türkiye and in Europe), conflict with neighbours, and economic crises. It should be emphasized that not all topics in the environment resonate within the system – which is obviously impossible – and the selection of topics is contingent in that other options remain available in the environment. The system may choose to communicate about these options in the future – or may not. More specifically, this distribution signals that the opening of the system of the mass media happens through the selection of topics from the environment and intensifies at certain periods of time. In that sense, the year 2004 is the most crucial period in Turkish-European encounters (for parallel findings, see Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 217). 12 of the articles in the corpus were published before 2004, whereas 30 were published after. This may easily be explained by the fact that accession negotiations between Türkiye and the EU started in October 2005, but the decision to start talks was taken in 2004. That is why the debate over the inclusion

or exclusion of Türkiye in the European project reached its zenith in 2004 and 2005. In addition, ten new members joined the EU in May 2004, a development that caused intense debates on further enlargement of the EU.

From the numbers indicated in the table above, we can also see that the European system is open to irritations from the environment: 8 articles in the corpus were published in 2002 and 9 articles in 2007. These years have been especially marked by the mass media since general elections in Türkiye were held in November 2002 and July 2007. The general elections of 2002 were particularly significant since the Justice and Development Party, then labelled as a ‘moderate Islamist party’ by the European press, came to power for the first time, and is still ruling the country since then. However, alarming voices regarding Türkiye “turning Islamist” (Birch, 2008), notably in the British press, started to raise in 2008 and intensified in the following years. In October 2010, *the Economist* published a special report on Türkiye titled “Turning its back on the West”, pointing at intensified diplomatic as well as cultural relations between Türkiye and its Arab neighbours. The cover of the magazine displays a blurred picture of a man and a headscarved woman turning their back to the reader on the foreground, and Istanbul’s Suleymaniye (Blue) Mosque on the background, visually echoing Türkiye’s distancing from Europe.



Figure 1. Cover of the British weekly *The Economist*, 23-29 October 2010¹⁵

The following subsection will seek to further define the topics of interest concerning Türkiye and Turks in the European system, and to give an account of the narratives and arguments stemming from the discourse diverging political stances towards Turkish candidature to the EU.

¹⁵ As specified earlier, the collection of the corpus on news articles was realized through Factiva which is an online database. Had I relied on printed versions of the articles, it would have been equally interesting to look at indications such as page layout and visuals accompanying the articles and to compare these visuals with the covers of the novels translated from Turkish into English and French. However, Factiva does not provide the visuals in the press articles.

2.2.3 Second Degree of Reading

Articles and commentaries published in the print media can be considered as translations, to the extent that the work of a journalist consists in selecting events and reporting them to a readership in forms of narratives. I believe that this type of texts can contribute to the theory of translation in that they are not marginal practices. Rather, translation is at the very heart of news making as news persons encounter translational situations on a daily basis. We can define news items as discursive constructions and consider them as translations in two ways. On the one hand, interlingual translation (Jakobson, 1959, p. 114) is carried out when the source of information is situated outside the national borders, for instance from international news agencies. Despite the fact that the process concurrently involves different types of writing and rewriting, these translations should not be disregarded by scholars, which is generally the case due to the difficulty of establishing a source-target – to use Luhmannian terms, sender-receiver (1990, p. 75) – relationship between the texts involved in the process of translation. On the other hand, news items are translated in the sense that:

News is not a value-free reflection of the world, nor a neutral summary of key events. Rather, it is the result of selection and construction: first, by sources; second, by journalists working in news organizations; and, finally, by audiences. (Kuhn, 2007, p. 174).

This three-step selection mentioned by Raymond Kuhn is very much in line with the triadic definition of communication in social systems theory as developed by Niklass Luhmann. The selection procedures involved here consist in covering some stories and leaving others invisible or unheard of. This phenomenon is mainly informed by the notion of “newsworthiness” (Kuhn, 2007, p. 148), that is, by the value attached to the information or the news, which in turn depends on the publishing tradition of the news agency as well as on socio-political constraints. Furthermore, framing strategies used in news-making vary not only from one newspaper to another but also from one journalist to another, and can be perceived and interpreted in different ways by readers who are informed by more or less diverging ideologies and opinions. That said, every single system involved in communication, whether psychic or social, can only communicate selectively.

The selection and construction of news play a crucial role in shaping narratives that

influence our self-perceptions, the stories we hear, and the stories told about us (Baker, 2007, p. 151). Somers and Gibson argue that narratives should not be viewed merely as forms of representation. The conventional approach, which sees narratives simply as representational methods, overlooks the temporal, relational, cultural, and institutional aspects inherent to them (1994, p. 41). Instead, narratives should be understood as tools which help us comprehend and make sense of the social world, thereby shaping our social identities (1994, p. 59). In essence, narratives are not just tools for understanding and interpreting the world but are also outcomes of these interpretations, influencing future communications. This view of narratives as dynamic forces shaping individual and social understanding highlights various dimensions of narrativity (as explained further in Chapter I): (a) ontological narratives that define who we are; (b) public narratives tied to larger cultural and institutional formations; (c) conceptual narratives created by social researchers; and (d) metanarratives, or overarching narratives like modernism and enlightenment (Somers and Gibson, 1994, p. 61-63). While these categories are interconnected, this study focuses on public narratives and metanarratives, particularly those disseminated by the British and French press, while also recognizing some of the metanarratives that influence news-making processes.

Against this theoretical background, the questions that should be addressed within the framework of the present project's second degree of reading are based on contemporary self- and hetero-observations of the European system: What/who is European and what/who is not? What are the criteria or parameters used to further elaborate on the system's binary code: European/non-European? (see Chapter I of the thesis for an explanation of how I apply Social Systems Theory to the European system) Most importantly, in answering these questions, what are the diverging stories told and disseminated within the European system? Put differently, how does frame ambiguity manifest itself regarding the self-definitions of the European system as well as the system's observations of its respective environment?

2.2.3.1 Europe Observing Europeanness

The social systemic approach does not seek to identify systems according to static and essential traits, characteristics or properties as the system may decide to abandon one of

them along its evolutionary path (Luhmann, 1995, p. 15). Social systems preserve their existence as long as the boundary that separates it from its environment is protected. This suggests that systems continue to exist even if they lose some of the characteristics, they attribute to themselves, or even if they add new elements. From this perspective, my aim is not to identify such traits for the European system. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the European system defines its own identity by means of some criteria, and resort to such an endeavour in reference to its environment. Indeed, systems tend to attribute some traits to themselves, and, to other systems in their respective environment, thus constantly constructing and reproducing their identity by means of self-referential procedures. The European system is no exception. Although these criteria are generally perceived as indispensable as well as non-changeable for a certain period of time, the juxtaposition of diachronic and synchronic studies allows us to notice that they are in fact ambivalent.

The EU, founded in 1951 as the European Economic Community (EEC), was labelled the European Community (EC) as of 1967. The Maastricht Treaty attributed its current name, i.e., the European Union, in 1993. The changes in the labelling of this supranational organization, and the adoption of “union” in its final stage, reflect the general European ambitions for further integration not only in terms of economy but also in terms of politics and culture. In other words, the different names used throughout history for the EU signal the changing European self-observations.

The EU was set up with the aim of providing and maintaining peace and stability across Europe. The initial objective of the European project is especially restated by commentators supporting Turkish membership to the EU and are evaluated with a twist of “war against terrorism”, a theme that will be elaborated more extensively in the following pages.

- “Born from the ashes of the Second World War, the EU has already assumed the legacy of the Cold War by admitting eight ex-Communist states. Now it faces the task of averting a bigger global conflict still.” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “The mysterious alchemy of enlargement is that it turns former enemies into advocates. Germany was the great promoter of Polish membership, and Greece remains one of the strongest supporters of Turkish membership.” (Ash, 2005, *The Guardian*)

- “The identities of Europe and Islam are the products of more than a millennium of bitter conflict. But Britain and France were enemies for centuries as well: the European project is all about banishing war and the threat of war.” (Popham, 2005, *The Independent*)
- “l’Union européenne, que l’on crédite à juste titre de la paix durable qui règne entre ses membres” (Capelier, 2007, *Libération*) [Back translation : “the European Union, which is rightly credited with the lasting peace that reigns between its members”]

First established for the endurance of peace in Europe, the European system has been constantly debating on the definition of some “European values” to make judgements regarding what and who is European. Although these values cannot be seen as static and may slightly or extensively change from one period to another, as well as from one place to another, one is still called to ask: what are these values that define the European identity?

Here, I will not discuss whether a European identity as a superordinate or post-national identity really exists, and to what extent we can talk about a common identity to all EU countries. Besides, such a problematic is not addressed in the selected press articles either. British and French policy/news makers seem to strongly believe in a European identity, or at least agree on some basic principles, which are enumerated in the article 2 of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe as follows:

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail. (European Commission, 2005, p. 17)

Other documents that are of interest in the description of the scope, values and motivations of the EU include, to name a few: the Treaty of Maastricht signed in 1992 which opened the way for political integration by establishing the three pillars of the union (European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Police and Judicial cooperation) and by introducing the concept of European citizenship; the Copenhagen Criteria, also known as accession criteria, established for the candidate states at the 1993 Copenhagen European Council and defining whether and how a country is eligible to join the EU; the Charter of Fundamental Rights signed during the Nice Summit in December 2000, which sets out in a single text, for the first time in the EU’s history, the whole range of civil, political, economic, and social rights of European citizens and

all persons residing in the EU; and the like. From these documents, we can briefly conclude that the parameters of the European (EU) identity concentrate more or less on notions of democracy, human rights, civil society, and the rule of law, as well as geography, shared history, common army, and common currency.

- “to join the EU you must be a democratic state, respecting human and minority rights” (Ash, 2002, *The Guardian*)
- “Europe’s democratic, pluralistic and liberal values” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “insister sur le respect le plus strict des normes européennes: Etat de droit, libertés publiques, égalité homme-femme, dépolitisation de l’armée, respect des minorités (kurdes pour commencer), développement économique et culturel” (Duhamel, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “to insist on strict compliance with European standards: rule of law, civil liberties, equality between men and women, depoliticization of the army, respect for minorities (starting with the Kurds), economic and cultural development”]
- “Notre idée de l’Europe est celle d’une union fondée sur des valeurs universelles comme la démocratie, l’Etat de droit et le respect des droits de l’homme et des libertés fondamentales.” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “Our idea of Europe is that of a union founded on universal values such as democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.”]
- “L’Europe a besoin à ses côtés d’une Turquie stable, démocratique, prospère et en paix avec ses voisins, qui respecte nos valeurs, nos règles de droit, nos normes en matière de droits de l’homme, d’économie, de politique sociale ou d’environnement.” (Rehn, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “Europe needs a stable, democratic, prosperous Turkey at its side, at peace with its neighbors, respecting our values, our rules of law, our standards in terms of human rights, the economy, social policy and the environment.”]
- “sacro-saints principes et valeurs qui fondent l’identité de l’Europe moderne” (Fenech, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “sacred principles and values that underpin the identity of modern Europe”]
- “Il s’agit non pas uniquement de négociations techniques, mais d’un engagement sérieux des deux parties envers les valeurs et règles communes qui nous lient.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “It’s not just a question of technical negotiations, but of a serious commitment on both sides to the shared values and rules that bind us together.”]

As an important finding during the survey, it can be advanced that what these democratic values, rights and freedoms entail is mostly taken for granted, everyone seems to understand what they refer to. It should be noted that, while talking about values and norms adopted by the European system, observers do not question their implementation

within the EU. It seems to be commonplace that European countries, without any exception, incorporate these values and are respectful of these norms. Furthermore, candidate countries are expected to meet these European standards since the European project is all about enabling a certain level of development in terms of the abovementioned values, principles and objectives. Therefore, the EU negotiation process is mostly described as a long road, particularly in the case of Türkiye, and interpreted as “levier au développement [a lever for development]” (Rehn, 2005, *Le Monde*), that is, a driving force for reformation and progress.

At this point, I think it would be pertinent to elaborate on the Copenhagen criteria which were established in 1993 by the Copenhagen European Council and which are critical elements in defining European values and norms. Any candidate country seeking to join the EU as a full member must conform to the political and economic criteria, and must fully accept the *acquis communautaire*. The political criteria are defined as the “stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities” (European Commission). To fulfil the economic criteria, candidate countries must have “a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union” (European Commission). Finally, the acceptance of the *acquis communautaire* refers to the harmonization of national legislation with the European body of laws and “to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union” (European Commission).

The following excerpts are mainly about these well-known criteria necessary to meet for joining the EU:

- “Before [the full membership of Turkey] happens, however, we have to ensure two things. First, that Turkey really does meet the EU’s famous Copenhagen criteria, having a stable liberal democracy, the rule of law (with full equality for men and women), a free market economy, free speech (also for intellectuals who say there was a Turkish genocide against the Armenians), and respect for minority rights (notably those of the Kurds).” (Ash, 2005, *The Guardian*)
- “La question n’est plus de savoir si [la Turquie] appartient, ou non, à l’Europe, mais si [elle] remplit les critères de Copenhague en matière de démocratie et de droits de l’homme, condition nécessaire et, officiellement, suffisante pour que l’Union européenne ouvre des négociations d’adhésion avec lui.” (Bayart 2004, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “The question is no longer whether [Turkey] belongs, or not, to Europe, but whether [it] meets the Copenhagen criteria for democracy and human rights, a necessary and,

officially, sufficient condition for the European Union to open accession negotiations with it.”]

- “les fameuses ‘conditions de 1987’ sans lesquelles la Turquie n’intégrerait jamais l’Union européenne: 1) reconnaissance du génocide des Arméniens, 2) retrait de Chypre, 3) respect des droits de l’homme et des minorités religieuses non musulmanes sunnites” (Fenech, 2005, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “the famous ‘1987 conditions’ without which Turkey would never join the European Union: 1) recognition of the Armenian genocide, 2) withdrawal from Cyprus, 3) respect for human rights and non-Muslim Sunni religious minorities”]

There is a clear consensus in the British and French press concerning the fact that a candidate country can only join the EU once criteria of freedoms and rights are met, whatever their historical or cultural background. In overall, they also agree on the fact that Türkiye has to work really hard to conclude the harmonization process and to implement the requested reforms. Observers, especially from the French press, tend to include other political conditions such as the recognition of the events of 1915 as a “genocide”, the recognition of Cyprus, and the expansion of rights for the Kurdish people – topics that will be presented more extensively in the following pages where Europeanness will be accounted for in comparison with Turkishness.

A crucial finding in the texts scanned is the domination of the religious distinction in the European self-observations. The marked space in the communication process consists in the acceptance of Europe as a Christian union.

- “Through much of European history, Europe defined itself against ‘the Turk’, the Arabs and Islam (Ash, 2002, The Guardian)
- “Is it in Turkey’s interests to join this Christian club?” (title, Woollacott 2002, The Guardian)
- “Christian club of Europe” (Ash, 2005, The Guardian)
- “The UK, for instance, does not have a secular state; along with many other European countries, it privileges a particular Christian denomination.” (Bunting, 2008, The Guardian)
- “la manière dont la démocratie chrétienne en Europe réussit, au début du XXe siècle, à réconcilier les chrétiens avec la République.” (Sorman, 2002, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “how Christian democracy in Europe succeeded, at the beginning of the 20th century, in reconciling Christians with the Republic”]

The underlying doxa in the European system can be voiced, historically and culturally speaking, as *Europe is Christian*. Moreover, metaphorically speaking, it is a “Christian club” in which only privileged ones can enter. However, despite the existence of a consensus on that matter, the major discussion concentrates on whether the European system should be defined with reference to religion and whether this distinction should be used in the evaluation of candidate countries. The majority of the contributors, both in France and the UK, reject the idea that religious or cultural criteria should be applied to any future enlargement – at least on the surface of the communication. It seems reasonable to advance that this is mainly due to the contributors’ fear to be trapped in a discriminative argumentation. Indeed, most of the articles, especially in the French press, frequently recall the religious distinction only in order to criticize the dominant public opinion against Türkiye’s inclusion to the European system.

- “the opponents of Turkish membership have made the mistake of presenting their objections using religious and cultural rhetoric” (Kaletsky, 2004, *The Times*)
- “l’Europe n’est pas et ne saurait être un club chrétien” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “Europe is not and cannot be a Christian club”]
- “L’adhésion à l’UE n’a jamais été subordonnée à un quelconque critère religieux. Il serait faux et dangereux de refuser l’entrée de la Turquie pour des motifs d’ordre religieux.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “EU membership has never been conditional on any religious criteria. It would be wrong and dangerous to refuse Turkey entry on religious grounds.”]

However, as the communicative distinction based on culture and/or religion is activated over and over, even if it is to deconstruct it, readers unconsciously deliver themselves to the following reasoning: *Europe is Christian, but Türkiye is not*. The question that follows almost automatically: Is a Muslim Türkiye acceptable to a Christian Europe? This reasoning based on contrastive and controversial attributes regarding the Self and the Other, i.e., the system and its environment, demonstrates that the Turkish candidature does not resemble any other. It suggests that it would not be easy to digest Türkiye’s full membership, at least not as easy as the other countries that joined the EU lastly. All in all, Türkiye clearly poses a problem, at best, Türkiye’s possible membership is an issue which needs to be addressed and extensively debated.

Since its first application to the EU half century ago, the possibility of Turkish membership to the EU has triggered an unprecedented division of opinions and an intense

debate on the self-definitions of Europe. Shortly after the approval of Türkiye's candidate status at the European Council that took place in 1999, the debate has reached a zenith in the new millennium. Never before has the European system questioned its geographic and cultural frontiers so extensively. In other words, until the Turkish candidature "[d]espite the fact that with each wave of enlargement the borders of Europe have been called into question, the fundamental question of what European identity is has never been seriously debated" (Baban and Keyman, 2008, p. 116). In that sense, Türkiye's request to join the EU "plays a critical role as it forces the debate about European identity into the public milieu" (Baban and Keyman, 2008, p. 116), a statement suggesting that previous enlargements have been mainly discussed within the realm of the political system.

The discussion of the European identity, constructed and reproduced self-referentially as well as through the system's past and present encounters of its respective environment, can only be accomplished by means of the constant drawing and redrawing of the system's boundaries. This statement however, is not to suggest that systems should be observed in isolation. In contrast, SST calls for a necessity to simultaneously analyse not only the system itself but also its boundary, and its environment.

2.2.3.2 Europe Observing Turkishness

In the following, I will seek to sketch out how the European system refers to its environment in the drawing of its geographic as well as its imaginary boundaries, a process that regulates what decisions will be taken, when, and on the basis of which communicative distinctions. The whole process, as stated earlier, is informed on the macro-level by the respective binary code of the system, i.e., European/non-European. The projection of European distinctions upon itself and its environment ultimately determine which information will be selected from within and from outside the system, guiding the process of intrasystemic as well as intersystemic communication. Against such a background, the questions that motivate the present endeavour are as follows: What information is frequently brought to the agenda by the European system in the communication process? An equally important question, how is the selected information uttered in press articles? Put in narrative terms, which narratives and framing strategies

seem to be privileged by communication participants? In an attempt to elucidate these two questions I will scrutinize not only the dominant narratives but also the dominant arguments advocated by the exclusionary and inclusionary camps of the debate.

A considerable number of the articles in the corpus are clearly supporting Turkish membership (Freely, 2002; Sorman, 2002; Tincq, 2002; Browne, Hurst and Watson, 2005; Kaletsky, 2004; Rehn, 2005; Wallström, 2006; Weill, 2006; Popham, 2005; Plummer, 2007), while only a few are expressly against Türkiye's entry to the EU (Zecchini, 2002; Adams, 2004). Some of the authors insist that Türkiye has still a long way to go before joining the EU (Borell-Fontelles, 2004; Castle and Turgut, 2004). On the other hand, a significant amount of the articles do not express any preference, demonstrating a more objective stance (Evans-Pritchard, 2004; Hamilton, 2008; Séni 1999; Traynor, 2007), to which reporting articles can be added as their authors do not necessarily voice an opinion in the delivering of the events in Türkiye (to cite but a few: Zaman, 2001; Paterson, 2001; Tréan, 2002; Sémo, 2005; Birch, 2008). All in all, articles focus mainly on the question whether accession talks with Türkiye should be opened (it should be noted that negotiations started in 2005) or whether Türkiye is up to European standards or not, questions that are closely related.

Some of the dominant predicates which can be extracted from the corpus on press articles and which are essential in the representation of Türkiye include: “(partly) modern”, “backward”, “(partly) western”, “eastern”, “(partly) democratic”, “antidemocratic”, “secular”, “Muslim”, “big”, “poor”, “(partly) developed”, and so forth. The use of predication is extremely relevant in that they tell us a great deal about communicative distinctions employed by the European system, inviting us to evaluate these distinctions on the basis of a categorization. In their study of the British public discourse on the image of Türkiye for the year 2004, Baştürk-Akça and Yılmaztürk outline five different designs of the European identity based on a) religion, b) geography, c) history, d) capitalist market union, and e) democracy/human rights (2007, p. 146). **The present corpus, including press articles from 1999 to 2008, suggests a revized categorization: demographic (small/big), economic (rich/poor), geographic (European/Asian), cultural (Christian/Muslim), and political (democratic/non-democratic)** – the included side of the communicative distinction is expressed on the left and is identified with Europe and/or with the expectations of the latter from new comers, whereas the excluded side is

expressed on the right, referring to Türkiye and/or to Turkish people. Before moving to the presentation of the relevant narratives and arguments for each category, I would like to remind that these categories are often blurred and are tightly interrelated. Each category will thus be analysed separately only for the sake of clarity. Afterwards, a synthesis of the findings will be provided.

2.2.3.2.1 Demographic Distinction

To start with the demographic distinction (small/big population) employed by the mass media, it would be safe to argue that not only this communicative distinction is mostly used in negative terms in reported news, but it also functions as a fundamental basis for the argumentation of the columnists who oppose to a possible Turkish membership to the EU.

- “With nearly 71 million people, Turkey would be the second largest EU member state after Germany.” (Adams, 2004, *The Guardian*)
- “There are serious costs to admitting a country with a population nearly as big as Germany’s, but an income per head little more than half of Poland’s.”
- “[...] Turkey’s rapidly growing population, which will overtake Germany’s by 2015, would give it more votes under the new constitution than any other nation.” (Kaletsky, 2004, *The Times*)
- “The conditions imposed on Turkey are aimed at calming fears that millions of Turks will migrate to elsewhere in the EU, and that such a large, poor nation will soak up agricultural and development subsidies, draining EU coffers.” (Browne, Hurst and Watson, 2005, *The Times*)
- “Et qui, au sein de l’Union, n’envisage pas sans inquiétude la perspective de voir un jour quelque 68 millions de Turcs, à 95 % musulmans, entrer au sein de la ‘Communauté’, où leur pays deviendrait, vers 2010, le plus peuplé de l’Union?” (Zecchini, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “And who in the Union is not worried by the prospect of some 68 million Turks, 95% of them Muslim, joining the ‘Community’, where their country would become the Union’s most populous by 2010?”]
- “l’obstacle le plus sérieux à un élargissement à la Turquie a trait au poids territorial et démographique de ce pays, qui est susceptible de compromettre les équilibres fragiles de pouvoir au sein de l’édifice européen, de plomber le budget communautaire et de gripper les mécanismes de prise de décision au sein des institutions.” (Bayart, 2004, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “the most serious obstacle to enlargement to include Turkey is the country’s territorial and demographic weight, which is likely to jeopardize the fragile

balance of power within the European edifice, cripple the Community budget and seize up decision-making mechanisms within the institutions.”]

It is noted in these excerpts that in case of full membership, Türkiye would be the “second largest EU member”, would have a “greater voting power” than the majority of the current members, and on top of that, Turks would be “draining EU coffers”. All of these propositions transmit a certain sentiment of threat through the constant definition of Türkiye as big and having a large population. Indeed, observers tend to depict Turks as a threatening mass of people who would impair stability and employment in Europe, echoing past representations of the invader Turk. Interestingly enough, they seem to fear an invasion of a different kind today: one that would happen by means of migration.

It would be reasonable to assert that if Türkiye was not that big, the EU would have less difficulty to accept its membership, and this for two reasons. On the one hand, European observers seem concerned – or give voice to the inherent concerns in the majority of the public opinion – about the possible massive flux of Turkish immigrants to more developed European countries, as Turkish citizens would be granted the right to reside and circulate freely in the union in case of full membership. Furthermore, it is implied that, as a side effect of such a migration towards Western Europe, Turkish workers would be responsible for European citizens’ loss of employment. On the other hand, the second major reason behind the emphasis on Türkiye being big is mostly related to the fact that Turkish citizens would also be granted the right to vote for European elections. Consequently, power relations and decision-making mechanisms within the union would be destabilized as Türkiye, taking the current population growth into consideration, would have the highest voting power in the European Parliament within a short period of time – for now it is second after Germany.

In contrast to negative actualizations of the demographic distinction, only a few instances of positive interpretation can be found. In these rare examples, the majority of the Turkish population, unlike most of the population in European countries, is described as young and dynamic (Weill 2006, *Libération*). In some other cases, observers tend to assess the

Turkish demography in capitalist terms and regard Türkiye's high population as a huge mass of consumers (Doré, 2004, *Le Figaro*; Sémo, 2005, *Libération*).¹⁶

Succinctly, both exclusionary and inclusionary argumentation based on Türkiye's demographic size suggests that one cannot evaluate the relevant communicative distinction in isolation. In fact, the demographic criterion is closely tied with other communicative distinctions indicated by observers for the contrastive definitions of Europe and Türkiye, most particularly with political (e.g., voting power), and economic (e.g., threat to employment) distinctions.

2.2.3.2.2 Economic Distinction

The second communicative distinction used in European self- and other-descriptions is economic (rich/poor), and just like the demographic distinction, it is generally put forward by opponents of a possible Turkish membership to the EU. Nevertheless, the economic shortcomings are also acknowledged in the supporters' discourse, arguing that although Türkiye is not up to European standards in economic terms, the EU needs Türkiye for a variety of reasons, most particularly for political and diplomatic reasons (an argumentation that will be presented in depth in the following pages).

- “the economic crisis is far from over. Turkey is still the IMF greatest debtor” (Freely, 2002, *The Independent*)
- “a poor, largely agrarian, Islamic country almost entirely in Asia” (Kaletsky, 2004, *The Times*)

¹⁶ It may seem surprising that this economic dimension regarding Türkiye as a considerable market is not often recalled by the supporters of Türkiye's accession bid. However, it should be reminded that Türkiye has been part of the Customs Union since 1996 (established by the Ankara Agreement), allowing the creation of a free trade area between the signing parties. This is to say that such an argument would not be meaningful as goods are already allowed to travel freely without customs restrictions between Türkiye and EU member states.

- “Despite the conditions on Turkey’s membership, EU leaders believe it will be so difficult to bring Turkey, a semi-developed country, up to EU standards and to overcome public opposition to Turkish membership, that talks may never be completed.”
- “[...] Turkey arouses more passion than any country that has joined previously because it is so much bigger, poorer and more culturally different.” (Browne, Hurst & Watson, 2004, The Times)
- “one of the biggest barriers to Turkey’s entry to the EU is not that it is Muslim, but that it is poor.”
- “[...] For all the talk of a “clash of civilisations”, what is being overlooked is a clash of economic interests, between a lower-middle income economy, with a substantial rural economy, and wealthy industrialised nations of western Europe.”
- “[...] To put Turkey’s size into context, the 71 million inhabitants of the country have a combined national income of \$176bn. Tiny Denmark, which has a population of just 5.4 million, manages to produce a national income of \$182bn a year.” (Adams, 2004, The Guardian)
- “impoverished nation” (Popham 2005, The Independent)
- “Avec un marché intérieur peu développé, une économie souterraine avoisinant les 50 % de son PIB et des particularismes surprenants, la perplexité domine.” (Doré, 2004, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “With a poorly-developed domestic market, an underground economy accounting for around 50% of GDP and a number of surprising peculiarities, perplexity is the order of the day.”]
- “le deuxième plus gros débiteur du FMI après le Brésil” (Doré, 2004, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “the IMF’s second-largest debtor after Brazil”]
- “l’économie turque continue d’afficher de graves déficiences structurelles” (Bayart, 2004, Le Monde) [Back translation: “the Turkish economy continues to display serious structural deficiencies”]

In overall, it is underlined that Türkiye is economically deficient and described as “poor” or “impoverished”, and possessing a low national income. At the utmost, Turkish economy is not “developed enough” or “semi-developed”, and by no means, is it comparable to the “wealthy”, “rich”, “industrialized”, and “developed” West. In fact, Turkish economy has experienced difficult periods due to economic crises in 1999 and 2001. Obviously, the national income of Türkiye cannot be compared with that of Denmark, or the majority of EU member states. However, it should be noted that the income per head in Türkiye is higher or almost equal to that of Bulgaria and Romania –

their candidate status was approved in 1997 and they became EU members in 2007. Interestingly enough, the findings show that the evaluation of the Turkish economy is made only in comparison to Western Europe. One may easily assert that it would be more legitimate to compare the economic situation in Türkiye with that of the newcomers from Eastern Europe.

An equally important finding on the European observations of the Turkish economy lies in the more extensive elaboration of this topic in the British press.¹⁷ There is a clear asymmetry not only in the frequency of the respective distinction's activation but also in its treatment. For example, among the thirty-eight contributors from France and the UK – and only two of them are expressly against – Adams (2004, *The Guardian*) is the fiercest opponent of Turkish membership to the EU. He strongly believes that the most important criterion to be applied for Türkiye's EU vocation is economic. He further emphasizes that Türkiye is far from approaching European countries' level of prosperity, and economic development. He notes that “[r]ather than fear Islam, we should worry at the impact on Türkiye's poor”, and concludes that Türkiye should be excluded from the *wealthy* Europe for that very reason (Adams, 2004, *The Guardian*).

As for the positive framings of the economic distinction, only a few instances can be detected:

- “A democratic Muslim country with a dynamic economy should be welcomed by a continent faced with the threat of Islamic fundamentalism.” (Plummer, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- “Celui qui a connu les charmes d’Istanbul aux beaux jours, ce souffle chaud qui balaie la ville et les rives du Bosphore où les Stambouliotes viennent dépenser l’argent d’une économie à nouveau dynamique, s’étonnera des réticences des Européens à ouvrir leur porte à ce pays.” (Doré, 2004, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Anyone who has experienced the charms of Istanbul in fine weather, the warm breeze that sweeps through

¹⁷ Note that economic evaluations of Türkiye are not touched upon in the studies of Tekin (2010) and Yasri-Labirque (2010), who focus on the French representations of Türkiye in social and political discourses. It can thus be inferred that the economic dimension of the debate on Türkiye's possible membership to the EU is not addressed extensively – but only occasionally – by French politicians and journalists; also signalling the lack of a developed argumentation based on the economic distinction in France. An observation that is very much in line with my findings regarding the corpus on press articles.

the city and along the shores of the Bosphorus, where Stamboulians come to spend the money from a once again dynamic economy, will be amazed at the reluctance of Europeans to open their doors to this country.”]

- “La vigueur d’une économie de marché forte de 65 millions de consommateurs” (Bayart, 2004, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “The strength of a market economy with 65 million consumers”]

It is interesting to observe that, in some of the articles, conflicting narratives regarding both the demographic and economic features of Türkiye are used (e.g. Kaletsky, 2004, *The Times*; Bayart, 2004, *Le Monde*; Doré, 2004, *Le Figaro*; Plummer, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*). These two communicative distinctions refer to inherent characteristics of Türkiye that could not be changed in the short term (or to put it more righteously, it can be expected that European observations on these aspects will not alter extensively in the near future). In addition, since unfavorable arguments are mostly supported with qualitative data it becomes difficult to argue that Turkish economy is actually up to European standards. Just like the cases where the demographic distinction is framed in inclusionary terms, the positive attributions to the economic distinction are very few, but it is still worth reminding their motives very briefly. As underlined in the passages above, not only the Turkish economy is dynamic and is rapidly growing; but Türkiye is also a very large consumer market for European member states.

2.2.3.2.3 Geographic Distinction

The third criteria used in the framing of the Turkish identity is the geographic distinction (European/Asian), channelling the debate into the question whether Türkiye, geographically speaking, is situated in Europe or in Asia.

- “By all conventional geography, only a tiny part of Turkey, our side of the Bosphorus, lies in Europe.” (Ash, 2002, *The Guardian*)
- “[Europe] fades away across the great expanses of Turkey and Russia. Somewhere between Moscow and Vladivostok, somewhere between Istanbul and Hakkari, you find yourself more in Asia than in Europe. This only partly European character of the two countries’ geography and history suggests a special partnership, for the sense of belonging to a geographic and historical unity is important for any political community of Europe.” (Ash, 2005, *The Guardian*)

- “Yesterday’s formal recommendation urges EU leaders to begin accession negotiations with a mainly Muslim nation of 70 million people, many of whom live in poverty on the Asian landmass.” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “Sauf que l’origine et l’appartenance géographiques, ethniques et culturelles de la pauvre et immense Anatolie sont sans conteste proche-orientales et asiatiques. Européenne, Istanbul l’est en partie, mais probablement pas plus que Moscou. Et si demain la Turquie, après- demain, qui?” (Zecchini, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “Except that the geographical, ethnic and cultural origins and origins of poor, sprawling Anatolia are unquestionably Near Eastern and Asian. Istanbul is partly European, but probably no more so than Moscow. And if tomorrow Turkey, or tomorrow who?”]

According to the majority of the British and French press Türkiye is not European, at least not fully European. It is almost impossible to raise an objection to this geographic ‘fact’ as only a small part of Turkish territories is situated in the European continent – around 3% to be more specific; and once again, it is highly improbable that Türkiye’s geographic frontiers will change in a near future. A wide consensus regards the Bosphorus as forming the continental boundary between Europe and Asia. Only obviously then, the argumentation based upon Türkiye’s geographic positioning on the world map is extensively put forward by anti-Türkiye observers as it is seemingly the easiest and the most ‘objective’ of all alternatives available to deny Türkiye’s EU membership bid.

Besides the instrumentalization of this geographic ‘fact’ from the part of those who ascribe to essentialist interpretations, what is still remarkable, is the simultaneous activation of the respective distinction by not only anti-Türkiye but also pro-Türkiye observers.

- “Most of Turkey will never be European the way Vienna, Paris and Prague are European. But Seville, Palermo and Venice are also European cities; and in all of them, Christian and Islamic strands are interwoven just as in Istanbul.” (Popham, 2005, *The Independent*)
- “Depuis quatre-vingts ans, la Turquie est une République laïque de culture musulmane, mais ancrée en Occident; ce choix opéré en 1923 par Mustafa Kemal, le fondateur de la République, nul en Turquie n’envisage de le remettre en cause. Il est d’ailleurs le résultat d’une longue évolution historique vers l’occidentalisation et la modernisation, engagée dès le début du XIXe siècle, avec la France pour modèle.” (Sorman, 2002, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “For eighty years, Turkey has been a secular republic with a Muslim culture, but anchored in the West. This choice, made in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the republic, is one that no one in Turkey would dream of questioning. It is, in fact, the result of a long historical evolution towards Westernization and modernization, which began in the early 19th century with France as a model.”]

As understood from the passages above, a considerable number of advocates to Türkiye's EU accession tend to focus on the geographic position of Istanbul, defined as Türkiye's biggest city where different civilizations coexist. In addition to the framing of Türkiye as a site of multiculturalism, some of them tend to add a historical dimension to the debate, emphasizing that Türkiye, through its history of modernization, has been anchored in the West since the declaration of the republic in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Finally, some of the supporters completely object to the geographic distinction, and for that reason, they stick to the idea that Europeaness cannot be accounted for in terms of material boundaries.

On the other hand, my findings suggest that the majority of those supporting Türkiye's EU accession approach the issue by pointing at neither the left nor the right side of the form (European/Asian). In fact, they tend to focus on the boundary that distinguishes the two sides as Türkiye does not fully fit to any side of the communicative distinction, hence the difficulty in deciding whether Türkiye belongs to Europe or Asia. The heart of the argumentation for supporters is thus located in a narrative that is visibly more dominant than any other, often expressed by the most popular stereotype: *Türkiye is a bridge between Europe and Asia*.

- “A bridge too far?” (title, Ash, 2002, The Guardian)
- “With Turkey now on Europe's doorstep, we are destined to find out.” (Kaletsky 2004, The Times)
- “EU enlargement analysis: On Europe's doorstep, but still far from joining the club.” (title, Popham, 2005, The Independent)
- “a pivotal country straddling Europe, the Middle East, and the Caucasus” (Traynor, 2007, The Guardian)
- “poser la délicate question de l'identité européenne d'un pays qui se situe à la charnière de l'Europe et de l'Asie” (Zecchini, 2002, Le Monde) [Back translation: “raise the delicate question of the 'European identity' of a country at the crossroads of Europe and Asia”]
- “à cheval entre l'Europe et l'Asie, à la croisée de tous les chemins de l'histoire” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, Libération) [Back translation: “straddling Europe and Asia, at the crossroads of history”]

The above passages are also indicative of the metaphorical actualizations around the lexeme *door*. To be more precise, Türkiye is described at the *doorstep* of the union.

Similar to the problematic regarding the bridge attribute, it is difficult to decide whether one should be denied entrance to the “club” once they step onto the doorstep. Türkiye is further depicted as a neighbour “knocking on the door” (Woollacott 2002, *The Guardian*; Castle and Turgut 2004, *The Independent*), suggesting once again that this situation is extremely difficult to ignore. It is then more than time to take a decision (Sémo, 2005, *Libération*; Browne, Hurst and Watson, 2005, *The Times*): should Europe “open its door” to Türkiye; should Europeans “step onto that bridge”?

Considering the above examples, the use of clichés and stereotypes serve as an effective framing strategy in order to make problematic issues readily accessible for psychic and social systems who are constantly exposed to rapidly changing agenda. Unlike the older tradition, the contemporary literature on clichés and stereotypes does not conceive of them in negative terms.¹⁸ Not only are they necessary for the understanding of the world in which we live in, but they are inevitable: “The stereotype schematizes and categorizes; but these steps are essential to cognition, even if they lead to sometimes excessive simplifications and generalizations” (Amossy, 2007, p. 28). In this regard, the repetitive usage of the bridge and door metaphors mentioned earlier are no exception in that they are employed in the presentation of a complex and controversial issue: Türkiye’s geographic and geostrategic position. Specifically, constantly activated to remind the challenge one faces in deciding whether Türkiye and Turkish people should be categorized as either European or Asian/Middle Eastern, these metaphors mirror the strategic importance attributed to Türkiye. Consider the examples below:

- “l’entrée de la Turquie ne doit pas nous conduire à renoncer à faire de l’Union un acteur politique sur la scène internationale, mais tout au contraire à renforcer cette grande ambition.” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “Turkey’s entry should

¹⁸ Ruth Amossy reminds us that: “Used in various fields (stylistics, literary criticism, semiology, social sciences), [clichés, idées reçues, and stereotypes] made a spectacular comeback in argumentative analysis as doxic elements allowing for interaction, rather than as banal thinking in which the subject disintegrates, or as dangerous ideological biases that alienate the subject. The new rhetorician’s main task is not to denounce and condemn, but to describe and analyze.” (2002, p. 485).

not lead us to give up on making the Union a political player on the international stage, but on the contrary to reinforce this great ambition.”]

- “L’entrée de la Turquie dans l’UE renforcerait le rôle de l’Europe sur la scène politique internationale.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Turkey’s entry into the EU would strengthen Europe’s role on the international political stage”]
- “La Turquie, État démocratique pilier de la stabilité au Moyen-Orient, représente l’intérêt fondamental de tous les citoyens de l’UE. L’idée qu’une Turquie exclue de la Communauté européenne pourrait nous protéger des crises du Moyen-Orient est politiquement naïve. Toutes les crises du Moyen-Orient ont jusqu’ici eu des répercussions directes sur l’Europe et ces répercussions seront encore plus fortes dans l’avenir. L’adhésion de la Turquie donnerait à l’UE davantage l’occasion de mener une politique volontariste dans le grand Moyen-Orient.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Turkey, a democratic state and a pillar of stability in the Middle East, represents the fundamental interest of all EU citizens. The idea that a Turkey excluded from the European Community could protect us from the crises in the Middle East is politically naïve. All the crises in the Middle East have had direct repercussions on Europe to date, and these repercussions will be even greater in the future. Turkey’s accession would give the EU a greater opportunity to pursue a proactive policy in the wider Middle East.”]

The geographic considerations of Türkiye, especially as framed by those who support its membership to the EU, often state that Türkiye is a crucial actor that would help enhance the role of Europe in international relations – and such an aspiration is especially voiced in the French press. Frequently enough, it is reminded that Türkiye is not only a member of the NATO (to cite a few examples: Sorman, 2002, *Le Figaro*; Evans-Pritchard, 2004, *The Daily Telegraph*; Popham, 2005&2007, *The Independent*) but also an ally of the Western world who can help promoting security in the Middle East – in these cases, Türkiye is depicted as *more secure*, or rather, *less dangerous* than its eastern neighbours. It can be further argued that, according to this view, the place of the EU would be solidified on the international platform mainly because Türkiye is not only a bridge in geographic and geostrategic terms but, as we will see in the treatment of the cultural and religious distinction, Türkiye is also accepted as a bridge in civilizational terms. This view believes that Türkiye would bond the West/Christianity and the East/Islam. As noted by İçin-Akçalı, “[the supporters of Türkiye’s accession to the EU] state that a Union with Turkey in it would be a stronger actor in world politics and would gain more efficiency in the creation of a more equitable, peaceful and democratic world” (2007, p. 216).

2.2.3.2.4 Cultural Distinction

At the heart of the debate on Türkiye's Europeanness lies cultural, historical, and religious considerations regarding the Turkish identity, pointing at the evaluation of Türkiye and/or Turks by means of the communicative distinction Western/Eastern and/or Occidental/Oriental. The real issue – especially for the majority of the French press – is not the fact that Türkiye is big and economically underdeveloped; rather, the real question lies in whether Türkiye is a European country in cultural terms and whether Türkiye shares the European heritage common to all member states.

To start with an important dimension of culture, my findings suggest that the most frequently activated narrative about Türkiye is based on the religious distinction (Christian/Muslim). Consider the following passages focusing on defining Türkiye and its people against its religious background:

- “a largely Muslim country” (Adams, 2004, *The Guardian*)
- “70 million-strong Muslim nation” (Evans-Pritchard, 2004, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- “a mainly Muslim nation of 70 million people” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “Never before has a huge Islamic nation asked for Europe's recognition the way Turkey has been asking these past decades.” (Popham, 2005, *The Independent*)
- “The standard (and correct) platitude is that 99 per cent of them are Muslim, and mostly Sunni Muslim, but that occludes a large minority of Alevi Muslims.” (Freely, 2002, *The Independent*)
- “68 millions de Turcs, à 95 % musulmans” (Zecchini, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “68 million Turks, 95% Muslims”]
- “sa population est majoritairement musulmane” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “its population is predominantly Muslim”]
- “quelque 70 millions de musulmans” (Duhamel, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “some 70 million Muslims”]

Indeed, the frequency of the lexemes employed around the communicative distinction Christianity/Islam is indicative of this matter's omnipresence in the articles constituting corpus on press articles. As stated earlier, the most controversial issue on Türkiye's path towards EU membership is related to the religious identity attributed to Turkish people.

Muslim/musulman are abundantly used predicates both in the British and French press – and not all the examples could be displayed due to space limitations. The high occurrence of the lexemes and attributes related to Islam suggests that European readers are constantly reminded of the Muslim character of the majority of Turkish citizens.¹⁹ It is even more remarkable that the religious distinction is often directly attributed to the Turkish system itself, as if there existed only one religious practice within Türkiye’s national borders. All in all, despite slight differences in the choice of articulation and in the statistics provided, it can be safely stated that the dominant religious practice in Türkiye is recalled by a large majority of columnists and reporters who wrote the articles. Without doubt, the definition of *Türkiye* or *its people* as *Muslim* signals that a selective appropriation is in action in the treatment of the information. Factual propositions such as “70 million-strong Muslim nation” or “95% de la population est musulmane” take part in the argumentation for a certain purpose. In fact, the narrative pertinence of empirical propositions is associated with their functionality. Even when the articulation is based on quantitative data, by no means is it innocent in that the statistical propositions provide subtle tools to foreground specific aspects of the issue in question. Moreover, they are generally recalled as long as they contribute to the argumentation favored by the author of the article and as long as the data serve to frame narratives in desired ways whereas they may be ignored when deemed non-pragmatic.

As we have seen in the examples related to the demographic, economic, and geographic criteria, the cultural distinction is also framed – and thus emplotted – in diverging ways by opponents and supporters. Narrative emplotment which “allows us to *weight* and *explain* events rather than simply list them” (Baker, 2006 p. 67, emphasis in the original), is a crucial narrative strategy in the Turkish case as the Islamic religion, practiced by the

¹⁹ In a similar line, in their analysis of the Turkish image in the British press in 2005, Baştürk-Akça and Yılmaztürk (2007, p.132) draw attention to the fact that in texts, as well as in the paratext surrounding these texts, Türkiye is directly represented by religious symbols: the pictures and photographs used in the press to visually represent Türkiye include – most of the time – mosques, minarets, and women wearing headscarves or burqas.

majority of the Turkish population, may be interpreted as a weakness or a strength according to the observer's narrative location. However, it should be noted that in none of the articles, Türkiye's accession to the EU is expressly denied on cultural or religious grounds, which constitutes a major finding in my survey – I have emphasized earlier that opponents to Türkiye's vocation to join the EU have more secure arguments at their disposal, mostly based on geographic and/or economic criteria. In comparison, it should be reminded that according to the respondents of Eurobarometer 66 (2006, see Chapter I for a summary of the opinion poll's results), the biggest obstacle in the way of Türkiye's EU membership is by far the cultural difference inherent between Türkiye and Europe.²⁰ Although Türkiye's accession to the EU is not expressly rejected on cultural grounds, the religious and historical background of Türkiye and Turks is constantly recalled (accompanied with a considerable number of references to the Ottoman Empire) not only by opponents but also by advocates of Türkiye's European aspiration, and even more so by the latter. The framing strategy involved in the argumentation of the supporters consists in recalling Islam as a major spiritual practice in Türkiye only to emphasize that *although Türkiye is a Muslim country*, a drastic change in political and social spheres occurred after the declaration of the Republic, resulting in the promotion of secularism and democracy throughout the country. Consider the examples below which can be characterized as maintaining a pro-Turkish slant in that sense (the examples are not exhaustive due to space limitations):

- “What better example could there be than the moderate Islamist party which just swept to power in free and fair elections in Turkey, which accepts the secular state.” (Ash, 2002, *The Guardian*)

²⁰ By comparison, it should also be noted that the findings of Tekin (2010), who specifically surveys the political discourse on Türkiye's possible membership to the EU as voiced by political personalities in France, indicate that essentialist evaluations, and most specifically those based on cultural difference, are intentionally and explicitly put forward; among these politicians, to name but a few, François Sarkozy (Union pour un mouvement populaire), and Jean-Marie Le Pen (Front national).

- “A democratic Muslim country with a dynamic economy should be welcomed by a continent faced with the threat of Islamic fundamentalism.” (Plummer, 2007, The Daily Telegraph)
- “depuis quatre-vingts ans, la Turquie est une République laïque de culture musulmane. » (Sorman, 2002, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “for eighty years, Turkey has been a secular republic of Muslim culture”]
- “Mais c’est précisément l’erreur que ne répéteront pas les démo-musulmans. Eux savent que, après le 11 septembre, il n’est plus possible d’être islamiste en Turquie; ni les Turcs ni les Occidentaux ne l’accepteraient.” (Sorman, 2002, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “But this is precisely the mistake the demo-Muslims will not repeat. They know that, after September 11, it is no longer possible to be an Islamist in Turkey; neither Turks nor Westerners would accept this.”]
- “Quoi qu’il en soit, c’est bien un parti parlementaire de sensibilité islamique, l’AKP, qui a mené le pays là où il est en termes de démocratisation, avec le soutien de l’opposition social-démocrate et en assumant l’héritage kémaliste de la laïcité.” (Bayart, 2004, Le Monde) [Back translation: “Be that as it may, it is indeed a parliamentary party of Islamic sensibility, the AKP, that has brought the country to where it is in terms of democratization, with the support of the social-democratic opposition and by assuming the Kemalist heritage of secularism.”]
- “face à l’islamisme, rejeter un Etat musulman laïque et par hypothèse démocratique, c’est faire le jeu du choc des civilisations” (Duhamel, 2004, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “in the face of Islamism, to reject a secular and, by hypothesis, democratic Muslim state is to play into the hands of the clash of civilizations”]
- “La singularité de la Turquie et le fait que sa population est majoritairement musulmane sont parmi les arguments le plus souvent entendus. Or, il n’est pas moins certain que l’Etat turc est depuis sa fondation un Etat laïc et qu’il apporte la meilleure preuve qui soit de la compatibilité entre Islam et démocratie.” (Borell-Fontelles, 2004, Libération) [Back translation: “Turkey’s uniqueness and the fact that its population is predominantly Muslim are among the arguments most often heard. However, it is no less certain that the Turkish state has been a secular state since its foundation, and that it provides the best possible proof of the compatibility of Islam and democracy.”]

The juxtaposition of the attributes Muslim and secular to describe the Turkish cultural and political landscapes is especially meaningful in that such propositions point at the singularity of the Turkish Republic. The narrative of *Türkiye is Muslim* is often combined with *Türkiye is secular (and democratic)*. Such a combination though, is not made free of value judgments, but is based, most of the time, on the following reasoning: Türkiye is Muslim *but* secular (and democratic). This proposition can be considered as an enthymeme, that is, “any enunciation that makes a judgment on any subject, that is, relates

this phenomenon to a conceptual whole that integrates or determines it” (1982, p. 31, emphasis in the original). It may be difficult to pinpoint presuppositions and ideological maxims in the textual realization itself. They may be absent from the surface of the text. That is why it is crucial to make a deeper analysis and to make connections between the said and the unsaid, that is, between what is explicitly expressed in the text and what is implied. One cannot help but ask whether, in the present case, the underlying ideological maxim is *the incompatibility between Islam and democracy*, and – although the press seems to have some reservations to voice it – the association of Islam with religious fundamentalism and/or with international terrorism. Considering what is asserted in the above passages, it can further be argued that “with the terror attacks of 9/11, political Islam revives as the ‘ultimate Other’ for the Western sphere and also for Europe” (Walter and Albert 2009:245). Within the same line, my survey on the press articles suggests that the European definition of Türkiye/Turks as Muslim should be read against the metanarrative of the so-called clash of civilizations. In such a context, Türkiye is mainly seen as a remedy to this conflict by supporters of its full membership to the EU, who claim that Türkiye may help the West engage in a dialogue with the Islamic world, thus creating an alliance of civilizations.

- “Europe should welcome Turkey’s membership as a bulwark against the rise of radical Islam.” (Kaletsky, 2004, The Times)
- “The example of Turkey, reconciling a mainly Islamic society with a secular state, is vital for the rest of the Islamic world - and not insignificant for the 15 to 20 million Muslims already living in Europe.” (Ash, 2005, The Guardian)
- “Turkey is the peaceful bridge to Islam of which the West is in desperate need.” (Popham, 2005, The Independent)
- “the intriguing possibility that Turkey, an eager applicant for joining the EU, could bring with it an Islam redefined to become acceptable to a liberal west.” (Hamilton, 2008, The Independent)
- “un modèle pour les autres mondes musulmans” (Sorman 2002, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “a model for other Muslim worlds”]
- “la Turquie laïque ‘est un exemple pour le reste du monde musulman’” (Zecchini, 2002, Le Monde) [Back translation: “secular Turkey ‘is an example for the rest of the Muslim world’.”]

- “C’est dans ce climat que le ‘modèle’ de la Turquie peut se révéler décisif pour l’avenir et inspirer au moins, plutôt que de jouer les repoussoirs, une marge d’espoir. [...] Sans être parée de toutes les vertus, la Turquie doit faire la démonstration que l’islam est soluble dans des institutions démocratiques et la laïcité.” (Tincq, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “It is in this climate that Turkey’s ‘model’ can prove decisive for the future, inspiring at least a margin of hope rather than acting as a repellent. [...] Without being adorned with all the virtues, Turkey must demonstrate that Islam is soluble in democratic institutions and secularism.”]
- “En revanche, une démocratie stable dans une société musulmane pourrait servir de modèle à un monde musulman qui en a bien besoin. Enfin, l’adhésion de la Turquie à l’UE démontrerait que l’argument selon lequel l’Islam et la démocratie sont incompatibles ne tient pas et contribuerait à susciter une évolution favorable de l’attitude du monde islamique envers l’Europe.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “On the other hand, a stable democracy in a Muslim society could serve as a much-needed model for the Muslim world. Finally, Turkey’s accession to the EU would demonstrate that the argument that Islam and democracy are incompatible does not hold water, and would help to bring about a favorable evolution in the Islamic world’s attitude towards Europe.”]

It should be clear from these excerpts that even for the advocates of Turkish membership, the fact that *Türkiye is Muslim* is not evacuated from the argumentation. Paradoxically enough, this characteristic serves to reinforce the discourse of those in favor of Türkiye’s accession to the union. For them, Türkiye is not only a bridge in geographic terms but it may also become a bridge in cultural and civilizational terms. According to pro-Türkiye observers, we can easily talk about such a potential. To put it simply, *Türkiye is an exception* as Türkiye is Muslim *but* secular and democratic. Supporters of this view believe that, even if *Türkiye is not fully European* and even if Turkish history is mostly about war against Europe, Türkiye has virtues that cannot be undermined mainly for two reasons. First of all, as Turkish style Islam is acceptable for the West, Türkiye may serve as a model for the rest of the Muslim world. Secondly, Türkiye may contribute to overcome the tension inherent between Europe and “Islamic” countries (Hamilton, 2008, *The Independent*; Sorman, 2002, *Le Figaro*; Tincq, 2002, *Le Monde*, Sémo, 2006, *Libération*). “How would it be possible to solve the problems in the Middle East without Türkiye?” they ask and assert that a secular Türkiye inside the EU could help promoting a better image of Islam in the West as well as a better image of Europe in the Islamic world.

All in all, for the majority of the observers from the press, Türkiye's membership is an irretrievable opportunity to demonstrate that Islam and democracy are compatible. Before such a membership happens though, the press observers argue that the democratic regime should be functioning effectively and Türkiye should further promote human rights. For that end, the Armenian issue, the Cyprus question, rights and freedoms regarding the Kurdish people, the military's role, and women's status within the Turkish society should all be addressed and improved; which leads us to the last communicative distinction detected in the European representations of Türkiye.

2.2.3.2.5 Political Distinction

The strongest pillars among many others that constitute the debates over Türkiye's political landscape include: the Armenian issue, the Cyprus question, and human rights. Assessed together, these matters point at the fifth and final communicative distinction (democratic/non-democratic) employed for the survey of the present corpus. In the following, I will discuss whether policies adopted towards these issues in Türkiye are considered democratic, partly democratic, or non-democratic at all.

The conflict between different versions of narratives on Türkiye is most visibly reflected in the Turkish-Armenian dispute, enduring since the end of the First World War and disrupting not only relations between Türkiye and Armenia but also between Türkiye and the EU. European officials declared on many occasions that Türkiye is in the obligation to accept the "genocide" allegedly committed against Armenians in 1915. Some of the member states, namely France and Germany, even declared that Türkiye's accession to the EU would be impossible unless the alleged "genocide" is legally recognized.

In the case of the Turkish-Armenian dispute, narratives promoted in the Turkish system and in the European system (most particularly in the French subsystem which is one of the strongest supporters of the recognition of the so-called Armenian "genocide") vary significantly since it has direct and indirect implications for the parties involved. Turkish politicians and the media more often emphasize the fact that both Turks and Armenians have suffered from the events in 1915, highlighting that they took place in wartime. Turkish officials do not accept the use of the term "genocide"; they prefer to refer to the events as a "tragedy" or they tend to use the term "tehcir", meaning "relocation" or

“deportation”.²¹ While this is the case for the Turkish side, the French Government has legally recognized these events as a “genocide” allegedly committed by Turks against the Armenians. Even though France is not directly involved in the dispute, the French Parliament has approved a bill recognizing the denial of the so-called “genocide” as a crime in 2006.²² In comparison, it is noteworthy that the British Government refuses to label the events of 1915 as a “genocide”, an approach that is compatible with the external politics of the UK, as the country is one of the few member states in favor of Türkiye’s membership to the EU. This support is also revealed in the careful use of terminology. The British Government has acknowledged the so-called “massacres” and “atrocities” at the time, and even “condemned” them. However, the British Government refuses to describe these acts as a “genocide” simply because “it is not the business of Governments of today to review events of over 80 years ago, with a view to pronouncing on them” (United Nations Security Council 2001, p.7).²³

Taking into consideration that a bill recognizing the so-called Armenian “genocide” has been accepted in France and comparing this attitude with the declarations of the British Government, the official discourse of the latter can be easily described as more neutral compared to that of the former. In accordance with the governmental discourses of their country, the French and British press also ascribe to diverging views, which is once again reflected in the selected linguistic formulation, that is, in the utterance level of the triadic communication process.

²¹ For a short overview of the Turkish Government’s approach to the Armenian issue – as well as the Cyprus question, which will be tackled in the following pages – the frequently asked questions tab in the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Turkish Republic can be checked:

<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/questions.en.mfa>

²² The existence of an influential Armenian lobby in France is well known.

²³ In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the UN, it is quoted that: “The [British] Government, in line with previous Governments, have judged the evidence not to be sufficiently unequivocal to persuade us that these events should be categorized as genocide as defined by the 1948 United Nations Convention on Genocide, a Convention which was drafted in response to the Holocaust and is not retrospective in application. The interpretation of events in eastern Anatolia in 1915-1916 is still the subject of genuine debate among historians.” (United Nations Security Council, 2001, p.7)

On the one hand, as stated earlier, the French Government adopts a more radical stance regarding the Armenian issue, which finds resonance in the only example from the corpus:

- “l’Etat turc continue de nier le terrible génocide des Arméniens. Une rue importante d’Istanbul est toujours dédiée à l’organisateur du génocide, Talat Pacha. De même les manuels scolaires nient toujours officiellement l’existence d’un génocide.” (Fenech, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “the Turkish state continues to deny the terrible genocide of the Armenians. A major street in Istanbul is still dedicated to the organizer of the genocide, Talat Pasha. Similarly, school textbooks still officially deny the existence of genocide.”]

On the other hand, the press in the UK seems to back up the Turkish official discourse on this matter in that it activates a more moderate narrative compared with the dominant narrative disseminated within the French subsystem and refers to “killing” and/or “murder of Armenians”:

- “the murder of 1.5 million Armenians in the dying years of the Ottoman Empire” (Popham, 2005, *The Independent*).

It should be noted that the articles in which the word “genocide” appears, it is either used in quotation marks – as it is the case in Butcher (2007, *The Daily Telegraph*) and Popham (2005, *The Independent*) – or the statement is attributed to an outside observer. In other words, it is not the author who claims that the events should be coined as a “genocide” (Coughlin, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*; Ash, 2005, *The Guardian*). Examples of this second strategy are as follows:

- “intellectuals who say there was a Turkish genocide against the Armenians” (Ash, 2005, *The Guardian*)
- “Hrant Dink, the Turkish-Armenian journalist who accused the Turks of committing genocide against the Armenians during the First World War” (Coughlin, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*)

All in all, it can be stated that the events in Eastern Anatolia during the First World War are interpreted differently in France and in the UK, and by no means is the choice of terminology accidental. In contrast, the selected terms point to the fact that the issue is framed in a purposeful manner.

A second case in point which illustrates the promotion of diverging narratives concerning a single event is the conflict over Cyprus, an island divided between Greek and Turkish Cypriots since the Turkish military intervention in 1974. The resolution of the Cyprus

question, which constitutes the second pillar of the political distinction, is considered as an important obstacle according to the reports delivered by the European Commission and the statements of many EU officials from member states, namely Greece. Just like the debate over the Armenian issue, diverging opinions stand out regarding the Cyprus question, intercepting the uniformity in terminology used to explain the current situation. Here, it should be reminded that the Republic of Northern Cyprus is not recognized internationally. For this reason, the most obvious disagreement lies in the labelling of the island – consider the following formulations regarding this matter: “la république turque de Chypre du Nord, qui n’est reconnue que par Ankara” (Capelier, 2007, *Libération*); “la partie nord (turcophone) de Chypre” (Capelier, 2007, *Libération*), “Chypre du Nord” (Fenech, 2005, *Le Figaro*). Whereas Turkish politicians and media use the label of “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti) to denote the territories where Turkish Cypriots live and “Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus” (Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi) for the territories where Greek Cypriots reside, all of the current member states of the EU officially recognize the Republic of Cyprus as the right designation to stand for the whole island, which is a member state of the EU since 2004. The fact that Türkiye does not officially recognize the Republic of Cyprus is a major obstacle that hinders Turkish-EU relations. The European press often reminds their readers that, to become a full member of the EU, Türkiye has to not only recognize the Republic of Cyprus but also establish good relations with the latter.

Moreover, it is frequently reminded that one of the major obstacles Türkiye faces regarding the Cyprus question is the emplacement of Turkish troops in the island, making the situation even more confusing and insoluble. It is further emphasized that the acts of 1974 constitute an “invasion of the island” or an “occupation of the northern part of the island” by Turkish troops (and there seems to be a consensus on that matter both in the British and French subsystems):

- “the issue of recognising the existence of Cyprus is deeply sensitive in Turkey, which occupies the northern part of the island with 35,000 troops” (Browne, Hurst and Watson, 2005, *The Times*)
- “les fameuses ‘conditions de 1987’ sans lesquelles la Turquie n’intégrerait jamais l’UE: 1) reconnaissance du génocide des Arméniens, 2) retrait de Chypre” (Fenech, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “the famous ‘1987 conditions’ without which Turkey would never join the EU: 1) recognition of the Armenian genocide, 2) withdrawal from Cyprus”]

- “la Turquie, refuse toujours, au risque de s’aborder son propre processus d’adhésion, de reconnaître la République de Chypre et persiste de justifier l’invasion de l’île en 1974 comme une conséquence de coup d’Etat grec” (Fenech, 2005, Le Figaro). [Back translation: “Turkey still refuses to recognize the Republic of Cyprus, risking its own accession process, and persists in justifying its invasion of the island in 1974 as a consequence of the Greek coup d’état.”]

In contrast, “peace operation” (barış harekâtı) and “intervention” (müdahale) are preferred instead of “invasion” (işgal) by the majority of the Turkish public discourse, which causes, once again, a frame ambiguity. The Turkish governmental discourse strongly believes that an intervention was necessary in 1974 to protect the Turkish minority from the harassments and attacks of Greek Cypriots. It is also often reminded that this intervention does not constitute an invasion of a foreign territory since Türkiye is one of the guarantor countries of peace in Cyprus (along with Greece and the UK) according to the Treaty of Guarantee signed in 1960 and the aim of this operation was to provide safety and better living conditions for Turkish Cypriots.

Besides issues related to foreign policy, one of the most problematic criteria in the discussion of Türkiye’s Europeanness is domestic: the question of human rights, which constitutes the final pillar of the political distinction and incorporates issues such as minority rights, the role of the military, and women’s rights among many others.

- “[Turkey] has routinely persecuted its own dissidents, and especially its Kurds” (Ash, 2002, The Guardian)
- “a multi-party system was introduced in the 1940s but was harassed by the military” (Plummer, 2007, The Daily Telegraph)
- “les graves carences en matière de démocratie et de droits de l’homme (la torture reste couramment pratiquée et, via le Conseil national de sécurité, c’est l’armée qui continue d’exercer la réalité du pouvoir)” (Zecchini, 2002, Le Monde) [Back translation: “serious shortcomings in terms of democracy and human rights (torture is still widely practised and, via the National Security Council, the army continues to wield real power)”]
- “Le problème kurde serait-il en train de se résoudre en Turquie? Le PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) est sur le point de devenir un parti politique comme les autres et le régime turc d’autoriser la langue kurde à la télévision... mais, sur le terrain, la répression reste vive et les rebelles n’ont pas lâché leurs armes.” (Biegala, 2002, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “Is the Kurdish problem being resolved in Turkey? The PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party) is on the verge of becoming a political party like the others, and the Turkish regime has authorized the use of the Kurdish language on television...”]

but, on the ground, repression remains fierce and the rebels have not dropped their weapons.”]

- “[Les responsables politiques français] sont en droit, et ne s’en priveront pas, d’insister sur le respect le plus strict des normes européennes: Etat de droit, libertés publiques, égalité homme-femme, dépolitisation de l’armée, respect des minorités (kurdes pour commencer), développement économique et culturel.” (Duhamel, 2004, Libération) [Back translation: “[French politicians] have every right to insist on the strictest compliance with European standards: the rule of law, public freedoms, equality between men and women, depoliticization of the army, respect for minorities (starting with the Kurds), and economic and cultural development.”]
- “Le fait qu’Ankara empêche toujours le patriarche orthodoxe Bartholomeus de porter son titre ‘œcuménique’, que par ailleurs les églises assyro-chaldéenne, catholique et protestante ne soient pas reconnues et que l’état de siège soit rétabli de facto dans le Kurdistan montrent qu’Ankara ne partage pas encore le même esprit de tolérance que l’Union européenne, pour lesquelles le respect des minorités ethno-religieuses est essentiel.” (Fenech, 2005, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “The fact that Ankara still prevents the Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomeus from using his ‘ecumenical’ title, that the Assyrian-Chaldean, Catholic and Protestant churches are not recognized, and that a de facto state of siege has been re-established in Kurdistan, show that Ankara does not yet share the same spirit of tolerance as the European Union, for whom respect for ethno-religious minorities is essential.”]

Statements concerning the third and final pillar of the political distinction indicate that the alleged deficiencies in terms of human rights are abundantly acknowledged by both detractors and supporters of Türkiye’s possible membership – although the examples above are representative of the general discourse disseminated by the majority of observers, they are not intended to be exhaustive. First of all, although secularists in Türkiye see the military as the guarantor of the fundamental principles of the republic²⁴, most of the observers from the corpus on news articles argue that the involvement of the military in politics, notably through the National Security Council, should be decreased

²⁴ Secularism constitutes one of the six fundamental principles (others are: republicanism, populism, reformism, nationalism, and statism) established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founding father of the republic, and which lays the ground of Kemalist ideology in Türkiye. Together, these fundamentals have guided the reformation of the Turkish society during the second quarter of the twentieth century.

as it endangers the rule of law. According to the majority of the observers, democratic rights and freedoms should be further promoted and extended to include ethnic and religious minorities. Finally, among matters concerning human rights records in Türkiye, women's status within the Turkish society deserves a special emphasis. The questions that are addressed in the press include: Do Turkish women enjoy equal rights compared with men? And what about the cultural and religious view towards women in Türkiye? The second question suggests that the topic of women's rights and freedoms in Türkiye should be evaluated on the basis of democratic as well as cultural (religious) distinctions.

- “A Turkish private news channel, CNN Turk, said several women were attacked by Islamic zealots chanting “Allahu Akbar” (“God is Great”) because their heads were not covered.” (Zaman, 2001, The Daily Telegraph)
- “With characteristic bluntness Frits Bolkestein, the outspoken Dutch Commissioner, cited a litany of human rights failings including torture, use of excessive force, lack of religious freedom and failure to protect women's rights.” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, The Independent)
- “Amnesty International has reported widespread human rights abuse and so-called ‘honour’ killings of young women” (Evans-Pritchard, 2004, The Daily Telegraph)
- “tout pays candidat doit impérativement respecter (démocratie, Etat de droit, droits de l'homme, économie de marché), puisque s'y ajoutent désormais l'égalité hommes-femmes et le respect des droits des minorités. Deux pierres de plus dans le jardin d'Ankara...” (Sémo, 2005, Libération) [Back translation: “all candidate countries must respect (democracy, rule of law, human rights, market economy), now that gender equality and respect for minority rights have been added. Two more stones in Ankara's garden...”]

It can be asserted that narratives concerning religion and democracy are mainly emplotted against the background of the status of women within the Turkish society, and that they feed the West-East dichotomy inherent in the observations. This tendency is also mirrored in the special issue on Türkiye's candidature of the French weekly *Courrier International* that appeared just after ten new member states officially joined the EU in May 2004.



Figure 2. Cover of the French weekly Courier International, 6-12 May 2004

Taken together, it can be argued that the title and the iconographic elements depict a Turkish identity that is inferior to the European identity. The title suggests that Türkiye is seen as a distant destination, and women figures on the cover slowly walking away on a deserted land (which is actually the Tuz Lake in Türkiye, though difficult to tell from the picture) point to the fact that, cultural and religious differences taken into consideration, the distance between these two entities grows bigger.

Besides discussions on equality between men and women, another site of criticism is related to the freedoms of women, and most specifically the headscarf ban in Türkiye – almost exclusively addressed in the British press though.

- “a university law banning women wearing headscarves from university campuses (Freely, 2002, The Independent)”
- “Anyway 63% of Turkish women have some kind of fabric on their heads. And the right to wear a headscarf is just as important as someone else’s right to wear a miniskirt.” (quoted in Traynor, 2007, The Guardian)
- “Secularists have nothing to fear from women wearing headscarves: Separation of church and state should not preclude the assertion of religious identity - as Turkey is learning” (title, Bunting, 2008, The Guardian)

It should also be clear from the frequency of the lexical units related to headscarf/voile in the articles from the British and French press that the headscarf ban is seen as a more

important obstacle to Turkish membership in the UK than in France. Only 3 occurrences of *voile/voilage/voilée* (in 2 articles) can be found in the French articles against 31 occurrences of *headscarf/headscarves/headscarved* (in 9 articles), 2 occurrences of *veil* (in 2 articles), and a single occurrence of *hijab* in the British press. These numbers clearly demonstrate that the issue is treated more extensively by British observers, suggesting that this a problematic topic which needs to be acknowledged and criticized. The reason behind the unpopularity of the headscarf ban in France can be explained by the importance attached to the secular character of the state; indeed, there exist laws prohibiting the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols in public institutions both in France and in Türkiye.²⁵ As a consequence, it should not come as a surprise to notice that while the headscarf ban and more broadly secular principles, find a more positive resonance and are well received in France, they are important sources of criticism for observers from the British subsystem (see the above example, Bunting, 2008, *The Guardian*).

As for positive representations regarding women's current status and their freedoms in Türkiye, it is hardly surprising that only a few mentions were detected. Proponents of Turkish accession to the EU recall that *Turkish style Islam* is moderate and that Turkish women enjoy equal rights with men, unlike *the Islam* practiced in other *Muslim* countries such as Iran, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia – mostly conceived in even more negative terms by European observers when compared with the Turkish practices. It is further underlined that the Arab and/or Iranian style of Islam is denounced by some groups within Türkiye as well, notably secularists who fear from turning into an Islamist country, where, according to them, women would enjoy far fewer opportunities.

- “Up to 30% of the electorate believe in the nightmare scenario of a second Iranian revolution. Educated working women especially are worried that their daughters will find

²⁵ Until recently, it was prohibited to wear religious symbols, mainly headscarf and hijab, in Turkish public establishments including not only schools but also governmental institutions and universities. The ban was lifted in October 2013 by means of a law which was accepted by the Justice and Development Party government within the framework of a larger body of legislation, the “democratization package” (*demokratikleşme paketi*).

themselves in a country similar to Saudi Arabia or Iran in a few years.” (quoted in Traynor 2007, *The Guardian*)

- “Presque plus qu’en aucun autre pays musulman, l’islamisme en Turquie est perçu, notamment chez les femmes, comme une menace.” (Tincq, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “Almost more than in any other Muslim country, Islamism in Turkey is perceived as a threat, particularly among women.”]
- “De tradition, l’islam turc est modéré; parmi les courants qui le composent, le plus ancien et le plus authentiquement turc, les Alevi, situe hommes et femmes sur un pied d’égalité et a toujours été favorable à la distinction entre la religion et la politique.” (Sorman, 2002, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Turkish Islam is traditionally moderate; among its component currents, the oldest and most authentically Turkish, the Alevi, places men and women on an equal footing and has always favored the distinction between religion and politics.”]

In a similar way, only a few instances of positive activation regarding the larger topic of human rights can be observed. Supporters of Türkiye’s EU aspirations highlight that although the reformation of the Turkish legislation is far from over, Türkiye has adopted and implemented some of the reforms demanded by the EU. Amongst these rare examples, consider passages below:

- “Constitutionally, the AKP has reduced the power of the National Security Council, through which the military exercised leverage over the government, and eased previous restrictions on the Kurds.” (Plummer, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- “Il existe une base solide pour commencer les négociations. D’une part, la Turquie a accompli les conditions fixées en décembre, ce qui représente une avancée majeure vers le respect des valeurs de l’Union européenne et l’amélioration des relations de voisinage.” (Rehn, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “There is a solid basis for starting negotiations. On the one hand, Turkey has fulfilled the conditions set in December, which represents a major step towards respecting the values of the European Union and improving neighborly relations.”]
- “Les arguments avancés à ce jour contre l’adhésion turque ont perdu beaucoup de leur poids face au processus de réforme lancé par le gouvernement turc.” (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “The arguments put forward to date against Turkish accession have lost much of their weight in the face of the reform process launched by the Turkish government.”]

The extremely rare positive framings concerning the achievements in the field of human rights in Türkiye are indicative of a quasi-consensus in the British and French press. Succinctly and interestingly enough, Türkiye is mostly defined as unsatisfactory in political terms both by opponents and supporters of Türkiye’s adhesion to the EU. The

argumentation of the former group consists in highlighting that the political principles adopted by the European system are not fully implemented in Türkiye; and it is argued that Türkiye will unlikely approach the European democratic standards regarding the protection of the rule of law, human rights, and individual freedoms in the near future. On the contrary, the latter group believe that Türkiye should be evaluated within the realm of its own political dynamics and, despite deficiencies, they argue that the negotiation process is exactly about the acceptance and implementation of the *acquis communautaire*, which, they claim, will result in further and deeper democratization of Türkiye.

Finally, before concluding the presentation of the analysis on the European observations on Turkishness, it should be noted that there is also an agreement regarding the fact that stricter criteria should be applied for Türkiye's accession to the union.

- “The opponents and supporters of Turkey’s EU membership, equally passionate, came to an agreement only by offering Ankara far stricter entry conditions than any other prospective member has ever had.” (Kaletsky, 2004, The Times)
- “You see, the main effect of the bitterly contested opening of membership negotiations with Turkey is not to ensure that Turkey becomes a member of the European Union, which it may or may not do 10 or 15 years hence.” (Ash, 2005, The Guardian)
- “Quoi qu’il en soit, nous devons tous être bien conscients que l’ouverture de négociations est le début d’un long processus qui ne conduit pas automatiquement à l’adhésion. Pour le Parlement européen, c’est l’objectif unique et ultime des négociations, mais rien ni personne ne peut garantir qu’il sera atteint. En effet, cela dépendra des efforts accomplis par chacune des deux parties.” (Duhamel, 2004, Libération) [Back translation: “In any case, we must all be well aware that the opening of negotiations is the start of a long process which does not automatically lead to accession. For the European Parliament, this is the sole and ultimate objective of the negotiations, but nothing and nobody can guarantee that it will be achieved. Indeed, it will depend on the efforts made by both parties.”]
- “Dans le cas qui nous occupe, ce sera un voyage long et difficile, où le chemin à parcourir - la poursuite des réformes en Turquie - sera aussi important que la destination. Bien que l’objet des négociations soit l’adhésion de la Turquie à l’UE, cette issue n’est pas automatique, s’agissant par définition d’un processus ouvert, dont le résultat ne saurait être garanti d’avance.” (Rehn, 2005, Le Monde) [Back translation: “In this case, it will be a long and difficult journey, where the road ahead - the pursuit of reforms in Turkey - will be as important as the destination. Although the object of the negotiations is Turkey’s accession to the EU, this outcome is not automatic, as it is by definition an open-ended process, the outcome of which cannot be guaranteed in advance.”]

As stated several times earlier, Türkiye is a special candidate, and thus, deserves a special treatment. In other words, Türkiye is not only different from the existing member states but also from other candidate countries to the EU. For this reason, even the fiercest supporters of the Turkish membership to the EU have declared that Türkiye's path towards EU membership would be long and arduous. This is indicative of the observers' desire to ease their readers by reminding that the result of negotiations is not guaranteed, rather the process is described as open-ended. According to these supporters, there is nothing to worry simply because before any eventual membership can happen it needs to be submitted to the approval of all member states; moreover, the decision has to be taken unanimously.

2.2.3.3 Narrative of Difference

The examination of European observations on Europeanness against the backdrop of Turkishness as they appear in the corpus on news articles reveal strong patterns. One major controversy lies in the scope and objectives of the European project. Although observers unanimously accept the existence of some pre-structured European/Western values with reference to a common heritage stemming from the specific historical and cultural experience of Europe/the West²⁶, they are divided in terms of the union's very future agenda. The most controversial question thus seems to be related to the borderline of the European system:

- “La Turquie a-t-elle vocation à faire partie [de l'Union européenne]? Une telle interrogation revient à poser la délicate question de l'« identité européenne » d'un pays qui se situe à la charnière de l'Europe et de l'Asie. Pour les gouvernements européens, celle-ci est d'autant plus déstabilisante qu'elle ouvre la boîte de Pandore d'un débat,

²⁶ My motivation behind the use of Europe and West interchangeably when talking about standards regarding democracy, human rights, and individual freedoms can be explained by the fact that not only “[m]ost of the values, and the objectives, referred to [...] do not reflect typical European values or objectives, but are shared by all Western democratic countries” (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 56), but they are also accepted and presented as such by the contributing authors of press articles constituting the present corpus.

qu'ils n'ont jamais osé aborder franchement, sur les 'frontières de l'Europe'." (Zecchini, 2002, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: "Is Turkey destined to become a member [of the European Union]? Such a question raises the delicate issue of the "European identity" of a country situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. For European governments, this question is all the more destabilizing in that it opens up a Pandora's box of debate, which they have never dared to address frankly, on the 'borders of Europe'."]

It is well-known that two fundamental ideologies in terms of the European system's vision exist. The first ideology is based on federalist approaches which aspire for a more centralized European system, notably at the political level, whereas the second view is in favor of a European system whose primary role would be to enhance peace and stability in its neighbourhood, and in the world society, by promoting the alliance of civilizations – which, my findings suggest, respectively relate to the perspectives of the opponents vs. the supporters of Türkiye's possible membership to the EU. Consider the following excerpt summarizing these opposite perspectives regarding what the EU is and how it should be shaped in the future:

- “So when they talk Turkey next month, at the Copenhagen summit, Europe's leaders will be asking the biggest question of all: what's Europe for? Two powerful logics clash at the gates of the Bosphorus: the logic of unity and the logic of peace. If Europe is mainly about creating a coherent political community, with some aspirations to be a superpower, we stop this side of the Bosphorus - for another decade, at the very least. If we think it is more urgent to promote democracy, respect for human rights, prosperity and therefore the chances for peace in the most dangerous region in the world, we step boldly on to that bridge.” (Ash, 2002, *The Guardian*)

Only naturally, observing systems resort to selective appropriation in the construction of their own identity and their own boundaries, as well as in the representations of the Other(s) in that “some elements of experience are excluded and others privileged” (Baker, 2007, p. 71). The crucial point besides this remark is how these narratives relate to one another and how they are emplotted, in other words, how they are framed under certain circumstances. It should be noted that self-definitions of Europe should be evaluated within such a framework, suggesting that they not only vary according to the ideological positioning of the observer but they are also closely tied with the time and space in which the observation is embedded. Subscription to a particular point of view concerning Türkiye's EU vocation leads one to interpret the various characteristics of Türkiye – and/or common assumptions about Turks – as either a strength or a weakness. Or should I say, the various favorable or unfavorable depictions of Turkishness paves the way for

the acceptance or rejection of Türkiye's potential membership to the EU. On the other hand, many convergences as well as divergences can be detected in terms of the narratives promoted in the British subsystem and the French subsystem, a finding which is in line with Walter and Albert's (2009) conclusion to their historically based study on the British and German discourses of the Turkish candidature, who assert that discursive representations can be considered stable over time in that the communicative distinctions activated by observers from different places and times do not change extensively, and on the contrary, they can be regarded as flexible in that they are reproduced in different ways by both inclusionary and exclusionary observations at varying historical periods.

It goes without saying that each particular narrative must only be interpreted in context and in terms of how they are used as the basis of different argumentations. The present analysis demonstrates that the same narrative may be associated with either inclusionary or exclusionary framings. In addition, the analysis on the narratives activated and reproduced by the supporters and detractors of Türkiye's membership to the EU showed that common assumptions may lay the ground of the argumentation for both sides to the debate. One such commonplace which dominates both the opponents' and advocates' observations is the recognition of Türkiye as not being *fully* European. In that sense, the dominant narrative extracted from the corpus on news articles relates to the overall depiction of Türkiye as inherently different, resonating with the past images of Türkiye and the Turk – although the degree of difference asserted may diverge from one observer to another. Thus, a major finding in the analysis of press articles is that the narrative *Türkiye is different* constitute the fundamental commonplace on which both sides base their argumentations.

The first connotations of *Türkiye is different* should be abundantly clear from the examples treated under demographic, economic, geographic, cultural, and political distinctions. Moreover, the analysis of press articles demonstrated that the narrative of difference is backed up not only by historical references to the problematic and conflictual relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, but also by selectively appropriated sets of secondary narratives of the present such as *Türkiye is not developed enough*, *Türkiye is not entirely situated in Europe*, *Türkiye is not Christian*, *Türkiye is not fully democratic*, and the like, all suggesting that Türkiye is distinct from the existing member and/or candidate countries. In its full extent, the narrative of difference reveals that

European observations are based on a hierarchical presupposition. I would like to emphasize here that observations suggest such an asymmetry in power relations and that I do not intend to argue whether Europe is superior to Türkiye or vice versa. It is actually the European observations which suggest the existence of such an asymmetrical relationship in that Eastern neighbours are described as deficient compared to Europe, and even dangerous for the latter's entity by some observers. All in all, even Türkiye, perceived as the Islamic country most anchored in the West, is depicted as inferior to the European Self.

In overall, these European readings are “backed up first and foremost by a sense of civilizational superiority” (Tekin, 2010, p. 214). In a similar vein, Kylstad argues that

[w]hile a cultural understanding of Europe unites the ‘Turkey-divide’ the unity also extends to the idea of Turkey; an idea permeated by ideas of backwardness, of it being a fundamentalist hotbed, of Turkey being a culturally very different Other. If Turkey is admitted on the basis of the ‘pragmatic’ arguments about security and safety it is admitted *not as an equal* but rather as a country *in need of the EU’s ‘civilizing mission’* [...] [which] does portray the EU as more enlightened, more equal than Turkey while the [alternative] scenario delineates and ‘otherizes’ in a more straightforward manner by outright exclusion. As the discourse now stands, Turkey remains the EU’s Other in either case. (Kylstad, 2010, p. 24-25, emphasis is mine)

On the whole, it can be said that both opponents and supporters of Türkiye’s vocation to join the EU establish a middle ground, which depends of the representation of Türkiye being different from existing member and candidate states but strongly disagree on how to interpret this difference, generating diverging framing strategies. The abovementioned findings and mine suggest that European observations of its respective environment should be evaluated against the background of crucial metanarratives such as enlightenment and progress. As a consequence of such a reading, Türkiye’s membership becomes highly problematic. It is argued that Türkiye does not fully comply with the civilizational foundations of Europe, generating two distinct approaches: (a) according to the first view, Türkiye should be denied entry – and that is the end of the story; (b) according to the second view, Türkiye should be granted accession to the union, however, supporters have a difficult task ahead: they are aware of the existing hostile public opinion in Europe, which demands to be challenged and modified – whether this is possible is not at issue here.

I will seek to demonstrate this point in a more systematic way in the following pages by presenting separate summaries of the exclusionary pole, which interprets this difference as a weakness from the part of Türkiye, in comparison to the inclusionary pole, which sees it as a strength.

The exclusionary framing of Türkiye's potential membership to the EU is inclined to see Türkiye as being not only partly or completely different from Europe in geographic and cultural terms but also deficient from economic and political perspectives. It should be clear from the examples provided earlier that an affinity is created between Europe and Christianity, although this affinity is not explicitly expressed but only implied or alluded to in the observers' utterances. Moreover, according to the exclusionary argumentation – often activated with reference to outside observers, most particularly to political groups and figures firmly opposing to Türkiye's accession to the EU – Türkiye is not only a huge burden for the European economy but also a threat to stability within the European system. To summarize, according to the opposing view to Türkiye's EU bid, it is impossible to approve the entry of such a “big” and “underdeveloped” “Muslim” country to a “democratic” and “modern” “European house” and/or “Christian club”. Finally, for some of the detractors of Türkiye's membership, the best solution for both parties would be to offer a special or a privileged partnership in order to prevent the damages Türkiye may cause to the European integrity. Numerous statements can be cited in the newspapers that corroborate this point of view, including the following passages:

- “Opposition remains strong and German critics yesterday called for a special partnership with Turkey, rather than membership.” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “Austria wants Turkey to negotiate ‘privileged partnership’ instead of full EU membership as advocated by the rest of the EU. Turkey has warned it will not accept ‘second class’ status.” (Popham, 2005, *The Independent*)
- “le terme de ‘partenariat privilégié’, que les opposants à la candidature turque veulent mettre en avant comme alternative à l’adhésion” (Martinet, 2004, *le Figaro*) [Back translation: “the term ‘privileged partnership’, which opponents of Turkey’s candidacy want to put forward as an alternative to membership”]

Different observations from the opposing side indicate that Türkiye's EU membership is built upon a narrative of a shared European heritage and/or a collective European identity. As emphasized many times earlier, the most interesting aspect of the narrative of difference is that it can be emplotted in different ways, evidence of this trend – which is

much more dominant in the present corpus – can be found in the evaluation of supportive observations regarding Türkiye’s adherence to the EU considering that “[e]ven in [supportive] writings, there is no emphasis that Türkiye is ‘naturally’ part of Europe” (Baştürk Akça and Yılmaztürk, 2007, p. 142). It should be reminded here that this finding was also valid for the past images of Turks in that the Turkish Other was not conceived as similar to the European Self in both favorable and unfavorable depictions.

As for the inclusionary framing of Türkiye’s possible EU membership, it tends to validate that Türkiye has fundamental economic and political problems. However, unlike the exclusionary discourse, which interprets these problems as deeply-rooted, the inclusionary approach puts the emphasis on the potential Türkiye contains within itself, that is, a strong possibility for progress and development in economic as well as socio-political spheres. Furthermore, this view accepts that Türkiye is culturally and civilizationally different, but in the majority of articles, Türkiye’s Muslim character is interpreted from a utilitarian perspective. Türkiye is an exception owing to the fact that it is the only secularist state in the Muslim world where democratic values and human rights are embraced, though not to the extent of Western states. And it does not end here: Türkiye is the sole opportunity for the European system to transfer the message that it not only promotes diversity within its boundaries but is also open to dialogue with those who are different from themselves. From such a perspective, Türkiye is seen in terms of the possible advantages it may bring to the union.

This framing regarding Türkiye’s adherence to the EU is indicative of the fact that, while the exclusionary pole tends to depict Europe as a “house” or a “club” in which Türkiye is not qualified to enter, the inclusionary pole conceives of the union as an isolated territory facing dangers and in desperate need for a “bridge”. Türkiye would allow Europe to end this isolation and establish connections with the worlds that threaten and endanger its existence. Such an approach explains why Türkiye’s Muslim character is also extensively underlined in writings supporting Türkiye’s motivation to join the EU. On the one hand, due to its strategic position, Türkiye may serve as an intermediary in the establishment of stability in the Middle Eastern region. On the other hand, Türkiye may constitute a bridge between Europe and Eastern countries. Such a connection would contribute to an “alliance of civilizations” much needed in today’s world of conflicts and clashes. Türkiye’s adherence to the EU, in other words, would demystify the metanarrative of the

clash of civilizations in the aftermath of 9/11, which had devastating repercussions on the image of Islam worldwide. Some of the examples that reflect this point are enumerated below:

- “amid mounting fears of a clash of civilisations after 11 September, a political judgement was made that the dangers of rejecting Turkey’s 40-year-old European aspirations exceed the huge challenges of absorbing it.” (Castle and Turgut, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “Son adhésion future, ou non, à l’Union européenne ne sera pas sans conséquences pour ce “choc” de civilisations que certains s’efforcent de provoquer ou pour l’”alliance” de civilisations que nous sommes nombreux à appeler de nos vœux, car nous y voyons une garantie de paix et de progrès partagé.” (Borell Fontelles, 2004, *Libération*) [Back translation: “Its future membership, or lack of it, of the European Union will not be without consequences for the “clash” of civilizations that some are trying to provoke, or for the “alliance” of civilizations that many of us wish to see, because we see it as a guarantee of peace and shared progress.”]
- “Face aux peurs identitaires, ils reprennent, sous une forme ou sous une autre, l’antienne du ‘choc des civilisations’: comme si le monde musulman était un, comme si la République turque, démocratique et laïque, ne constituait qu’une variante du royaume d’Arabie Saoudite ou de la théocratie iranienne.” (Weill, 2006, *Libération*) [Back translation: “Faced with fears of identity, they take up, in one form or another, the antiphon of the ‘clash of civilizations’: as if the Muslim world were one, as if the democratic and secular Turkish Republic were just a variant of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia or the Iranian theocracy...”]

Besides the portrayal of Türkiye as *the unique* opportunity to promote the alliance of civilizations, the proponents of Türkiye’s EU bid consider the cultural difference between Türkiye and the EU as an advantage since the Turkish model demonstrates that Islam and democracy can coexist.

Perceived in positive terms, the narrative of difference also enables the inclusionary pole to present Türkiye as an example for Islamic countries. It has been specified earlier that, as a result of the ambivalent use of the cultural distinction in European observations, Europe not only defines itself against the Turkish Other but also against other stronger and/or ultimate Others who pose real dangers to Europe’s well-being, a narrative which becomes visible by means of the frequent reference to international terrorism – exclusively associated with Islamist movements. This finding is also reflected in the analysis undertaken by Walter and Albert on the British and German news coverage from 1960 to 2004:

Opposed to [the] exclusionary reading, Turkish inclusion into Europe is forcefully supported by a specific reading of the geostrategic discourse. Unlike in the 1960s, the underlying global distinction is no longer the West/Europe vs the communist bloc/Soviet Union. Rather now the Middle East and — especially after the terrorist attacks of 9/11— political/terrorist Islam are seen as the new Others. The Middle East is mostly depicted as a bewildering and unstable world region whereas political Islam is interpreted as an overt threat. (2009, p. 241-242)

Similar to the disparate uses of the narrative of difference by opposite poles, my findings have also revealed that another paradoxical representation prevails in the European observations of Turkishness. While the exclusionary pole interprets Türkiye's possible membership to the EU as a threat and a danger to stability in Europe, the inclusionary pole believes that the real danger lies in the very rejection of Türkiye. Put differently, "Turkish inclusion into Europe is often justified in a negative fashion, as a denial of Türkiye's membership to the EU might provoke serious dangers for the West" (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 242). In both cases though, the European system is self-referential and the underlying concern for both sides is to ensure the survival and the development of the system.

On a final note, I would like to emphasize that the inclusionary pole needs to fight in two fronts at the same time. First, they need to propose strong and effective arguments supporting their cause, and thus persuade the public opinion. Second, in order to convince the public, they need to fight against the existing negative image regarding Türkiye, an endeavour which is equally crucial if advocates of Türkiye desire to achieve their goal, that is, if they want to see Türkiye in the European system. I will come to that point very briefly but first, consider the following examples:

- "If we want Turkey to change its outlook, we need to change our, too. And the first thing we need to do is examine our own prejudices." (Freely 2002, *The Independent*)
- "Dismissing Islam as an intrinsically oppressive and even barbarous relic of medievalism, as some do, isn't going to help. We need to understand it as a living religion which has its impulses of reform as its drive to orthodoxy. Much like Christianity and Judaism in fact." (Hamilton, 2008, *The Independent*)
- "La communication à l'intérieur de l'UE et de la Turquie, ainsi qu'entre elles deux, notamment par l'intermédiaire de la société civile, est cruciale. Nous devons dans ce but apprendre à mieux nous connaître, pour être capables de lutter contre l'ignorance et les préjugés et pouvoir aborder les différences réelles qu'il nous faut surmonter. Les stéréotypes peuvent aider à gagner des élections, mais ils ne règlent pas les vrais problèmes." (Wallström, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: "Communication within

and between the EU and Turkey, particularly through civil society, is crucial. To this end, we need to get to know each other better, so that we can combat ignorance and prejudice, and address the real differences we need to overcome. Stereotypes may help win elections, but they don't solve the real problems"]

- “Molière, Diderot, Voltaire ou Mozart savaient qu'ils faisaient des ‘turqueries’ ; force est de constater que nous en faisons encore, mais sans le savoir!” (Weill, 2006, Libération) [Back translation: “Molière, Diderot, Voltaire or Mozart knew that they were doing ‘turqueries’; we still do them, but without knowing it!”]

These passages, among many others, suggest that the inclusionary pole is remarkably critical of the existing doxa in the European system, mostly informed, according to them, by historical and contemporary stereotypes which should be deconstructed. In a similar vein, given the fact that images can be extremely powerful in shaping ideas and opinions, their central concern lies in the condemnation of the existing hostile prejudices and in the persuasion of the readers that Türkiye's membership would be beneficial to the EU. In order to achieve their goal, they frequently make a call for communication not only between the member states and the candidate states but also between Western and Eastern civilizations.

2.2.4 Convergence and Divergence in French and British subsystems

While the central focus in the previous pages was on the discussion of diverging argumentations by different groups of observers in the European system, the following pages will be devoted to the brief presentation of convergences and divergences between the self- and hetero-observations of the British and French subsystems of the European system, which have already been elaborated more extensively when they deemed relevant for respective distinctions. First, I would like to start with the mapping of the preeminent convergences and present the most significant divergences afterwards.

Convergence #1. As argued before, the locus of the European debate on Türkiye's potential membership to the EU is centered on the questioning of whether the attributed characteristics of Türkiye constitute positive or negative factors in its path, and whether a country like Türkiye, which is not naturally part of the European system, would be beneficial for or detrimental to the European integration. A considerable majority of contributors from the British and French press are in favor of Türkiye's EU membership,

although the narratives they promote are not always similar. Not surprisingly, there is a significant reservation in both the British subsystem as well as the French subsystem. The main doubt arises from the difficulty to digest the entry of such a big country for economic, cultural and political reasons. Therefore, both the exclusionary and inclusionary discourses within both the British and the French subsystems state that far stricter conditions for membership should be applied in the case of Türkiye.

[W]hether one is outright hostile to [Turkey's integration into the European Union] or at least in favor of the opening of formal talks, all those who attempt to define Turkish otherness see it as something difficult, something that cannot be taken for granted. Whether one is for or against, the Turkish candidacy appears to be a thorny issue. Otherness borders on difficulty. (Yasri-Labrique, 2010, p. 322)

Broadly, Türkiye poses a problem which needs to be addressed and resolved at the earliest. However, even the supporters of Türkiye's EU bid cannot be certain of the outcomes such an enlargement would bring. This doubt is most visibly reproduced in the choice of the vocabulary used by observers both in favor and against Turkish membership in the British and French subsystems, including lexemes such as “threat”, “question”, “problem”, and “challenge” in English; “fantasme [fantasy]”, “péril [peril]”, “choc [choc]”, “handicap [disability]”, “menace [threat]”, “danger [danger]”, “défi [challenge]”, “test [test]”, “risqué [hazardous]” in French.

Convergence #2. The second significant convergence is that a large majority of press items can be described as balanced with regard to standard measures of journalistic ‘objectivity’ in the representation of Türkiye. It can be asserted that this is mainly due to the fact that the selected newspapers, although reflecting diverging worldviews, consist of “quality” dailies. One can expect that tabloids would have a different approach and it would be interesting to see if a similar concern applies to the latter. This finding was most specifically valid for news stories reporting on economic, social, and political issues that did not directly involve the debate on Türkiye's accession to the EU. However, conscious efforts were also clearly made on the part of the columnists to transmit their opinion and to make them acceptable as regards to Türkiye's possible membership. This is specifically visible in the articles where observers develop narratives that can be qualified as deconstructive, offering arguments that contradict the existing hostile public opinion and trying to convince their readers that Türkiye can contribute to the integrity and

development of the union. Finally, it has been observed that none of the authors base their exclusionary argumentation on cultural difference. On the contrary, they acknowledge these arguments and framings only to criticize such evaluations, signalling a crucial concern: to avoid propositions that could be qualified as discriminatory, thereby escape from accusations of racism, and Islamophobia as a matter of fact.

Convergence #3. The final but equally important convergence echoes with the evolution of the European Union in that the cultural distinction has gained more and more importance in the differentiation of the system nowadays, and contains three dimensions that are tightly intertwined.

First of all, as emphasized before, the founding objective of the EU was to end schisms inside the European territories, thereby to promote peace within its boundaries and to improve economic relations among its members. For that reason, “[b]oth political and academic debates in Western Europe on the relations between Türkiye and Europe during the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by a focus on the geopolitical and economic dimensions of that relationship.” (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 226). This is to say that when Türkiye first applied to become a candidate state in 1959 (this first application was rejected), the European Economic Community, as the name of the organization at that period suggests, was mainly defined according to the economic parameter. Therefore, neither the European identity nor the ‘problematic’ Turkish identity were at stake. Since then, the EU has evolved into a union in which the political and cultural criteria gained more and more weight – evidence of the fact that identity is not a pre-given notion, but rather a process of ongoing construction by the self, be it a psychic system or a social system. It was only with its second application in 1987 that

discussions emerge which thematized Europeanness as a necessary condition for EC membership. Since then, discussion about Turkish accession to the EC/EU as a full member has increasingly been framed as a question of cultural similarities and differences and thus as a question of (European) identity. (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 227).

Besides, the world society has become more and more conflict-ridden and the need for Europe to unite “in diversity” was felt more than ever, leading to the need for the European system to engage in increased self- and other-descriptions, that is, increased differentiation.

Secondly, as a consequence of the union's abovementioned trajectory, it has been observed that the socio-cultural and political landscape of Turkey is a prominent issue for the period under investigation. Evidence of this can be found in the extensive elaboration of the cultural distinction in the contemporary British and French observations of the Turkish society – divergences can also be found and they will be presented briefly. The most popular narrative consists in framing Türkiye as a *Muslim country* with *secular* and *democratic* values (the unmarked side at stake here is *Islamic*), that is, as more Occidental compared to other countries of the Asian continent. Türkiye is also depicted as less European than the existing EU member states, pointing at another significant convergence that has been extensively elaborated in the previous pages which was devoted to presentation of the narrative of difference. The definition in question informs the portrayal of Türkiye as a *bridge* through the constant reference to the metanarrative of the clash of civilizations that gained impetus after 9/11 and which extensively influenced the way systems look at their environment, that is, the way systems approach to one another. Most specifically, these attacks have had an impact on the attitude of the Western civilization towards the threat of radical and/or political Islam, a danger which, according to European observers, cannot be disregarded (cf. Walter and Albert 2009). As a consequence of such sceptical and fear-generating approach to the Islamic world, it would be unfounded to claim that Türkiye constitutes the ultimate Other of Europe. Indeed, Türkiye is accepted as being different from the European society and depicted as such, a difference on which the latter bases its self-descriptions and self-observations. However, stronger Others are perpetually recalled – to name a few: Iran, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia.

Thirdly, the final dimension of the convergence regarding the activation of the cultural distinction in the British subsystem and the French subsystem is the critical reading of the exclusionary discourse fed by stereotypes and prejudices inherent in the European society which are claimed to promote the clash of civilizations. Not surprisingly, such an approach is particularly observable in the British daily *The Independent* and in the French daily *Libération*, the newspapers most anchored in the left wing compared to other newspapers constituting the basis of the present analysis (*Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* from France; *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Times* from the UK). The columnists writing for these newspapers argue that Islam should by no means be interpreted as a monolithic religion, and it is emphasized that, just like other religions, Islam has the

potential to emanate conservative and fundamentalist interpretations, while in contrast, Islam may constitute the base for more tolerant, reformist and proactive practices.

Having scrutinized the main convergences, I will now turn to some of the essential divergences between the British and the French subsystems of the European system.

Divergence #1. Despite the dominance of the cultural and political distinctions in the British and French observations, and despite the rare examples of explicitly opposing contributions to Türkiye's EU accession in the press, one significant divergence that has been detected between the British subsystem and the French subsystem relates to the scope and the integrational foundation of the EU. To be more specific, the first divergence relates to the invocation of the economic distinction in the communication process. While Europe is interpreted as a free-trade area or a Commonwealth in the British subsystem (see Adams 2004 and Ash 2005), no definition of Europe fundamentally based on the economic distinction can be found in the French subsystem. A division "pleading for the acknowledgement of the existence of a 'wider' Europe that should be integrated primarily economically, whereas political and cultural differences should be tolerated." (Walter and Albert, 2009, p. 238). It can be said that this is hardly surprising as the British and French projections on the EU are significantly different – one of the major reasons for analysing these subsystems at the first place. Evidence of this divergence regarding what the European project is about can be found in the most recent development regarding the organization's structure. In June 2016, for the first time in EU's history, a member state decided by referendum to withdraw from the union, a development widely known as Brexit. The UK officially withdrew from the European Union on December 31, 2020.

Put in social systemic terms, it can be stated that the structural coupling between the political system and the economic system in the UK is much stronger than in France, at the very least in regards to the EU project. The present analysis has revealed that this divergence is reflected in the media as well. However, it should be reminded that, although the economic distinction is more prominent in the argumentation of the British press compared to the French press, the EU's economic ambitions about Türkiye have already been fulfilled for Türkiye already integrated into the Customs Union of the EU in 1995, which allows the free travel of goods without any customs restrictions. Therefore, the European observations, as we have seen in both the British and French cases, now concentrate more on the cultural and political distinctions (see above, convergence #3).

Divergence #2. Although significant convergences stand out in terms of the activation and framing of the political distinction in European observations, a major divergence has also been detected.

On the one hand, the framing of the narrative regarding the Armenian issue in the British subsystem differ extensively from that of disseminated in the French subsystem. While the British political system and the system of the mass media do not recognize the denotation of so-called “Armenian genocide” when referring to the events that took place during the First World War and most particularly in 1915, both the political system and the system of the mass media in the France frame them as a systematic act of “genocide” against Armenians.

On the other hand, it has been observed that other topics which yield to diverging point of views in the British and French subsystems include the headscarf ban and the secularist character of Türkiye. This divergence regarding the political distinction is also indicative of the fact that, as noted many times earlier, European observations based on different communicative distinctions cannot be analysed in a vacuum and that the narratives generating therefrom are closely interrelated. The first dimension of the debate relates to the fact that while human rights issues that are frequently marked by both the British subsystem and the French subsystem and while women’s (non-)freedoms in Türkiye are extensively covered topics, it has been revealed that there is a clear divergence not only in terms of the higher amount of information used (e.g., occurrence of the related lexical units) but also at the utterance level of the communication. This is to say that this topic is more extensively elaborated by the British press and, more particularly, the headscarf ban and the secularists’ fear regarding the lifting of the ban are important sources of criticism regarding Türkiye’s political functioning. On the contrary, there is no sign of such an approach in the observations of the French press.

This difference in British and French approaches to the topics in question opens up the second dimension of the divergence detected in terms of the political (and/or cultural) distinction, for the headscarf ban is closely related to the secularist principle adopted in the Republic of Türkiye. While “France and Türkiye find themselves united in their commitment to secularism” (Leonard, Small and Rose, 2005, p. 5), the British subsystem is more sceptical about secularist practices in Türkiye. Therefore, the removal of the headscarf ban in Turkish public establishments has been well-received in the British

press, a reform introduced in 2008 and which caused an intense debate in Türkiye – an appeal was even lodged with the Constitutional Court by the main opposition party (CHP). Previously, the concerns of secularist groups on the matter of Türkiye implicitly turning into a more religion-based state regime and their claim that the leading party (Justice and Development Party) has a secret Islamist agenda were interpreted as groundless in the British press for the Justice and Development Party was primarily described as a democratic and moderate Islamic party. Paradoxically enough, it should be noted that this attitude has started to change by 2007 and more visibly by 2008. In fact, it has been observed that it is mostly in the British press that alarming voices regarding the Islamization of Türkiye by the Justice and Development Party can be heard after that period – which surpasses the period under scrutiny in this thesis.

On a final but equally crucial note while concluding this subsection, first, it should be underlined that symptoms referring to a breakthrough as of 2008 can be found in the present corpus of news articles which were delimited to the period of 1999-2008. The year 2008 is, as stated earlier, a crucial phase in the understandings of Türkiye not only in Europe but also worldwide, inviting the researcher to inquire the most recent period in Turkish history – if one is allowed to qualify that period as history for that matter.²⁷ Second, the present investigation has demonstrated that although the mass media is highly irritated by its environment, they do not reflect it uncritically, that is, they make use of their own filtering and framing mechanisms during the communication process, pointing at one of the main conclusions of the thesis, which will be elaborated in the next and final section.

²⁷ Polarization between leftist and rightist movements in Türkiye have started to be felt even more drastically in that period as “[t]hroughout 2008, the Turkish government continued to deal with multiple political challenges, including the call for the dissolution of the Justice and Development Party and for the banning of several prominent politicians from the Justice and Development Party, and an investigation into an alleged conspiracy involving several retired military officers and others, to create chaos throughout Türkiye in order to provoke the military to overthrow the government.” (Morelli 2010: 6). These investigations increased in the subsequent years and targeted not only military officers but also journalists, writers and artists.

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Broadly, the present chapter of the thesis was primarily concerned with the European observations of its Turkish environment, which have been discussed first through a diachronic examination of the representation of the Turk, and second through an analysis of the narratives disseminated by the mass media within the framework of Türkiye's possible membership to the EU.

The diachronic examination based on a literature review regarding the past imagery of the Turk in Europe has indicated that image should not be understood "as mimetic representations of empirical reality" (Leerssen, 2000, p. 270), for it revealed that a diverse as well as an ambiguous and ambivalent imagery of the Turk and/or Türkiye prevails in Europe. As a consequence, a polarization in the definition and representation of the Turkish identity has been observed:

What separates Turkishphobia from Turkishophilia is based on common elements, interpreted in different ways. These two opposing views are inspired by the same social characteristics such as daily life, cosmopolitanism of society, and religion. But they do not treat them in the same way: for example, Islam is considered the source of Turkish ferocity by the turcophobes, whereas for the turcophiles it is the source of the gentleness of the Turkish character. Some paint Turkish society as an enemy, while others exalt the friendship and atmosphere of this society (Ulađlı, 2007, p. 82-83)

Despite the existence of diverging approaches to the Turkish Other, the literature is marked by an unanimity regarding the fact that Christianity constituted the major mode of differentiation of the European system in the past, generating the construction of the Islamic civilization as its strongest Other, almost ultimately represented by the Ottoman Empire that was mainly associated with sentiments of threat and fear. Moreover, another major consensus which marks the literature relates to the fact that the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 represents a crucial breakthrough in terms of the European representations of the Turk and/or Türkiye. However, it is also frequently argued that this shift in the European imagery has been interrupted by military coups, the Cyprus intervention, the revival of the so-called Armenian "genocide"/question, and many other issues interpreted as breaches to human rights, broadly considered as unacceptable antidemocratic acts by European observers.

As for the synchronic examination based on a well-defined corpus of news articles from the British and French subsystems of the European system, first, I specifically aimed to pinpoint the dominant themes and narratives that were in circulation in these subsystems, that is, to identify which information was marked by the functional system of the mass media while leaving other themes unmarked. Second, I sought to shed light on the framing strategies of the dominant narratives employed by different groups of observers, thereby seeking to describe how the selected information has been uttered at a given space and time. My findings have revealed that the dominant communicative distinctions used by diverging groups of observers (by both exclusionary and inclusionary poles) relate essentially, though not exclusively, to the cultural and political realms, both underlying and feeding the most fundamental narrative detected, i.e., the narrative of difference. As emphasized on many occasions earlier, most interesting about the narrative of difference is that it can be emplotted in diverging ways and that the process of framing is not only informed by the observers' stances in terms Türkiye's accession to the EU (exclusion or inclusion of the latter), but also by their positioning regarding the different subsystems of the European system, in other words, depending on which subsystem they are most strongly coupled with in structural terms (e.g. British subsystem vs. French subsystem) – evidence of these divisions have already been covered respectively in the previous pages. In contemporary European observations, it can be widely said that Türkiye is described first and foremost as a different society distinct from Europe. However, unlike past representations of the Ottoman Empire, the Turk is not depicted as the strongest or the ultimate Other of the European system, who fears political Islam more than the secularist undertaking in Türkiye. Taking these findings, which resonate with the statement of Baker who asserts that “our choice of what to categorize and how to categorize is always dependent on our narrative location” (2006, p. 16), as well as the metaphorical usage of Türkiye and/or the Turkish identity as a bridge into consideration, it is clear that diverging degrees of otherness exist when it comes to the categorization of Europe's eastern neighbours. In addition, it is intriguing to notice that Türkiye is depicted as a unique mediator between the European system and its environment; one remarkably dominant categorization against many other available possibilities. Within this framework, it can be asserted that **Türkiye is interpreted as the boundary**, whose significance lies in the duality of its function (Luhmann, 1995, p. 28). Paradoxically enough, the boundary not

only separates the system from its environment, preventing the entrance of foreign substances that could possibly harm the system (it separates the system from the unstable and dangerous Middle East, fulfilling the function of a buffer zone), but it also enables the system to connect with its environment (it is regarded as a link that could mediate between two inherently different civilizations), from which the system chooses the information necessary for its survival in order to communicate about them self-referentially. Put differently, **Türkiye becomes a point of reference allowing the European system to translate its environment into meaningful communication**, that is, to distinguish between what is deemed acceptable and tolerated (a democratic and secular Muslim country) as well as what is not (non-democratic Islamic countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia).

As it has been acknowledged by many observers involved in the present case, the system's well-being depends on its opening to the environment in that the former cannot ignore the latter for too long without risking its own survival. The major reasons behind such observations include the raising anxiety caused by the so-called clash of civilizations, the instability inherent in the near geography of Europe, and lastly but most importantly, international terrorism, which is often associated with radical Islam and which transcends national boundaries. A significant majority of observers claim that communication is crucial in order to acquire knowledge about what procedures could be developed for the survival and evolution of the system. Moreover, notwithstanding the risks, such a dialogue can only be achieved through a bridge, that is, Türkiye – in social systemic terms, through the boundary. In other words, almost all of the observers in the mass media claim that an EU organization without Türkiye would have fewer chances to survive and to evolve compared to an EU with Türkiye.

All in all, the debate on Türkiye's possible accession to the union raises more questions about the European identity than that of the Turkish identity. This is to say that for the European system, the Turkish candidacy is a problematic that can only be addressed self-referentially, a process which becomes a means for the former to produce communications regarding its own geographic as well as civilizational boundaries.

Systems are oriented by their environment not just occasionally and adaptively, but structurally, and they cannot exist without an environment. They constitute and maintain themselves by creating and maintaining a difference from their environment, and they use their boundaries to regulate this difference. Without difference from their environment,

there would not even be self-reference, because difference is the functional premise of self-referential operations. In this sense *boundary* maintenance is system maintenance. (Luhmann, 2005, p. 16-17, emphasis in the original)

Interestingly, “[g]iven the abstract concept of boundary, the concept of the difference between system and environment, one cannot decide whether the boundary belongs to the system or to the environment.” (Luhmann, 2005, p. 29), a statement which sheds light to how exactly Türkiye is conceived by the European system. One cannot decide whether Türkiye is European enough, and/or whether Türkiye is beneficial enough for Europe, to allow it to be part of the system. As a consequence, even observers who support Türkiye’s EU vocation are extremely doubtful about the repercussions of such a scenario. At this point, the following passage is worth quoting at length as it resonates well with the findings of the present analysis:

What are the implications of the subtext of the debate over Turkey’s accession? For once, it reveals a consensus amid the different attitudes towards Turkey’s EU bid; while there is no agreement on its accession both its opponents and proponents agree through the use of language that Europe, and by implication the EU, is *an entity defined by history and culture which in turn delineates its borders*. Turkey is not intrinsically ‘equal’ to Europe and its modernity is contingent upon the support of the EU – *or so it seems*. (Kylstad, 2010, p. 23, emphasis mine)

The statement in the above quotation should not be taken to mean that the narrative of difference concretized by means of the conceptual correspondence *Turks are different* or *Turks are not European (enough)*, which is at the very heart of the debate over Türkiye’s possible inclusion to the European system, is necessarily discriminatory. By no means is it my purpose to argue that this is the case. Rather, it suggests that Türkiye *is observed* as an unequal system to that of the European system by the latter itself. Within such a framework, the aim of the present account was not to discuss whether the result of the representation process has been a ‘misrepresentation’, ‘underrepresentation’ or ‘overrepresentation’. Neither was it to demonstrate or confirm asymmetries and inequalities inherent among the parties involved. It should be noted that Luhmann denies the existence of a hierarchy among systems in that SST does not privilege any system in

terms of the value attached to observations (1995, p. 19).²⁸ However, it is crucial to emphasize that, only naturally, any system will always attribute more value to its own observations compared to other systems' observations. In other words, any system will accept its own observations as valid and true; which is to suggest that "truthfulness" of images and representations is highly context-bound (Beller, 2007, p. 4). Finally, I have not sought to understand whether the images and narratives of Türkiye circulating in the British and French subsystems reflect the 'reality' or not – whose reality anyway?

As a social system, the contemporary European society observed itself and its own subsystems (self-reference), as well as its environment (hetero-reference), that is, other societies to define the elements and procedures that distinguishes the former from the latter. The distinction between self-reference and other-reference is the precondition for the emergence of communicative distinctions informing the observations of the European system, consisting in marking and indicating one side of the distinction (European) and leaving the other side unmarked (non-European), that is, out of the system's communicative range. This process of systemic communication is indicative of the fact that the European system is not only structurally coupled with the Turkish system, which is situated in the environment of the former, but also with its functional subsystems, most particularly but not exclusively, with its subsystem of the mass media. On the one hand, the Turkish system has provided information to the European system, who later used the selected information for its internal communicative purposes, mainly to describe the scope and agenda of the organization. On the other hand, the self-reflexive communication has happened through the functional system of the mass media. In other words, the mass media fulfilled the function of the system's eyes during the period under investigation and served as an intermediary between the European system and its various functional subsystems (e.g., the economic, political and scientific subsystems) in that the former has filtered the available information in the horizon of possibilities by means of

²⁸ Hierarchy, according to Luhmann, refers to the internal differentiation of a given system into subsystems (1995, p. 19).

various communicative distinctions (demographic, geographic, economic, historical, cultural, political, and the like). It can thus be said that the system of the mass media was informationally open as it has been extensively irritated by its respective environment (be it the Turkish system, or the political subsystem of the European system). However, the system of the mass media operationally closed itself once the topics of interest have been selected. This phenomenon is explained by the concept of operational closure and has far-reaching consequences.

The mass media does not replicate the reality of a given system in its environment as it is. Rather, it “translates” this reality into its own language, thereby constantly constructing and reproducing its own reality by uttering the selected information in a contingent way: “the system takes elements from the external environment, but *on the condition of reworking them (of ‘translating’ them)*, when they cross borders, so that they make sense inside of the system itself” (Moretti, 2006, p. 5, emphasis mine). As it has been demonstrated, in an attempt to irritate the public opinion – which retains the power to indirectly influence decision-making mechanisms in democratic political systems – the system of the mass media has chosen to criticize the existing doxa while uttering the selected information. Furthermore, it seems that it has committed itself to the deconstruction of the existing schematic discourse in the European system. Put differently, the system of the mass media has translated its environment in that it has given a certain form to the public opinion:

Public opinion is not presented and fixed by the press and broadcasting in just any forms whatsoever. Instead, specific forms of forming come into play. (Luhmann, 1990, p. 210).

Within this framework, the system of the mass media has referred to itself, that is, to its own pre-structured elements while presenting and disseminating information, a process enabling its self-reproduction: the production of its own operations by means of its own operations.

In that sense, it can be asserted that readers (including politicians) are situated in the environment of the mass media, and that consequently, the selection and utterance of the information in the news making process cannot be totally based on the expectations of other psychic or social systems. The same goes for other social systems. For example, the system of the mass media cannot directly influence the political system in that “the relationship between inclusion and exclusion is regulated by social systems themselves”

(Luhmann, 2012, p. 14). The mass media can only irritate the political system and no matter what the mass media privileges and disseminates, it is not up to them to decide whether Türkiye will be member of the EU or not.

Altogether, the findings of the present account are especially relevant not only to understand the European self-representations as well as other-representations but also to shed light on the way the mass media selects and utters information in a contingent manner. This study's aim has been to test the dual reference to the reality of the mass media mentioned in Chapter I (Luhmann, 2000, p. 3-4). On the one hand, I sought to observe how the mass media represent and reproduce 'reality', that is, how society appears to them and how society's reality is constructed. This first dimension refers to the communicational products stemming from European observations and definitions. On the other hand, I sought to give an account of the mass media's functioning and to understand the operations by means of which the society's complexity is internally reduced (simultaneously generating more complexity in society as the mass media constantly introduces new information by means of utterances presented to the readers' understanding). This second dimension refers to the process of communication, rather than to the product itself. Concentrating on both the products and the processes employed by the mass media in the European system, my purpose has been to define the contextual background upon which translations, as well as discourses *in* and *around* them, should be read.

CHAPTER III

OBSERVING TRANSLATION IN AND FROM TÜRKİYE

Introductory Points:

- This chapter examines the profound impact of translation on the transformation of Turkish society, as it has played a crucial role in shaping a unique and distinctive national identity, different from the historical heritage of the Ottoman Empire.
- The chapter focuses on how translation is utilised as a means of portraying Türkiye's identity in the international arena.
- This study's focus on the impact of translation on Turkish literature both locally and globally is followed by a quantitative analysis involving the review of bibliographic data of Turkish-to-French and Turkish-to-English translations, and the comparison of translational contexts of France and the UK, highlighting their similarities and differences.
- Specific Luhmannian terms such as 'structural coupling' and 'irritation' are used within the Turkish context in order to display how Türkiye seeks to "irritate" the global society, that is, trying to provoke adaptation or change by causing disruptions within the European system.

Türkiye plays a pivotal role as a vital link between two distinct regions, Europe and the Middle East, both culturally and geographically. While the exact classification of Türkiye's geographic position – whether it falls within Asia, the Middle East, or the Near East – remains controversial, its significance as a prominent bridge remains indisputable. Türkiye's extensive history, diverse culture, and varied religious heritage contribute to its unique identity, setting it apart from neighbouring regions. Despite its predominantly Muslim population, Türkiye has deliberately chosen a secular form of governance. This decision reflects Türkiye's commitment to fundamental values such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. By prioritizing these principles, Türkiye emerges as a

model of moderation and stability in a region often marked by geopolitical and religious conflicts. Furthermore, Türkiye's role as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East transcends mere geography. It serves as a conduit for cultural and economic exchanges, fostering interactions among diverse societies, languages, and traditions.

Türkiye's multifaceted and dynamic identity, coupled with its strategic geographical location, places it as a crucial mediator, linking the East and the West while advocating – to some extent – democratic values, human rights, and the rule of law worldwide. However, European public discourse remains deeply divided on various aspects concerning Türkiye. Defining European identity involves significant differences and disagreements, particularly in the contentious issue of religion as a defining element. The debate over whether religion should play a role in shaping European identity is a topic of considerable discussion. Moreover, the ongoing debate over whether Türkiye should be considered part of Europe further adds to the controversy surrounding European identity. Despite having a predominantly Muslim population, Türkiye has consciously opted for a secular form of government. This choice reflects Türkiye's dedication to core principles such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. By prioritizing these values, Türkiye sets itself apart as a model of moderation and stability in a region often marked by geopolitical conflicts and religious complexities.

In essence, Türkiye's multifaceted identity and strategic location position it as a crucial intermediary, bridging the gap between the East and the West while advocating for democratic principles, human rights, and the rule of law on the world stage – at least, it is so as this has been observed to be one of the dominant public narratives in Europe.

The European public discourse is divided on many issues about Türkiye. The definitions and limitations of European identity exhibit substantial variation, with the most contentious issue revolving around the religious dimension. The questions generally asked in this regard can be listed as follows: Should religion be included as a factor while establishing the European identity? Is Türkiye considered part of Europe?

In his article entitled “Avrupa Birliği Entegrasyonu Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Kimlik Problemleri (Türkiye's Identity Problems in the Integration Process to the European Union)”, İnaç states that the perception of the EU as a monolithic entity is widespread yet misguided since Europe is made up of different identities with diverging conceptions and priorities (2003, p. 195). This is also true for Türkiye. Most of the European politicians

and journalists take the Turkish side as granted and tend to base their opinion on the assumption that the Turkish public opinion is more than willing to join the EU. İnaç's article aims precisely to falsify this kind of assumptions and to illustrate that the Turkish public opinion is not monolithic either. For this end, he presents different opinions from leftists to rightists and Islamists. Furthermore, this study also provides divergent opinions within the left and right wings.

In the first category which is the left wing, we can find reformists, liberals and advocates of Westernism who see the EU as an external dynamic for Türkiye's development and claim that the EU integration would be in Türkiye's benefits on various levels. First of all, they see the Union "as a 'civilization project' which serves to protect and spread universal values such as democracy, freedom of thought and expression, and the rule of law" (İnaç, 2003, p. 207). Thus, the main argument supporting EU membership in Türkiye is centred on the fact that it will enhance the democratic regime and expand human rights. Second, liberals particularly believe that participation to the Union could prevent a possible military coup in future (İnaç, 2003, p. 207). In contrast with this perception of the EU as a potentially fostering power, a minority of politicians and writers from the left wing do believe that EU membership should be avoided because of its imperialist structure and the impossibility of economic integration with the EU (İnaç, 2003, p. 197-198).

The second category, which can be divided into two sub-categories, i.e., the nationalist and the Islamist movements, concentrate more on identity problems. The nationalists tend to emphasize that EU accession would harm national independence and would cause cultural alienation (İnaç, 2003, p. 201). Islamists join the nationalists in terms of identity degradation and claim that the relations with the EU hinder the effectiveness of Türkiye in Turkic countries, the Balkans and the Middle East (İnaç, 2003, p. 202). However, a small group within the Islamist movement supports EU membership on the grounds of religious rights and thinks that the Turkish membership to the EU would contribute to guaranteeing and enlarging religious freedom and to the dialogue between different religions, mainly Islam and Christianity (İnaç, 2003, p. 204).

The previous chapter analysed how the European press addresses the issue of the Turkish identity, that is, how Europe perceives Türkiye. In the present chapter, I will discuss how Türkiye sees itself and what are the parameters used to define the Turkish identity.

Interestingly, we will see that the metaphor of bridge is also central in the Turkish public and political discourse. Türkiye strategically uses this metaphor in public diplomacy in order to promote a more positive image of the country by emphasizing the richness and hybridity inherent in the Turkish culture.

In the present chapter, I delve into the pivotal role of translation in Türkiye, examining its multifaceted impact on two distinct levels. Firstly, I explore **how translation has significantly influenced the evolution of Turkish society by contributing to the development of a new and distinct national identity separate from the historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire**. Translation has served as a bridge between past and present, facilitating the integration of diverse cultural influences and helping to define modern Türkiye's cultural ethos. Through the translation of literary, philosophical, and scientific works, Türkiye has engaged in a process of cultural redefinition, fostering a sense of cohesion and identity among its citizens while also embracing global perspectives.

Secondly, **I investigate the role of translation as a tool for projecting Türkiye's identity on the global stage**. As Türkiye seeks to assert its presence and influence in international systems, translation may play a crucial role in disseminating Turkish perspectives, values, and narratives to global audiences. By promoting the translation of its literature, art, and academic works into various languages, Türkiye aims to showcase its rich cultural heritage, promote cross-cultural understanding, and challenge existing paradigms in global discourse. In Luhmannian terms, Türkiye seeks for irritating the global society (2000, p. 158). The concept of "irritation" describes disruptions within a system caused by external factors or internal contradictions, and provoke adaptation or change. Luhmann argues that such irritations are crucial for the evolution and development of social systems, as they challenge the existing structures and force the system to reorganize in order to manage the disturbance (2000, p. 158). This process is vital for fostering innovation and ensuring that systems remain adaptable and resilient amid changes. As mentioned, Türkiye, situated in the environment of the European system, has used public diplomacy, notably translation, to irritate the system and to disseminate favourable narratives worldwide. Nevertheless, does translation serve as a means of public diplomacy, allowing Türkiye to actively participate as a global actor

while proclaiming its distinct character and worldview in the cases of the French and British subsystems?

Through this dual lens, I seek to uncover the intricate ways in which translation has shaped and continues to shape Türkiye's cultural and societal landscape, both internally and on the world stage. By examining the historical and contemporary significance of translation in Türkiye, insights can be gained into the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and identity in the context of globalization.

3.1 TRANSLATION IN TÜRKİYE: OBSERVATIONS ON EUROPE

This section focuses on one specific observer of the world society, that is, the Turkish society. In that sense, the reader will be offered a different perspective from that presented thus far in the present project. To add a new dimension to the question put forward in the previous chapter – how Türkiye is observed and depicted by the European system in the period under scrutiny (1999-2008), the present chapter seeks to sketch a general picture on how Türkiye observes and describes its own identity. Furthermore, the Turkish identity is problematized within the framework of the notions such as nation branding and public diplomacy in order to describe how Türkiye wants to project itself outside its own boundaries. The comparative analysis of how Türkiye observes itself on the one hand and how Europe perceives Türkiye on the other will especially draw attention on the dynamic aspect of identity politics, a crucial concept to start with in the analysis of translation products as vehicles of representations.

3.1.1 Translating Modernity

This section deals not only with the emergence of the modern Turkish system, that is, the construction of a new national identity after the collapse of the theocratic and monarchic Ottoman Empire but also with the role different forms of communication, notably translation, played in this process. While the focus will be on the twentieth century, which constitutes a breakthrough for the Turkish system and the world society, brief information about the previous centuries will also be provided. Special emphasis will be put on the Tanzimat (Reformation) in the nineteenth century, a historical period which witnessed

the beginning of the modernization movement in the Ottoman Empire. The literature on this topic has demonstrated that the latter observed its respective environment, and most particularly the European system, in order to develop and evolve in different areas, a finding which has also proven to be accurate for the Russian and Persian societies of the nineteenth centuries (Tyulenev, 2012; Alavi, 2013 and 2014). In all three cases – Türkiye, Russia and Iran – it can be advanced that while reference to the environment happened through a variety of media, translation played a pivotal role in collecting the necessary knowledge, in incorporating them into the system's communicative range, and finally in disseminating them to the public. It goes without saying that many functional systems in the respective societies such as politics, economy, education, law, and the mass media functioned in collaboration and were strongly coupled for the relevant periods in order to increase the pace of societal evolution. To give the example of Türkiye, the political system shifted from a monarchy to a – more or less functioning – democracy and has been crucial in determining the general objectives and principles of modernization: the legal system had to be changed drastically as the transformation started with the introduction of new legislations promoting a secular system in contrast to the sharia; the education system needed to be revised in order to higher literacy rates and to expand the impact of the reforms to the public, etc.

The modernization of the Turkish Republic has attracted a lot of attention by researchers from different fields of study. Moreover, the literature on the role of translation in the transformation of the Turkish society is also a well-studied area (Aksoy, 2001 and 2010; Berk, 2004, 2006, 2010, 2013 and 2015; Daldeniz, 2014 and 2015; Karantay, 1991, Kayaoğlu, 1998; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2003, 2008, 2009 and 2015; Yücel 2006). In the following, I will concentrate on presenting the contribution of these studies. However, I will offer a social systemic reading of the existing literature instead of providing a mere synthesis of the findings drawn from the abovementioned studies. In so doing, I first seek to complement the contextual analysis presented in Chapter II by providing information about the socio-cultural factors at play in the Turkish system. To this end, I will define the overall role translation has played in the transformation and evolution of the Turkish society. Although the analysis of individual translational products would certainly prove fruitful, I would like to remind that the analysis of textual data for the Republican period is excluded from the scope of the present project. Second, I would like to specifically

offer a social systemic approach, which, to my knowledge, has not been applied to the Turkish case at any period of time until now. My purpose in doing so is also to preserve the theoretical coherence in the present project and to demonstrate that insights can be gained from a Luhmannian perspective, mainly because the topic will be addressed from an unusual approach in Translation Studies. For instance, such an approach will not only enable to look at the period under investigation from a broader perspective in that, unlike the existing literature on the role of translation in the twentieth century Türkiye which has not gone beyond the realm of the cultural sphere, it will include a brief survey of a variety of systems. It will also enable to assess the translation of modernity first with reference to interlingual translation, that is, the translation of classical works deemed helpful and relevant to the modernization process. Second, translation of modernity will be interpreted in intersystemic terms, primarily as a concept that refers to how European modernity has been imported and adapted by the translating system. In that sense, the observer that will be observed in this section will be different from the observer scrutinized in Chapter II, which has dealt with the European observations of Europeanness and Turkishness. The focus will rather be placed on how the Turkish system observes itself and its environment (the European system as a model) in a recursive manner.

The Ottoman history can roughly be divided in five critical phases: foundation (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), expansion (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), stagnation (seventeenth century), dissolution (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and collapse (twentieth century). The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire generated a process of westernization attempts in the mid-nineteenth century. In this period, it was understood that it would be impossible to overcome the decline of the empire without implementing major reforms, notably in military areas (for details on military reforms, see Lewis B., 1961 [1960], p. 74f). In retrospect, reforms had already been initiated in the eighteenth century in order to catch up with the scientific and technological advancements taking place in Europe. However, these preliminary attempts are generally considered unsystematic and thus unsuccessful. On the other hand, the Tanzimat (1839-1876), known as the reformation period in Ottoman history, is generally accepted as the first conscious and systematic attempt towards the westernization of Ottoman administration. This period is generally accepted as the beginning of the modernization process in the Ottoman

era, which also had an impact on the transformation of the Turkish society in the twentieth century after the declaration of the Republic. Furthermore, translation activities became highly visible in this period and a conscious importation of the Western knowledge started.

It was only with the Tanzimat that a conscious Westernization period began in Turkish history. In this context, it is impossible to isolate the cultural innovations from the social, intellectual, and political milieu of the time. The first purpose of translating during the Tanzimat period was political rather than literary, helping to bring Western political ideas into the Empire. (Berk, 2004, p. 14)

Among the major innovations during the Tanzimat comes the innovations in printing, which can be considered as the basis for the creation of a new functional system that is called the mass media. *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl*, the first Turkish newspaper was founded in 1860. The use of a language that the general public can understand was the basic motivation of this first newspaper. After the creation of the first private newspaper, others followed as utmost importance was attributed to newspapers during the Tanzimat: *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *İbret*, *Terakki*, *Mecmua-ı Fünun* and *Hürriyet* (Karabulut, 2010, p.130). The founders of and contributors to the newspapers believed that the development of printing and news making was the unique opportunity to raise awareness in the society by promoting modern ideas such as equality, liberty, freedom of expression, state administration, constitutionalism and to prevent the backwardness of the society. As a result of the increase in the number of newspapers, new ideas as well as opposing voices to the sultans started to find resonance in the public sphere, which in turn marked the beginning of censorship in the empire. These newspapers did not actually complete their mission, which were mainly founded for the dissemination of ideas, mainly for two reasons. First, censorship and control over the press reached a zenith in the Hamidian period, hence the system of the mass media lacked autonomy in an extensive way. And second, as Geoffroy Lewis puts it, “[a]lthough the new newspapers and magazines frequently carried articles urging the use of simple Turkish, they tended to urge it in very complicated language” (1999, p. 15).

A second development during Tanzimat which had a significant role in the modernization of the Ottoman Empire is the foundation of the state institution called *Encümen-i Dâniş* in 1851, which was attached to the Ministry of Education. The mission of the institution

included the preparation of textbooks to be taught in Darülfünûn, the first university in the Ottoman history that was planned to be established in the prospective years (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 59-63). The books would be either written in Turkish or translated from foreign languages. Translation activities would not only concentrate on books written in Western languages but also on those written in Arabic and Persian as the public had no access to these valuable resources. Most importantly, the academy decided that these books, especially those necessary for the education system, would be translated in plain Turkish so that they could be easily understood by students as well as the general public (Berk, 2004, p. 31, Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 61). Besides original writing and translation activities in major scientific fields such as history, economy, and politics, Encümen-i Dâniş also worked on the Turkish language in that dictionaries and spellers have been prepared. Also, the foundation of a library which would include all the newly appropriated resources was deemed critical. Encümen-i Dâniş could not be operational for more than 10 years. As Darülfünûn, the first Ottoman university, has never been established, and has constituted a model for institutions founded in the Republican period.

All these developments during the Tanzimat point to the fact that a general discontent was inherent in the empire both at the administrative and public spheres. This discontent stemmed from the lack of information and the means for disseminating this information, notably the language. “Beginning with the Tanzimat period, the Ottoman language had been found unsuitable as an instrument of popular education and incapable of expressing modern ideas” (Berk, 2004, p. 33). Turkish started to acquire a different status, a higher status to express it blatantly. The Tanzimat was also “a transition period for the language. The first translations helped the growth of Turkish vocabulary as the main motivating force and the development of simplified prose” (Berk, 2004, p. 25).

In the Tanzimat era, translation, similar to the cases of Russia and Iran in the same period, had played a critical role in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century and “the purpose of translating during the Tanzimat period was political rather than literary, helping to bring Western ideas into the Empire” (Berk 2004: 14). Several developments in that period contributed to the importation and dissemination of the new knowledge principally acquired from Western Europe. Özlem Berk asserts in her manuscript entitled Translation and Westernization in Türkiye that

[c]ultural innovation with educational reforms in schools and institutions, a new generation of intelligentsia, and the establishment of mass media in the form of privately owned newspapers resulted in increased translation activity at every level. The new intelligentsia, trained in government service, with a good knowledge of foreign languages and culture, usually French, could follow the Western world and disseminate Western ideas through the press. They had multiple roles as intellectuals, authors, and popularisers of ideas. (2004, p. 15)

Translation not only contributed to the introduction of new genres from Europe, mainly drama and poetry, they also served as informative texts “to familiarize Turkish readers with some aspects of European manners and customs what were otherwise entirely alien to them” (Berk, 2004, p. 21).

Reforms were undertaken to revitalise the empire but, differently from the period after the Independence War in 1920s, the ultimate goal was to return to the glorious days of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the efforts, the Tanzimat did not succeed in preventing the decrease of the Ottoman power and its collapse after the First World War. In overall, the impact of the reforms undertaken in this period had been limited as they showed discrepancies with the reality of the Ottoman society: “this reformism was initially mainly motivated by the desire to halt the decline of the Empire by unlocking the secret of Western power” (Marcou, 2005, p. 88). Marcou further explains that the reforms of the Tanzimat were in contradiction with the existing political and administrative system:

By copying Western forms, the reformist movement had abolished traditional Islamic institutions like sharia and ulama education, secularized legal and educational systems, and weakened the power of the Sultan, ultimately disrupting the Ottoman system. In an era of modernization and reform, the State and Sultan had unprecedented control, and the Young Ottomans called for constitutional government and genuine citizenship. (2005, p. 89).

Internal developments such as economic stagnation, the weakening of the army, many lost wars, the burden of taxes and inflation, the inability to expand education, the chaotic situation in agriculture and property, the delay in the reformation movement combined with external developments, mainly the acceleration of militant movements under the influence of the French revolution, made the Tanzimat a failure (for an overview see Karabulut, 2010, p. 126-127). In addition, reforms were not deeply-rooted, none of the sultans had the purpose to actually change the current order, “their real agenda was to strengthen the existing tradition”, the most urgent of all were the strengthening of military and financial structure (Karabulut, 2010, p. 129). Bayındır-Uluskan also points to one of

the main reasons for the lack of a cultural policy in the Ottoman Empire and further explains that “the Ottoman Empire was a cosmopolitan state consisting of many different ethnic groups and the inability to create a cultural unity among them” (Karabulut, 2010, p. 7).

Although Tanzimat has proven to be unsuccessful, this attempt of reformation, or in Lewis G.’s words, “the spirit of the Tanzimat” gave rise to the first “serious stirrings of Turkish nationalism” (1999, p. 12).

Before moving to another reformation initiative that took place in the 21st century with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, one major reform at the end of Tanzimat is also worth mentioning, that is the introduction of the first constitution in 1876 which aimed at transforming the Ottoman Empire into a constitutional monarchy and which marked the beginning of the period called Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Monarchy). Western powers have never accepted this first attempt as a sincere adhesion to constitutionalism from the part of Sublime Porte, pointing at the main reason why the constitution of 1876 has generally been overlooked by historians interested in the Ottoman Empire (Marcou, 2005, p. 87). This negation can be easily explained by the fact that the constitution was extremely short-lived. The Parliament had dissolved in 1878, which was used as a pretext by Sultan Abdülhamid to abrogate the constitution as well. The constitutional experience of the Ottoman Empire had not ended yet though. Opposing groups in the empire, notably the Young Turks, made new demands not only to restore the constitutional regime but also to extend civil rights in the Ottoman society. Thanks to these opposing voices and their pressure on the Ottoman administration the second Meşrutiyet was declared in 1908. Türkiye’s historical survey suggests that the second Meşrutiyet is a critical phase in the transformation Türkiye has experienced since the beginning of the twentieth century. This period is also accepted as the end of Abdülhamid’s power. As Bernard Lewis puts it, “[t]he long night of Hamidian despotism was over; the dawn of freedom had come. The constitution had once again been proclaimed and elections ordered.” (1961 [1960], p. 210). Jean Marcou further states that this second constitution proved to be more effective in that it initiated fundamental rights into the society:

Between 1908 and 1913, [the second Ottoman constitutional period] was also the first real experience of parliamentary monarchy. Ottoman society discovered elections, freedom of the press, an unprecedented development of publishing and political, religious and

philosophical debates, the right of assembly, strikes and even feminist demands. (2005, p. 95)

The Young Turks consisted of nationalists whose goal was mainly to revive the Ottoman Empire and its prestige in the world. In other words, their desire was to restore the power of the empire like its old and glorious days. For this reason, they were not really interested in the impact of the constitution on the people, their main goal was to weaken the sultan by restricting its domain of power and thus take the control of the state. The following is worth quoting at length in order to understand how the second Meşrutiyet has been viewed from the outside:

The second Turkish constitutional regime lasted longer than the first, but it too ended in failure, bitterness, and disappointment. The dangers and difficulties, at home and abroad, were too great; the defenders of the constitution were too few, too weak, too inept. Though the constitution remained in force and elections were still held, the regime degenerated into a kind of military oligarchy of the Young Turk leaders, which ended only with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. [...] Even at the time, and still more later, there were many foreign observers who, out of prejudice, misunderstanding, or disappointment were ready to write off the whole Young Turk movement and revolution as mere window-dressing, as yet another attempt to mislead the West with a show of change while leaving the basic realities of Turkish life unchanged, perhaps unchangeable. (Lewis, 1961 [1960], p. 211)

For a real and lasting constitutional experience, the Turkish society had to wait until the end of the First World War. The Treaty of Sèvres (1920) signed at the end of the First World War announced the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, whose territories had been divided between the Allies. However, an opposition led by Atatürk emerged against the Monarch on the one hand, and against the occupying forces on the other hand. This opposing movement decided that an Assembly should be established and took action on the very spot. Unlike the Ottoman administration, the new Government led by Atatürk did not recognize the Treaty of Sèvres and started a War of Independence (1919-1923). From 1920 to 1922, two rival governments coexisted in what is known as the Turkish Republic today. After this transition period in terms of the political system, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923. The process of modernization gained a new impetus in this period and just after the end of the War of Independence several congresses were organized in order to discuss how the economic, social and political status of the new nation-state could be strengthened.

Türkiye was experiencing a real renaissance with the establishment of the new republic. Evidence of this renaissance can be found first and foremost in the transformation of the regime from monarchy to a secular republic and thus the abolition of sharia. Besides this fundamental shift at the state level, major changes have occurred on socio-political level such as the introduction of a new legal system based on democracy and human rights without discrimination against woman; the reform in education, which encouraged a broader understanding of the world; and a huge increase in literacy as a result of the education reform; etc. In addition, the economic growth experienced after the War of Independence – despite the huge amounts of external debt inherited from the Ottoman Empire – accelerated the whole process. The ultimate purpose of these reforms was to create and promote a brand-new Turkish identity, which was once degraded:

[t]he name Turkey has been given to Turkish-speaking Anatolia almost since its first conquest by the Turks in the eleventh century – given, that is, by Europeans. But the Turks themselves did not adopt it as the official name of their country until 1923. When they did so, they used a form – Türkiye – that clearly revealed its “European origin. The people had once called themselves Turks, and the language they spoke was still called Turkish, but in the Imperial society of the Ottomans the ethnic term Turk was little used, and then chiefly in a rather derogatory sense, to designate the Turcoman nomads or, later, the ignorant and uncouth Turkish-speaking peasants of the Anatolian villages. To apply it to an Ottoman gentleman of Constantinople would have been an insult. (Lewis, 1961 [1960], p. 1-2)

Similarly, Yerasimos explains that the connotation of the ‘Turk’ was not very flattering in the Ottoman period:

The very term “Turk”, rejected until [the turn of the year 1913] by the Ottoman elite, attributed solely out of condescension and contempt to the uneducated peasant and the rough nomad and which a few intellectuals had, alone, timidly attempted to revalue during previous decades, is seized as a lifebelt. What was just a term for aversion and exclusion from the surrounding world became the rallying cry of the new nationalism. It was therefore convinced that they were standing on the edge of the abyss, threatened with losing power, that the last Ottoman elites quickly placed, following the Balkan defeat, all the mechanisms of the State at the service of the Turkish cause. (Yerasimos, 2005, p. 42)

The abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic had many repercussions on the state and its people. The newly established state based its overall policy on two main keywords: Turkishness/Turkification and secularization. After the drastic change in the political regime, the government assured its political domination. Once political domination was assured, the government launched a very comprehensive

program of reforms affecting not only the political system but also the legal, economic, and arts systems among others.

Cultural exchange also gained momentum, as Türkiye adopted symbols and values that emphasized its independence and uniqueness. Art, architecture, music, and literature flourished under the new state patronage, helping to create a unique modern Turkish culture that combined its rich historical heritage with its modern aspirations.

Daldeniz (2014) delves into the complex evolution of the terms ‘millet’ and ‘ulus’ in her publication titled “From an Empire to a Nation State: Importing the Concept of Nation into Ottoman/Turkish Thinking”. She posits that a notable metamorphosis can be observed in the utilization and implications of these terms over the course of history. In the realm of Turkish history, two distinct designations have been utilized to symbolize the notion of ‘nation’. In past times, the term ‘millet’, originating from Arabic, was utilized in the Ottoman lexicon to signify a sense of national identity, especially within the varied religious communities of the Empire. Daldeniz underlines the significance of the integration of the term ‘ulus’, linking its appearance to purposeful endeavours in language planning and purification during the Republican era. Initially referencing a specific Turcoman tribe, ‘ulus’ gradually transformed to equate to ‘nation’ amidst wider linguistic and conceptual transformations within Turkish society (Daldeniz, 2014, p. 81-82). This evolution epitomizes a crucial shift in Turkish understanding and expression of nationhood, mirroring alterations in beliefs and linguistic usages within both Ottoman and Turkish contexts.

Daldeniz further explains that, in the later years of the Ottoman Empire, intellectuals and leaders began to place significant importance on the idea of ‘nation’, even though it was a relatively recent introduction into the system (2014, p. 82). They saw the recognition of the concept of ‘nation’ as potentially vital for preserving the remaining territories of the Empire. The initial form of nationhood, represented by ‘millet’, focused on loyalty to the state, particularly the Empire itself. On the other hand, the subsequent phase, embodied by ‘ulus’, brought forth a unique conceptual framework that highlighted the importance of (Turkish) language and culture. Both groups of Turkish nationalists deliberately chose an existing term in the target language to represent ‘nation’, demonstrating a purposeful effort to align the new concept with established linguistic norms. Through their extensive writings and discussions aimed at clarifying and delving into the idea of ‘nation’, these

agents of nationalism not only facilitated its integration into the receiving system but also played a central role in shaping its significance and interpretation within the Ottoman and Turkish spheres.

Furthermore, the establishment of the Republic marked the beginning of a period characterized by vibrant cultural exchange, during which Türkiye actively embraced symbols and values that underscored its newfound independence and distinctiveness. Supported by the government, various artistic endeavours, architectural innovations, musical compositions, and literary works flourished, contributing to the development of a unique modern Turkish culture. This cultural renaissance seamlessly integrated Türkiye's rich historical legacy with its progressive aspirations, resulting in a diverse range of creative expressions that resonated both domestically and internationally. Through this flourishing cultural environment, Türkiye not only celebrated its heritage but also asserted its presence in the contemporary world, showcasing its distinctive blend of tradition and modernism to a global audience.

3.1.1.1 Political System

The journey towards constitutionalism in Türkiye has been marked by a series of challenges and transformations. Following many failed efforts to institute constitutional governance during the days of the Ottoman Empire, a genuine and enduring process of constitutional development began in 1921 for the Turkish people. Prior to the drafting of the inaugural permanent constitution in 1924, a temporary constitution was ratified by the Turkish Assembly, designed for a three-year duration. Despite the provisional constitution's lack of a clear separation of powers, it symbolized a significant step towards democratization and secularization within Türkiye's administrative structure.

Following the establishment of a Republic in 1923, Türkiye underwent a series of far-reaching reforms with the goal of modernizing various facets of its society and governance. Led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, these reforms sought to reshape Türkiye into a modern, secular, and democratic nation-state.

The transition from monarchy to a republic in 1923 marked a monumental and epochal change for Türkiye. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who assumed the role of the inaugural president, this transition triggered a comprehensive restructuring of

Türkiye's political landscape. The primary objective of this reorganization was to institute a democratic and secular form of government. Central to these reforms was the abolition of the caliphate and the introduction of a multi-party system, signifying a crucial turning point in Türkiye's political journey.

Beyond just altering the political structure, the shift to a republican government signified a profound transformation in Türkiye's ideological outlook and ambitions. By embracing democratic values and secular governance, Türkiye demonstrated its commitment to modernization, advancement, and inclusivity. This transformative era ushered in a period of unparalleled political experimentation and societal transformation as Türkiye grappled with the complexities of nation-building and identity formation in a rapidly changing global context.

Furthermore, the elimination of the caliphate and the implementation of a multi-party system exemplified Türkiye's resolve to depart from its imperial past and chart a new course grounded in principles of liberty, equality, and diversity. This bold and forward-thinking approach to governance laid the groundwork for a more open and dynamic political landscape, fostering increased participation, transparency, and representation for the Turkish population.

In essence, the transition from monarchy to republic represented a pivotal moment in Türkiye's narrative, marking a definitive departure from tradition and a resolute embrace of modernity and advancement. Guided by Atatürk's vision, Türkiye embarked on a transformative voyage towards democratic governance and secularism, paving the way for a more inclusive, vibrant, and prosperous future for the nation and its citizens.

Overall, these reforms were crafted to modernize Türkiye's institutions, economy, and society and position the nation as a progressive and forward-looking member of the global community. Despite encountering opposition and obstacles, particularly from traditional and religious factions, these reforms laid the groundwork for Türkiye's emergence as a contemporary nation-state.

The reforms aimed not only for cultural realignment but also to propel Türkiye into the global arena through its own scientific, technological, and cultural contributions. The cumulative impact of these reforms laid the groundwork for the modern Turkish state, showcasing a nation's determined effort to redefine itself and embrace modern, secular, and democratic ideals through comprehensive institutional and societal transformations.

Also, very striking in this transformation process is the fact that the motivation for a change came from the elite as Marcou explains:

the transition to democracy in Turkey was not the result of a fundamental social movement or a major political break, but rather the result of a change of direction decided by the governing elite for very pragmatic reasons of international policy (to facilitate Turkey's integration into the Western bloc in the face of the Soviet threat) and domestic policy (to breathe new life into the regime) (2005, p. 101).

A new era in Turkish politics commenced in 1946 with the establishment of the opposition Democrat Party, marking a departure from the single-party rule that had dominated Turkish politics since the Republic's inception. The emergence of the Democrat Party signalled a shift towards a multi-party system, ushering in a transformative period characterized by increased pluralism and diversified political discourse.

Subsequently, in 1950, general elections were held, and to the surprise of many, the Democrat Party secured victory, obtaining a mandate to govern. This electoral outcome not only marked a historic moment in Turkish history but also heralded a new phase of political leadership and policy directions. The transfer of power to the Democrat Party in 1950 represented a fundamental change in the Turkish political landscape, initiating a period defined by alternating political alliances and electoral competitiveness.

Throughout Turkish political history, a recurring theme has been the prevalence of military coups d'état, which have significantly impacted the democratic process. The first coup occurred in 1960, representing a pivotal moment that set the stage for subsequent interventions in the political sphere. These coups have disrupted the continuity of democratic governance in Türkiye, hindering the establishment of a sustainable democratic experience.

Subsequent military interventions followed in 1971 and 1980, each leaving a lasting imprint on the Turkish political landscape and contributing to the fragility of the democratic system. The attempted coup in July 2016, while unsuccessful, highlighted the persistent vulnerabilities and deep-rooted instabilities within the Turkish political framework.

It is evident that the Turkish political system has been characterized by a history of military interventions and interrupted democratic processes, creating a state of flux that

has impeded the development of a stable and resilient democratic order. The recurrent coups have not only disrupted the democratic experience in Türkiye but have also left a legacy of instability that continues to impact the country's political dynamics.

3.1.1.2 Legal System

The transformation of the Ottoman legal system marked a significant shift towards modernization and legal reform in Türkiye. Inspired by European models, the outdated Ottoman legal framework was replaced with a new system that incorporated elements from various European legal codes. Notably, Türkiye adopted the Italian Penal Code, the German Civil Code, and the Swiss Civil Code, among others, with the objective of modernizing and structuring the country's legal system according to contemporary standards.

The adoption of these European legal codes represented a deliberate effort to establish a secular legal framework in Türkiye and ensure the primacy of the rule of law. By integrating principles and practices from European legal traditions, Türkiye aimed to enhance the efficiency, clarity, and fairness of its legal system, reflecting a commitment to creating a modern and progressive legal environment that aligns with international norms and standards.

These legal reforms not only sought to streamline and standardize the legal processes in Türkiye but also aimed to promote transparency, accountability, and adherence to legal principles. By drawing inspiration from European legal models, Türkiye embarked on a path towards building a legal system that upholds the principles of justice, equality, and the protection of individual rights, fostering a foundation for a more inclusive and democratic society.

As stated earlier, an older attempt of modernization was experienced during the Tanzimat period. New legislation had been imported from the West. However, these were unsuccessful due to the contradiction they created with the existing legislation. The reformers in the Republican period well analysed the Ottoman period and did not make the same mistakes. Instead of changing the legislation only partly, with the declaration of the Republic in 1923 and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924, the National Assembly

completely annulled Ottoman laws and created a wholly new legal system meeting the Western European standards (Üçok, Mumcu and Bozkurt, 1999, p. 310).

Like other functional systems in the newly established Republic of Türkiye, the legal system has undergone an unprecedented transformation which laid the ground for the reformation of other functional systems. The intellectual elite of the time was persuaded that the older Ottoman legal structure could not serve for real and sincere purposes of democracy and justice. In order to modernize the legal system, Turkish observers turned their gaze to the West, just like the other functional systems, and aimed at purifying laws from religious motives and methods. In that sense, it would be even more appropriate to talk about a legal revolution instead of a legal reform (Önder and Karakuş, 2013, p. 43). The first importation from Western legislation into the Turkish legal system was the Swiss Civil Code, translated and adopted in 1926 (Üçok, Mumcu and Bozkurt, 1999, p. 308; Önder and Karakuş, 2013, p. 43-44). This reform abolished polygamy and guaranteed gender equality by allowing women to work outside the house and to take part in the economic system. Besides, while individual rights have been extensively improved compared to the Ottoman era, property rights have been arranged with a more contemporary and modern approach. Along with the Civil Code, the Turkish Debt Code was translated and adapted from the Swiss Debt Code and entered into force the same year (Üçok, Mumcu and Bozkurt, 1999, p. 308). The Italian Penal Code was translated in 1926, was submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for evaluation, and underwent a significant adaptation because some articles were deemed inappropriate to the social context of that period and thus too severe (Önder and Karakuş, 2013, p. 44). The Commerce Law was inspired by the German and Italian legislative systems as they were judged to be the most contemporary of all other European systems by Turkish observers. (Önder and Karakuş, 2013, p. 45; Üçok, Mumcu and Bozkurt, 1999, p. 308). In overall, Western European countries, mainly, Switzerland, Italy and Germany constituted a source of inspiration for the Turkish legislative reform during the Republican period and this radical change in the whole legal system took only 3 years. In addition, it would be legitimate to state that the legal system has been most directly influenced from western models as the majority of the legislation was directly translated from European countries such as France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy to name a few.

3.1.1.3 Economic System

The Ottoman Empire's debts had started to increase in the nineteenth century. Previously, the Ottoman sultans had taken some initiatives to get financial support from foreign banks especially in war times which led to economic and financial bottleneck, hence to economic capitulations. Taking this opportunity, foreign countries offered credits with significantly high interest rates. With the signing of the Lozan Treaty in 1923, which marked the end of the War of Independence, the newly founded Turkish Republic inherited the majority of the Ottoman external debts (Eroğlu, 2007, p. 66). This inheritance posed a huge burden for the newly flourishing Turkish economic system which was mostly rooted in agriculture. Economists talk about 80% of the population working in the agricultural sector (Eroğlu, 2007, p. 65). While Türkiye had been an exporter for raw materials, it was highly dependent on importation for processed goods. However, it was believed that agriculture would also be the biggest contributor to the economic system with the help of industrialization. For this end, many factories were established.

Being aware of these main drawbacks among many others, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk requested to organize an economic congress in the city of Izmir eight months before the declaration of the Republic. During the congress, economic policies were discussed and strategies for progress were determined. In line with the mixed approach juxtaposing liberal and nationalistic principles (Çelebi, 2002, p. 21), it was accepted that domestic production would be promoted while foreign investments would also be welcome as long as they contribute to the country's economy (Eroğlu, 2007, p. 65). Furthermore, it was decided that industrialization would take place according to free market principles but the state would contribute to areas where the private sector is not profitable (Eroğlu, 2007, p. 65-66). The major contribution of the congress is explained by Bayındır-Uluskan as follows:

When we look at the developments in the 1923-1930 period, it can be seen that the Turkish Economic Congress of February 1923 was actually an important turning point. The economic problems were discussed for the first time during the congress held at a time when the Republic had not yet been proclaimed and the state had not yet been established, but most importantly, a move towards a liberal economy came out of the congress. This showed that Atatürk was already thinking of turning the course of the newly established state towards the West and that he aimed to create a democratic system similar to that in

Europe under the Republican regime. As a matter of fact, following the congress and the proclamation of the Republic shortly after, Atatürk's reform policies began to be implemented and integrated into Turkish society until 1930. (2010, p. 9)

One major reform in the economic system, which is a sign of its strong structural coupling (Luhmann, 2012, p. 49) with the scientific system, has been the implementation of analyses regarding the national income in 1929 (Çelebi, 2002, p. 23). Another reform consists in the preparation of economic development plans for periods of five years for purposes of balanced and rapid growth; the first having been prepared in 1931. The major goal of this first plan is to prioritize the consumption goods for which raw materials can be domestically provided instead of importing them. To this end, many factories were inaugurated with Russian financial credits, namely in the areas of sugar, textile, paper, ceramic, glass, cement and existing areas such as tobacco and cotton industries were further developed. The second development plan whose primary goal was to increase the export of raw materials on the one hand, which could not be produced until then and which would not be possible in a short period of time because of the lack of capital, to foreign countries in order to allow the entrance of a higher amount of currency in Türkiye. On the other hand, major fields in which industrialization took place were, to name a few, mining, production of electricity, household goods, food, and chemical products (Çelebi, 2002, p. 24).

Other important reforms in the field of finance and economy included the arrangement of customs duties, the prevention of the inflation, and the creation of banks, which would provide credits to investors, and the Central Bank in 1930.

Industrialization was crucial to overcome the urgent need of automatization of the Turkish economy, which was highly successful in the first years of the Turkish Republic. However, such a farsighted and effective approach could not be adopted in the following years and had dramatic consequences for the current Turkish economy which is suffering from many shortcomings, notably political instability. Some of the Turkish economic institutions have lacked autonomy and have been under the pressure of the government, especially since the attempted coup d'état.

3.1.1.4 Education system

Under the visionary guidance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Türkiye underwent a sweeping and ambitious overhaul of its education system, bringing it in line with contemporary standards and aspirations. Atatürk's reform initiatives encompassed the establishment of a new national education framework aimed at ensuring widespread access to education, eradicating illiteracy, and instilling a strong sense of Turkish nationalism among the populace. These educational transformations formed a fundamental aspect of Atatürk's broader modernization endeavours, propelling Türkiye towards a more promising and progressive future.

Central to Atatürk's educational reforms was the restructuring of the curriculum to prioritize critical domains such as science, secularism, and Western principles. By placing a premium on scientific knowledge, analytical thinking, and rational inquiry, the revised curriculum aimed to equip students with the skills necessary to thrive in an evolving modern society. Additionally, the promotion of secular values within the educational sphere mirrored Atatürk's commitment to delineating religion from governance, fostering an ethos of inclusivity and tolerance within Turkish society.

Moreover, by incorporating Western values and ideals into the educational curriculum, Atatürk sought to orient Türkiye towards the principles of advancement, democracy, and individual liberties prevalent in Western nations. This emphasis on Western values not only modernized Türkiye's educational landscape but also cultivated a culture of openness, innovation, and global engagement. Atatürk's educational reforms represented a seminal moment in Türkiye's history, laying the groundwork for a more educated, enlightened, and forward-thinking society. Through the provision of accessible and high-quality education for all citizens, Atatürk aimed to empower individuals, spur economic progress, and foster a unified national identity rooted in progress, unity, and modernity. The enduring impact of Atatürk's educational reforms continues to shape Türkiye's educational trajectory, underscoring the transformative potential of education in shaping a nation's destiny.

Many schools were established during the Tanzimat. The objective was to meet the need of personnel for some of the Ottoman institutions and organizations. Therefore, these were mainly technical and vocational schools (science and technology). However, this

attempt of reform in the education system, was not systematic (Karabulut, 2010, p. 134). The purpose was first and foremost to catch up with the West in technical areas. Another handicap witnessed in the nineteenth century in education is the opening of many foreign schools where supervision was problematic and which were used for imperialist and religious purposes.

Despite the reformation initiatives of the Ottoman Empire notably after the 19th century, the education system had been far behind the contemporary scientific developments sweeping Europe as the system lacked coherence. Historians argue that the resulting education system after the Tanzimat was a dichotomous organization of educational institutions in which both eastern (based on religious aspects) and western (based on technical and scientific progress) institutions coexisted (Demirtaş, 2008, p. 156). Furthermore, despite the establishment of modern institutions, observers argue that the main reason why the reformation process in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire was not successful is due to the fact that illiteracy rates were soaring and they did not manage to widen education.

The modernization of the education system is a crucial step in the success of the reforms during the Republican period. Even during the First World War, Atatürk started to think about this issue and looked for solutions. The population of Türkiye was nearly 12 million and only around 10% of the population was literate (only 3% of women) in 1923 when the Republic was declared (see Demirtaş, 2008, p. 156 and Bayındır Uluskan, 2010, p. 201). The Turkish society lacked the knowledge acquired by the western societies and there was an urgent need to fight with ignorance resulting from extremely high illiteracy. The ultimate objective was to modernize the education system and transform it into a national, secular, democratic system based on rational principles, and most crucially, a system without gender discrimination. Following the logic of the six guiding principles of Atatürk, the reformist approach, which constitutes the guiding principle for all other five principles, the education system has been nationalized (nationalism). An integrated approach has been adopted so that the public could benefit from the new system as widely as possible (populism), more establishments were built (statism), religion has been dissociated not only from politics but also from education and science (secularism) (Demirtaş, 2008, p. 160). In line with these objectives, the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (Law on the

unity of education) was accepted in 1924 and a second law making primary education compulsory and free passed in 1926.

Atatürk's linguistic reforms not only aimed to modernize communication but also sought to purify Turkish by replacing Arabic and Persian loanwords with Turkish equivalents, further solidifying the nation's linguistic identity. Despite these ambitious changes reflecting Atatürk's vision of modern civilization, they faced internal resistance and took years to fully implement, with ongoing aspects even today.

Closely linked reform is the adoption of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic script in 1928. Foundation of Millet Mektepleri in 1929 and Halkevleri in 1932 in order to teach the new alphabet to the public, an initiative which had major consequences in improving literacy. From 1923 to 1938, the number of students going to primary school increased by 224% and this rate has reached a remarkable level for secondary schools 1.225% (Demirtaş, 2008, p. 167-169). The curricula of primary and secondary schools were revised extensively. While Arabic and Persian courses were removed from the curricula, some other courses such as Turkish, literature and sociology were added (Demirtaş, 2008, p. 168). Furthermore, many universities were established in Ankara and Istanbul from the establishment of the Republic onwards. With the university reform, foreign professors were allowed to teach in the newly established universities. Besides, young researchers were sent to foreign countries with state financial support in order to get education from abroad (for statistics, see Demirtaş, 2008, p. 165). As a consequence, the Turkish education system underwent a major change and experienced a significant progress both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.1.1.5 System of Arts

In its pursuit of establishing a modern and secular national identity, the Turkish Republic embarked on a series of cultural reforms that profoundly altered the nation's cultural fabric. Acknowledging culture's pivotal role in shaping societal values and identity, the state sought to elevate Turkish arts, literature, and music as integral components of a vibrant and dynamic national culture. By showcasing the richness and diversity of Türkiye's cultural legacy, Atatürk aimed to cultivate a sense of pride and unity among the populace.

Beyond championing traditional Turkish cultural expressions, Atatürk advocated for the assimilation of Western cultural influences into Türkiye's cultural tapestry. Recognizing the importance of engaging with global cultural trends, Atatürk believed that embracing Western cultural values would contribute to forging a more cosmopolitan and progressive society. Through the promotion of Western arts, literature, and music, the state aimed to modernize Türkiye's cultural landscape and position the nation as an active participant in the global arena.

Atatürk's cultural reforms transcended mere acceptance of external influences; they sought to rejuvenate and revitalize Türkiye's cultural heritage. By blending elements of traditional Turkish culture with contemporary Western influences, the Turkish Republic endeavoured to craft a unique and vibrant cultural identity that honoured the nation's rich historical legacy while embracing the spirit of innovation and modernity. Ultimately, Atatürk's cultural reforms aimed to instil a sense of national pride, creativity, and inclusivity among the Turkish populace, leaving an enduring legacy that continues to shape Türkiye's cultural landscape and foster a diverse and dynamic cultural heritage.

As explained above, the construction of the Turkish identity is based on the transformation of many functional systems after the proclamation of the republic. Among these systems, the system of arts is crucial as it was instrumental in the dissemination of republican values. The newly founded state was fully aware of the power of the arts system for the integration of the reforms in everyday life.

In the beginning of the republican era, arts were mostly perceived as a means for educating people, in other words it was a "propaganda tool" to promote the republic and its values (Çıkmın and Öztürk, 2023, p. 179). Novels, theatre, poetry, paintings and sculpture among many other artistic activities were seen as an educational tool both in terms of aesthetic and modernization. In the first years of the republic, the majority of observers tended to side with the argument that art is for the people and not for art itself. As art was mainly seen as a tool for modernisation and the sake of people, the centre of artistic activities moved from Istanbul to Ankara. Ankara, the new capital of the Turkish Republic, was the symbol of a new regime a new modern society.

In their article entitled "Sanat ve Edebiyatta Cumhuriyet ve Ulus Bilinci Oluşturma Faaliyetleri", Çıkmın and Öztürk argue that artistic productions in early republican era were focused on the revolution and that these productions reflected modern western artistic

characteristics (2023, p. 181). The artists discovered the everyday life of Anatolian people, their relationship with the nature and regularly travelled to different regions of Anatolia. This was a huge renovation: Ottoman artists were used to perform their art in palaces, behind closed doors and they only reflected the taste of the Palace and the Ottoman elite. This changed drastically with the new regime and in every subsystem of arts (literature, painting, sculpture and even architecture), it could be observed that the productions mainly served the people. For instance, many novels that were published in those years (e.g. *Yaban* by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gece* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin and *Yarım Osman* by Aka Gündüz) criticized the ignorance of people or the policies of Ottoman Empire which completely neglected its people and left them uneducated. Another common feature among many of the novels published in early republican period was the questioning on identity: Is there a Turkish identity? If we can talk about a Turkish identity, on what grounds should it be based? The majority of the writers believed that the notion of ummah should be abandoned and be replaced by the notion of nation. For this reason, some of the writers chose to write about the pre-Islamic history of Turks. This allowed them to emphasize that Turkish identity cannot be linked to religious values as Turks existed well before Islam. In that sense, in line with all other functional systems, mainly the political system, it can be argued that there has also been a secularization process in the system of arts. The focus was on the notions of nation, modernization, and westernization. These themes were also represented in theatre plays, which were performed all over Anatolia as the main purpose was to disseminate these notions and the values attached to these nations to the people.

Although descriptive artifacts were produced, especially in painting, in general, the primary mission of arts was ideological, that is, the construction and dissemination of a new Turkish identity based on modern and secular values. The purpose was to establish a nation describing itself as “Turk” and not as “Muslim” (Çıkmın and Öztürk, 2023, p. 192). In his masterpiece *Turkey: A Modern History*, Zürcher points three areas that can be discerned in the secularist drive and reform policies of 1925-1935: (1) “the secularization of state, education and law”, (2) “the attack on religious symbols and their replacement by the symbols of European civilization”, and (3) “the secularization of social life and the attack on popular Islam it entailed” (2013, p. 186). It is exactly in this third area that the system of arts was highly instrumental. Interpreted from a Luhmannian perspective, this

coincides with the reception phase of the communication process, the phase that determines the evolution of the society.

In 1932, Türkiye underwent a significant historical transformation when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk initiated far-reaching language reforms. Guided by Atatürk's visionary leadership, these initiatives played a crucial role in Türkiye's modernization and transition toward secularism, aiming to reshape the nation's linguistic landscape to establish a new national identity firmly grounded in Turkish culture and history. At the core of this ambitious endeavour was the decision to overhaul the Turkish language itself, moving away from the traditional Ottoman script, which was rooted in Arabic script, and adopting a new alphabet based on the Latin script. This transition in writing systems not only revolutionized communication but also symbolized Türkiye's departure from its Ottoman legacy, asserting its independence and sovereignty on the world stage.

Moreover, the language reform of 1932 extended beyond linguistic changes; it marked a profound cultural and ideological shift reflective of Atatürk's vision for a modern and progressive Türkiye aligned with Western principles. This introduction aims to explore the historical context, motivations, and repercussions of the 1932 language reform, offering insights into its lasting impact on Turkish society and identity. One of the major contributions of the revolution was to make an emphasis on language. According to Atatürk, the Turkish State should be independent in every aspect according to him, thus language needs to be purified from Arabic and Persian by revitalizing Turkic originated forms and words. The introduction of a new Latin-based alphabet instead of the Arabic alphabet which was not conform to the morphology and phonology of the Turkish language was also an important step for the development of the language. All these conscious attempts aiming to reduce the difference in language used by the people and the one employed in administration or literature can be defined as "language planning": "Language politics can be defined as the set of decisions guiding a deliberate intervention in language matters. Language planning refers to the implementation of those decisions by solving technical and practical problems" (Hermans, 1991).

How these technical and practical problems mentioned by Hermans can be solved? In the case of Türkiye, we can distinguish three major methods:

- Linguistic purification: In 1932, the first Turkish Linguistic Congress was convened. At the end of the Congress, a reform program was drawn up seeking

to break once again dramatically with religion's impact on language. The Congress also accepted the creation of a Turkish Language Society (Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti, later Türk Dil Kurumu). The members of this institution "enthusiastically started to collect words from dialects, ancient literary sources, and even Turkic languages from Central Asia to replace the Ottoman vocabulary" (Zürcher, 2013, p. 190). Berk further explains that "[g]overnment-sponsored language planning" started to act for the "purification of the language of foreign loan words and venularization or simplification of vocabulary, grammar, and phraseology for everyday conversational use" (2004, p.96-97). Soon, dictionaries of the purified Turkish language were published and the new vocabulary based on original Turkish words was used in the press, in official writings, and textbooks for schools and universities.

- Adoption of the Latin-based alphabet in 1928: This was a drastic but necessary measure. Ottoman Turkish was written with a mixture of Persian and Arabic alphabet. As explained by Zürcher, "[w]hile this suited the Arabic and Persian vocabulary, which made up three-quarters of written late Ottoman, it was highly unsuitable for expressing the sounds of the Turkish part of the vocabulary, Arabic being rich in consonants but very poor in vowels while Turkish is exactly the opposite" (2013, p. 188). This radical change contributed to the increase of literacy but more initiatives were necessary to reach people in small villages where there was a huge lack of primary education.
- Creation of Village Institutes: This initiative contributed to the education of not only students but also the people living in villages and who had never had access to school or books before. Yücel argues that these institutes "contributed to the access of art/literature by the whole population, which used to be the interest of only a minority" before this period (2006). In Zürcher's terms, "there were attempts to extend the reforms to the villages, to spread modern techniques and instill a secular and positivist attitude" (2013, p. 194) and one of the most significant initiatives was the creation of Village Institutes. The main objective of these Institutes was to rapidly increase

literacy among people by quickly training young villagers who knew reading and writing and sending them back to their villages as teachers. The Village Institutes were significantly successful not only in increasing literacy but also in introducing people to scientific and technological developments.

3.1.2 Translation Bureau as a Means of Cultural Importation

In her article entitled “The ‘official’ view on translation in Turkey: The case of National Publishing Congresses” (1939-2009), Tahir-Gürçağlar explores “the perspectives of the Turkish state on the issue of translation for a period of 70 years” (p. 125). This article analyses the discourse around translation activity during the five publishing congresses held since the proclamation of the Republic. The first publishing congress held in 1939 is specifically important as it laid the ground for the foundation of Tercüme Bürosu, a state-fund Translation Bureau that would serve as a cultural planning tool responsible for the selection and translation of titles. The congress also decided that different committees should be established, among them a committee of edition which was responsible for the determination of the texts to be published, and a committee of translation which would be charged with the translation of foreign texts into newly reformed modern Turkish. Reports were prepared by these committees. The report of the translation committee stated that a Translation Bureau should be established. Arusoğlu (2003) and Berk (2004) explain the whole process of the creation of the Translation Bureau and discuss the policies of this committee. The report prepared by the translation committee can be summarized as follows:

- Ways for cooperation between official and private publishing houses should be increased.
- Works to be written in Turkish and works to be translated should be determined so that they could be used at schools and universities.
- In terms of works to be translated, priority should be given to the texts belonging to the humanist culture, and translation should be done from the original language (unfortunately this principle laid at the beginning has few exceptions, especially in the translations of Russian literature because of a shortness of competent translators).

- The Ministry of Education can financially support the publishers in the private sector that would assume a translation of high quality.
- The establishment of a permanent Translation Bureau under the Ministry of Education is necessary. Its objective would be to conduct translation activities.
- A program for the publishing industry should be established to identify publications necessary in the future.
- Also, works that will be republished in Turkish should be identified, they should be printed with the new alphabet and they should be rewritten in such a way that they should easily be understood by the people.
- Measures should be taken to increase the productivity and quality of the press.

The Bureau proposed in the report was established in February 1940 and lasted until 1966. The duty of the Translation Bureau was to select texts to be translated into Turkish and to attribute them to competent translators; when necessary, to correct the translations, and finally to transmit them to the Ministry of Education. The pioneer of this project is the Minister of Education of that time, Hasan-Ali Yücel, who is also a famous Turkish writer. Besides the Translation Bureau, he insisted on the creation of a journal entitled *Tercüme* (Translation) which was also directed by the bureau itself and which attained 87 issues, 18 volumes, and 7722 pages in total. The journal dealt with translation issues: presentation of the translations carried out by the Translation Bureau by presenting some extracts from the original and translated texts, critics of translations, reviews, and more generally discussions on cultural issues.

The Translation Bureau was not only responsible for the selection of works to be translated and providing lists of classics to be imported into Turkish but also for the “quality” check of these translations, that is their faithfulness to source texts and the accuracy of the target language. Four years after the establishment of the Bureau, regulations were published by the Ministry of Education. According to Berk, “[s]ome of these sixteen regulations are particularly important to indicate the authoritarian nature of the Bureau not only on the selection but also on the outcome and the presentation of the translated works” (2004, p. 132-133).

Berk further emphasizes that the decisions related to the content and form of the prefaces accompanying translated texts belonged to the Translation Bureau and the Ministry of Education; some of the prefaces were written by the President himself, İsmet İnönü and

by the Ministry of Education, Hasan-Âli Yücel (2004, p. 134). This demonstrates the importance the state attaches to translation and its undoubted usefulness in the modernization and progress of the country.

The Translation Bureau is an important pillar and reflection of the rapid transformation seen in the early republican era, and it has proceeded in parallel with developments in other functional systems. We cannot therefore consider the arts and/or literature system in isolation from other systems such as politics, law, or economy.

To have a closer look at the activities of the Translation Bureau from 1940 to 1966, which corresponds to a total of 26 years, more than 1000 literary, scientific, and philosophical works were translated (for detailed statistics, see Berk, 2004: p. 134-139). The first ten years were the most productive years of the Bureau: more than 600 translations were accomplished. The dominant source languages were ancient Greek, French, and German among many other mainly Western languages.

In addition to the source languages, and works and authors chosen to be translated, another significant factor is the Translation Bureau's overall translation strategy and its perspective on the translated texts. The main goal of translation activity in this period was to achieve modernization and create a new culture, which had begun with the Tanzimat movement but had failed in that period. Considering these goals, the fluency of the target texts, the use of correct Turkish, and the easy reading of the works were as important strategies as the selection of source texts. In this way, the texts would be easily read and adopted by the public, thus exporting the Western tradition of humanism to Türkiye.

The importance of the Translation Bureau, consisting in familiarizing Turkish readers with different literatures and humanist texts, is clearly defined by Yücel (2006):

The important place occupied by translation within Turkish enlightenment process is higher compared to other societies; this is closely linked to the conditions in this period and to the fact that it was supported by the state as a part of the educational reform.

The significant role of translation within the Turkish enlightenment process stands out prominently when compared to other societies. This distinction is intricately tied to the unique circumstances prevailing during this period and the active support it received from the state as an integral component of educational reform (Yücel, 2006). Translation served as a potent instrument for disseminating knowledge, fostering intellectual exchange, and propelling Türkiye toward modernization and cultural revitalization. The

concerted efforts by state authorities to promote translation initiatives reflected a forward-looking vision aimed at nurturing a more enlightened and globally engaged society. Consequently, translation emerged as a cornerstone of Türkiye's educational and cultural landscape, playing a pivotal role in shaping its trajectory towards enlightenment and modernity.

Undoubtedly, the Translation Bureau has made a substantial contribution to the enrichment of Türkiye's cultural capital. Through its translation endeavours spanning numerous years, coupled with translations conducted by private publishing entities, the Bureau facilitated the importation of Western intellectual and cultural paradigms into Türkiye. The legacy of these efforts, initiated over six decades ago, resonates through subsequent publishing congresses, notably the fourth congress in 1998 and the fifth in 2009. These gatherings underscored the imperative of translating Turkish literary works into foreign languages, prompting the establishment of a dedicated committee focused on promoting Turkish intellectual and literary products abroad (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 136). Following the 1990s, Türkiye witnessed a significant boost in its cultural self-assurance, prompting state officials to advocate for proactive measures to align with this newfound confidence.

3.2 TRANSLATION FROM TURKISH: SYSTEMIC "IRRITATION"

This section of the thesis embarks on a preliminary examination of the complex process involved in introducing Turkish source materials into the subsystems of France and the UK. It delves into the intricate decisions surrounding the translation of specific texts, seeking to elucidate the underlying motivations that drive these choices and exploring their far-reaching impacts on the receiving systems. Whether it be fiction, non-fiction, drama, or poetry, the vast spectrum of Turkish literature embodies a rich tapestry of cultural expression awaiting translation into English and/or French. Through a critical lens, the subsequent pages are dedicated to unravelling the myriad cultural, literary, and socio-political dynamics inherent in the translation process. By shining a spotlight on these complexities, this study aims to illuminate the transformative potential inherent in literary exchange, shedding light on the profound implications for cross-cultural communication and (mis)understanding between diverse societies.

Translation plays an intricate role in shaping and reshaping perceptions of Turkish identity on the international stage. Complex processes are involved in translation, from initial selection to final review, encompassing aspects such as funding, editing, publishing, marketing, and reviewing. Drawing upon Von Flotow and Nischik's assertion that "Translation is a deliberate activity and is therefore neither innocent nor accidental" in their introduction to *Translating Canada* (2007, p.2), translation may have a profound impact on the portrayal of identities abroad. Through translation, cultural nuances, historical contexts, and societal narratives are conveyed or transformed, influencing how identities are perceived and understood by foreign audiences. This reflection prompts an examination of the deliberate choices made in translation practices and their implications for the construction, reconstruction, or deconstruction of Turkish identity in global contexts.

Approaching translations of literary works from a sociological standpoint, it is commonly believed that they not only facilitate intercultural interaction but also offer insights into the socio-cultural dynamics of the societies involved. Based on the sociology of translation framework, this section aims to undertake a **comparative quantitative analysis of translations from Turkish into French and English between 1999 and 2008** – which will be complemented with a quantitative analysis in the following chapter. Translation is a crucial means of sharing literary texts across linguistic and cultural boundaries but is a complex process involving multiple actors when viewed sociologically. The examination on the processes, patterns, and outcomes of intercultural literary exchange by analysing translations from Turkish into two major Western languages is based on a data comprised of works translated from Turkish into French and English within the period of 1999-2008. By systematically compiling and categorizing these translations, it may be possible to identify trends in how Turkish literature is translated and represented in the Francophone and Anglophone spheres. Through a comparative approach, this study can provide insights into the selection of Turkish literary works and how these selections reflect similarities and differences in France and the UK, contributing to ongoing discussions in translation studies, comparative literature, and the sociology of culture.

3.2.1 Public Diplomacy as a Means of “Irritation”

In the contemporary geopolitical arena, characterized by intense competition and interconnectedness, nations worldwide, Türkiye included, employ public diplomacy as a strategic tool to navigate and thrive in this fiercely competitive global landscape. The significance of public diplomacy initiatives cannot be overstated, as they may influence the shaping of perceptions and the fostering of positive engagements with other nations. As Van Ham (2001, p. 2) aptly highlights, the absence of a favourable reputation or the presence of a negative one can significantly impede a state’s competitiveness on the international stage. Türkiye’s reputation within Europe serves as a case in point, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy has been explicitly referred to in Türkiye’s foreign policy approach and relevant official documents in the last 15-20 years. These concepts have permeated the country’s diplomatic efforts, especially after the start of the European Union candidacy process. Türkiye’s strategic cultural initiatives, which have gained momentum alongside its efforts to meet EU criteria, serve as implicit manifestations of its commitment to fostering international understanding and cooperation – at least for within the period under scrutiny. While the terminology surrounding public diplomacy may warrant elucidation within Türkiye’s official discourse, Canadian scholar Evan Potter’s definition provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the underlying principles at play. Potter’s definition underscores the deliberate effort by governments to influence public or elite opinion in other nations for strategic advantage, highlighting the multifaceted means through which national goals and interests are communicated to foreign audiences.

Simply put, public diplomacy is the effort by the government of one nation to influence the public or elite opinion of another nation to turn the policy of the target nation to advantage. [...] National goals and interests are communicated to foreign publics through a variety of means, including international broadcasting, cultivation of foreign journalists and academics, cultural activities, educational exchanges and scholarships, programmed visits and conferences, and publications. (2002, p. 3).

Given the inherent linguistic and cultural aspects of international communication, public diplomacy heavily relies on translation or interpretation. As Von Flotow notes, “Stories travel through translation” and are utilized for cultural diplomacy purposes, aiming to

wield soft power (2007, p. 9). However, only stories deemed relevant in the receiving system are selected, translated, and framed, while others are overlooked. This perception of stories travelling across borders is very much in line with the Luhmannian concept of communication, that is, the selection of the relevant information by the receiving system for its evolution at the time being (Luhmann, 1990, p.140). This suggests that the other option, the unmarked space, is not eliminated, remains open for future communication. Through various channels such as international broadcasting, cultural activities, and educational exchanges, Türkiye's engagement in public diplomacy becomes apparent, contributing to its broader diplomatic objectives and efforts to enhance its global standing. Apart from the key institutions such as the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, numerous other entities play important roles in Türkiye's public diplomacy landscape. The Presidency of Communications, established to oversee public diplomacy efforts, works closely with these institutions to ensure a unified approach to Türkiye's external communications. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism actively promotes Turkish culture abroad through cultural events and exhibitions showcasing its history and traditions.

Additionally, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Youth and Sports run educational and youth exchange programs to enhance cross-cultural understanding. The Presidency of Religious Affairs plays a key role in promoting Türkiye's religious heritage and values through global interfaith dialogue. TIKA implements development projects and humanitarian aid initiatives to strengthen Türkiye's global reputation as a responsible actor. The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities engages with the Turkish diaspora worldwide, while cultural institutions like the Yunus Emre Institute, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, and Anadolu Agency help disseminate Turkish culture, language, and news internationally. Together, these institutions form a comprehensive network dedicated to advancing Türkiye's interests and promoting mutual understanding globally.

3.2.1.1 Public Diplomacy Initiatives in Türkiye

Some of the prominent institutions and initiatives during the period under scrutiny and beyond are synthesized in the following table.

Table 5. Significant initiatives of the Turkish Republic in terms of public diplomacy

1992	<p>Establishment of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)</p> <p>Founded in 1992 under the auspices of the Turkish Government, TIKA was conceived to promote sustainable endeavours and initiatives aimed at advancing economic, social, and human development across nations, while also safeguarding mutual historical and cultural legacies. In the aftermath of the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, Türkiye emerged as the inaugural nation to extend recognition to the newly independent Turkic Republics in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Strengthened by a foundation of shared language, collective memory, and cultural ties, particularly with countries such as Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan, bilateral and regional relationships were fortified. Türkiye has regarded these nations as integral parts of a unified entity, underpinning a proactive diplomatic approach in the region spanning the past two decades (TIKA, 2024).</p>
1998	<p>4th National Publishing Congress in Türkiye</p> <p>During the 4th National Publishing Congress, Tahir-Gürçağlar (2015) highlighted the continued focus on translating Turkish literature into foreign languages, resulting in the formation of a specialized committee to promote Turkish intellectual and literary works internationally. Despite some discussions on translating major international works into Turkish, the main emphasis was on strategies to enhance the translation and dissemination of Turkish literature globally. The congress also stressed the significant role of private publishers in promoting Turkish literature on a global scale and recommended their active involvement in international book fairs, aligning linguistic activities with nationalistic objectives to bolster Türkiye's cultural influence worldwide (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, 136).</p>
2005	<p>Launch of the TEDA Project</p> <p>The initiation of the TEDA project points at Türkiye's endeavour to elevate Turkish literature on a global scale through facilitating its translation and dissemination across multiple languages. This project serves as a platform to</p>

	<p>highlight the depth and diversity of Turkish literary heritage, aiming to promote intercultural dialogue and amplifying Türkiye's cultural influence on a global scale (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, <i>TEDA nedir?</i>, 2024). Through TEDA, Turkish writers gain access to new readerships, thereby fostering mutual cultural exchange and comprehension. By facilitating the translation of Turkish literary creations, TEDA contributes to the enrichment of the global literary panorama with a plethora of voices from Türkiye, underscoring Türkiye's commitment to public diplomacy.²⁹</p>
2006	<p>Nobel Prize in Literature granted to Orhan Pamuk</p> <p>Renowned Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature fin 2006. Pamuk's deeply moving stories, exploring universal themes and connecting with readers worldwide, have received widespread acclaim. This prestigious award not only recognizes Pamuk's writing skills but also enhances the international reputation of Turkish literature.³⁰</p>
2006	<p>Beginning of International Literary Translation Workshops of Türkiye (TEDA)</p> <p>The translation workshops organized as part of the TEDA project in Türkiye conveys translators to translate Turkish literary works into various languages. These workshops aim to broaden the accessibility of Turkish literature and to provide translators with opportunities to enhance their grasp of Turkish language and culture while refining their translation abilities. Through fostering authenticity and facilitating intercultural dialogue, these workshops exemplify the commitment to elevating Turkish literature worldwide (for an overview of these workshops (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, <i>Türkiye'nin Edebi Çeviri Atölyeleri</i>, 2024).</p>
2007	<p>Establishment of the Yunus Emre Foundation</p>

²⁹ A more detailed overview of TEDA will be provided in the following pages.

³⁰ Further elaboration on Orhan Pamuk's Nobel Prize in Literature will be provided in the next chapter of the thesis.

	<p>The Yunus Emre Foundation operates as a government-affiliated entity committed to advancing a range of programs and initiatives aimed at not only amplifying but also advocating for Türkiye’s diverse cultural, historical, and artistic heritage (for more information Yunus Emre Foundation, n.d.). With a primary objective of fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation for the Turkish language both domestically and internationally, the foundation diligently works to highlight Türkiye’s unique cultural contributions on the global stage.</p>
2008	<p>“Turkey in all its colours”: Türkiye as the guest of honour at the Frankfurt Book Fair</p> <p>In 2008, Türkiye was honoured with the prestigious designation as the guest of honour at the renowned Frankfurt Book Fair, a significant occasion celebrated by literary enthusiasts and cultural experts worldwide. This invitation marked an important milestone for Türkiye. As the guest of honour, Türkiye had the unique opportunity to present its literary works, authors, and cultural achievements to an international audience, seeking to improve its position as a key player in the global literary landscape, hence the motto for the event “Turkey in all its Colours” (for activities and program, see Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007). The event provided a platform for Turkish writers, publishers, and artists to engage with their international counterparts, seeking to enlarge literary exchange, and forge meaningful connections that transcended geographical boundaries.</p>
2009	<p>5th National Publishing Congress in Türkiye</p> <p>The Fifth Publishing Congress in Türkiye marked a significant progress in the country’s literary sphere, providing a platform for discussion, collaboration, and partnership among industry professionals. Focused on the TEDA project, the congress aimed to showcase the creative initiatives directed towards promoting and translating Turkish literature to a broader international audience (Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği, 2011). Through emphasizing the crucial contribution of the TEDA project in increasing the global presence of Turkish literature, the congress underscored its importance in encouraging cross-cultural communication.</p>

2010	<p>Establishment of the Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship under the auspices of the Prime Ministry (Başbakanlık Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü)</p> <p>Public diplomacy, which has been increasingly emphasized since the 2000s, took on an official institutional form with the creation of the Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship within the Prime Ministry in 2010 (Çetin, 2022, p. 242). By establishing the Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship under the Prime Ministry, Türkiye institutionalized its public diplomacy efforts. The Coordinatorship operated under the auspices of the Prime Ministry until August 2018, at which point it was dissolved.</p> <p>The establishment of the Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship signified Türkiye’s recognition of the importance of public diplomacy in shaping its international relations and promoting its interests on the global stage. By creating a dedicated body within the government to oversee public diplomacy initiatives, Türkiye aimed to enhance its engagement with foreign audiences, improve its image abroad, and advance its diplomatic objectives through strategic communication and cultural exchange. Despite the termination of the Coordinatorship in 2018, Türkiye’s commitment to public diplomacy remains evident in its ongoing efforts to engage with international audiences and cultivate positive relationships with other countries.</p>
2010	<p>Istanbul: Capital of Culture</p> <p>Istanbul’s recognition as the “Capital of Culture” in 2010 was a significant milestone for both the city and Türkiye, acknowledging its rich historical heritage, diverse culture, and vibrant artistic community. This prestigious title highlighted Istanbul’s pivotal role in influencing global culture and contributing to the world’s cultural landscape as a bridge between East and West. With its iconic landmarks, lively bazaars, and dynamic arts scene, Istanbul attracted visitors worldwide and showcased its cultural richness through various events and exhibitions (for a detailed overview see Cançat, 2016).</p>
2013	<p>London Book Fair: Türkiye Market Focus</p>

	<p>Türkiye, under the guidance of the National Committee, was honoured as a “guest country” at the prestigious London Book Fair, which took place from the 15th to 17th of April in 2013. The country presented a rich and diverse cultural program that was organized in partnership with renowned organizations such as the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, Yunus Emre Institute, British Council, British Publishers Association, and Literature Across Frontiers (LAF) (British Council, 2013). A total of 29 Turkish publishing houses displayed their literary creations at the event and the 2013 program was enriched by the attendance of 20 esteemed Turkish writers, who actively participated in various discussions and events, further highlighting the country’s vibrant literary scene (British Council, 2013).</p>
2018	<p>Establishment of Presidential Communications Directorate, Public Diplomacy Department (Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı, Kamu Diplomasisi Dairesi Başkanlığı)</p> <p>Following the introduction of the Presidential Government System, a customized presidential system specifically designed for Türkiye, via a constitutional amendment in 2017 and its complete implementation during the 2018 elections, the Presidential Communications Directorate was established. The Communications Directorate, dedicated to enhancing Türkiye’s reputation, conducts synchronized communication efforts by implementing an integrated strategy across all state institutions. It collaborates with other entities that contribute positively to the “brand of Turkey” (Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı, 2018). As part of this initiative, the creation of the Public Diplomacy Department within the Directorate was announced. As detailed in Çetin’s research (2022, pp. 242-243), the Public Diplomacy Department aims to ensure accurate and coordinated communication of Türkiye’s initiatives to the international audience and seeks to enhance its global reputation and influence (Çetin, 2022, p. 251). This underscores the growing importance of soft power strategies for countries aiming to assert themselves on the international stage.</p>

The TEDA project, which will be discussed further, stands as the sole initiative directly tied to translation activities. However, before delving into its intricacies, it's important to provide some contextual background. Despite initial intentions to organize publishing congresses annually, there was a 36-year gap between the First Congress and the Second Congress in 1975 (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 130). During this time, there was acknowledgment and appreciation for the translation efforts led by the Translation Bureau, with desires for its continuation, particularly recalling the quality and intensity of translation activities in the 1940s but it wasn't until the 21st century that the need to support the exportation of Turkish cultural products into foreign languages was expressed, reflecting a growing cultural self-confidence (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 132). This delay in action can be attributed to the country's inward-looking vision, and exacerbated by the political upheaval following the military coup of 1980. The aftermath of the coup led to a culturally conservative yet economically liberal regime, fostering greater interaction with the international community and paving the way for Türkiye's entry into international trade, which significantly influenced the publishing landscape (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 132). The 4th National Publishing Congress in 1998 continued to emphasize the importance of translating Turkish works into foreign languages and established a separate committee for the promotion of Turkish intellectual and literary products abroad (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 136). The congress focussed on promoting the translation and publication of Turkish literature abroad and made demands on private publishers, seeking their increased involvement, spurred by the significant growth of the publishing sector throughout the 1990s (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 136).

The resurgence of a meticulous and explicit emphasis on translation found its way back onto the government's agenda half a century later (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 137). This revival coincided with a period where translation assumed a renewed political significance, marking a deliberate shift in its role. Unlike its previous function of instilling humanistic ideals and importing Western culture into Türkiye, the new objective centred on the promotion of Turkish culture and the amplification of Türkiye's global presence. This shift underscores a strategic manoeuvre aimed at advancing Türkiye's cultural identity and strengthening its influence on the international stage, reflecting broader geopolitical dynamics and national aspirations (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 138). Through

a focused approach to translation, the government seeks to assert Türkiye's cultural sovereignty while simultaneously positioning it as a formidable player in the global arena.

3.2.1.2 TEDA: Translation subvention project

The TEDA project, initiated in 2005, seven years following the 4th National Publishing Congress has been likened to the functions of the Translation Bureau, a project seeking to accumulate capital in which case “[t]ranslations have enabled the importing of central norms which decree and attest to modernity” (Casanova, 2010, p. 293). However, a notable distinction lies in TEDA's approach of reversing the direction of translations. This project signifies a renewed recognition by the Turkish government of translation's role in advancing a comprehensive global cultural and political strategy, seeking this time for “consecration”, that is, seeking for literary legitimacy on the international level (Casanova, 2010, p. 296).

Casanova, who explores the intricacies of the international literary system, examining its structure and underlying principles, argues that within this “World Republic of Letters” characterized by a hierarchical arrangement, the richest literary fields tend to be the oldest (Casanova, 2004, p. 82). This perspective, when applied to the Turkish context, sheds light on why the Turkish Government seeks to boost translations from Turkish into foreign languages: Turkish literature occupies a peripheral position in the World Republic of Letters, which finds itself among the newly emerging literary fields that are relatively behind other established national fields (Casanova, 2004, p. 83). This disparity goes back to the historical dominance of Persian and Arabic in the administrative and literary spheres of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish, the language of daily communication of the people, was not elevated to an official status until the establishment of the Republic. As the country's post-independence agenda prioritized a structural transformation in Türkiye, an unprecedented translation project was launched. The Translation Bureau became a key element of this transformation, and a series of language and educational reforms, coupled with the Bureau's initiatives, became an important component of the government's goal of modernizing Türkiye. In her article “Consecration and Accumulation of Literary Capital: Translation as Unequal Exchange”, Casanova further elaborates on the role of translation projects similar to those in Türkiye:

When the time gap between spaces is significant, translation is the only means of making up literary time. In other words, it is an instrument of ‘temporal acceleration’: translation allows the whole of a national field which is temporarily very distant from the literary centres to enter into the world literary competition, by revealing the state of (aesthetic) struggles at the literary meridian. (2010, p. 294)

This is precisely where the mission of the Translation Bureau in the Republican era lies. Casanova emphasizes that translation is not only an important tool for the accumulation of capital in the struggle for literary legitimacy, but also an important activity for consecration. Indeed, the translation of texts from a language relatively distant from the centre into a central language is one of the ways in which the global field is strengthened. Thus, the process of translation serves not only as a means of bridging linguistic divides, but also as a mechanism for challenging and reshaping existing power dynamics in the global literary landscape.

Translation, in its essence, encapsulates the exchange of cultural products between linguistic groups, thereby rendering them accessible to audiences beyond their original cultural context. This dual process of importation and exportation lies at the heart of foreign affairs policy, particularly within the realm of public diplomacy. Within this framework, translation serves as a strategic tool for nations to cultivate relationships, shape perceptions, and advance their interests on the global stage. The TEDA project is a concrete example where translation is employed as a deliberate instrument for diplomatic endeavours. In the case of Türkiye, the aim is clear: to craft, project, or enhance a favourable image of Türkiye on the international platform.

The TEDA project, essentially functioning as a translation and publication subsidy initiative, was inaugurated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic in 2005. The Ministry defines the TEDA project on its website as a dynamic platform aimed at facilitating the translation and publication of Turkish literary works into various languages, thus providing a gateway for global audiences to immerse themselves in the rich tapestry of Turkish literature and cultural expression. By harnessing the power of translation, TEDA endeavours to amplify the voices of Turkish authors on the global stage.

In the contemporary world, the blending of various cultures and civilizations; has led the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to establish a publication policy in accordance with this process. It has introduced the principal authors of Turkish culture, art and literature to the

world and paved the way to foreign readers to read Turkish works in their native languages. TEDA which is essentially a translation and publication subvention project was vitalized in 2005 for the wider dissemination of Turkish culture through the translation, publication or promotion of Turkish cultural, artistic and literary work outside of Turkey. Within the framework of TEDA aiming to share Turkish cultural, artistic and literary spirit with the readers outside of Turkey in their languages; the ministry provides subventions to international institutions, enterprises, companies, foundations and publishing firms which will publish such books. (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2024)

On the TEDA website, in addition to its mission statement, detailed information about the requirements and criteria for applying for funding can be found. These guidelines lay out the strict standards established by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, ensuring that the chosen translations align with the overall goals of the TEDA project. Visitors to the site can also access a comprehensive list that documents the titles of books that have benefited from TEDA support, offering valuable insights into the diverse array of Turkish literature shared worldwide. This list not only presents the literary works that have been translated and published with TEDA's assistance but also indicates the countries where these books have resonated. Furthermore, essential details such as the publisher's name and the translator are provided for each publication, acknowledging the key contributors involved in bringing these literary gems to an international audience.

Since its establishment in 2005, TEDA has made significant progress in advancing the translation and publication of Turkish literary works, with a total of 3.110 translations receiving support as of April 2024. The project's growth trajectory is evident, with a notable rise from 39 translations funded in its first year to an impressive 202 translations by 2007. Remarkably, TEDA's impact spans across 89 countries worldwide, representing various cultures and linguistic backgrounds. This broad geographic and linguistic range underscores the project's dedication to promoting Turkish literature on a global platform. By seeking for a "better understanding" worldwide, the notion of plurality becomes very significant for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, as acknowledged on the Frankfurt Book Fair website when Türkiye was the guest of Honour and as expressed in the motto "Turkey in all its colours" launched for the fair:

These days we experience different attempts to divide the world: The conflicts between Muslims and Christians, various monoethnic identities are all represented as if they were the unchangeable fate of the world's countries. Türkiye has also been under close scrutiny

for a long time due to her relations with the European Union. The discussions lead to the impression that both the European Union and Türkiye are one-dimensional and monolithic entities. It seems to be that there are just two evident paths to walk on and that there is a line of division between Türkiye and Europe.

Yet Türkiye has many other options beyond this either/or. The Republic of Türkiye, founded on a history of several hundred years of cultural coexistence, carries today the legacy of this incredible cultural richness. A closer look at literature, music, architecture and arts in Türkiye reveals the influences of the Balkans, the Arabic and Persian traits and the contribution of the different ethnic and religious groups within the country. One can easily discern how all these aspects enrich and further each other, and how closely they are interweaved.

As we are opening our culture to the world, it is of no use to discuss which aspect is really Turkish and which a hybrid. We should respect and embrace this historical legacy of cultural diversity with gratitude. We should not adopt an ignorant and defensive attitude and deny this historic exchange and what we have in common. We have to learn to accept and appreciate the diversity we carry in us. This legacy is still alive in the Turkey of today, more than in any other country. If we can accept the richness and the plurality of identities as a pivotal power in our culture by pushing them into the foreground, we will be liberated from narrowmindedness; this will lead to a greater awareness of the current potential of our country. (Engin, 2013)

It is emphasized in the above passage that the global landscape attempts to divide the world along fault lines like religious conflicts and monoethnic identities, but Türkiye's rich cultural heritage showcases diversity from various influences. Rather than being viewed in a binary way, Turkish authorities point that Türkiye's history of coexistence with different cultures should be acknowledged and celebrated. Embracing its cultural diversity and exploring commonalities with other cultures can lead to a broader understanding of Türkiye's identity and potential. The passage suggests that the Ministry values the diversity of identities within Türkiye, emphasizing the significance of showcasing this diversity internationally to demonstrate the cultural richness of Türkiye.



Figure 3. Turkey in all its colours

Türkiye's logo designed by Bülent Erkmén for the Frankfurt Book Fair 2008

The passage and the logo “Turkey in all its colours” seem to also suggest that, in today’s globalized world, the focus should be on presenting a range of information to challenge prevailing narratives within a society in order to promote “better understanding”, in other words, a more positive image as compared to the way Europe has represented the Turkish identity. The more diverse the representations, the more effectively a culture or group can be portrayed. Each individual has a unique perspective and understanding of ‘reality’, so it is important to create a conducive environment for sharing these diverse viewpoints. This is the goal that TEDA and the Turkish government aim to accomplish through translation. However, it is important to note that while translation is a powerful tool for conveying a variety of narratives across borders,

the outcome of the [translation] process can never truly be controlled. Once a translation is dispatched into the new culture, it takes on a life of its own; it has been set free, to some extent, from its national and other source affiliations and has become a hybrid, a world traveller, more cosmopolitan than the home-grown that was the original text. The capacity

to provide such new life to a literary work may be the greatest achievement of translation. (Von Flotow, 2007b, p. 25)

This suggests that the environment, in this case Türkiye, cannot have full control over the reception of the translations – even in cases where translation is financed by an intender, by the environment itself. The receiving system, being self-referential, will communicate according to its own code and will therefore draw its own distinctions while observing its environment and itself. It seems that, the strength of Turkish writing as advocated by the Turkish authorities has been its *metissage*, in other words, its hybridity. This could clarify why the prevailing narratives in European media, such as “Türkiye is different/unique” and “Türkiye is situated between the West and the East”, are adopted by Turkish authorities and highlighted as assets of Turkish identity. Researchers studying Turkish-EU relations have noted that during the EU integration process, Turkey has begun to portray itself as Eastern or as a bridge, drawing on the discourse of the “alliance of civilizations” (Baştürk Akça and Yılmaztürk, 2007).

Research within the sociology of translation field indicates that peripheral languages often receive translations of works only after they have been translated into central languages (Heilbron, 1999; Casanova, 2004). This observation applies to both the Translation Bureau and the TEDA projects. For instance, classics translated into Turkish during the 1940s were frequently already available in more central languages. Similarly, translations of Orhan Pamuk’s novels into French and English preceded their translation into Slavic languages and Korean, despite Pamuk receiving the Nobel Prize, which undoubtedly enhanced his global recognition. A similar pattern can be observed with the works of another Turkish author, Elif Şafak, whose novels were first published in English, German, and French before being translated into other languages. The TEDA project seeks to address this linguistic-literary inequality as defined by Casanova (2002) by initially targeting both central and peripheral languages. Through this strategic approach, TEDA aims to enhance the accessibility and dissemination of Turkish literature across various linguistic regions and ultimately challenge existing hierarchies in global literary circulation.

The concept of linguistic-literary inequality highlights how the literary value of a text, as well as the opportunities available to its authors, are influenced by the language in which it was originally written (Heilbron, 1999, p. 434). This inequality not only impacts the

reception and appreciation of literary works but also affects the visibility and opportunities for writers from linguistic backgrounds outside dominant languages. Consequently, linguistic-literary inequality underscores broader issues such as cultural hegemony and linguistic imperialism in the global literary landscape.

Despite their differing historical origins and dynamics, both the Translation Bureau and TEDA share fundamental similarities. Both initiatives are rooted in the strategic goals of the Turkish government and form integral parts of Türkiye's broader public diplomacy efforts. They signify Türkiye's commitment to enhancing its global presence and engaging with the international community through translation. Assessing the impact of these endeavours, especially within the TEDA initiatives, regarding the dissemination of translated works to readers, poses a considerable challenge, requiring comprehensive quantitative and qualitative research that surpasses the scope of individual investigation. The historical overview of two major projects, that is the Translation Bureau and the TEDA project (as well as the initiatives surrounding the latter, such as the participation to international book fairs), indicate the significance of translation for modern Turkish culture and politics: "Translation is still considered a tool, but this time the intention is not to use translation to plan Turkish culture; translation is rather seen as a tool for national image building and asserting a position for Turkey in an increasingly global cultural market" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015, p. 142).

3.2.2 Translations from Turkish into French and English

The prevailing scholarship on translations from Turkish has predominantly focused on dissecting textual and extratextual elements, including covers, prefaces, and author interviews, to gain insights into the translation process. The present analysis introduces a fresh perspective that diverges from the traditional text-based approach. Rather than scrutinizing specific textual intricacies, it focusses on the broader context in which translations occur. By prioritizing the environment in which texts are situated, I aim to shed light on the surrounding factors that shape translation processes and lay the groundwork for the next chapter of the dissertation that delve into textual and paratextual analyses.

To achieve this objective, the narrow scope of individual texts must be transcended and a holistic view of the translation phenomenon must be adopted. This involves considering a range of socio-cultural, political, and economic influences that are impacted by translation practices. By these broader contextual factors, our understanding of how translations from Turkish not only reflect linguistic nuances but also embody larger societal trends and dynamics can be deepened. This contextual approach promises to enrich our knowledge of translation practices and open avenues for further exploration in the field.

This section of the thesis explores the effects of political developments and public diplomacy initiatives on translations from Turkish to French and English during the decade following Türkiye's approval for EU candidacy (1999-2008). Despite the separate norms and dynamics of the political and cultural realms, there can be a positive impact on public diplomacy at the intersection of these fields. However, the validity of these findings for this study can only be assessed through further examination. Seeking to investigate individual and collective language preferences in translation, this research delves into bibliographic data related to translations in France and England. Central to this scholarly endeavour is a pivotal research question: How do individual translation decisions culminate in overall translation policies and preferences?

To provide responses to this inquiry, it is essential to conduct qualitative analysis supported by trustworthy statistical data. The literature on world translation flows tend to emphasize (see Heilbron, 1999 and Brisset and Colon Rodriguez, 2020) that the UNESCO database meant to gather data on all translated books in the world is not very reliable since it remains unclear to what extent they are actually comparable. For instance, even for single countries they exhibit very improbable fluctuations. Although "[t]he Index's forte lies in the fact that it indicates the author, translator, publishing references for both the original and translation, the country of origin, the source and target languages as well as subjects treated according to detailed categories" (Brisset and Colon Rodriguez, 2020, p. 231), the Index relies on information provided by the various countries, which sometimes may be lacking or completely missing for some years. Therefore, I will use the data on Index Translationum in an indicative manner to highlight structural patterns. Relying solely on UNESCO's Index Translationum database may not suffice for the purpose of the present research. Therefore, translation bibliographies for the countries

under study were compiled as an initial step (these bibliographies are provided in the dissertation's appendix). The bibliography of translations from Turkish to French between 1999 and 2008 was compiled using the Electre online database for French publishers. Any gaps in the data were filled by cross-referencing with information from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), the list of translations under the TEDA project, and online bookstores. Similarly, for the bibliography of translations from Turkish to English during the same period, I relied on translation bibliographies published by Paker and Yılmaz up to 2004, and by Horzum and Ağır covering the years 2004-2008. These bibliographies were cross-checked with data from The British Library, the TEDA project translation list, and online bookstores to ensure accuracy and completeness.

Following an examination of the role of translation in the development of Turkish literature domestically and internationally, this study will proceed with quantitative analysis: (1) Reviewing bibliographies of translations from Turkish to French and English over a decade, creating tables to depict translation volumes and trends, and (2) identifying similarities and differences in the translation contexts of France and England from a comparative standpoint.

According to Abraham de Swaan proponent of a sociological hierarchy of the languages of the world, about a hundred 'central' languages have the privilege of being used in education, law and administration, media, industry, or technology, unlike the 'peripheral' languages, which nevertheless constitute 98% of all languages and "are used by less than 10 per cent of humankind" (2001, p. 4). Supercentral languages are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili (De Swaan, 2001, p.4). The 'hypercentral' language "that holds the entire constellation together is, of course, English", which today "is the language of global communication" and is "so to speak at the centre of the twelve solar language systems, at the hub of the linguistic galaxy" (De Swaan, 2001, p. 6).

In the light of statistical data representing international translation movements, one of the most striking results is that the asymmetrical positioning of languages is reflected on translation flows between languages. Similar to the international language system, the global translation system essentially works on a hierarchical basis, classifying languages as central, semi-peripheral or peripheral. Basically, a language has a more central position in the international translation network if it accounts for a larger proportion of the total

number of books translated worldwide (Heilbron, 1999, p. 433). The data confirm that English is the hyper-central language in the global translation system. Immediately following English are languages with supranational characteristics. These include French, German, Spanish and Arabic. In line with the sociological language hierarchy proposed by Abraham de Swaan (2001), about a hundred “central” languages have the advantage of being used in education, legal systems, government, media, industry and technology, and these characteristics distinguish them from “peripheral” languages. These peripheral languages are used by less than 10% of the global population, although they account for 98% of all languages.

When we classify languages according to their centrality, one of the most striking observations is that translations tend to flow from the centre to the periphery (Heilbron, 1999, p. 435). Even if translations are nowadays mostly done directly from the original language, the translation of any work into a central language is an extremely important leap. When a book is translated into a central language by a reputable publisher, it will immediately attract the attention of publishers worldwide (Heilbron, 1999, p. 436). Moreover, in terms of translation studies, the repercussions of centre-periphery relations can be grouped under four headings. The extent to which these reflections are valid in the present case study, which covers translations from Turkish into French and English between 1999 and 2008, will be evaluated after the presentation of the data stemming from translation bibliographies.

1. Centrality and variety: The central position of a language in the global system significantly affects the diversity of genres translated from that language. In other words, the more central a language is, the more diverse the works translated from that language are expected to be (Heilbron, 1999, p. 438). For instance, “[b]ook statistics in the Netherlands distinguish 33 categories of books, ranging from ‘religion’ and ‘law’ to ‘prose’ and ‘history’” and “[o]nly the translations from the most central language, English, are represented in all 33 categories” (Heilbron, 1999, p. 438).

2. The ratio of translated works to original works: In the international translation system, the percentage of translated works to original works tends to be lower in the more centralized languages. Less than 5% of published books in the UK and the USA are translations, compared to around 10-12% in France (Heilbron, 1999, p. 439). The ratio of translated works to original works are thus explained as follows: “The more central the

cultural production of a country is, the more it serves as an example to other countries, and the less it is itself concerned with the cultural production from other countries.” (Heilbron, 1999, p. 439).

3. Comparison between languages: When conducting an analysis of translations into a specific language, it is imperative to expand the pool of source as well as target languages under scrutiny. By incorporating a broader array of languages, the statistical data becomes more robust and facilitates more meaningful comparisons. This approach not only enhances the depth of analysis but also ensures a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of translation across linguistic boundaries.

4. Centre-periphery relationship: Works, in general, tend to be transferred to peripheral languages only after they have been translated into central languages. The translation of any author’s work into centrally located languages contributes to the accumulation of symbolic capital by making the author more visible in the international system. The level of symbolic capital, defined as the resources available to a private or legal person on the basis of prestige or recognition, and serving as the value possessed within a culture, “depends both on the accumulation of literary space and on the continuous production of new literary works” (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 161). For international literary or translation systems, symbolic capital is determined by the global position of a literary field. Languages with high symbolic capital are translated into other languages at higher rates. Translation from languages with low symbolic capital is much less than from the dominant languages in the centre.

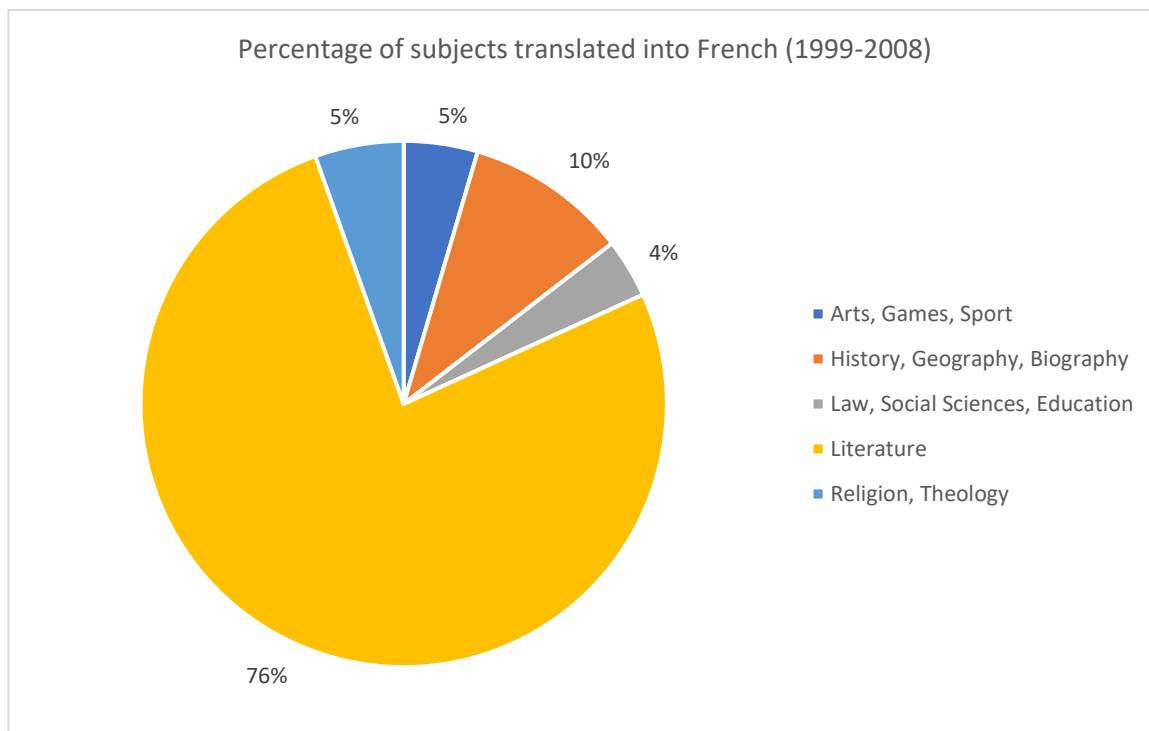


Figure 4. Percentage of subjects in French translations

The chart illustrating the percentage distribution of subjects translated from Turkish to French between 1999 and 2008 provides valuable insights into the literary and cultural exchange between Türkiye and French-speaking audiences. The data reveals a strong emphasis on literature, which accounted for 76% of the translations during this period, indicating a substantial interest in Turkish literary works such as novels and poetry. This highlights literature as a primary medium for introducing Turkish culture and ideas to French-speaking readers.

While literature dominated the translations, other genres also appeared, albeit with smaller percentages. History, geography, and biography made up 10% of the translations, reflecting an interest in understanding Turkish history and cultural geography. The genres of law, social sciences, and education represented 4% of the translations, suggesting a moderate interest in academic and policy-related works. Additionally, arts, games, and sports accounted for 5% of the translations, indicating a specialized interest in Turkish cultural aspects. Religion and theology, comprising 5% of the translations, reflected an interest in Türkiye's religious landscape and Islamic scholarship.

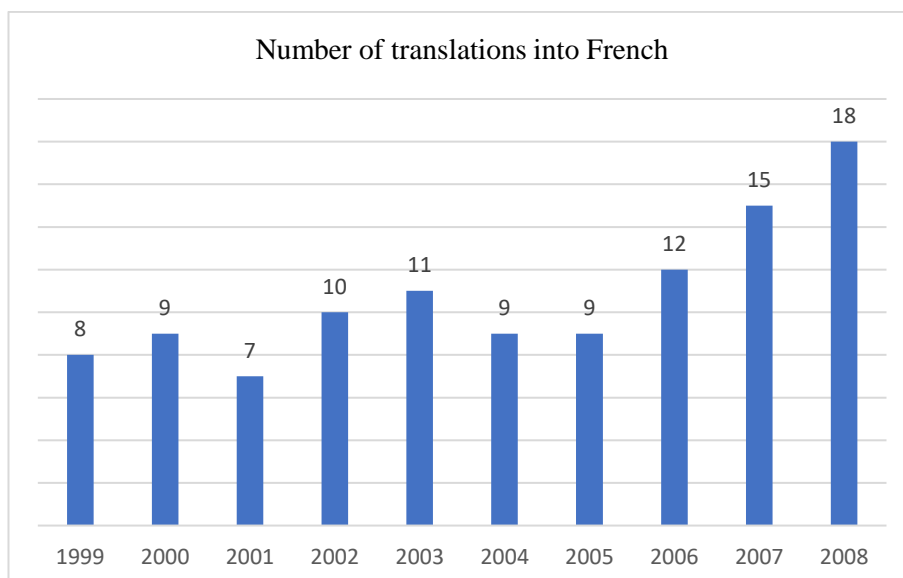


Figure 5. Translations from Turkish into French (1999-2008)

This graphic provides an overview of the translations from Turkish into French spanning the decade from 1999 to 2008. Over this period, the number of translated books experienced fluctuations, with annual numbers ranging from 7 to 18. Despite these variations, there is an overall upward trend in translation figures, indicating a growing interest in Turkish literature within the French market. Particularly noteworthy is the increase in translations observed from 2006 to 2008, with the number of translated works nearly doubling from 9 to 18 during this timeframe. In total, the decade saw a total of 108 translations (inclusive of reprints), reflecting a substantial output of Turkish literary works entering the French-speaking domain.

The notable surge in translations from 2006 to 2008 suggests a heightened attention to Turkish literature among French readers, publishers, and literary circles during that period. This upswing could be attributed to various factors, including concerted efforts to promote Turkish literature on a global scale or evolving perspectives and interests regarding Türkiye within the international literary community. While these quantitative insights offer valuable information, a deeper qualitative analysis is imperative to unravel the underlying drivers behind this phenomenon. Conducting surveys, interviews, and engaging with key stakeholders such as publishers, editors, translators, and critics can provide nuanced insights into the motivations and dynamics influencing the translation of Turkish literary works into French during this period.

These statistics shed light on the translation landscape involving languages that hold a more dominant position in the global literary sphere compared to Turkish. Despite this context, the translation data reveals a noticeable disparity in the volume of Turkish literary works translated into French when juxtaposed with translations from languages of higher prominence. For instance, the translation dynamics into English and French during the period from 1999 to 2008 showcase a thriving exchange of literary content across cultural borders. According to the data from the Index Translationum, in France, a significant total of 62,526 translations from English to French underscores the widespread influence and popularity of English publications within the French publishing industry. Similarly, the translation count of German works into French stands at 7,056, highlighting the substantial presence of German cultural content in the French literary landscape.

Additionally, the numbers of translations from Arabic to French (929) and from Russian to French (1,099) signify a considerable demand for Arabic and Russian literature in the French translation market, surpassing largely the figures for Turkish translations. These statistics accentuate the strong dominance of English in France. English not only holds the top position as the primary source language for translations in France but also maintains a leading role on the global scale. English is followed by French, German, and Russian on the top source languages, while Turkish ranks 35th on the list.

The comparative analysis of translation numbers across various source languages into French underscores the linguistic and cultural influences that shape the publishing landscape in France. While English retains a formidable presence, and German, Arabic, and Russian works also enjoy significant interest, the relatively lower count of Turkish translations emphasizes the need to further explore the factors influencing the translation and reception of Turkish works in France. Through an analysis of these figures alongside qualitative research and contextual investigations, a more profound comprehension of the dynamics in the translation field can be attained.

A closer look at the bibliography of translations from Turkish to French between 1999 and 2008 reveals that renowned literary personalities such as Nedim Gürsel, Orhan Pamuk, Nazım Hikmet, Enis Batur, and Sabahattin Ali are frequently represented among the works translated. This emphasizes their enduring popularity and importance within both Turkish and French literary communities, highlighting their continued relevance and influence beyond national boundaries. Moreover, the inclusion of lesser-known or

emerging writers in the translated repertoire reflects a deliberate endeavour to showcase the diverse voices and fresh perspectives emerging within Turkish literature, enriching the literary landscape for French readers. The reissuing of specific books or multiple editions suggests a consistent interest and request among French readers. It is significant to observe that the works of authors like Orhan Pamuk are recurrently published, confirming their enduring attractiveness.

It is noteworthy that the translation of Turkish literary works into French not only serves to make them accessible to readers in France but also extends their reach to a broader audience across Francophone regions. Themes spanning historical narratives, social critique, identity exploration, and nuanced portrayals of human experiences emerge prominently in these translated works, resonating deeply with both Turkish and French audiences. These thematic threads not only illuminate universal facets of the human condition but also offer distinctive insights into Turkish cultural nuances and societal dynamics.

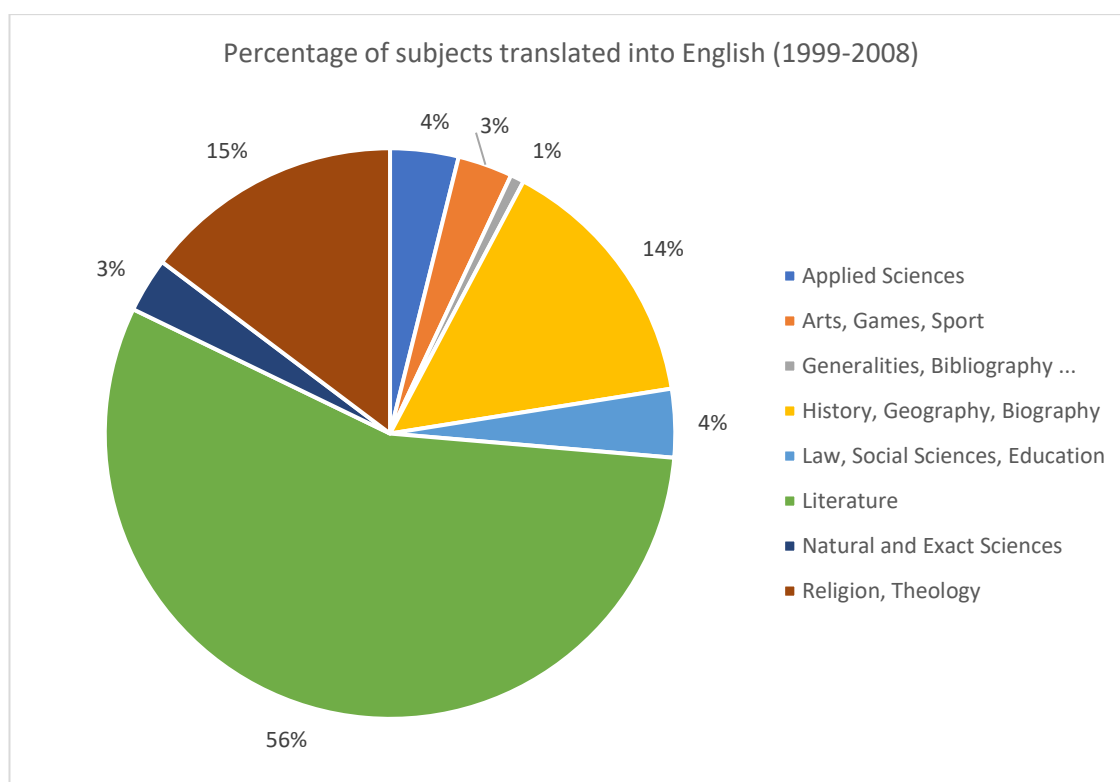


Figure 6. Percentage of subjects in English translations

The chart illustrating the percentage distribution of subjects translated from Turkish to English between 1999 and 2008 reveals a significant emphasis on literature, which accounted for 56% of the total translations. This dominance underscores a strong interest in Turkish literary works, including novels, poetry, and other forms of creative expression, serving as a primary vehicle for cultural exchange and sharing Turkish narratives with English-speaking audiences. In addition to literature, translations in history, geography, and biography (14%) indicate a curiosity about Türkiye's historical context, cultural geography, and notable figures, offering readers insights into the country's heritage. Genres such as arts, games, and sports (15%) further showcase the diverse aspects of Turkish culture that appealed to English-speaking readers, ranging from visual arts to recreational activities, reflecting a comprehensive engagement with Turkish society and lifestyle.

Furthermore, the translations in the natural and exact sciences, law, social sciences, and education (each at 4%) demonstrate a moderate interest in Türkiye's scientific contributions, legal systems, and educational practices, fostering scholarly exchanges and knowledge sharing in these fields. The inclusion of specialized categories like applied sciences, generalities, bibliography, and library sciences (each at 3%) presents a focused interest in practical applications of knowledge and information organization. Although religious and theological works accounted for only 1% of the translations, the representation of Türkiye's religious landscape and Islamic scholarship signified a nuanced engagement with the country's diverse religious traditions. Overall, the chart reflects a diverse array of translated genres that collectively offer a holistic portrayal of Türkiye's cultural, historical, scientific, and intellectual heritage to English-speaking audiences during the specified period.

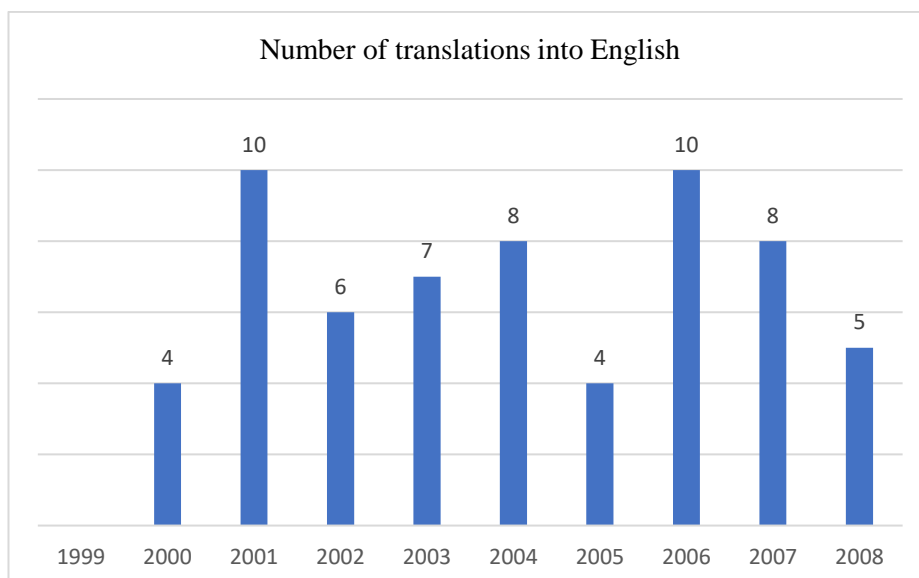


Figure 7. Translations from Turkish into English (1999-2008)

This graphic provides an overview of translations from Turkish to English during the period spanning from 1999 to 2008. Throughout this decade, fluctuations in translation numbers are notable, with the annual count varying between 4 and 10 translations. It is worth noting the absence of any identified translations in 1999, followed by a partial increase in 2001, where the number of translated works surged from 0 to 4 and then to 10. Subsequent years witnessed further fluctuations, with translation figures per year hovering between 6 and 8. In total, 62 titles were translated from Turkish to English over the ten-year period, representing nearly half the volume of translations into French during the same timeframe. While translations into French showed a slight but consistent increase, particularly from 2006 onwards, a contrasting trend is observed in translations into English, which displayed a steady decline since 2006.

Furthermore, data from Index Translationum sheds light on the translation landscape in the UK, indicating a significant demand for French publications, with a substantial count of 2,654 translations from French to English. This underscores a heightened interest in French publications compared to Turkish works. Additionally, translations from German to English and Russian to English amounted to 2,233 and 546, respectively, reflecting a steady flow of German and Russian works reaching English-speaking audiences. The total number of translations into English from French and German, languages occupying similar positions in the international language hierarchy, align closely. In contrast, the tally of translations from Turkish to English remained notably modest compared to more

central languages such as German, Russian, and French. These findings affirm the hypothesis suggesting a correlation between a language's centrality and the volume of translations from that language.

Upon a closer look to the bibliography of translations from Turkish to English spanning the decade between 1999 and 2008, a vivid panorama of authors and their works unfolds. Renowned literary figures such as Orhan Kemal, İlhan Berk, Aziz Nesin, Orhan Pamuk, and Buket Uzuner take a central position, their prominence stemming from their revered status within Turkish literary field. However, juxtaposed against translations into French, a discernible pattern emerges, revealing a notable scarcity in translations of works authored by individuals occupying more peripheral positions within the Turkish literary landscape. While translations from Turkish into French paint a more expansive tableau, showcasing a slightly more diverse array of authors like Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, Latifi, Aslı Erdoğan, and Murathan Mungan, among others; it is worth noting that a significant ratio of authors translated into English occupy central and celebrated positions within Turkish contemporary literature, further underscoring the more limited representation of Turkish literary voices in the English-speaking realm.

In essence, the compiled bibliographies serve as a testament to the tepid relation between Turkish and English literary spheres, shedding light on the asymmetrical dynamics at play within the global translation milieu. A comparative examination of translation endeavours from Turkish to English vis-à-vis Turkish to French reveals a relative degree of disparity in both the quantity and diversity of translations. Furthermore, the prevalent inclusion of canonical figures within Turkish literature among those translated into English hints at a deeper imbalance in the portrayal of Turkish literary heritage within English-speaking audiences.

3.2.3 Concluding Remarks

The above comparative research aimed to broaden our understanding of the importation of Turkish literature in European markets, seeking to shed light on the factors that may influence the level of interest in this literature. By comparing translation activities into French and English, I tried to identify common trends and disparities, and assess the extent to which established theories in the field of TS apply to translations from Turkish.

This comparative analysis, hoping to contribute to the ongoing discourse on the global circulation of literary works and the impact of translation on cultural exchange, suggest that in terms of Turkish-European relations, it is difficult to say whether political interest is translated into a cultural interest or vice versa. In SST terms, the structural coupling between the political functional system and the literary functional system is not strong enough to create an irritation. Indeed, communication is not a process of “transmission”, communication does not transmit “messages or information from a sender to a receiver”:

The metaphor of transmission locates what is essential about communication in the act of transmission, in the utterance. It directs attention and demands for skillfulness onto the one who makes the utterance. But the utterance is nothing more than a selection proposal, a suggestion. Communication emerges only to the extent that this suggestion is picked up, that its stimulation is processed. (Luhmann, 1990, p. 139)

The statements used in the description of TEDA – “better image” / “better understanding” – seek to “irritate” the elites of the receiving systems, to use Luhmann’s (2012, p. 67) word, and demonstrate that Türkiye is aware of the widespread negative attitude and perception of Turks/Türkiye in Europe. However, even if Türkiye seeks to have influence on the information selected, the second and third phase of communication relies mostly on the self-referential dynamics of the receiving system. How the selected information enters the meaning horizon of possibilities of the system and how it is understood/misunderstood remains out of the direct control of the environment, that is, Türkiye.

Exploring the dynamics of centre-periphery relationships within the field of TS offers a nuanced comprehension of the complexities of translational communication and its broader socio-cultural implications. Focusing on translations from Turkish to French and English during the period of 1999 to 2008, the above analysis was informed by established theoretical frameworks that elucidate the complexities of centre-periphery dynamics in the realm of translation practices. This sought to shed light on the intricate relationship between the concept of a centre and the multitude of diversity present within the global translation system, underscoring how a language’s centrality influences the types of genres that are translated from it. While novels and poetry anthologies are prevalent in translations from Turkish to French and English, there is a notable lack of representation of non-literary genres in both language pairs, indicating a limitation in the diversity of

translated materials both in the French and British subsystems. The dominance of content flowing from the periphery to the centre also contributes to the constrained variety in the types of translated works available. Moreover, the bibliographic data reveals a pronounced lack of interaction between Turkish-French and Turkish-English language pairs compared to translations involving languages such as German, Arabic, or Russian, highlighting the uneven dynamics within the global translation landscape. This insight prompts further reflection on the structural inequalities and power dynamics at play in the international circulation of translated literary works.

Why literature dominates over other genres in translation activities from Turkish into French or English? Why the other genres are not? While one would be inclined to respond affirmatively, it is important to remember that the processes involved in publishing other genres, such as social sciences and humanities, are influenced by other functional systems, such as education and science. Thus, to offer a nuanced response, in the case of the scientific system, translation is not always necessary to include research from Turkish scholars since prominent researchers from Türkiye publish directly in central language such as English French or German. Even if interlingual translation is not always necessary, it would not be legitimate to assert that exchange in humanities, social sciences do not exist. This can only point to the fact that exchange and or communication between systems does not occur only through interlingual translation, but it can also occur in other forms of communication.

When examining translations from Turkish into English and Turkish into French, a noticeable divergence emerges, with translations into English exhibiting lower volume and a more limited range of authors and works. Of particular significance is the prevalence of translations of works by prominent figures in Turkish literature in English, indicating a concentrated impact within this sphere. This observation underscores the need to delve deeper into the underlying factors shaping these translation patterns, such as market demands, cultural perceptions, and the role of literary agents and publishers, to further elucidate the dynamics at play in the dissemination of Turkish literature in English-speaking regions.

The comparison of translation rates between centralized and non-centralized languages reveals a significant variation in the ratios of translated works to original works. Centralized languages, such as French, tend to have lower translation rates (around 10-

12%) compared to non-centralized languages like English, which may see rates drop below 5%. This disparity provides valuable insight into the anticipated higher number of translations from Turkish into French compared to English, as evidenced by both academic research and empirical data. It highlights the crucial role of language centrality in shaping translation dynamics, underscoring the need to consider these factors when examining the flow of translated works from a non-central language such as Turkish to a central language like French or English.

The asymmetry in the representation of translations from Turkish literature in both France and England highlights the substantial obstacles faced by Turkish literary works in achieving visibility in the global translation landscape. Despite Türkiye's initiation of the EU candidacy process in 1999, there has not been a notable increase in translation efforts, indicating that the international translation system operates relatively independently of geopolitical developments. Moreover, despite initiatives such as the TEDA project, which aimed to promote public diplomacy through translation and was implemented in 2005, the impact on translation activities in France and England has been limited. Post-2005, the growth in translation activities has been minimal, with the UK even experiencing a decline in translations. These trends underscore the complexities involved in increasing the presence of Turkish literature in major Western markets, apart from a couple of highly translated Turkish authors, and suggest the need for more comprehensive and sustained efforts to elevate its visibility and accessibility on a global scale.

CHAPTER IV

EUROPE'S OBSERVATION OF TRANSLATIONS FROM TURKISH

The word 'translation' comes, etymologically, from the Latin for 'bearing across'. Having been borne across the world, we are translated men [and women].

It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation;

I cling, obstinately to the notion that something can also be gained.

Salman Rushdie (Imaginary Homelands, 1991)

Introductory Points

- This chapter focuses on Europe as a self-referential system, which implies that the system's self-production (i.e., autopoiesis) determines the system's capacity to interact with its environment (Türkiye, in the present context).
- Since Europe is considered a communication system in this thesis, this chapter suggests that it operates through the 'European/non-European' binary code. In this context, the chapter reiterates the Luhmannian view that autopoietic communication systems are differentiated by their binary codes, which regulate the communication systems (i.e., the construction of their distinction, their operations, and information processing, and so forth).
- The chapter further sees Europe as an observer in the Luhmannian sense because the European system systematically makes distinction(s) to construct the identity of the Other, which is in the present case, the Turkish identity, and translation as a "boundary phenomenon" that separates the system from its environment while occasionally connecting the former with the latter for the purposes of communication.
- Irritations, from a sociological point of view, originate from an internal comparison of distinct identities with the system's own potentialities. Anything from the foreign news to the translation and paratextual reception of the foreign authors' works on the global book market may be considered an irritation for a

self-referential system. Therefore, the European system's self-observations on Türkiye influence how it continuously (re)constructs the Turkish identity.

- Mass media serves as an autopoietic system that may cause irritation in the other autopoietic communication systems (e.g., Europe) through the selection and reframing of the translations from Turkish.

The role of translation is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon that plays a pivotal role in shaping social identities and influencing the representation thereof on both local and global scales. In this thesis, I delve into the intricate layers of translation at three distinct levels, each seeking to offer unique insights and perspectives. The previous chapter scrutinized the significance of translation in the evolution of Turkish society, particularly in the construction of a new and distinct identity separate from that of the Ottoman Empire. It also explored the role of translation in the initiatives undertaken by the Turkish government in projecting its own identity on a global stage, since endeavours towards “irritation”, to use Luhmann's term (2013, p. 117), are made to present a positive and cohesive narrative to international audiences. As to the present chapter, I examine **how translation products are strategically utilized in the (re)framing of the reception of Turkish identity in the European system**. This critical analysis aims to shed light on the power dynamics between the European system and its environment in the interplay between translation, identity politics, and cultural exchange.

Exploring the intricate landscape of reception, this study delves into the corpus of the paratextual elements comprising of two seminal works: *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk and *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Şafak. By examining the paratextual elements in the French and British print media, I seek to unravel the impact of these elements on the representation of the Turkish identity. The selection of these novels is not arbitrary; their widespread acclaim as bestsellers in Türkiye and numerous European countries, accompanied by substantial media coverage, underscores their significant influence on the narrative surrounding the Turkish identity in the British and French media.

Building upon this initial premise, some important questions to consider are as follows: What narratives and descriptions are conveyed by the media paratexts and the translations from Turkish into English and French? How are translations from Turkish assessed and presented in the receiving cultures? Were the literary works under question solely

appraised for their aesthetic appeal, or did other considerations come into play? This research endeavours to explore these inquiries and to offer insights into the presentation and representation of these literary works by the mass media and the broader implications they hold within the realms of cultural representation.

I have no intention of conducting an exhaustive textual comparison, since such analyses on the Turkish-English versions of *Snow* and the *Bastard of Istanbul* have already been explored to some extent by previous researchers for both writers (e.g., Akbatur, 2010; Eker, 2015; Erkazancı, 2014; Yılmaz, 2021). Hence, my aim is to delve into the narratives that emerge from the paratextual elements in and around the selected novels.

4.1 SYSTEMIC “RESONANCE”: BACK TO EUROPEAN OBSERVATIONS

In the context of Türkiye’s representation within the European system as an observer, the process unfolds through a series of intricate steps. The European system, functioning as the observer, engages in a primary process that involves selectively opening up (“other-reference”) to its environment, choosing what to translate before closing (“self-reference”) to internally process and interpret the translated text autonomously. This sequence of selection and internal processing demonstrates the independent self-decision-making capacity of the European system in shaping its own understanding and representation of external “irritation” and “the increase in irritability relates to the increase in learning capacity” (Luhmann, 2013, p. 117). Following that, the translated texts are critiqued by the mass media, underscoring the importance of the dissemination process in shaping the representation of Türkiye inside the European system.

Within this dynamic framework, the environment presents an endless horizon of possibilities, a vast pool of potential information awaiting interpretation and dissemination: “We can therefore also say that self-reference and other-reference point to essentially infinite horizons of ever-further possibilities, which cannot be exhausted because operations have insufficient operational capacity and take time.” (Luhmann, 2013, p. 178-179). The mass media plays a pivotal role in this process, employing a filtering mechanism in the Luhmannian sense that hinges on prior filtering through inclusion and exclusion. This mechanism underscores the deliberate selection and

transformation of information by the media, enabling the spotlighting of particular narratives of interest for the system and altering the framing through “casual emplotment”, which allows us to explain why things happened the way a given narrative suggests they did. (Somers and Gibson, 1994, p. 59) of the selected data. By emphasizing specific narratives or altering the presentation of translated information, the mass media actively contributes to the construction and dissemination of Türkiye’s representation within the European system, underscoring the nuanced role of media in shaping public opinion and perception. In other words,

[T]he mass media serve to generate and process irritation. The concept of irritation is also a part of the theory of operationally closed systems and refers to the form with which a system is able to generate resonance to events in the environment, even though its own operations circulate only within the system itself and are not suitable for establishing contact with the environment (which would have to mean, of course, that they are occurring partly inside and partly outside). This concept of irritation explains the two-part nature of the concept of information. The one component is free to register a difference which marks itself as a deviation from what is already known. The second component describes the change that then follows in the structuring of the system, in other words the integration into what can be taken to be the condition of the system for further operations. (Luhmann, 2000, p. 22)

In this framework, my research focuses on examining how the mass media, as a functioning system, interprets cultural products that exist independently of any predetermined system but are assimilated into a system only when they are deemed relevant to that particular system. In this context, the chosen texts are not inherently part of a specific system; rather, they are utilized for communication purposes by each functional system based on their unique binary code. These texts have the potential to be utilized by various functional systems: for example, the economic system may integrate them into communication channels if they contribute to financial gains, while the legal system may consider their relevance in cases of legal disputes such as copyright infringement. Within the art system, for instance, texts are only included in the communicative realm based on their aesthetic value as determined by the system itself – a value that cannot be imposed by any other system. that the art system operates through the “aesthetically consonant/disconsonant (beautiful/ugly)” binary code (Luhmann, 2012, p. 338). This analysis delves into the diverse ways in which the mass media, as a distinct system with its own binary code – “information/noninformation” (Luhmann, 2013, p.

319) – interact with and interpret cultural products, shedding light on the complex dynamics of communication in society. In other words, I seek to examine how the mass media chooses to present the translations of literary works for potential communication purposes. Additionally, I aim to investigate how these products are framed by the media and which narratives are given priority over others in the dissemination of information and cultural representation.

In order to address the queries about how the Turkish identity is portrayed in the European media, a collection of critiques and interviews about translations of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* has been compiled using the Eureka platform, a comprehensive database that offers access to a wide variety of sources. Users can find news feeds, transcripts from TV and radio programs, updates from news websites, political posts on social media, and blogs on Eureka. This extensive collection allows users to collect information from various sources all in one place. Eureka is a database which provides access to well-known publications across various forms of media that cover a wide range of industries. In addition to this, there is a vast array of written sources available in the PDF format, allowing users to view articles exactly as they appeared in their original print versions. Eureka boasts an advanced search option that allows users to conduct highly customized searches. Users can easily search for newspapers and magazines, specify the time frame of the publications, select the location of the publications, and combine various keywords to refine their search results. This powerful search functionality empowers users to precisely tailor their searches and obtain the most relevant and targeted information for their research needs. With the ability to integrate different search criteria, users can efficiently navigate through the extensive database to access the specific content they are looking for.

In this study, only materials published in the UK and France have been considered, while other English and French-speaking countries excluded. This selection was made due to the focus on the European system, where the UK and France played significant roles in the EU between 1999-2008. While publications from the United States and other countries would offer valuable insights, their inclusion was not feasible owing to the methodology constraints. Despite this, it is acknowledged that materials from non-European sources may also be relevant for European readers. Including all English and French publications was deemed impractical and methodologically complex, as it would

have introduced additional systems for analysis. Including other Anglophone and Francophone societies would mean more possibilities/options, which would have required more selectivity in my observations, resulting, in turn, in more simplified results. In addition, it should be noted that, in light of the evolving nature of the mass media and the influence of the internet, the geographic boundaries are increasingly blurred, making cross-country comparisons a more challenging but important aspect for future study.

In Chapter II's "Europe Observing Turkishness", I sought to identify the distinctions used by the European system in drawing its geographic as well as its imaginary boundaries, using the translation of Turkish cultural products as a case study. This demarcation of European boundaries – both literal/geographic and conceptual/imaginary – relies on a fundamental dichotomy of 'European' versus 'non-European.' I categorized the specific distinctions upholding this binary code into five broad areas: demographic, economic, geographic, cultural, and political. The pervasive 'European/non-European' binary code operates as a central axis within European self-definition, influencing how information is selected as relevant within its own boundaries and across its borders with others. In other words, the system is autopoietic (Luhmann, 2012, p. 116): the binary code, informed by the different distinctions, guides and shapes the processes of intrasystemic (in the present context, inside the European system) as well as intersystemic (between Europe and Türkiye) communication. Furthermore, this binary code is crucial for the structuring and exchange of information, influencing not only which messages are considered relevant, but also impacting how these messages are packed and represented by the European system. This analysis reveals that the chosen binary code does more than create a simple us-versus-them narrative; it actively structures the internal and external communication of Europe, affecting both the content and the context of representations within and beyond its borders.

As part of the review and interview analysis, I will introduce two additional categories alongside the existing five: biographical and literary aspects. It is unsurprising that biographical details about the authors and discussions on their literary merit are included in the reviews. This addition stems from the nature of the material being analysed; while press articles on Türkiye typically focus on broader topics, reviews and interviews tend also to delve into the personal backgrounds of the authors under scrutiny and evaluate their literary merit, given the context of discussing novels. While literary and biographical

information is relevant for reviews and interviews, it is not so much for the demographic dimension of Türkiye. Therefore, the demographic distinction is not utilized in the analysis of the reviews and interviews, as it is not addressed within the selected corpus. Similarly, geographic and economic distinctions are minimally used in the reviews, indicating that while not entirely overlooked, reviewers generally do not delve deeply into these dimensions. This illustrates the varying levels of emphasis placed on different aspects within the analysed corpora and suggests potential avenues for further exploration in understanding how Turkish identity is represented in the European press.

As a matter of fact, six categories will be employed in the analysis of the paratextual corpus: **(1) economic, (2) geographic, (3) cultural, (4) political, (5) biographical, and (6) literary**. It is important to note that these categories are often interconnected and may overlap, yet they will be utilized for the purpose of clarity in the analysis. A comprehensive examination of the data will be conducted, seeking to identify both commonalities and disparities within the British and French subsystems, as well as similarities and differences between the two case studies involving Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak. The synthesis of findings will be presented in the concluding section of the chapter, aiming to provide an overview of the representation of Turkish identity in the European press and an overview of how these authors' works are interpreted and received within different cultural contexts.

Before moving to the case studies, let me introduce the concept of paratext and its use in Translation Studies. Gerard Genette, a prominent French literary theorist, introduced the concept of paratext in his seminal work *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). According to Genette, the paratext encompasses all the elements that surround the main text of a work, both physically and conceptually. These elements include titles, subtitles, prefaces, introductions, dedications, epigraphs, covers, and external components like reviews, interviews, and literary criticism (Genette, 1997, p. 1-2).

Within the realm of paratext, Genette distinguishes between peritext and epitext. Peritext refers to elements physically attached to the main text, such as titles, footnotes, prefaces, and introductions, which provide context and guide the reader's understanding of the text (Genette, 1997, p. 5-6). Epitext, on the other hand, includes elements outside the physical book, such as reviews, interviews, and literary criticism, which shape the reader's reception and interpretation of the text (Genette, 1997, p. 344-345).

Genette's concept highlights the importance of these surrounding elements in fully understanding and interpreting a text. Paratextual elements offer clues, and contexts that shape the reader's experience and reception of the text.

Genette emphasizes that the paratext serves as a threshold, an intermediary space where the text meets its readers and where initial interpretations are formed. He writes: "More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a threshold, or — a word Borges used apropos of a preface — a 'vestibule' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back" (Genette, 1997, p. 2). This metaphor underscores the paratext's role in guiding, influencing, and sometimes manipulating the reader's engagement with the text.

According to Tahir-Gürçağlar's research on paratexts, which underscores the significance of paratextual elements in the field of translation studies, she contends that "[c]ontextualization necessitates a methodological approach that can consider both translated texts and the meta-discourse" and stresses the importance of materials outside the actual translated text (2002, p. 44).³¹ Similarly, Eker-Roditakis delves into the reviews of Orhan Pamuk's novels in British and American outlets, examining how these reviews recontextualize the translations. She argues that "[r]eviews are influential in shaping not only the choices of the reading public but also the reading experience itself, i.e., how a certain work is to be interpreted" (Eker Roditakis, 2019, p. 226). Her analysis suggests that reviews play a critical role in guiding readers' perceptions and framing their interpretations, thereby affecting both the popularity and the perceived meaning of translated works.

³¹ It's important to note that in the article titled "What Texts Don't Tell: The Uses of Paratexts in Translation Research," Tahir-Gürçağlar critiques Genette's perspective on translations, viewing them as a type of paratext. Genette acknowledges that translations "paratextual relevance" is "undeniable", however he excludes translations from his research (1997, p. 405). Tahir-Gürçağlar draws attention on the fact that "translation, when regarded as paratext, will serve only its original and nothing else – not the target readership who enjoys it, not the target literary system that may be so influenced by it as to trigger a series of translations of similar texts" (2002, p. 46). She adds that "Genette's idea of the literary text appears static: he does not consider how paratexts may enter into a dialogical relationship with their main text and alter it" (2002, p. 46).

Following the above literature on the significance of paratextual elements for Translation Studies, I seek to carry out a comparative study based on a multifaceted approach to understanding the interplay between texts, and paratextual elements, which allows for a nuanced exploration of themes, narratives, and cultural contexts across different works. In this study, we embark on an examination of two renowned Turkish authors, Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak, focusing on Pamuk's novel *Snow* and Şafak's novel *The Bastard of Istanbul*, reflecting the global dissemination of Turkish literature and its reception in different linguistic and cultural contexts. By scrutinizing the process of translation, and most specifically its impact on the reception of these novels, we aim to uncover how cultural nuances are mediated and negotiated, influencing readers' interpretations and engagements with the texts.

Moreover, our analysis extends to the visual paratexts, specifically the covers of *Snow* and *The Bastard of Istanbul*, which serve as crucial entry points into the narrative worlds created by translations of these novels. Drawing on Genette's concept of the paratext as a threshold, we explore how these visual elements shape readers' initial perceptions and expectations, guiding their journey into the texts and framing their interpretative frameworks.

Furthermore, we employ narrative theory, as developed by scholars like Somers and Gibson (1993, 1994), and Mona Baker (2006, 2007), to analyze the reviews and interviews surrounding Pamuk's and Şafak's novels. Through this lens, we investigate how paratextual materials, such as reviews and interviews, recontextualize the translations, shaping readers' interpretations and influencing the reception of these works. Tahir-Gürçağlar's emphasis on the significance of paratextual elements in translation studies (2002) highlights the methodological approach necessary to contextualize translated texts. Overall, our interdisciplinary approach seeks to offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the intricate dynamics between texts, translations, and paratexts in the reception of Pamuk's and Şafak's novels.

4.2 CASE STUDY #1: ORHAN PAMUK

Born in 1952 in Istanbul, Orhan Pamuk, is a celebrated Turkish novelist, screenwriter, and academic. He is widely regarded as one of the leading contemporary writers in

Turkish literature, having earned international acclaim for his literary style combined with themes around the exploration of identity, cultural conflicts, and political tensions.

Initially studying architecture at Istanbul Technical University, Pamuk left to follow his passion for writing. In 1982, he published his first novel, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*, which was both critically and commercially successful in Türkiye. His breakthrough on the international stage came with the 1998 novel *My Name is Red*, set in the Ottoman Empire, which won the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award in 2003.

Pamuk achieved a historic milestone in 2006 by becoming the first Turkish citizen to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. The Nobel committee commended his work for its deep exploration of cultural intersections and clashes, emphasizing his unique literary voice that captures the complexities of modern Türkiye.

The extensive body of Pamuk's works includes numerous novels, essays, and articles, many of which have been translated into various languages. Beyond his literary achievements, Pamuk is an advocate for freedom of expression, often facing legal challenges and controversies in Türkiye due to his outspoken views on sensitive issues like the so-called Armenian "Genocide" and the Kurdish issue.

Orhan Pamuk's literary contributions have sparked global discussions on cultural identity, history, and the role of art in society. His works continue to engage readers worldwide, cementing his status as a significant figure in contemporary literature.

4.2.1 Translations of Orhan Pamuk's works into English and French

A chronological table of Orhan Pamuk's books and their translations into English and French is presented below in order to give an overview of the author's literary contributions and their accessibility to readers across these languages. This table contains the dates of publication of the source texts and their translations, along with the titles in the respective languages, information on the publishing companies, and the names of translators involved in bringing Pamuk's prose to international audiences.

Table 7: Orhan Pamuk's works in Turkish, English and French

TURKISH			ENGLISH			FRENCH		
Title	Date	Publisher	Title	Date	Publisher/Translator	Title	Date	Publisher/Translator
Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları	1982	İletişim Yayıncılık				Cevdet Bey et ses fils	2014	Gallimard / Valérie Gay-Aksoy
Sessiz Ev	1983	Can Yayınları	The Silent House	2001	Faber & Faber/ Robert Finn	La Maison du silence	2013	Gallimard / Münevver Andaç
Beyaz Kale	1985	İletişim Yayıncılık	The White Castle	1990	Faber & Faber / Victoria Holbrook	Le Château blanc	1990	Gallimard / Münevver Andaç
Kara Kitap	1990	İletişim Yayıncılık	The Black Book	1994	Faber & Faber / Maureen Freely	Le Livre noir	1995	Gallimard / Münevver Andaç
Yeni Hayat	1994	İletişim Yayıncılık	The New Life	1997	Faber & Faber / Güneli Gün	La Vie nouvelle	1999	Gallimard / Münevver Andaç
Benim Adım Kırmızı	1998	İletişim Yayıncılık	My Name is Red	2001	Vintage - Faber & Faber/ Erdağ M. Gökner	Mon nom est Rouge	2001	Gallimard / Gilles Authier
Öteki Renkler: Seçme Yazılar ve Bir Hikaye	1999	İletişim Yayıncılık	Other Colors: Essays and A Story	2007	Vintage/ Maureen Freely Faber & Faber	D'autres couleurs	2009	Gallimard / Valérie Gay-Aksoy
Kar	2002	İletişim Yayıncılık	Snow	2004	Faber & Faber / Maureen Freely	Neige	2005	Gallimard / Jean-François Pérouse
İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir	2003	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	Istanbul: Memories and the City	2006	Faber & Faber/ Maureen Freely	Istanbul: Souvenirs d'une ville	2006	Gallimard / Savas Demirel, Valérie Gay-Aksoy and Jean-François Pérouse
Babamın Bavulu	2007	İletişim Yayıncılık	My Father's Suitcase: The Nobel Lecture	2007	Faber & Faber / Maureen Freely	Mon père et autres textes	2009	Gallimard / Gilles Authier and Valérie Gay-Aksoy

Masumiyet Müzesi	2008	İletişim Yayıncılık	The Museum of Innocence	2009	Faber & Faber/ Maureen Freely	Le Musée de l'Innocence	2009	Gallimard / Valérie Gay-Aksoy
Manzaradan Parçalar: Hayat, Sokaklar, Edebiyat	2010	İletişim Yayıncılık						
Saf ve Düşünceli Romancı	2011	İletişim Yayıncılık	The Naive and the Sentimental Novelist	2011	Faber & Faber / Nazim Dikbas	Le romancier naïf et le romancier sentimental	2012	Gallimard / Stéphanie Levet
Şeylerin Masumiyeti	2012	İletişim Yayıncılık	The Innocence of Objects	2012	Abrams (American)	L'Innocence des objets	2012	Gallimard / tr. from English by Stéphanie Levet
Kara Kitap'ın Sırları	2013	Yapı Kredi Yayınları						
Kafamda Bir Tuhafılık	2014	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	A Strangeness in My Mind	2015	Faber & Faber/ Ekin Oklap	Cette chose étrange en moi	2017	Gallimard / Valérie Gay-Aksoy
Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın	2016	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	The Red-Haired Woman	2017	Faber & Faber/ Ekin Oklap	La femme aux cheveux roux	2019	Gallimard / Valérie Gay-Aksoy
Hatırların Masumiyeti	2016	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	The Innocence of Memories	2019	Faber & Faber/ Ekin Oklap	-	-	-
Balkon	2018	Yapı Kredi Yayınları						
Turuncu	2020	Yapı Kredi Yayınları						
Veba Geceleri	2021	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	Nights of Plague	2022	Vintage / Robert Finn	Les nuits de la peste	2022	Gallimard / Julien Lapeyre de Cabanes
Uzak Dağlar ve Hatıralar	2022	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	Memories of Distant Mountains	2024	Knopf / Ekin Oklap	Souvenir des montagnes au loin : carnets dessinés	2022	Gallimard / Julien Lapeyre de Cabanes

Orhan Pamuk's literary repertoire boasts a significant presence in both English and French, with a total of 17 translations available in each language. However, there remain five of his works, including *Manzaradan Parçalar* (2010), *Kara Kitap'ın Sırları* (2013), *Balkon* (2018), and *Turuncu* (2020), that have yet to be translated into either English or French. It is noteworthy that although all of Orhan Pamuk's fiction works have been translated into either French or English, the situation is quite different for his non-fiction works. Despite Pamuk's wide readership and acclaim, these particular titles await their turn for international accessibility, perhaps indicating the complexities of translation logistics or the specific thematic nature of these works, which are not fiction.

Interestingly, the translation trajectories of certain works offer insights into Pamuk's evolving literary prominence. For instance, *Hatıraların Masumiyeti* (2013), translated into English as *The Innocence of Memories* in 2019, presents a case where the English translation is available while the French translation is yet to be done.

Conversely, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (1982), Pamuk's debut novel, received a French translation titled *Cevdet Bey et ses fils* in 2014, while still awaiting an English translation. This pattern suggests that Pamuk's early literary output attracted the attention of either French or Anglo-Saxon publishers only after his international reputation grew. The notable time gap between the publication of Pamuk's original Turkish works and their subsequent translations into English and French in these two cases underscores the evolution of his literary career. This delay in translation may reflect the intricate processes involved in introducing foreign literature to new audiences or the shifting interests of English and French publishers over time. Nevertheless, Pamuk's enduring popularity and the eventual translation of his earlier works attest to the enduring appeal and significance of his literary contributions on a global scale.

The interval between the original publication of Orhan Pamuk's novels and their translations has significantly decreased over time, indicating a shift towards prompter translation processes. This trend is evident in the translations of his earlier works which were quickly translated into English and French within a few years of their original release dates, such as *Yeni Hayat* (1994), translated into English in 1997 and into French in 1999, and *Benim Adım Kırmızı* (1998), translated into English and French in 2001. However, the reduction in the time gap between the publication of Pamuk's works and their translations becomes even more pronounced with his latest creations. For instance,

his novel *Vebe Geceleri* (2021) was translated into English and French just a year after its initial release, highlighting a growing eagerness to make his writing accessible to an international audience in a timely manner. Additionally, Pamuk's collection of illustrated and personal memoirs, *Uzak Dağlar ve Hatıralar* (2022), was published in France in the same year as its Turkish release and made available in English just two years later. This accelerated translation process reflects the heightened global interest in Pamuk's distinct storytelling style, which blends historical, cultural, and personal elements, and underscores the concerted efforts of publishers to bring his works to a broader readership in a timely fashion.

The table also illustrates that Orhan Pamuk's works in Turkish, English, and French includes a variety of renowned publishing houses responsible for translating and distributing his novels. In Turkish, İletişim Yayıncılık and Yapı Kredi Yayınları are prominent publishers that have released several of Pamuk's books in their original language. When it comes to English translations, Faber & Faber, Vintage, and Abrams have been major publishers, with translators like Ekin Oklap, Erdağ M. Gökner, Maureen Freely, Robert Finn, Güneli Gün, Victoria Holbrook and Nazım Dikbaş working on rendering Pamuk's works into English. These translators have been instrumental in contributing significantly to the success of his works in the English-speaking market. In the French market, Gallimard has played a significant role in translating Pamuk's novels, with translators like Valérie Gay-Aksoy, Münevver Andaç, Jean-François Pérouse, Gilles Authier, Julien Lapeyre de Cabanes, and Stéphanie Levet contributing to the French editions of his books. The collaboration between these publishing houses and translators underscores the importance of translation in the transfer of Pamuk's prose.

The flows in translations of by Pamuk's works into English and French also demonstrate the more central position of English in the present case, which is in line with Heilbron's centrality hypothesis, which posits that the core-periphery structure in the world translation system mirrors the levels of translation activity within each country or linguistic community (Heilbron, 1999). As a matter of fact, the majority of Pamuk's works have first been translated into English. However, there are some exceptions that deviate from this pattern. For instance, "Beyaz Kale" (1985) was translated into both English and French by 1990. Similarly, "İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir" (2003) saw simultaneous translations into both languages in 2006, and "Masumiyet Müzesi" (2008)

was made available in both French and English in 2009. “Şeylerin Masumiyeti” (2012) followed the same trend, being translated into French and English within the same year, and “Vebe Geceleri” (2021) was translated into both languages by 2022. There are also two instances where Pamuk’s works were translated into French before English. “Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları” (1982) was translated into French in 2014 and has yet to be rendered into English. Additionally, “Uzak Dağlar ve Hatıralar” (2022) was translated into French in the same year as its original publication and is scheduled for English translation in 2024. Despite these two exceptions, in which French translations appeared before English translations, the global flows in translating Pamuk’s works into English and French provide significant support for the centrality hypothesis. Essentially, translations predominantly move from more dominant (central) languages to less dominant (peripheral) languages, with peripheral languages often engaging in translation via more central, intermediary languages, mainly via English as a *lingua franca*.

4.2.2 *Snow*: An International Bestseller

Snow is a novel penned by Orhan Pamuk, first published in 2002. The narrative unfolds in Kars, a northeastern Turkish city blanketed in snow and situated near the Armenian border. The protagonist, Ka, a Turkish poet in exile, returns to Kars after a prolonged period of political banishment in Germany.

Ka ventures back to Kars under the guise of a journalist, intending to investigate a recent spate of suicides among young girls in the city, allegedly linked to the prohibition of headscarves in schools. As he immerses himself in the city’s milieu and its tumultuous history, Ka becomes entangled in a labyrinthine network of personal and political entanglements.

The novel delves into the lives of diverse characters in Kars, including political activists, government functionaries, religious figures, and exiled insurgents. Amid navigating the city’s tensions and conflicts, Ka finds himself ensnared in a romantic entanglement with Ipek, a woman from his past. Their relationship intertwines with the broader political and societal issues confronting the city.

Pamuk’s narrative probes themes of identity, politics, religion, and cultural confrontation. Kars serves as a microcosm of Türkiye, reflecting its intricate and contradictory societal

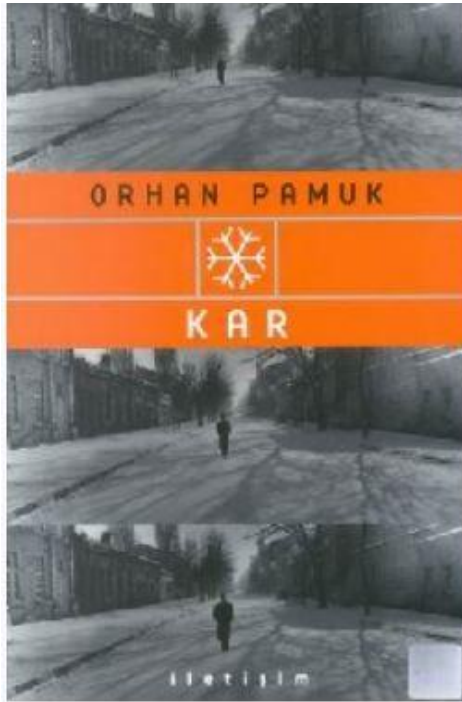
fabric. Pamuk delves into the region's history, encompassing events such as the so-called Armenian "genocide" and the Kurdish separatist movement, shedding light on the enduring legacy of violence and oppression.

Snow unfolds as a multi-layered tale, interweaving personal narratives with political intrigue and philosophical musings. Pamuk's evocative prose captures the ethereal beauty and haunting melancholy of the snow-clad landscape, providing a vivid and atmospheric backdrop for the unfolding drama. The novel serves as a poignant exploration of the human experience, grappling with questions of existence, purpose, and the resilience of art and literature in the face of adversity.

In essence, *Snow* emerges as a compelling and thought-provoking narrative that invites readers to ponder the complexities of life, society, and the enduring power of storytelling.

4.2.3 Analysis of peritextual elements: Book Covers

Peritext encompasses all the components that surround the primary text of a literary work but are not part of the text itself (Genette, 1997, p. 4-5). These components can consist of the cover, title page, preface, introduction, illustrations, author bio, and any other textual or visual material accompanying the main narrative. As it is argued by Eker Roditakis, "especially the covers, are the components endowed with the most immediate metonymical power" (2012, p. 41). For this reason, the following pages will focus on peritextual elements of *Snow*, specifically on what is presented on the front covers, as these covers are shared with the reader and often accompany the reviews on the novel. The analysis of peritextual components sheds light on the broader dynamics of how literary works are presented and perceived, offering a deeper understanding of the interaction between text and context.

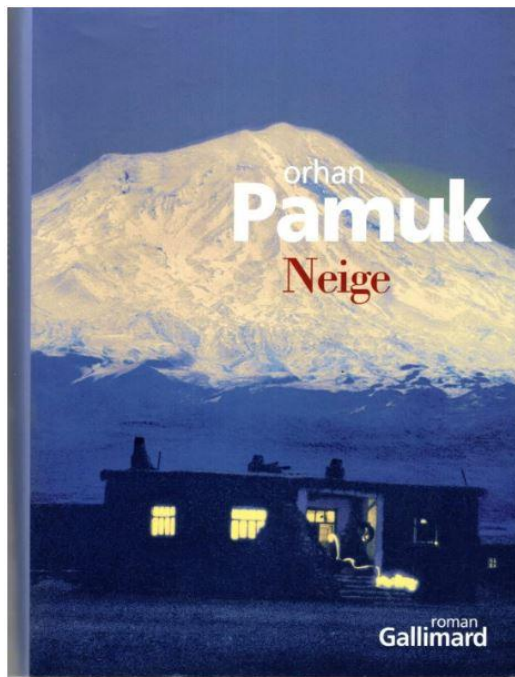


İletişim Yayınları, 2002

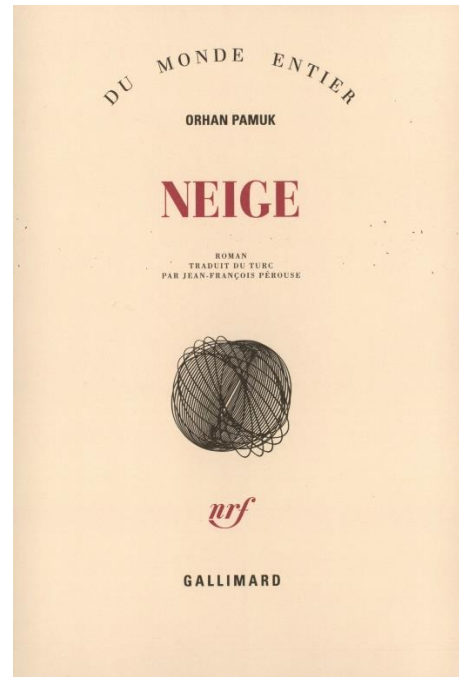


Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013

Figure 8. Book Covers of *Snow* in Türkiye



Hard cover and Paperback



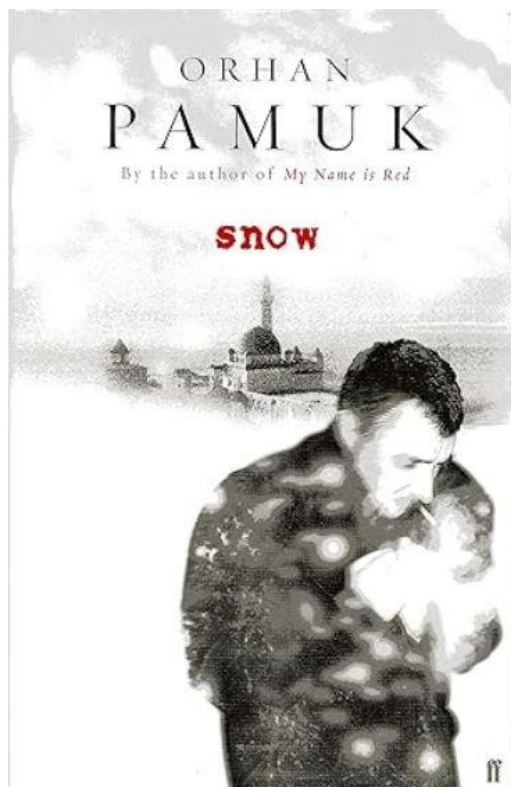
Gallimard – 'nrf' edition

Figure 9. Book Covers of *Snow* in France

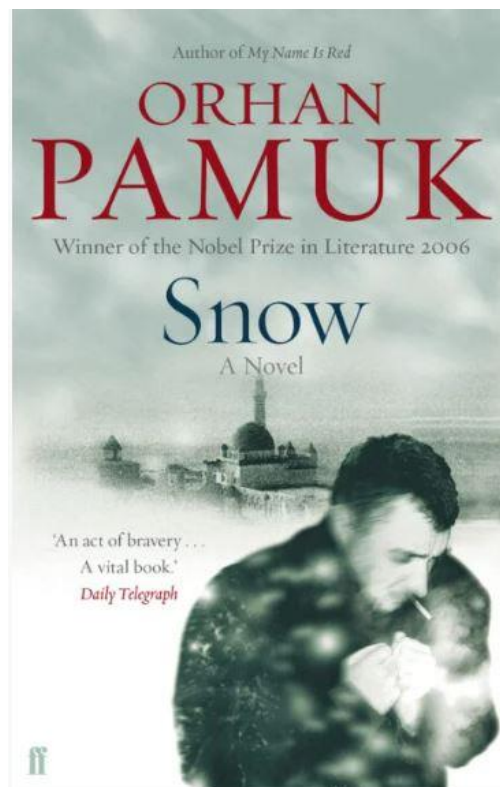
Snow (*Neige* in French) was translated from the Turkish source text *Kar* in 2005 by Gallimard Editions in their distinguished “Du monde entire” collection, the most prominent publishing house in France, specifically in literature. The French edition was translated by Jean-François Pérouse. This novel later featured in the “Folio” (paperback) collection, with its release in 2007.

The first cover of *Neige*, as published by Gallimard in France, conveys the novel’s themes and setting through a captivating design. The imagery typically features a wintry landscape, emphasizing the snow-covered town of Kars where the story unfolds. This choice reflects the novel’s exploration of solitude and unprivileged complexities of the community living in Kars. The predominant use of white in the design symbolizes the title *Neige* and reinforces the novel’s thematic emphasis on isolation, purity, uniqueness, and the unseen forces shaping the characters’ lives. The cover design captures the mood and complexity of Pamuk’s writing, immersing readers in a world where external landscapes mirror internal struggles. The contrasting colours used for the text add a striking visual element against the predominantly white background.

The second cover pays tribute to the tradition of the publication of classics. Featuring Gallimard’s iconic ‘nrf’ logo and the collection name “Du monde entier,” this elegant yet understated cover subtly underscores the publisher’s esteemed reputation for quality and cultural diversity. ‘nrf’ refers to the prestigious “Nouvelle Revue française,” the oldest publication of the Gallimard house, created by André Gide and it has become customary to refer to publications of volumes in this way. This classic cover also honours Pamuk’s literary merit while simultaneously captivating potential readers with its artistic elegance. The design’s simplicity and sophistication mirror the depth and nuance of the novel itself, inviting readers to explore the profound themes within. By maintaining a refined aesthetic, the cover also aligns with Gallimard’s legacy of presenting culturally significant and thought-provoking works, further enhancing the novel’s appeal and standing in the literary world.



Faber & Faber (Hard cover)



Faber & Faber (Paperback)

Figure 10. Book Covers of *Snow* in the UK

Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* was translated by Maureen Freely and published in 2002 by Faber and Faber. The cover of *Snow* encapsulates the novel's prominent themes, depicting solitary figures navigating through expansive, snowy landscape. These visuals not only evoke the novel's chilling atmosphere but also hint at the profound isolation and introspection that permeate Pamuk's narrative. As readers delve into *Snow*, they are invited into a world where the quiet power of the winter landscape mirrors the complex inner lives of the characters and the turbulent socio-political environment they inhabit. Both the hardcover and the paperback editions of *Snow* feature the same visually impactful cover. The cover is simple yet striking, depicting a solitary figure smoking and making his way through a snowy landscape. The stark contrast of the black figure against the white background immediately catches the eye and evokes a strong sense of isolation. This visual representation aligns considerably with the novel's themes, encapsulating a journey through a physical and emotional wintry landscape. The use of black and white imagery, along with the lone figure, creates an atmosphere of mystery and intrigue, compelling readers to delve into the story.

A notable detail on the center of the cover is a monument in the background, which is the mosque of Ishak Pasha Palace. This palace is located in the Doğubayazıt district of Ağrı (and not in Kars, the district where the plot takes place). Although it was constructed during the Ottoman Empire, it showcases architectural influences from the Seljuk period and incorporates elements of Western artistic movements such as baroque and gothic. On the left side, we can observe a significant landmark, this time from Kars: Kümbet Camii, also known as the Holy Apostles Church. Originally constructed in the 10th century as an Armenian cathedral, it was converted into a mosque in 1579. In the 20th century, it reverted to an Armenian cathedral, and then in 1993, it was again transformed into a mosque, now known as Kümbet Mosque. This structure is often referred to as the Hagia Sophia of the East.

The first edition of *Snow* emphasizes that the book was written by the author of “My Name is Red,” a novel that brought Orhan Pamuk international acclaim. The title’s font is bold and red, making it stand out prominently against the black and white background. This striking color choice ensures that the title catches the readers’ attention immediately. In the paperback edition, Pamuk is recognized as the “winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature 2006.” Although the title’s font is bold and bluish, the author’s name is highlighted more prominently in larger, bold red letters, ensuring that it captures the readers’ focus first. Additionally, there is a notable blurb from the *Daily Telegraph*, one of the UK’s most popular national daily newspapers, which reads: “An act of bravery... A vital book.” This endorsement not only adds credibility but also piques the interest of potential readers, underscoring the significance and impact of Pamuk’s work.

4.2.4 Analysis of epitextual elements: Reviews and Interviews

Epitext refers to the elements related to a literary work that exist outside the physical boundaries of the book itself (Genette, 1997, p. 4-5). These include materials such as interviews, reviews, advertisements, author correspondences, public speeches, and any other commentary or media related to the work but not physically attached to it. By analysing these external elements, epitextual analysis offers a thorough understanding of how a literary work is placed within its larger communicative and cultural context. It

underscores the dynamic interaction between the text and the diverse external factors that impact its interpretation and reception.

In the following pages, I will offer a comprehensive analysis of the reviews written and interviews conducted surrounding the novel *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk, both in France and the UK. This analysis will delve into a corpus consisting of a total of 61 reviews and interviews specifically focused on *Snow*. Of these, 32 were published in various French outlets, while the remaining 29 appeared in British publications. By examining this diverse set of sources, I aim to provide insights into the critical reception and interpretative nuances that *Snow* has elicited across different cultural and linguistic contexts.

The analysis of reviews of Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* in French and British media reveals detailed patterns in the coverage. In the French sub-system, *Le Figaro* stands out as one of the publications that published multiple reviews and articles about Orhan Pamuk and his novel *Snow* (Aissaoui, 2006; Audrerie, 2005; Barochez, 2005; Boulouque, 2005, 2006; and Carcassonne, 2005). Similarly, *Le Monde* also dedicated relatively extensive space to Pamuk's work Bédarida, 2005, 2008; and Zanganeh, 2006). Finally, *Libération* published three reviews (Harang, 2005, 2006; and Semo, 2007) stand out with multiple reviews. All three newspapers represent 'quality' media outlets in France.

On the British side, *The Guardian* leads in volume and depth of coverage (Brown, 2006; Buchan, 2004; Jaggi, 2007; Jays, 2005; and Pamuk 2006). *The Independent* (Bailey, 2004; O'Shea, 2004; Tonkin, 2005) and *The Times* (Goodwin, 2005; Mooney, 2004; and Power, 2005) also featured numerous reviews and articles about Orhan Pamuk. The reviews of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* in French and British media show a concerted interest from leading newspapers and magazines, with *Le Figaro* and *The Guardian* being the most frequent contributors. The Nobel Prize significantly influenced the volume and nature of the reviews, underscoring Pamuk's international relevance and the broader implications of his literary work. This comprehensive coverage illustrates Pamuk's dual appeal as both a literary figure and a political commentator, reflecting the diverse lenses through which his work is appreciated and critiqued.

As argued at the beginning of the present chapter, in this following analysis of the epitextual elements surrounding the translations of *Snow* in English and French, I employ a multifaceted approach to understand the intricacies of its paratextual elements by

dissecting them into six distinct categories: economic, geographic, cultural, political, biographical, and literary. Each category offers a unique lens through which the paratextual corpus can be examined, providing a robust framework for exploring the varying levels of emphasis placed on these aspects. By delving into these categories, this analysis aims to uncover the nuanced representations and interpretations of Turkish identity as portrayed in the European press.

4.2.4.1 Economic Distinction

Both the British and French press offer a glimpse into the intricate economic landscape of Türkiye as portrayed in *Snow*. Through vivid descriptions and insightful commentary, they provide a nuanced perspective on the socioeconomic challenges confronting the country.

In some reviews, the portrayal of the protagonist Ka as melancholic and isolated, crafting poetry reminiscent of snowflakes, adds a layer of introspection to the narrative. His tragic demise on a Frankfurt sidewalk underscores the gravity of the economic disparities he grapples with, reflecting a broader societal struggle against poverty and alienation. A dialogue from the novel is quoted and further amplifies this theme, highlighting the juxtaposition of pride and destitution among the characters, serving as a microcosm of the socioeconomic divide prevalent in Turkish society. Similarly, some articles delve into the portrayal of impoverished areas within Türkiye, suggesting that they have regressed to a state comparable to anywhere else, a sobering reflection of the harsh realities faced by certain regions, especially Kars, the city in which *Snow* is encrypted. This portrayal underscores Pamuk's deliberate choice to set the story in locales grappling with economic hardship, adding depth and authenticity to the narrative. Likewise, some reviews accentuate the depiction of Türkiye's "poorest, most overlooked corner," (Gorra, 2004, *Times Literary Supplement*) emphasizing the narrative's reference to the economic challenges confronting marginalized communities.

Moreover, Pamuk's own reflections, as quoted in the French weekly *Le Point* (Lorrain, 2007), shed light on Türkiye's unique geographic position juxtaposed with its economic struggles. His reference to the delayed construction of a bridge between the European and

Asian shores of Istanbul due to financial constraints encapsulates the socioeconomic complexities shaping the country's development trajectory.

- “Ka mélancolique parmi les croyants, seul à écrire ses poèmes qui ont la forme des flocons, seul et taciturne et qui meurt assassiné sur un trottoir de Francfort: par délicatesse, par prudence, il a perdu sa vie. ‘Tout le monde est plus fier et plus pauvre’, dit un personnage. ‘Nous ne sommes pas idiots, nous sommes juste pauvres’, lui répond un autre. Est-il d’ailleurs un lâche, ce Ka qui tisse les accords entre les parties adverses?” (Carcassonne, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Ka, melancholic among believers, alone in writing his snowflake-shaped poems, alone and taciturn, dies murdered on a Frankfurt sidewalk: out of delicacy, out of prudence, he lost his life. Everyone is prouder and poorer,” says one character. We’re not stupid, we’re just poor,” replies another. Is he a coward, this Ka who weaves agreements between opposing parties?”]
- “some sophistication is now as poor and backward as anywhere in Turkey — which is partly why Pamuk has chosen to set *Snow* here.” (de Falbe, 2004, *Spectator*)
- “[The main character of the novel] has returned for a funeral, and taken a journalistic assignment that brings him to the country’s ‘poorest, most overlooked corner’”. (Gorra, 2004, *Times Literary Supplement*)
- “[Pamuk]: ‘A cela s’ajoute notre situation géographique particulière: nous sommes tout près de l’Europe, mais nous sommes beaucoup plus pauvres. Le pont entre les rives européenne et asiatique n’a été bâti qu’en 1973. Pourquoi? Par simple manque d’argent.’” (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2007) [Back translation: “Added to this is our particular geographical situation: we’re very close to Europe, but we’re much poorer. The bridge between the European and Asian shores was only built in 1973. Why was this? Simply for lack of money”]

In essence, the reviews collectively illuminate the multifaceted economic struggles pervading Turkish society, offering readers a glimpse into the socioeconomic backdrop against which the events of *Snow* unfold. Through his choice of setting for his novel and his insightful commentaries, Pamuk weaves together the economic dimensions of Türkiye.

4.2.4.2 Geographic Distinction

The portrayal of the geographic dimension of Türkiye in Orhan Pamuk’s novel *Snow* is enriched by from the British and French press, painting a vibrant picture of the setting in Kars. Eloquent descriptions of the snow setting the stage for the clash between modernity and tradition serves as a poetic backdrop that immerses readers in the ambiance and mood

of the narrative. This immersive experience of the novel is complemented by an emphasis on Kars's historical importance and unique location on Türkiye's eastern edges, offering readers a deeper insight into the city's character.

According to reviewers, the nuanced historical context, portraying Kars as a once-thriving hub of imperial intersections, adds layers of depth to the story, enriching the reader's appreciation of the region's diverse cultural legacy. Similarly, observers from the European system argue that the portrayal of Kars as a remote provincial town in the Anatolian hinterlands conveys a sense of isolation and emptiness that resonates throughout the novel, anchoring the narrative in its specific sense of place.

The inclusion of details like the nearby ruins of Ani and the majestic Mount Ararat, as highlighted by some reviews, not only serve as symbolic markers of the region's rich historical and cultural heritage but also help to further immerse readers into the geography of the story. Meanwhile, the depiction of Türkiye as a borderland where various realities and fantasies converge offers a broader perspective on the complexities of the country's demographic and cultural landscapes.

Overall, the description of Kars as a remote northeastern town succinctly captures the essence of the setting, grounding readers in the geographic context of the narrative.

- “Mais si la neige nimbe de grâce et de mélancolie toutes les pages de ce roman à la Faulkner, l'action va pourtant se déchaîner dans ce lieu où s'affrontent modernité et tradition.” (Audrerie, 2005, *Le Figaro Magazine*) [Back translation: “But while the snow shrouds every page of this Faulkner-style novel in grace and melancholy, the action is set to unfold in a place where modernity and tradition clash.”]
- “il y inscrit l'histoire de Kars, une ville réelle, située aux confins orientaux de la Turquie, voisine de l'Arménie” (Bédarida, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “it tells the story of Kars, a real town on the eastern edge of Turkey, bordering Armenia”]
- “Sur la carte du globe, la ville de Kars n'est qu'un point minuscule, une entité urbaine négligeable et négligée, perdue au fin fond de l'Anatolie, aux marches du Caucase et de la grande Russie. Kars, aujourd'hui turque, aujourd'hui pauvre et délaissée, fut autrefois une cité active et cossue, “aux confins de deux grands empires, l'Empire ottoman et l'Empire des tsars”, une cité où se côtoyaient Arméniens, Géorgiens, chiites d'Azerbaïdjan, Caucasiens, Kurdes, mille autres peuples encore...” (Crom, 2005, *La Croix*) [Back translation: “On the map of the globe, the city of Kars is a tiny dot, a negligible and neglected urban entity, lost in the depths of Anatolia, on the edge of the Caucasus and Greater Russia. Kars, today Turkish, today poor and neglected, was once an active and affluent city, "on the borders of two great empires, the Ottoman Empire and the Empire of the Tsars", a city where Armenians, Georgians, Shiites from Azerbaijan, Caucasians, Kurds and a thousand other peoples lived side by side...”]

- “Kars, petite ville de l’est de l’Anatolie, à un vol de corbeau de la Géorgie et de l’Arménie” (Harang, 2005, Libération) [Back translation: “Kars, a small town in eastern Anatolia, a raven’s flight from Georgia and Armenia”]
- “Dans les environs de Kars se trouvent les ruines d’Ani, la ‘cité aux mille églises’, riche capitale de l’Arménie au Moyen Age, ainsi que, majestueux et surplombant la frontière arméno- turque, le mont Ararat - symbole pour les Arméniens de leur pays perdu.” (Laval, 2005, Télérama) [Back translation: “Near Kars are the ruins of Ani, the ‘city of a thousand churches’, Armenia’s rich capital in the Middle Ages, and the majestic Mount Ararat, overlooking the Armenian-Turkish border - a symbol for Armenians of their lost homeland.”]
- “Turkey is a novelist’s dream, or perhaps a land dreamed by a novelist. A border country between Europe and the Middle East, it has for centuries been so many things to so many people – Christians, Muslims, Armenians, Greeks and, of course, Turks – that it has become a place where fantasies and realities collide like tectonic plates.” (Jones, Newsweek International, 2004)
- “Au travers d’une plongée dans Kars, préfecture endormie et glacée, perdue dans l’extrême est misérable du pays, où arrive un journaliste-poète désenchanté qui a vécu des années en Occident, Neige touche aux questions les plus sensibles de la Turquie d’aujourd’hui: les conflits entre laïcs et islamistes, l’oppression des femmes et la question du voile, la menace des putschs militaires et les barbouzeries de l’Etat.” (Sémo, 2007, Libération) [Back translation: “Through a plunge into Kars, a sleepy, icy prefecture lost in the country’s wretched east, where a disenchanted journalist-poet who has lived for years in the West arrives, Neige touches on the most sensitive issues of today’s Turkey: the conflicts between secularists and Islamists, the oppression of women and the issue of the veil, the threat of military putsches and the barbarities of the State.”]
- “Snow, has a contemporary setting, taking place in Kars, a remote provincial town in the north-east of Turkey.” (The Bookseller, 2004)

The reviews from both the British and French press also tend to underscore Türkiye’s unique geographic position as a bridge between the East and the West, as depicted in the novel. Some of the reviewers highlight the diverse cultural and social landscapes within Türkiye itself, suggesting that this internal diversity is intrinsic to the country’s identity. *Le Figaro*’s title, “Orhan Pamuk: un pont entre deux rives” (a bridge between two shores), further emphasizes Pamuk’s role in bridging the cultural and geographic divide between the East and the West, symbolizing Türkiye’s position as a nexus of diverse influences. Similarly, Stroth’s title, “Orhan Pamuk: rendez-vous avec l’histoire de la Turquie” (Orhan Pamuk: rendezvous with Türkiye’s history), suggests that Pamuk’s work not only reflects Türkiye’s past but also serves as a meeting point between different historical

narratives and cultural traditions. The observation of other reviewers reinforces this notion, suggesting that Pamuk's global appeal stems not only from his literary talent but also from the geographic location of his works at the crossroads of Eastern and Western civilizations, as seen in the findings on the analysis on public discourse in Chapter, a narrative used too frequently.

- “Mais il y a de nombreuses Turquie même à Istanbul. Pas besoin d’aller à Kars pour s’en persuader. Cette inégalité culturelle et sociale existe partout dans mon pays. C’est peut-être ce qui constitue son identité propre. La vraie tragédie turque n’est pas, de nos jours, l’affrontement entre les religieux et les laïques, ou entre la tradition et la modernité, mais entre une poignée de privilégiés extraordinairement riches et le reste de la population dont la plupart sont extrêmement démunis.” (Jacob, 2005, *Le Nouvel Observateur*) [Back translation: “But there’s plenty of Turkey even in Istanbul. You don’t have to go to Kars to see that. This cultural and social inequality exists everywhere in my country. Perhaps that’s what makes it so unique. The real Turkish tragedy these days is not the clash between the religious and the secular, or between tradition and modernity, but between a handful of extraordinarily wealthy and the rest of the population, most of whom are extremely poor.”]
- “Orhan Pamuk, un pont entre deux rives” (title, *Le Figaro*, 2006) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk, a bridge between two shores”]
- “Orhan Pamuk: rendez-vous avec l’histoire de la Turquie” (title, Stroth, 2005, *Lire*) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk: a rendezvous with Turkish history”]
- “Set in easternmost Anatolia in the 1990s, the novel deals with the present-day shouting-match between East and West - a subject that is second nature to any native of Istanbul like Pamuk.” (O’Shea, 2004, *The Independent on Sunday*)
- “ce natif d’Istanbul [Pamuk] semble avoir conquis l’imaginaire mondial autant par son talent littéraire que par sa position géographique, entre Orient et Occident.” (Zanganeh, 2006, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “this native of Istanbul [Pamuk] seems to have captured the world’s imagination as much for his literary talent as for his geographical position between East and West.”]
- “You might think from the praise justly showered on Pamuk’s novel that it’s merely (merely?) a profound exploration of modern Turkey caught between East and West, Islam and secular life.” (Tonkin, 2005, *The Independent*)

In sum, these excerpts highlight Türkiye’s geographic significance as a bridge between the Orient and the Occident, a theme that is echoed throughout Pamuk’s novel, where the interplay between Eastern and Western influences shapes the cultural, social, and historical landscape of the narrative. This narrative framing about Türkiye’s geographic location, is also prominent in the press articles from France and the UK and analysed in

Chapter. In sum, as it can be observed from the diverse excerpts, reviewers argue that the imagery, history, and contemporary collectively offer a multidimensional exploration of Kars and its environs, illustrating the rich cultural, historical, and geopolitical complexities that shape the geographic canvas of Türkiye as vividly portrayed in *Snow*.

4.2.4.3 Cultural Distinction

Snow is recognized by British and French reviewers as a deeply cultural work that illuminates the complex interplay between religion, politics, and identity in contemporary Türkiye. The novel is celebrated for its exploration of the presence – or absence – of God, as experienced by the protagonist Ka, a poet with connections to both Europe and Türkiye. According to several reviewers, Pamuk portrays Ka as an intellectual and atheist caught in negotiations between Islamic and Kemalist factions, symbolizing the broader confrontation between tradition and modernity, also reflecting the communicative distinction East/West.

British reviewers highlight the novel's depiction of a series of suicides by veiled young women in the remote city of Kars, reflecting societal tensions and cultural clashes in Türkiye. Ka's role as an impartial journalist investigating these events forces him to confront the complexities of Turkish identity, with his Westernized appearance marking him as an outsider to many in Kars.

The reviewers argue that through a rich tapestry of comedy, tragedy, and history, Pamuk weaves together diverse narratives born from a Türkiye caught between religious and secular worlds. Consider the following excerpts:

- “Neige est un livre sur la présence - ou l’absence - de Dieu. [...] Tout comme Pamuk, le poète [protagoniste du roman] a l’esprit en Europe et le cœur en Turquie. Intellectuel et athée, il va bientôt devenir l’agent - double - d’une négociation entre islamistes et kémalistes, allant des uns aux autres sans adhérer à aucun camp. [...] Avec ce roman magistral, Pamuk poursuit sa recherche d’une voie, philosophique et idéologique, pour comprendre la confrontation entre Orient et Occident.” (Audrerie, 2005, *Le Figaro Magazine*) [Back translation: “Neige is a book about the presence - or absence - of God. [...] Like Pamuk, the poet [the novel’s protagonist] has his mind in Europe and his heart in Turkey. An intellectual and atheist, he soon becomes the agent - a double agent - of negotiations between Islamists and Kemalists, going from one to the other without adhering to either camp. [...] With this masterly novel, Pamuk continues his search for a philosophical and ideological way to understand the confrontation between East and West.”]

- “The elegant overcoat he wears (purchased in Frankfurt) marks him out for many in Kars as a Westernised intellectual. For them, Westernisation is synonymous with atheism. They are not to know that during his brief stay among them he is trying to find a way back to God.” (Bailey, 2004, *The Independent*)
- “Pamuk weaves the many tales bred by a Turkey caught between religious and secular worlds into a tapestry of comedy, tragedy and history. The judges loved the blending of «rich» themes with «modest» storytelling, and the superb translation.” (Tonkin, 2005, *The Guardian*)
- “Rongée, minée de l’intérieur, la Turquie actuelle empêche d’être heureux: tel semble être le message crypté de ce foisonnant roman.” (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2005) [Back translation: “Gnawed away, undermined from within, today’s Turkey makes it impossible to be happy: this seems to be the cryptic message of this abundant novel.”]

The novel’s international recognition, including the prestigious Prix Médicis étranger in France, underscores its impact and relevance in exploring the cultural dimensions of Türkiye. Several French reviewers emphasize Pamuk’s ability to convey the inner turmoil and external struggles of a nation torn between conflicting ideologies and histories, resonating with audiences and offering a poignant commentary on the challenges facing modern-day Türkiye. In essence, *Snow* serves as a reflection on the cultural fault lines and societal upheavals that define the contemporary Turkish experience, encapsulating the complexities of identity, faith, and belonging in a rapidly changing world.

Snow is also acclaimed for its profound exploration of religious themes. The novel’s exploration of the intersections between the Ottoman past and present-day Türkiye illuminates points of convergence and divergence between Orient and Occident, shedding light on the enduring cultural dialogues that shape Turkish identity.

- “Dans ce roman, un journaliste en reportage assiste aux luttes entre laïques et islamistes. Un tableau de la Turquie d’aujourd’hui entre Orient et Occident.” (Clavel, 2005, *Lire*) [Back translation: “In this novel, a journalist on a reporting assignment witnesses the struggles between secularists and Islamists. A picture of today’s Turkey between East and West.”]
- “Orhan Pamuk, européen par raison, turc de cœur, encourageant l’islam à la modération. Une utopie?” (Carcassonne, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk, European by reason, Turkish at heart, encouraging moderation in Islam. A utopia?”]
- “In *Snow*, Pamuk uses his powers to show us the critical dilemmas of modern Turkey. How European a country is it? How can it respond to fundamentalist Islam? And how can an artist deal with these issues?” (Payne, 2004, *The Telegraph*)

- “The writer has produced a novel of profound relevance to the present moment. The core debate between the forces of secularism and those of religious fanaticism within modern Turkey is conducted with subtle, painful insight into the human weakness that can underlie both impulses.” (Mooney, 2004, *The Times*)
- “Une œuvre qui s’emploie à tisser des liens entre le monde ottoman d’hier et la Turquie d’aujourd’hui, à mettre au jour aussi les points de rencontre entre Orient et Occident.” (Crom, 2006, *Télérama*) [Back translation: “A work that weaves links between the Ottoman world of yesterday and the Turkey of today, revealing the meeting points between East and West.”]
- “Neige nous parle de notre rapport au divin, des abîmes qui séparent les Européens et les habitants de cette petite ville engloutie dans le temps, des mensonges de l’amour et de la difficulté de comprendre la souffrance ou l’amour de l’autre, qu’il soit maître du monde ou petit voyou de la périphérie de l’Occident.” (Rondeau, 2005, *L’express*) [Back translation: “Neige speaks to us of our relationship with the divine, of the abyss that separates Europeans from the inhabitants of this small town swallowed up in time, of the lies of love, and of the difficulty of understanding the suffering or love of others, whether they be masters of the world or petty thugs on the outskirts of the West.”]
- “For the past 200 years, he says, «an immense attempt has been made to occidentalise Turkey. I believe in that, but once your culture thinks of itself as weak, and tries to copy another, you sense that the centre is some place else.” (Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*)

According to reviews, *Snow* is as a powerful exploration of the religious, cultural, and societal dilemmas facing contemporary Türkiye. The novel presents Türkiye as a land marked by rain, fog, and cold, characterized by a tumultuous cultural and political heritage that contributes to its chaotic and uncertain identity, emphasizing the dichotomies that define Turkish society and shape its contemporary identity.

- “La Turquie d’Orhan Pamuk n’a rien d’une carte postale exotique pour touristes. C’est un pays de pluie, de brouillard, de froid. Un pays tourmenté à l’héritage culturel et politique hétérogène, à l’identité chaotique et incertaine. Un pays tiraillé entre un passé ottoman glorieux et la tentation de l’Occident.” (Crom, 2007, *Télérama*) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk’s Turkey is no exotic postcard for tourists. It’s a land of rain, fog and cold. A tormented country with a heterogeneous cultural and political heritage, a chaotic and uncertain identity. A country torn between a glorious Ottoman past and the temptation of the West.”]
- “La Turquie d’Orhan Pamuk [est] un pays tourmenté à l’héritage culturel et politique complexe, à l’identité aujourd’hui chaotique et incertaine. Un pays frontière tiraillé, qui hésite entre Orient et Occident.” (Crom, 2005, *La Croix*) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk’s Turkey [is] a tormented country with a complex cultural and political heritage, and a chaotic, uncertain identity. A frontier country torn between East and West.”]

- “Riche, foisonnant et virtuose: Neige, sixième roman traduit d’Orhan Pamuk, explore les contradictions de l’identité turque aujourd’hui.” (Nicolas, 2005, L’Humanité) [Back translation: “Rich, abundant and virtuoso: Snow, Orhan Pamuk’s sixth translated novel, explores the contradictions of Turkish identity today.”]
- “[Pamuk]: ‘L’identité de la Turquie d’aujourd’hui fonctionne d’ailleurs de cette manière. Elle est faite de contradictions: d’un côté, une classe dirigeante aisée, minoritaire, européanisée, et, de l’autre côté, une population pauvre, rivée à ses traditions ancestrales, presque moyenâgeuse.’” (Clavel, 2005, Lire) [Back translation: “The identity of today’s Turkey functions in just this way. It’s made up of contradictions: on the one hand, a wealthy, minority, Europeanized ruling class, and on the other, a poor population clinging to its ancestral, almost medieval traditions.”]
- “Depuis son premier roman publié en 1982, cet écrivain n’a cessé d’évoquer les conflits dans lesquels, depuis un siècle, ses concitoyens se débattent, pris en tenaille entre des aspirations contradictoires que la ville d’Istanbul symbolise à la perfection: d’un côté l’Orient et ses traditions; de l’autre la tentation de l’Occident, au risque de la perte d’identité.” (de Barochez, 2006, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “Since his first novel, published in 1982, this writer has never ceased to evoke the conflicts in which his fellow citizens have been struggling for a century, caught between contradictory aspirations that the city of Istanbul symbolizes to perfection: on the one hand, the East and its traditions; on the other, the temptation of the West, at the risk of losing their identity.”]
- “More often, however, Pamuk shows us people who fear that living, as he puts it, ‘in a Westernised fashion in a country that is essentially not Western’ has drained them of selfhood. Doubles and false identities proliferate in his books, and his characters frequently suffer from feelings of inauthenticity.” (Tayler, 2004, London Review of Books)
- “He acknowledges that a common theme in his books has been ‘cultural change; living in a westernised fashion in a country that is essentially not western’”. (Wroe, 2004, The Guardian)

Overall, *Snow* emerges as a compelling and immersive exploration of Turkish identity, presenting a vivid and multifaceted portrait of a nation grappling with its past, present, and future. The passages above suggest that the concept of Türkiye as a bridge holds both metaphorical and concrete significance (e.g., “Pamuk, ex-architecte, s’obstine à dessiner un pont entre l’Occident et l’Orient, ‘la modernité et la tradition’ [Pamuk, a former architect, insists on building a bridge between West and East, ‘modernity and tradition’].” Laval, 2005, *Télérama*), particularly in discussions concerning the Turkish identity, which is very much in line with the findings of the analysis on news articles in Chapter II. Beyond its geographical and geopolitical role, Türkiye is seen as a bridge in terms of culture and religion. This perspective presents Türkiye as a mediator between

civilizations, a portrayal that has gained prominence in the context of discussions surrounding the clash of civilizations and underscores the significance of its role in facilitating dialogue and understanding between different cultural and religious spheres. Through its intricate depiction of cultural contradictions and societal tensions, reviews on *Snow* align with this narrative framing. However, reviews tend also to signal that Pamuk offers readers challenging narratives and invite them to deeper reflection on the complexities of national consciousness in a globalized world.

4.2.4.4 Political Distinction

The communication around the political distinction collectively highlights the overarching theme of *Snow* as a poignant exploration of the complex socio-political landscape of Türkiye, particularly in its struggle between secularism and religious extremists. Reviewers argue that Pamuk’s narrative delves into the tensions surrounding the clash of modernity and tradition, symbolized by the contentious issues of the veil and political Islam. Through the protagonist Ka’s encounters and reflections, the novel navigates through the various political ideologies and societal pressures, including the role of the military, the plight of the disenfranchised, and the struggle for personal freedom amid state control, as it can be observed in the following excerpts:

- “Neige ose démontrer l’incompatibilité entre démocratie et religion extrémiste, raconte la haine - une forme de désarroi. On y lit ceci: ‘Nous autres, nous ne pouvons pas être européens! lança un autre jeune islamiste avec un air d’orgueil. Ceux qui s’emploient à nous faire entrer de force dans leur modèle, ils pourraient peut-être le faire à coups de tanks et de fusils, en nous liquidant tous. Mais notre âme, jamais ils ne pourront la changer.’” (Laval, 2005, Télérama) [Back translation: “Neige dares to demonstrate the incompatibility between democracy and extremist religion, telling of hatred - a form of dismay. It reads as follows: ‘We can’t be Europeans,’ says another young Islamist with an air of pride. ‘Those who are trying to force us into their model could perhaps do so with tanks and guns, liquidating us all. But they’ll never be able to change our soul.’”]
- “Neige est un plaidoyer pour la laïcité, contre le fanatisme. Mais Pamuk est également un auteur honoré pour son courage politique. Inculpé, il risque, le 16 décembre à Istanbul, trois ans de prison pour avoir évoqué dans un journal suisse le massacre des Arméniens en 1915 et la lutte des Kurdes.” (Libération, 2005) [Back translation: “Neige is a plea for secularism, against fanaticism. But Pamuk is also an author honored for his political courage. Indicted on December 16 in Istanbul, he faces a three-year prison sentence for writing in a Swiss newspaper about the Armenian massacre of 1915 and the Kurdish struggle.”]

- “Neige, le nouveau roman de Pamuk, a dû passer pour un brûlot en Turquie car il touche à des questions sensibles - le port du voile, par exemple. ‘C’est mon premier livre politique’, explique l’écrivain, qui y confronte nationalistes laïques et islamistes radicaux. ‘J’ai voulu explorer ces mondes antagonistes, poursuit-il. Ballotté entre les deux camps, se trouve un journaliste nourri de culture européenne. Je raconte sa vision des choses.’” (Clavel, 2005, Lire) [Back translation: “Pamuk’s new novel, Neige, must have felt like a firebrand in Turkey, because it touches on sensitive issues - the wearing of the headscarf, for example. It’s my first political book”, explains the writer, who pits secular nationalists against radical Islamists. I wanted to explore these antagonistic worlds,” he continues. Tossed between the two camps is a journalist who has been nourished by European culture. I tell his story”]
- “Neige, ce sont tous les tourments de la Turquie actuelle, tous ses drames concentrés dans un roman aux allures de fable politique. Il faut le lire pour comprendre, de l’intérieur, le présent si douloureux de ce pays déchiré entre lumières et ténèbres.” (Clavel, 2005, Lire) [Back translation: “Neige brings together all the torments and dramas of modern-day Turkey in a novel that resembles a political fable. It must be read to understand, from the inside, the painful present of a country torn between light and darkness.”]
- “Snow is also an avowedly political work of fiction, of a kind still relatively rare in Britain. It finds voices for religious and other fanatics, for reactionaries and the occasional moderniser, and those who maintain that their arcane beliefs need not be challenged with reason.” (Bailey, 2004, The Independent)
- “Neige plonge directement dans la Turquie d’aujourd’hui: ‘J’ai voulu sortir ce que j’avais dans les tripes à propos de l’islam politique.’” (Bédarida, 2005, Le Monde) [Back translation: “Neige plunges straight into today’s Turkey: ‘I wanted to get out what was in my gut about political Islam’.”]
- “Snow deals with some of the large themes of Turkey and the Middle East: the conflict between a secular state and Islamic government, poverty, unemployment, the veil, the role of a modernising army, suicide and yet more suicide.” (Buchan, 2004, The Guardian)
- “The book implies that political Islam should be understood not as something entirely related to religion or any sacred text, but to the poor and dispossessed.” (The Bookseller, 2004)
- “At one point, Ka reflects on the writers he’s known who have been lynched by Islamists, and it’s a reminder that writing Snow has been an act of bravery, too. It’s an unexpected sort of bravery, though, because Pamuk has made great efforts to enter the Islamists’ heads. The effect is like meeting the possessed anarchists in Dostoevsky – these alternative views of the world find full expression, and make us question our own.” (Payne, 2004, The Telegraph)

One important element that emerges in the communication by the British and French press is the fact *Snow* stirred controversy and criticism from both secularists and Islamist

factions in Türkiye, showcasing, according to reviews, Pamuk's bold exploration of societal tensions and political complexities. The novel's portrayal of various social and political actors, including military, Islamist, and secularist groups, drew fire from all sides, each finding fault with Pamuk's narrative for different reasons, as stated in many interviews by himself. Secularists were unsettled by the depiction of military interventions, while Islamists took issue with the portrayal of religious hypocrisy and moral ambiguity. Pamuk's candid examination of taboo topics such as the death of Armenians and the Kurdish question further fuelled controversy, leading to accusations of betrayal and opportunism from some quarters.

- “Pamuk seems to be making the point that all political acts are so much posturing” (Gee, 2004, *The Sunday Times*)
- “Il s'est vu qualifier de renégat par ses détracteurs en Turquie pour des déclarations sur des sujets longtemps restés tabous. 'Un million d'Arméniens et 30 000 Kurdes ont été tués sur ces terres, mais personne d'autre que moi n'ose le dire', avait-il ainsi affirmé en février 2005 dans un hebdomadaire suisse.” (Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, *La Croix*) [Back translation: “His detractors in Turkey have branded him a renegade for his statements on subjects that have long remained taboo. ‘A million Armenians and 30,000 Kurds were killed on these lands, but no one but me dares to say it’, he said in February 2005 in a Swiss weekly.”]
- “Je crois, de plus, avoir donné leur chance à tous les acteurs de la société: militaires, islamistes, laïques, nationalistes. Aucun, c'est vrai, n'a apprécié le livre: les islamistes n'ont pas aimé le style occidentalisé du roman, sa construction sophistiquée, à l'europpéenne.” (Didier, 2005, *Le Nouvel Observateur*) [Back translation: “What's more, I think I gave all the players in society a chance: military, Islamists, secularists, nationalists. The Islamists didn't like the novel's Westernized style, its sophisticated, European-style construction.”]
- [Pamuk about *Snow*] “Both the secularists and the political Islamists were upset, but I survive,” he shrugs. (Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*)
- “un entretien où il revenait sur l'accueil de son livre en Turquie. ‘Les islamistes politiques et les militaires laïcistes ont aimé, et détesté, le livre, pour des raisons diamétralement opposées. Les islamistes ont aimé qu'un écrivain séculier, du bord opposé au leur, donc, admettait honnêtement que les militaires turcs les opprimaient et que l'establishment politico-militaire ne se souciait aucunement de liberté religieuse et de démocratie. Mais ils ont très mal pris que je montre un ‘croyant’ - c'est le nom qu'ils emploient pour eux-mêmes - faire l'amour hors mariage. Pour eux, cela ne correspondait pas à la réalité. Mais ils ne s'en sont pas pris à ma personne, ne m'ont pas menacé. Les laïcs ont d'abord apprécié que ce livre soit le reflet de l'inquiétude à propos des objectifs et des méthodes des fondamentalistes, de leur progression électorale. Mais ils ont été dérangés par un livre

qui montrait les tortures de l'armée." (Nicolas, 2006, L'Humanité) [Back translation: "an interview in which he discussed the reception of his book in Turkey. The political Islamists and the secularist military loved, and hated, the book, for diametrically opposed reasons. The Islamists liked the fact that a secular writer, on the opposite side of the spectrum from them, was honestly admitting that the Turkish military oppressed them and that the military-political establishment had no concern for religious freedom and democracy. But they took it very badly when I showed a 'believer' – that's the name they use for themselves – having sex outside marriage. For them, it didn't correspond to reality. But they didn't attack me or threaten me. At first, lay people appreciated that the book reflected their concern about the objectives and methods of fundamentalists, and their electoral progress. But they were disturbed by a book that showed army torture."]

- "Nobel prize for Turkish author who divided nation over massacres" (title, Poole, 2006, The Daily Telegraph)
- "Paru à Istanbul en 2002, le livre a connu un accueil mitigé. 'Les islamistes se sont dit: qui est ce bourgeois pro-américain qui parle de nous? Mais ils ont apprécié qu'on fasse l'effort de chercher à les comprendre. Il y a eu beaucoup de colère aussi chez les laïques proches de l'armée: le livre dénonce les mauvais traitements que les forces militaires imposent à leur propre peuple.' De plus, en Turquie comme ailleurs, note Orhan Pamuk, "les lecteurs sont surtout des lectrices, et elles n'éprouvent aucune compassion envers les islamistes'." (Bédarida, 2005, Le Monde) [Back translation: - "Published in Istanbul in 2002, the book met with a mixed reception. 'The Islamists said to themselves: who is this pro-American bourgeois talking about us? But they appreciated that we made the effort to understand them. There was also a lot of anger among secularists close to the army: the book denounces the mistreatment that military forces impose on their own people.' What's more, in Turkey as elsewhere, notes Orhan Pamuk, 'readers are mostly women, and they have no sympathy for the Islamists'."]
- "Dans un pays où littérature rime souvent avec engagement politique, l'auteur stambouliote [Orhan Pamuk] inspirait une moue dubitative à nombre de ses pairs, qui lui reprochaient de n'être pas assez en prise avec les réalités du pays [...] Car Orhan Pamuk est désormais suspecté d'avoir instrumentalisé la cause de la minorité arménienne pour doper sa carrière et faire briller son étoile sur la scène internationale, à défaut d'avoir su gagner le cœur de ses congénères." (de Barochez, 2006, Le Figaro) [Back translation: "In a country where literature often rhymes with political commitment, the Stamboulian author [Orhan Pamuk] inspired a dubious pout from many of his peers, who criticized him for not being sufficiently in touch with the realities of the country [...] For Orhan Pamuk is now suspected of having used the cause of the Armenian minority to boost his career and make his star shine on the international scene, failing to win the hearts of his fellow countrymen."]

A significant aspect of the political distinction evident in the critiques of *Snow* is the frequent reference to and discussion of the trial faced by Pamuk (Boulouque, 2005, Le Figaro; Stroth, 2005, Lire; The Guardian, 2005 and 2006; Nicolas, 2005, L'Humanité;

Lebrun et Nicolas, 2005, *L'Humanité*; Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2007; Poole, 2006, *The Daily Telegraph*; Pamuk, 2006, *The Guardian*; Zanganeh, 2006a, *Le Monde*). The comments from the French and British press regarding the trial against Orhan Pamuk, reveal the intense scrutiny and controversy surrounding his case. In both English and French excerpts, there is a recognition of the significance of Pamuk's trial and the challenges he faces as a writer caught in the crosshairs of political and nationalist tensions.

The French press emphasizes the aggressive response from Turkish authorities to Pamuk's statements on the Armenian and Kurdish issues, portraying him as a reluctant political figure thrust into the international spotlight.

As noted in the analysis of press articles in Chapter II, British contributors who use the term "genocide" in reference to the Armenian issue do so cautiously. They mention that some observers interpret the events as "genocide", but do not themselves adopt this framing. Specifically, the term appears in four reviews (*The Guardian*, 2005 and 2006; Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*; Poole, 2006, *The Daily Telegraph*). In contrast, the French corpus includes 16 reviews where the term "genocide" is used directly and deliberately to describe the events of 1915 as a "genocide". This difference highlights a more assertive stance in the French media compared to the British media regarding the classification of the events involving Armenians in 1915.

The reviews also highlight the threats and intimidation Pamuk faced from nationalist factions within Türkiye, with one magistrate even calling for the burning of all his books. The trial, rooted in a law banning insults to Turkish identity, is depicted as a broader reflection of the country's democratic values and (non)respect for freedom of speech. The French commentaries underscore the notion that Pamuk is not just on trial himself – but that the very essence of Türkiye is being judged in this process, stirring concerns about the country's commitment to democratic principles. The findings on the analysis of press articles dealing with Turkish-EU relations (Chapter II) align with this negative framing expressing mainly concerns and disapproval, reflecting the arguments concerning Türkiye's distance from the European system in terms of democracy and human rights from the European observers' perspective.

In a similar line but less extensively, the British press portrays the trial as a pivotal moment in Türkiye's journey towards becoming a secular Muslim democracy within the European Union. The comments suggest that Pamuk's trial is emblematic of larger

societal transformations in Türkiye. The trial is viewed as a litmus test for Türkiye's commitment to free expression and democratic values, with Pamuk's case being closely watched by those who support his cause both within and outside the country. Consider the following excerpts:

- “‘Bien malgré lui, le procès intenté à Orhan Pamuk a provoqué une curiosité pour son œuvre grâce à la presse et aux intellectuels qui se sont mobilisés autour de son cas’, explique l’éditeur.” (Aissaoui, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “‘In spite of itself, Orhan Pamuk’s trial has aroused curiosity about his work, thanks to the press and intellectuals who have rallied around his case’, explains the publisher.”]
- “‘Attaqué pour sa liberté de parole par les islamistes et les militaires, l’auteur de ‘Neige’ est au centre d’une violente polémique en Turquie.’” (title, Bédarida, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “‘Attacked for his freedom of speech by Islamists and the military, the author of ‘Snow’ is at the center of a violent controversy in Turkey.’”]
- “‘Défenseur de la cause kurde et de la mémoire du génocide arménien, Orhan Pamuk est une cible de choix pour islamistes et militaires. Inculpé d’insulte délibérée à l’identité turque pour des propos tenus sur ces sujets interdits.’” (Boulouque, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “‘Defender of the Kurdish cause and the memory of the Armenian genocide, Orhan Pamuk is a prime target for Islamists and the military. Charged with deliberate insult to Turkish identity for comments made on these prohibited subjects.’”]
- “‘The trial will be observed closely by many loyal friends of the writer and of his country, now on track to becoming the only secular Muslim democracy in the EU.’” (*The Guardian*, 2005)
- “‘Orhan Pamuk fait depuis quelques mois la une de l’actualité, à la suite du procès intenté par les autorités turques à propos de ses déclarations sur le génocide des Arméniens.’” (Lebrun et Nicolas, 2005, *L’Humanité*) [Back translation: “‘Orhan Pamuk has been in the news for several months, following the lawsuit brought by the Turkish authorities regarding his statements on the Armenian genocide.’”]
- “‘Lui qui refuse d’être défini comme un écrivain politique s’était retrouvé, dès avant le Nobel, sur le devant de la scène médiatique internationale, violemment attaqué par les nationalistes de son pays et menacé de procès pour insulte à la nation turque, cela pour avoir évoqué dans la presse l’assassinat “de 1 million d’Arméniens et de 30 000 Kurdes.” au cours du XXe siècle en Turquie.’” (Crom, 2007, *Télérama*) [Back translation: “‘He who refuses to be defined as a political writer had found himself, even before the Nobel, at the forefront of the international media scene, violently attacked by the nationalists of his country and threatened with trial for insulting the Turkish nation, this for having mentioned in the press the assassination “of 1 million Armenians and 30,000 Kurds.”’”]
- “‘Ces déclarations sont jugées en contradiction avec l’intérêt national turc et Pamuk est soumis à une campagne d’intimidation: il est menacé de mort, vilipendé; un sous-préfet ordonne un autodafé de tous ses livres. Un procès se prépare, qui s’appuie sur une loi de

juin 2005 interdisant d'insulter délibérément l'identité turque. Il risque jusqu'à quatre ans de prison. 'Ce n'est pas Orhan Pamuk qui est jugé mais la Turquie', déclare alors le commissaire européen à l'élargissement. En octobre 2005, Pamuk est inculpé par une cour d'Istanbul." (Zanganeh, 2006b, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: "These statements are deemed to contradict Turkish national interest and Pamuk is subjected to a campaign of intimidation: he is threatened with death, vilified; a sub-prefect orders a burning of all his books. A trial is being prepared, which is based on a June 2005 law prohibiting deliberately insulting Turkish identity. He faces up to four years in prison. 'It is not Orhan Pamuk who is being judged but Turkey', declared the European Commissioner for Enlargement. In October 2005, Pamuk was indicted by an Istanbul court."]

- "Sa liberté de parole lui vaut actuellement un procès pour ses déclarations au journal suisse *Tagesanzeiger*, en février: "Un million d'Arméniens et 30 000 Kurdes ont été tués sur ces terres, mais presque personne n'ose en parler." Le mot de génocide n'a pas été prononcé, mais la phrase a déclenché la colère des milieux nationalistes. [...] Une association de juristes nationalistes a porté plainte contre des propos publiés par le journal allemand *Die Welt*. Il y affirme que l'armée turque 'nuît parfois au développement de la démocratie'." (Bédarida, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: "His freedom of speech has currently landed him on trial for his statements to the Swiss newspaper *Tagesanzeiger* in February: "A million Armenians and 30,000 Kurds were killed on these lands, but almost no one dares to talk about it." The word genocide was not uttered, but the sentence sparked anger in nationalist circles. [...] An association of nationalist jurists has filed a complaint against comments published by the German newspaper *Die Welt*. He states that the Turkish army 'sometimes harms the development of democracy'."]
- "[Pamuk] vit depuis quelques mois aux Etats-Unis, après avoir reçu des menaces de mort répétées d'ultranationalistes turcs indignés par ses prises de position publiques en faveur des droits des Kurdes ou de la nécessité, pour la Turquie, de solder les comptes avec le génocide arménien de 1915." (Sémo, 2007, *Libération*) [Back translation: "[Pamuk] has been living in the United States for several months, after having received repeated death threats from Turkish ultranationalists outraged by his public positions in favor of the rights of the Kurds or the need for Turkey to settle the accounts with the Armenian genocide of 1915."]
- "Between two worlds: Last year's Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk has faced criminal charges and even death threats in his native Turkey, yet he refuses to be disillusioned about the country's future" (title, Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*)
- "[Pamuk:] The issue is getting to be part of international politics, which I am upset about," he says. "For me, this is first an issue of freedom of speech in Turkey. We have to be able to talk about this, whatever one's opinion on it. The French resolution only made things harder for the democrats of Turkey. And I don't want to see Turkey's relations with the west destroyed because of the manipulation of this issue by various governmental bodies." (Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*)

- “ORHAN PAMUK, the Turkish novelist prosecuted for ‘insulting Turkishness’ after commenting on the scale of the Armenian massacre, was yesterday named winner of the Nobel Prize for literature.” (Poole, 2006, The Daily Telegraph)
- “He faced up to three years in prison, but the case was dropped on a technicality in January. [...] However, Pamuk’s comments resulted in death threats and a provincial governor calling for his books to be burnt. At one point he had to go into hiding abroad.” (Poole, 2006, The Daily Telegraph)

Overall, the French and British press responses to Pamuk’s trial reveal the broader implications of his case for freedom of speech, and democratic principles. In particular, the French press seems to have a more intense and extensive interest in Pamuk’s political statements and his trial compared to their British counterparts. French media outlets have dedicated numerous articles, opinion pieces, and in-depth analyses to the case, delving into the intricacies of Turkish politics and the implications for the future of freedom of expression in the country. This heightened attention underscores the French media’s commitment to defending artistic and intellectual freedoms, as well as their recognition of Pamuk’s significance as a cultural figure challenging the status quo in Türkiye.

French critics also emphasize Pamuk’s exploration of Türkiye’s centuries-long struggle to integrate with Europe and the internal conflicts that arise from this movement towards the West. They highlight the pain and complexity of this cultural shift, portraying Pamuk as a staunch supporter of Türkiye’s integration into the European Union. The French press also draws attention to the broader implications of Pamuk’s trial, particularly in relation to EU-Türkiye relations and the scrutiny it has placed on Türkiye’s legal system and the protection of freedom of speech.

- “Ajoutez à cela que dans la même période, la Turquie a fait débat quant à son entrée dans l’Europe.” (Aissaoui, 2006, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “Add to this that during the same period, Turkey was debated about its entry into Europe.”]
- “Pamuk est également un farouche partisan de l’intégration de sa patrie à l’Union européenne.” (Clavel, 2005, Lire) [Back translation: “Pamuk is also a fierce supporter of his homeland’s integration into the European Union”]
- “traite dans son oeuvre, traduite en une vingtaine de langues, des conflits d’une société entre Orient et Occident. Les efforts séculaires de la Turquie pour s’intégrer à l’Europe et les déchirements souvent douloureux, tant pour la société que pour les individus, que ce mouvement à marche forcée vers l’ouest a induits sont en effet au cœur de ses livres.” (Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, La Croix) [Back translation: “deals in his work, translated into twenty languages, with the conflicts of a society between East and West. Turkey’s

centuries-old efforts to integrate into Europe and the often painful heartbreaks, both for society and for individuals, that this forced movement towards the west has induced are in fact at the heart of his books.”]

- “Cette affaire a focalisé l’attention de l’Union européenne sur l’article 301 du code pénal, qui avait permis son inculpation, et dont le libellé extrêmement vague a conduit au déclenchement de poursuites contre plus de 70 intellectuels en moins de deux ans.” (Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, La Croix) [Back translation: “This case focused the attention of the European Union on article 301 of the penal code, which had allowed his indictment, and whose extremely vague wording led to the initiation of proceedings against more than 70 intellectuals in less than two years.”]
- ““He has been courageous about human-rights issues,’ says Freely, ‘and has been very lucky not to have spent time in prison for his views. Any classmate of ours who was remotely interested in politics ended up in prison at some time or other. The fact that he can get away with saying things about the state because of his international reputation makes the obligation greater for him to do so when he can. And there is a sense that the human rights issue has to be addressed before they stand any chance of joining the European Union.’” (Wroe, 2004, The Guardian)
- “[Pamuk] riposte à la volée au journaliste qui lui parle des droits de l’homme ou de l’entrée de la Turquie dans l’Europe. Il répond avec des phrases calibrées, remâchées, ironise sur nos clichés à propos de son pays, entre le mameluk au sabre recourbé et les prisons de Midnight Express.” (Carcassonne, 2005, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “[Pamuk] responds on the fly to the journalist who talks to him about human rights or Turkey’s entry into Europe. He responds with calibrated, rehearsed sentences, ironically about our clichés about his country, between the Mameluk with the curved saber and the prisons of Midnight Express”]

In a notable interview with Orhan Pamuk (Jacob, 2005, Le Nouvel Observateur), the initial inquiry addresses the expectations of Turks from Europe as negotiations between Türkiye and the European Union begin. The interview includes four questions specifically about Turkish-EU relations and the diverse ideologies within Türkiye, while another question focuses on the trial Pamuk faced. Additionally, two questions explore his novel *Snow*, and two more address his future projects and writing.³² This interview underscores

³² In another interview, once again published in France, two footnote references are given (Laval, 2005, Téléràma). The first footnote reads: “Massacres et déportations massives ont été perpétrés entre 1915 et 1917, touchant les deux tiers de la population arménienne vivant dans l’Empire ottoman. De nombreuses

the tight connection between political distinction and Pamuk's literary output and persona, signalling a strong structural coupling of the mass media with the functional system of politics.

Continuing the discussion on Türkiye's bid to join the EU, it is important to note that the quote "we cannot be Europeans!" from the novel is frequently referenced in reviews, emphasizing the question of whether Turkish identity can be compatible with European identity. This topic is a significant focus in the media and sparks considerable debate. The examination of Turkish identity in relation to Europe, including self-reference and other-reference (in this case reference to the Turkish Other), is a recurring and contentious issue. This theme is not only prevalent in public discussions but also deeply ingrained in the context surrounding the reviews, reflecting the larger societal and ideological debates that influence Türkiye's efforts and challenges in seeking European integration.

- "[Pamuk]: Il y a un an, près de 80% des Turcs étaient favorables à l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne. Ce chiffre est tombé cette année à 65%. Peut-être parce que les Turcs sentent que l'Europe hésite. Voilà un pays qui frappe à la porte de l'Europe et demande: 'Voulez-vous nous laisser partager votre civilisation?' Et il s'entend répondre: 'Nous ne savons pas. Nous allons réfléchir.' L'Europe promet sans tenir, et demande toujours plus. Tout cela n'est pas bien vu en Turquie. C'est du pain bénit pour les nationalistes. Et pour tous ceux qui résistent à l'Europe, les vieux bureaucrates, les militaires, les ultra- islamistes." (Jacob, 2005, *Le Nouvel Observateur*) [Back translation:

nations ont reconnu le génocide arménien, dont le Parlement européen (1987), le Vatican, la France, la Belgique, la Grèce, l'Italie, la Suisse... Ne l'ont pas reconnu: la Turquie, les Etats-Unis (malgré les promesses électorales de G.W. Bush), Israël... [Massacres and mass deportations were carried out between 1915 and 1917, affecting two-thirds of the Armenian population living in the Ottoman Empire. Many nations have recognized the Armenian genocide, including the European Parliament (1987), the Vatican, France, Belgium, Greece, Italy, Switzerland... It has not been recognized by Türkiye, the United States (despite the electoral promises of G.W. Bush), Israel...]

The second footnote recommends the following books to readers: *Les Arméniens, Histoire d'un génocide* [The Armenians, History of a Genocide] by Yves Ternon (Seuil, 1977), *Histoire du génocide arménien* [History of the Armenian Genocide] by Vahakn Dadrian (Stock, 1996)."

In another review (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2005), it is noted that during his visit to Paris, he avoided any questions about Armenia and the Kurds. It is also affirmed that a committee of French intellectuals wanted to include a petition of support in the French edition of *Snow*. Following Pamuk's decision, Gallimard refused. Lorrain emphasizes that it's important to distinguish between his personal convictions and his work as a novelist and reminds that Pamuk is a secular citizen, opposed to the wearing of veils in public buildings, while as a novelist, he avoids the trap of denunciation. (*Le Point*, 2005)

“[Pamuk]: A year ago, almost 80% of Turks were in favor of Turkey joining the European Union. This figure fell this year to 65%. Perhaps because the Turks feel that Europe is hesitating. Here is a country knocking on the door of Europe and asking: ‘Will you let us share your civilization?’ And it is answered: ‘We don’t know. We will think.’ Europe promises without delivering, and always asks for more. All this is not well seen in Türkiye. This is holy bread for nationalists. And for all those who resist Europe, the old bureaucrats, the military, the ultra-Islamists.”]

- “La Turquie a besoin de l’Europe pour échapper à ses radicalismes, religieux, nationalistes. L’histoire de la Turquie, d’Istanbul, et mon livre en témoigne, est liée aussi à l’histoire de l’Europe et des Européens. J’ai fait tout ce qui était en mon pouvoir pour rapprocher la Turquie de l’Europe.” (Lorrain, 2007, *Le Point*) [Back translation: “Turkey needs Europe to escape its religious and nationalist radicalism. The history of Turkey, of Istanbul, and my book bears witness to this, is also linked to the history of Europe and Europeans. I have done everything in my power to bring Turkey closer to Europe.”]
- “[Pamuk]: Si vous imaginiez le nombre de gens qui savent que je suis pro-européen, que je souhaite ardemment l’intégration de la Turquie dans l’Union européenne - et qui m’ont reproché le fait que mon roman « contredise » mes idées politiques!” (Zanganeh, 2006a, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “[Pamuk]: If you could imagine the number of people who know that I am pro-European, that I ardently wish for Turkey’s integration into the European Union - and who have criticized me for the fact that my novel "contradicts" my political ideas!"]
- By coincidence this most prestigious award was announced on the very day the French national assembly voted to outlaw denial of the Armenian genocide of 1915 - a move which has infuriated Ankara and will feed suspicions of European prejudice towards the only Muslim candidate for EU membership. France boasts a large and active Armenian community which lobbied long and hard for recognition of the mass killings by the Ottomans during the first world war and for legislation that mirrors penalties for denial of the Nazi Holocaust. [...] Furthermore, some in France are quite clearly exploiting the issue to prevent Turkey getting into the EU, despite Jacques Chirac’s formal commitment to see it in the club. [...] There was an ironic twist to yesterday’s news. Pamuk was prosecuted under article 301 of the Turkish penal code, the use of which is encouraged by right-wing nationalists who complain that Europe is undermining the country’s identity, and which must go if Turkey is to join the EU. But it is hypocritical of Europe to demand that Turkey modernise its laws when France is moving in precisely the opposite - illiberal – direction. (*The Guardian*, 2006)

The reviews from the British and French press on reviews and interviews reveal both shared concerns and divergent emphases between the two countries. French reviews focus heavily on Pamuk’s advocacy for Türkiye’s integration into the European Union and the complex relationship between Türkiye and Europe. For instance, Pamuk highlights the declining Turkish support for EU membership, attributing it to Europe’s hesitation and

perceived reluctance, which fuels nationalist and Islamist opposition within Türkiye (Jacob, 2005, *Le Nouvel Observateur*). Additionally, Pamuk's statements stressing the necessity of European integration to help Türkiye escape its radical religious and nationalist elements is also addressed many times (e.g., Lorrain, 2007, *Le Point*). Furthermore, reviewers also quote Pamuk's expression of frustration over criticisms that his pro-European stance contradicts the themes in his novels, suggesting a deep personal commitment to Türkiye's European integration (Zanganeh, 2006a, *Le Monde*).

In contrast, the British reviews tend to present a broader geopolitical perspective, critiquing both Türkiye and Europe. The irony of Pamuk receiving a prestigious award on the same day France moved to criminalize denial of the so-called Armenian "genocide", a decision that angered Türkiye and reinforced perceptions of European bias against a Muslim-majority candidate for EU membership is highlighted. France's significant Armenian community and their influence in pushing for "genocide" recognition, which some exploit to block Türkiye's EU accession, despite formal support from leaders like Jacques Chirac is noted. Moreover, the hypocrisy of European demands for Turkish legal reforms while France itself adopts increasingly illiberal policies is criticized (The Guardian, 2006).

Overall, while both French and British reviews recognize Pamuk's pro-European stance and the contentious nature of Türkiye's EU bid, French reviews focus more on Pamuk's personal advocacy and the internal dynamics of Turkish support for Europe. In contrast, the British review takes a more critical view of European politics and its implications for Türkiye, highlighting the complexities and contradictions in the EU-Türkiye relationship.

4.2.4.5 Biographical Distinction

The French and English reviews addressing the biographical distinction of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* reflect both shared recognitions and distinct emphases based on Pamuk's biographical background and the novel's themes.

The French reviews emphasize Pamuk's privileged and Westernized upbringing in Istanbul, portraying him as a product of an elite, Francophile background. They highlight his early life within a bourgeois family and his education at an American high school, which set him apart as a sophisticated and cultured individual. For instance, *Le Figaro*

notes his status as a best-selling author translated into many languages, and *Télérama* comments on his innate ease stemming from his affluent and educated background. These reviews often connect Pamuk's personal history with his broader role in the geopolitical debates surrounding Türkiye's integration into the European Union. They stress his literary prowess and his bold engagement with controversial topics, such as the so-called Armenian "genocide", which have earned him both acclaim and threats. The French press also underscores the political significance of his Nobel Prize, suggesting that his recognition is intertwined with the broader discourse on Türkiye's place in Europe.

The English reviews similarly acknowledge Pamuk's elite and Westernized upbringing but focus more on his transition from an aspiring painter to a renowned writer. They highlight his affluent family background and his education at an American school in Istanbul, which catered to the social elite and produced influential figures in Turkish society. *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* discuss how this upbringing made Pamuk "too secular and too Westernized" to fully connect with traditional Turkish voters, suggesting a tension between his personal background and the broader cultural context of Türkiye.

- "Né à Istanbul en 1952, rejeton de la bourgeoisie stambouliote vivant à l'occidentale, éduqué au lycée américain sur le même banc que l'élite des fonctionnaires, flirtant comme tout un chacun dans les années 70 avec les marxistes russophiles, Pamuk le lettré, le fils de famille, a eu le malheur d'acquérir tôt le statut d'écrivain 'best-seller' traduit en toutes langues." (Carcassonne, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: "Born in Istanbul in 1952, scion of the Istanbul bourgeoisie living in the West, educated at the American high school on the same bench as the elite of civil servants, flirting like everyone else in the 70s with the Russophile Marxists, Pamuk the scholar, the son of the family, had the misfortune of early acquiring the status of a 'best-selling' writer translated into all languages.")]
- "Né le 7 juin 1952 dans une famille francophile aisée d'Istanbul, l'écrivain a abandonné à l'âge de vingt-trois ans des études en architecture pour se consacrer à la littérature." (Nicolas, 2006, *L'Humanité*) [Back translation: "Born on June 7, 1952 into a wealthy Francophile family in Istanbul, the writer abandoned his studies in architecture at the age of twenty-three to devote himself to literature.")]
- "Pamuk a cette aisance innée des fils de bonne famille, riche et cultivée." (Laval, 2005, *Télérama*) [Back translation: "Pamuk has the innate ease of the son of a good, rich and cultured family.")]
- "Son pays, la Turquie, se débat dans de graves soubresauts politiques. Orhan Pamuk, prix Nobel de littérature 2006, vit à New York, loin des menaces de mort proférées par des fanatiques turcs qui ne lui ont jamais pardonné d'avoir parlé en public du génocide

arménien. L'écrivain sera aussi l'un des jurés du prochain Festival de Cannes." (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2007) [Back translation: "His country, Turkey, is struggling with serious political upheavals. Orhan Pamuk, 2006 Nobel Prize winner for literature, lives in New York, far from the death threats made by Turkish fanatics who have never forgiven him for speaking in public about the Armenian genocide. The writer will also be one of the jurors of the next Cannes Film Festival."]

- "Les détracteurs de Pamuk diront qu'il a été retenu pour des raisons géopolitiques, en raison du débat sur la vocation de la Turquie à intégrer l'Union européenne. Mais ceux qui ont lu le *Livre noir* ou *Neige* savent déjà que le prix Nobel 2006 a été décerné à un grand écrivain." (*Le Figaro*, 2006) [Back translation: "Critics of Pamuk will say that it was chosen for geopolitical reasons, due to the debate on Turkey's vocation to join the European Union. But those who have read the *Black Book* or *Snow* already know that the 2006 Nobel Prize was awarded to a great writer."]
- "Pamuk was born into a wealthy, westernised family and turned to writing after deciding he did not have the talent to become a painter." (Poole, 2006, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- "Pamuk was born in Istanbul in June 1952 and a description of the upper-class neighbourhood he grew up in can be found in the *The Black Book*. [...] Pamuk and his brother attended the American school in Istanbul where they were taught in English and Turkish. The school catered for a social elite and has produced several Turkish prime ministers, but most of its alumni run Turkish industry and academia. 'That sort of education makes you too secular and too westernised to properly stay in touch with traditional voters,' says Pamuk." (Wroe, 2004, *The Guardian*)
- "Orhan Pamuk is the sort of writer for whom the Nobel Prize was invented". (written before Pamuk received the Nobel Prize, Payne, 2004, *The Telegraph*)
- "Aussi est-ce presque malgré lui que le romancier se transforme en héraut de la liberté d'expression. Huit écrivains de renommée mondiale signent une pétition en sa faveur. Et Pamuk figure, en mai 2006, sur la liste 'Héros et pionniers du monde' de *Time Magazine*." (Zanganeh, 2006b, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: "It is therefore almost in spite of himself that the novelist transforms himself into a herald of freedom of expression. Eight world-renowned writers sign a petition in his favor. And Pamuk appeared, in May 2006, on *Time Magazine*'s 'Heroes and Pioneers of the World' list."]

Both French and English reviews highlight Pamuk's elite, Westernized background and its influence on his literary career. However, the French reviews place a stronger emphasis on Pamuk's role within the geopolitical context of Türkiye's EU aspirations and his bold political statements, especially regarding the so-called Armenian "genocide". They view his work and recognition as intertwined with political debates about Türkiye's future. In contrast, English reviews focus more on Pamuk's personal journey from a wealthy upbringing to literary prominence, appreciating the artistic value of *Snow* and noting the

socio-cultural tensions he navigates as a Westernized intellectual in Türkiye. The French perspective is more politically charged, while the English perspective is more literary and biographical.

Another common trend in both the British and French reviews the recognition of *Snow* for its literary and political dimensions, drawing significant attention from both French and English reviewers. Often described as a “political novel” and a “political thriller”, Pamuk’s work is frequently framed as popular and his books are noted as “best-sellers” (Bédarida, 2005, *Le Monde*; Bédarida, 2008, *Le Monde*; de Falbe, 2004, *Spectator*; Jaggi, 2007, *The Guardian*), highlighting his broad appeal as well as his literary and commercial success.

Pamuk’s “renommée internationale [international reputation]” (Laval, 2005, *Télérama*) is further cemented by his status as a “best-selling author” (Wroe, 2004, *The Guardian*), an “avant-garde writer” (Wroe, 2004, *The Guardian*), and a “succès Mondial” (Jacob, 2005, *Le Nouvel Observateur*). His literary achievements include winning the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006 (Boulouque, 2006, *Le Figaro*; Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, *La Croix*; Harang, 2006, *Libération*; Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2007; Sémo, 2007, *Libération*; Crom, 2007, *Télérama*; Meunier, 2006, *Les Echos*; Nicolas, 2006, *L’Humanité*; Poole, 2006, *The Daily Telegraph*; *The Guardian*, 2006; *The Guardian*, 2005; Zanganeh, 2006, *Le Monde*), earning him the title “Nobel turc [Turkish Nobel]” (Crom, 2005, *La Croix*). His success is also marked by winning the Prix Médicis in France (Boulouque, 2005, *Le Figaro*; Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, *La Croix*; *Libération*, 2005; Nicolas, 2006, *L’Humanité*).

4.2.4.6 Literary Distinction

Under the sub-title “Political Distinction” of the analysis on *Snow*’s reviews, it has been observed that the novel is often described as a political thriller. This designation highlights the pervasive nature of political themes within the narrative. From a literary distinction perspective, many other excerpts, explicitly or implicitly framing *Snow* as “political,” can be found in the corpus. These excerpts emphasize the novel’s engagement with political discourse, illustrating how the storyline navigates complex socio-political landscapes. The political elements in *Snow* are not merely background settings but are integral to the development of the characters and the progression of the plot. Such reviews

suggest that Pamuk's work is a commentary on the political climate, making it a significant piece of literature for understanding the intersection of politics and personal lives in contemporary Türkiye from an insider.

- “AT THE START of *Snow*, Orhan Pamuk quotes Stendhal: "Politics in a literary work are like a pistol-shot in a concert - crude but impossible to ignore." It is a maxim which his book neatly illustrates. Politics are everywhere in *Snow* and, most of the time, they are crude and two-dimensional. But the novel has proved impossible to ignore in Turkey, where it has infuriated Islamists and Westernised Turks alike”. (Robson, 2004, *The Sunday Telegraph*)
- “Le romancier turc Orhan Pamuk s’est emparé d’un fait divers tragique (des filles qui se suicident parce qu’on leur interdit de porter le foulard) en s’abandonnant aux mythes récents de son pays (le héros Atatürk, le rebelle de la montagne, l’exilé en Allemagne, le terroriste, etc.)” (Rondeau, 2005, *L’express*) [Back translation: “The Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk took on a tragic news item (girls who commit suicide because they were forbidden to wear headscarves) by abandoning himself to the recent myths of his country (the hero Atatürk, the rebel of the mountain, the exile in Germany, the terrorist, etc.)”]
- “Cette intrigue très dense et une narration s’appuyant sur les techniques du roman à suspense permettent à Orhan Pamuk de s’interroger sur la manière dont se construisent l’identité d’un individu et celle d’un peuple, de décrire une société turque déchirée entre occidentalisation et islamisme, et d’évoquer concrètement le problème du foulard islamique comme une sorte de cristallisation de toutes ces questions.” (*L’humanité*, 2005) [Back translation: “This very dense plot and a narration based on the techniques of the suspense novel allow Orhan Pamuk to question the way in which the identity of an individual and that of a people are constructed, to describe a Turkish society torn between Westernization and Islamism, and to concretely evoke the problem of the Islamic headscarf as a sort of crystallization of all these questions.”]
- “[Pamuk]: Je suis d’accord, mais pour ce roman-là. Pour moi, chaque roman a sa formule. Neige est le plus journalistique de mes romans. Mon intention était de mettre l’accent sur les conditions sociales. D’autre part, le journalisme, ou le ‘réalisme’, ou l’‘hyperréalisme’, devient proche du surréalisme. Je ne suis pas le genre d’écrivain qui peut avoir une écriture de reporter. Il me faut de l’invention, ou alors je fais autre chose.” (Nicolas, 2005, *L’Humanité*) [Back translation: “[Pamuk]: I agree, but for this novel. For me, each novel has its formula. *Snow* is the most journalistic of my novels. My intention was to focus on social conditions. On the other hand, journalism, or ‘realism’, or ‘hyperrealism’, becomes close to surrealism. I’m not the kind of writer who can write like a reporter. I need invention, or else I’ll do something else.”]
- “Although *Snow* seems to be immersed in local politics, in fact what Turkey has been experiencing as local politics for years is turning out to be international politics now. It is the conflict between modernity and tradition, or journalistically speaking between East and West, or the West and Islam.” (*The Bookseller*, 2004)

British reviews highlight Pamuk's pervasive political themes, suggesting that while the politics in the novel are often crude and two-dimensional, the book has nonetheless been impossible to ignore in Türkiye, provoking strong reactions from both Islamists and Westernized Turks. Some reviews compare the political presence in the novel to a disruptive yet unavoidable element, illustrating the intense political atmosphere depicted in *Snow*. French reviews focus on the novel's dense plot and narrative techniques, emphasizing how Pamuk uses these to explore the construction of individual and national identity. They note that *Snow* vividly portrays a Turkish society torn between Westernization and Islamism, with the issue of the Islamic headscarf symbolizing these broader conflicts. The French perspective also highlights Pamuk's intention to emphasize social conditions through a style that blends journalism with surrealism, a unique approach that distinguishes this novel from his other works. Despite its local political immersion, the novel is seen as addressing the larger, international conflict between modernity and tradition, or East and West, reflecting the broader implications of Türkiye's political struggles.

The detailed political dimensions of Pamuk's work were predominantly the focus of French reviews. Interestingly, despite this emphasis on the political aspects, the French press also tends to highlight that *Snow* transcends being merely a political novel. While they delve deeply into the socio-political intricacies presented in the story, they also recognize and appreciate the novel's broader literary merits. French critics often point out that *Snow* not only addresses the political tensions and conflicts in Türkiye but also explores universal themes such as identity, faith, and the human condition. This duality in the French reviews underscores a recognition of Pamuk's ability to weave a narrative that is rich in political commentary while also offering a profound literary experience that goes beyond political discourse.

- “[Pamuk] dit avoir voulu donner un livre politique, son seul livre politique, de la politique sans message, juste pour évoquer le sens de la vie, il dit qu’il ne souhaite pas être cité entre guillemets, que tout et n’importe quoi pourrait être repris contre lui si son procès a lieu.” (Harang, 2005, Libération) [Back translation: “[Pamuk] says he wanted to give a political book, his only political book, politics without a message, just to evoke the meaning of life, he says that he does not wish to be quoted in quotation marks, that everything and everything matters what could be taken against him if his trial takes place.”]

- “En 2004, avec *Neige*, il change radicalement de cap pour explorer les tensions identitaires au cœur d’une petite ville du nord-est de la Turquie. ‘J’ai eu soudain le vif désir de raconter l’islam politique, le nationalisme... Je souhaitais tisser une intrigue qui révélerait les mystères et les faux-semblants de mon pays, son labyrinthe insensé’, commentait Pamuk. La politique ne l’intéresse, en définitive, que dans la mesure où elle est une herméneutique, mais aussi un catalyseur esthétique.” (Zanganeh, 2006b, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “In 2004, with *Neige*, he radically changed direction to explore the tensions of identity in the heart of a small town in the north-east of Turkey. ‘I suddenly had the strong desire to tell the story of political Islam, nationalism... I wanted to weave a plot that would reveal the mysteries and pretenses of my country, its insane labyrinth,’ commented Pamuk. Politics only interests him, ultimately, to the extent that it is a hermeneutic, but also an aesthetic catalyst.”]
- “Réduire l’œuvre de Pamuk à son dernier livre et à un plaidoyer politique serait une injustice: *Neige* est son premier livre politique, dit-il. Mais il est vrai que, volontiers critique envers les silences du pouvoir, les refoulés de la conscience sur les questions arménienne ou kurde (voir ci-dessous), il s’expose aux ires de bien des acteurs de la société turque. ‘Quand on essaie de réprimer les souvenirs, il y a toujours quelque chose qui revient. Je suis celui qui revient’, a-t-il déclaré à propos de la polémique. Son chemin solitaire l’a mené au procès retentissant du 16 décembre 2005.” (Boulouque, 2006, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: “To reduce Pamuk’s work to his last book and a political plea would be an injustice: *Snow* is his first political book, he says. But it is true that, willingly critical of the silences of those in power, the repressions of conscience on the Armenian or Kurdish questions (see below), he exposes himself to the ire of many actors in Turkish society. ‘When you try to repress memories, something always comes back. I’m the one who comes back,’ he said of the controversy. His solitary path led him to the resounding trial of December 16, 2005.”]
- “Pamuk, cependant, refuse expressément de se définir comme romancier politique. Si la politique semble habiter ses œuvres, souligne-t-il, c’est parce qu’elle constitue la matière accidentelle du paysage qui est le sien, la matière brute de son alchimie.” (Zanganeh, 2006, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “Pamuk, however, expressly refuses to define himself as a political novelist. If politics seems to inhabit his works, he emphasizes, it is because it constitutes the accidental material of the landscape which is his, the raw material of his alchemy.”]
- “‘*Neige*, dit [Pamuk], est son premier et son dernier roman politique. Ses autres romans sont plutôt de brillantes fresques, situées dans l’histoire ottomane et turque, où le thème de la rencontre entre Orient et Occident revient en leitmotiv.’” (Bédarida, 2005, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “‘*Snow*,’ says [Pamuk], is his first and last political novel. His other novels are rather brilliant frescoes, set in Ottoman and Turkish history, where the theme of the meeting between East and West returns as a leitmotif.”]
- “*Neige*, un roman plein de neige et de coups de pistolet, sans la moindre grossièreté mais rempli de ces deux univers peu miscibles: la politique et la poésie.” (Harang, 2005, *Libération*) [Back translation: “*Neige*, a novel full of snow and gunshots, without the

slightest crudeness but filled with these two barely miscible universes: politics and poetry.”]

There are also two examples from British reviews that echo this sentiment. A review from *The Guardian* highlights that *Snow* is as much about love as it is about politics, exploring loyalties, faith, and personal identity. Another review describes *Snow* as more than a political thriller, noting its evocation of Turkish nationalism, political Islam, and the nature of art. Both reviews, like their French counterparts, recognize *Snow* as a richly layered work that extends beyond politics to address broader human concerns but to a narrower extent.

- “This novel is as much about love as it is about politics. [...] The people are divided by loyalties to the Turkish state and the rising Islamist parties, by religion and atheism. Ka, like Pamuk himself, is from a middle-class family in Istanbul; and as an educated, westernised Turk, everyone considers him a non-believer; yet he sees God in both the snow and his own poems, which come to him on a cloud of divine inspiration.” (Miano, 2004, *The Guardian*)
- “Snow is much more than a gripping political thriller. It is a stirring evocation of Turkish nationalism, an engaging study of political Islam and a profound inquiry into the nature of art itself. Pamuk conveys with great power the crisis of belief that besets the soul of modern Turkey, torn between its religious heritage and the allure of the prosperous West. The bloody events of the novel stand as a stark warning against fundamentalism of all sorts, though Western readers might also be inclined to ponder the spiritual void at the heart of their own world.” (Neill, 2005, *The Observer*)
- “C’est *Le Château blanc*, récit des relations passionnelles entre un esclave vénitien et un intellectuel ottoman, qui sera le premier livre de Pamuk à être traduit en anglais et à lui apporter une renommée internationale.” (Zanganeh, 2006b, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “It was *The White Castle*, the story of the passionate relationship between a Venetian slave and an Ottoman intellectual, which was Pamuk’s first book to be translated into English and brought him international fame.”]

It is also noteworthy that French reviews of *Snow* celebrate the novel’s mastery in blending Eastern and Western literary elements. The novel is described as a “tour de force,” seamlessly weaving together oriental and postmodern themes (Carcassonne, 2005, *Le Figaro*). Pamuk’s exploration of the dichotomy between the East and the West, highlighting the novel’s ideological, symbolic, and philosophical depth (Pamuk in Clavel, 2005, *Lire*) addressed with subtlety and courage is recognized, as evidenced by his reception of the *Prix Médicis étranger* for the novel’s subtle yet politically charged narrative (Boulouque, 2005, *Le Figaro*). British reviews of *Snow* focus on the novel’s

literary craftsmanship and thematic richness. The novel is praised for its intricate narrative structure and the author's adept handling of complex themes (Buchan, 2004, *The Guardian*). However, some British reviewers critique certain aspects of the novel, such as the omission of Ka's poems and the introduction of degenerate counterparts for each character (Buchan, 2004, *The Guardian*). Despite these criticisms, *Snow* is acknowledged for its expansive yet light narrative, demonstrating Pamuk's versatility as an author (Buchan, 2004, *The Guardian*). Overall, both French and British reviews also acknowledge the novel's significant literary contribution, underscoring Pamuk's Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006. Consider the following excerpts:

- Orhan Pamuk ne cesse de répandre à l'encre noire de sa large plume, sur des cahiers à spirale, une potion dont la magie organise de longs romans labyrinthiques, poétiques et métaphoriques, oniriques et réalistes, sur les contradictions, les contes, les légendes et les hommes de la Turquie, contrariée entre présent et passé, Orient et Occident, laïcité et islam, modernité et tradition. (Harang, 2006, *Libération*) [Back translation: "Orhan Pamuk continues to spread in black ink from his large pen, on spiral notebooks, a potion whose magic organizes long labyrinthine novels, poetic and metaphorical, dreamlike and realistic, on contradictions, tales, legends and the men of Turkey, conflicted between present and past, East and West, secularism and Islam, modernity and tradition."]
- "By turns intricately playful and stunningly direct, *Snow* is a novel of tremendous value." (Power, 2005, *The Times*)
- Pamuk's latest, magnificent novel (Neill, 2005, *The Observer*)
- Pamuk has delivered intellectual delights without bothering his readers too much about the times in which they live. (O'Shea, 2004, *The Independent on Sunday*)
- "le bien-nommé est un tour de force, un conte tragi-comique, un opéra-bouffe qui joue de toutes les voix, une boîte de Pandore. Orhan Pamuk le sait, qui en rirait presque, maître de ses effets. Le roman à la fois oriental et postmoderne, présente tous les pièges que la conversation de son auteur élimine." (Carcassonne, 2005, *Le Figaro*) [Back translation: "the aptly named is a tour de force, a tragi-comic tale, an opera buffa that plays with all the voices, a Pandora's box. Orhan Pamuk knows it, who would almost laugh about it, master of its effects. The novel, both oriental and postmodern, presents all the traps that its author's conversation eliminates."]
- "It's a novel full of orchestrated surprises and shocks, and perhaps too many overlong digressions. Pamuk has fared badly in the past with some English translations, but Maureen Freely has served him excellently here. Those readers who love, as I do, his previous novel *My Name is Red*, should be warned that *Snow* is radically different and contemporary. Pamuk is not in the business of offering his public more of the same, exotic thing." (Bailey, 2004, *The Independent*)

- “Médicis étranger. Le prix Médicis étranger récompense avec Neige d’Orhan Pamuk, une oeuvre subtile autant qu’un courage politique.” (Boulouque, 2005, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “Medicis étranger. The Medicis Foreign Prize rewards with Neige by Orhan Pamuk, a subtle work as much as political courage.”]
- “Orhan Pamuk’s new novel is set in the early 1990s in Kars, a remote and dilapidated city in eastern Anatolia famed less for its mournful relics of Armenian civilisation and Russian imperial rule than for its spectacularly awful weather.” (Buchan, 2004, The Guardian)
- “Pamuk’s master here is Dostoevsky, but amid the desperate students, cafés, small shopkeepers, gunshots and inky comedy are the trickeries familiar from modern continental fiction. The result is large and expansive, but, even at 436 pages, neither grand nor heavy.” (Buchan, 2004, The Guardian)
- “Yet there are literary judgments that some readers will question. The first is to omit Ka’s poems. The green book has been lost or stolen and what remain are Ka’s notes on how he came to write his 19 poems in Kars and how they might be arranged on the crystalline model of a snowflake. That is quite as dull as it sounds: really, in a book so expansive and light, the only dull passages.” (Buchan, 2004, The Guardian)
- “The second literary layer makes the matters at issue both fainter and less persuasive. Pamuk likes to undermine and destabilise each character by introducing a degenerate counterpart: not merely Ka/Pamuk, but Ipek and her almost-as-beautiful sister Kadife, the two Islamist students Necib and Fazil, and so on.” (Buchan, 2004, The Guardian)
- “Pamuk uses the snow metaphor to dizzying effect (there is an echo, too, in Ka’s name). Snow isolates people but also draws them together, it smothers and freezes them but it also reminds Ka of God, ‘of the beauty and mystery of creation, of the essential joy that is life’.” (de Falbe, 2004, Spectator)

Pamuk was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006. According to the reviewers, the Swedish Academy praised him for his exploration of the melancholic essence of his native city, Istanbul, finding new spiritual images that reflect the clash and interweaving of cultures. Various publications highlighted different aspects of his recognition: his literary achievements and ability to immerse in reality, the quality of his oeuvre, and his contribution to the contemporary novel by bridging Western and Eastern cultural elements. Pamuk’s work, often seen as blending modernist and postmodernist elements, resonates with the experience of navigating a rapidly changing part-eastern, part-western Turkish society, a narrative that has been addressed in Chapter II, investigating past and present dominant narratives and their framings in the European press. Despite potential

political controversies, his recognition underscores his sublime and unyielding literary craft.

- “Le prix Nobel a été attribué hier à l’écrivain turc Orhan Pamuk. L’Académie suédoise a indiqué avoir décerné le prix à un auteur ‘qui, à la recherche de l’âme mélancolique de sa ville natale, a trouvé de nouvelles images spirituelles pour le combat et l’entrelacement des cultures’”. (Le Figaro, 2006) [Back translation: “The Nobel Prize was awarded yesterday to Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk. The Swedish Academy said it had awarded the prize to an author ‘who, in search of the melancholy soul of his hometown, has found new spiritual images for the struggle and interweaving of cultures’.”]
- “Prix Nobel de littérature, l’Académie suédoise jugeant que [Pamuk] a « trouvé de nouvelles images spirituelles pour le combat et l’entrelacement des cultures.” (Zanganeh, 2006, Le Monde) [Back translation: “Nobel Prize for Literature, the Swedish Academy judging that [Pamuk] has “found new spiritual images for the struggle and interweaving of cultures”.”]
- “Prix Nobel de littérature L’académie suédoise couronne un écrivain subtil et intransigent, qui sait s’immerger dans le réel sans s’y perdre.” (Nicolas, 2006, L’Humanité) [Back translation: “Nobel Prize for Literature The Swedish Academy crowns a subtle, uncompromising writer who knows how to immerse himself in reality without losing himself in it”]
- “La qualité de son œuvre a valu à Pamuk de recevoir le prix Nobel de littérature en 2006.” (Crom, 2007, Télérama) [Back translation: “The quality of his work earned Pamuk the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2006.”]
- “Horace Engdahl, the head of the Nobel academy, stressed that Pamuk had been chosen for his literary achievements. ‘It could lead to some political turbulence but we are not interested in that,’ he said. ‘He is controversial in his own country, but so are almost all our prize-winners.’ Pamuk was selected because he ‘enlarged the roots of the contemporary novel’” through his links to both Western and Eastern culture. The citation for the award praised his latest work, *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, as a “quest for the melancholic soul [in which he] has discovered new symbols for the clash and interlacing of cultures’.” (Poole, 2006, The Daily Telegraph)
- “Freely adds that while his ‘modernist/postmodernist games involve using elements from opposing traditions that, when seen together, defy reason and make a ‘grand narrative’ impossible, they are perhaps less difficult for a modern Turkish reader to understand in that this is their daily experience - living in a part- eastern, part-western culture that changes rapidly - and there is never time to sit back and ask how it all adds up’.” (Wroe, 2004, The Guardian)

Pamuk’s writing has been recognized for its global significance, with Gorra referring to it as an “International style” in a review published in the Times Literary Supplement in 2004. The following remark is particularly noteworthy:

- “Pamuk’s own local variant I’ve called the International Style is inflicted by the national concerns of a would-be member of the European Union. For his characters, the West that most of them have never seen is never far from their minds. [...] historically grounded and yet reflexive narrative that characterizes not only [Pamuk]’s own work earlier, but also what one might call International Style of contemporary fiction. It is an International Style not only because writers from many countries work in it, but also because it travels well from one culture to another, an idiom that readers from different lands will recognize.” (Gorra, 2004, Times Literary Supplement)

Another significant trend observed in British and French reviews of *Snow* is the frequent comparison of Orhan Pamuk with renowned international authors, whose works are considered timeless classics across the globe. Critics often place Pamuk alongside literary giants, acknowledging his profound impact and placing his contributions within the context of the broader, prestigious literary canon. This consistent juxtaposition underscores Pamuk’s standing as not just a prominent Turkish writer, but a significant figure in global literature.

- “Prendre le relais de Yachar Kemal - l’illustre aîné -, et redorer le blason des lettres turques en frottant les sortilèges orientaux aux modernités occidentales. [...] [Pamuk]: ‘Dans tous mes romans, cette dichotomie entre l’Est et l’Ouest est présente. Mon but, c’est d’arpenter les multiples chemins, idéologiques, symboliques et philosophiques, de cette opposition’.” (Clavel, 2005, Lire) [Back translation: “To take up the baton from Yachar Kemal – the illustrious elder – and restore the reputation of Turkish literature by blending Eastern magic with Western modernity. [...] [Pamuk]: ‘In all my novels, this dichotomy between East and West is present. My aim is to explore the multiple paths, ideological, symbolic and philosophical, of this opposition’.”]
- “Lorsqu’il trace sa généalogie d’écrivain, c’est vers la littérature occidentale ou russe que Pamuk se tourne, citant Dostoïevski, Nabokov, Proust.” (Crom, 2006, Télérama) [Back translation: “When tracing his genealogy as a writer, Pamuk turns to Western and Russian literature, citing Dostoyevsky, Nabokov, Proust and others.”]
- “The Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk is more a Kafka man.” (Jones, 2004, Newsweek International)
- “Neige reprend les structures complexes qu’il avait mises en place et approfondit le thème de la neige, en mettant à son service son immense culture de la littérature internationale, mettant en abîme sa conception de la littérature à partir d’une intrigue impliquant des acteurs dans une ville proche de la frontière de l’ex-Union soviétique.” (Nicolas, 2006, L’Humanité) [Back translation: “Neige picks up on the complex structures he had set in place and explores the theme of snow in greater depth, drawing on his extensive knowledge of international literature and his conception of literature based on a plot involving actors in a town close to the border of the former Soviet Union.”]

- “‘Every life is like a snowflake,’ whose forms appear identical from afar, but are determined by any number of mysterious forces, making each one singular. This metaphor lies at the centre of Orhan Pamuk’s profound new novel, *Snow*, a Dostoyevskian political thriller.” (Miano, 2004, *The Guardian*)
- “His books cheerfully plunder a bewildering range of material: stories, ideas and images from Rumi, Attar and the *Arabian Nights* rub shoulders with borrowings from Dostoevsky, Rilke, Proust and Joyce. Like Borges, whom he also admires, he cultivates spooky parallels between Islamic mysticism and European Modernism. In a less rarefied vein, he writes well about loneliness, nostalgia, cities and weather, and his novels have interesting things to say about politics and culture in Turkey.” (Tayler, 2004, *London Review of Books*)

It can be observed from the above excerpts that Pamuk is widely recognized as an international writer, adeptly blending Eastern and Western literary traditions. According to the reviews, Pamuk draws inspiration from Western and Russian literature, citing figures like Dostoevsky, Nabokov, and Proust and aligns with Kafka. Reviewers note that his novel *Snow* leverages his vast knowledge of international literature to develop its complex narrative structure with Dostoyevskian influences evident in its themes Pamuk’s works draw from a diverse array of sources, incorporating elements from Rumi, Attar, the *Arabian Nights*, and Western authors like Dostoevsky, Rilke, Proust, and Joyce: he finds parallels between Islamic mysticism and European modernism, and his novels address topics of politics and culture in Türkiye, capturing universal themes of loneliness and nostalgia.

- “Le romancier ture - qui risque la prison pour avoir osé dire la vérité - offre avec « Neige » un remarquable thriller et un sésame pour comprendre son pays à la porte de l’Europe.” (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2005) [Back translation: “With “Neige”, the Turkish novelist - who risks imprisonment for daring to tell the truth - offers a remarkable thriller and a sesame for understanding his country at the gateway to Europe.”]
- “Le thriller polyphonique de Pamuk est un excellent sésame pour accéder à la mosaïque turque et une formidable incitation au dialogue.” (Lorrain, *Le Point*, 2005) [Back translation: “Pamuk’s polyphonic thriller is an excellent sesame to the Turkish mosaic and a formidable incentive to dialogue.”]
- “‘Dans tous mes livres, cette dichotomie entre l’Est et l’Ouest est présente. Et ce sera l’œuvre d’une vie que d’arpenter les multiples sentiers idéologiques et symboliques de cette contradiction’, confiait-il au *Figaro* en 2001. Entre tradition et modernité, religion et laïcité, Orient et Occident, son œuvre a toujours refusé de choisir, opposant sa forme éminemment complexe, foisonnante, hybride et parfois déroutante à tous ceux qui préfèrent les violents antagonismes et les simplifications abusives. Pour avoir vécu trois ans aux États-Unis, où il a rencontré son ex-épouse (il est père d’une adolescente), Orhan

Pamuk a mesuré l'ampleur du fossé que certains s'acharnent à creuser entre le monde chrétien et le monde musulman. Mais ce partisan convaincu de l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne n'a jamais baissé les bras." (Gignoux and Ploquin, 2006, La Croix) [Back translation: "In all my books, this dichotomy between East and West is present. And it will be my life's work to explore the multiple ideological and symbolic paths of this contradiction", he confided to Le Figaro in 2001. Between tradition and modernity, religion and secularism, East and West, his work has always refused to choose, opposing its eminently complex, abundant, hybrid and sometimes confusing form to all those who prefer violent antagonisms and oversimplifications. Having lived for three years in the United States, where he met his ex-wife (he is the father of a teenage daughter), Orhan Pamuk is well aware of the gulf that some people are determined to drive between the Christian and Muslim worlds. But this staunch supporter of Turkey's entry into the European Union has never given up."]

- "A recurring theme in Pamuk's work is the dichotomy between East and West, reflecting the contradictions within contemporary Turkish identity. He explores the socio-political landscape of Turkey, characterized by a wealthy, Europeanized minority and a poor population clinging to ancestral traditions [...] This dichotomy serves as a narrative backdrop, with Pamuk delving into the ideological, symbolic, and philosophical dimensions of this opposition" (Clavel, 2005).
- "A meeting of Noises Off and The Clash of Civilisations, the work is a melancholy farce full of rabbit-out-of-a-hat plot twists that, despite its locale, looks uncannily like the magic lantern show of misfire, denial and pratfall that appears daily in our newspapers. How could Pamuk have foreseen this at his writing desk four years ago?" (O'Shea, 2004, The Independent on Sunday)

From the reviewer's perspective, Orhan Pamuk's literature deeply explores the mediation between East and West, focusing on the clash of civilizations. His novel *Snow* is highlighted for its intricate portrayal of these themes, serving as both a compelling thriller and a key to understanding Türkiye's unique position at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. The novel's polyphonic narrative emphasizes the Turkish socio-political landscape, reflecting tensions between tradition and modernity, religion and secularism, and Eastern and Western influences. Pamuk himself has stressed that the dichotomy between East and West is a central theme in his works, viewing his literary journey as an exploration of the various ideological, symbolic, and philosophical paths arising from this contradiction. His complex, hybrid storytelling responds to those who prefer simplistic, binary oppositions. Having lived in the United States, Pamuk has personally experienced the cultural divides between the Christian and Muslim worlds, and despite these challenges, he strongly supports Türkiye's integration into the European Union, which is acknowledged in reviews frequently. According to reviewers his works often depict the

public narrative of the ‘clash of civilizations’, highlighting the deep-rooted conflicts within contemporary Turkish identity, characterized by a wealthy, Europeanized minority and a poor population adhering to ancestral traditions.

Overall, according to reviews, Orhan Pamuk’s writing transcends geographical and cultural boundaries, resonating with readers worldwide. Through his narrative exploration of Turkish identity, artistic experimentation, and outspoken advocacy for intellectual freedom, Pamuk has left an indelible mark on contemporary literature. For this reason, he is framed as an “interpreter” or as a “bridge”:

- “L’interprète d’Istanbul” (title, Boulouque, 2006, Le Figaro) [Back translation: “The interpreter of Istanbul”]
- “ORHAN PAMUK is the leading contemporary interpreter of Turkish society to the western world: his novels, now invariably translated into English, explore the dilemmas and divisions of a land that is both east and west, Islamist and secular, rich and poor, ancient and modern, and much more besides.” (Shafak, 2004, The Economist)
- “Orhan Pamuk, un pont entre deux rives” (title, Le Figaro, 2006) [Back translation: “Orhan Pamuk, a bridge between two shores”]

4.2.5 Convergence and Divergence

Based on how the French and English versions are presented and introduced in British and French subsystems (covers and reviews of the books), several convergences and divergences in the framing process can be observed. Below an overview will be presented.

Convergence #1: It is evident that Orhan Pamuk and his novel *Snow* received significant attention and coverage in both French and British media. Several newspapers and magazines such as *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération*, *The Guardian*, and *The Independent* extensively covered Pamuk’s work, including reviews, interviews, and articles about his literary impact and the controversies surrounding his writings. It is important to note that Pamuk’s Nobel Prize announcement in 2006 sparked an increase in media coverage. French and British newspapers, including *Le Figaro* and *The Guardian*, published numerous articles discussing the significance of the award and its impact on Pamuk’s career. Notable pieces included Harang’s “Pamuk enfin livre [Pamuk, finally prized]” (2006) and Poole’s “Nobel prize for Turkish author who divided nation over massacres” (2006), which highlighted the political and cultural implications. Additionally, Gorra’s

review in the Times Literary Supplement (2004) focused on the narrative and style of Pamuk's novels and the influences from globally renowned authors, describing Pamuk's writing as "International Style."

Convergence #2: Overall, the reviews and articles on Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* in the French and British media suggest a deep appreciation for his writing style, thematic depth, and cultural impact. They also shed light on the complexities of Turkish society and Pamuk's role as a prominent literary figure. The coverage indicates that Pamuk's works have sparked intellectual discussions and critical reflections on history, identity, and freedom of expression.

Convergence #3: A significant similarity between British and French reviews is that longer and more in-depth analyses are typically found in 'quality' newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *Libération*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and *The Times*. These publications are known for their comprehensive approach to journalism, providing their readers with well-researched and thoroughly articulated content. This trend is consistent with the findings discussed in Chapter II, which suggest that prestigious newspapers tend to dedicate more space and resources to the issues under discussion. These detailed reviews not only offer a richer discussion of the literature itself but also often explore the broader cultural, social, and political contexts that surround the works. This characteristic of quality newspapers underscores their role in fostering a more informed and engaged readership, contributing to the public discourse in a meaningful way by offering nuanced perspectives and critical insights. The convergence in the approach of these newspapers from both the UK and France signifies a shared commitment to high journalistic standards.

Divergence #1: On the other hand, a noteworthy difference between British and French reviews is the fact that French reviews are generally longer and more detailed compared to those in the UK. French critics often delve into intricate analysis and provide comprehensive examinations of the works under review. Additionally, French reviews show a much greater interest in issues pertaining to the Armenian and Kurdish questions, reflecting a heightened sensitivity to political themes and historical contexts relevant to these communities. This focus not only highlights the French media's engagement with geopolitical and cultural nuances but also indicates a broader tendency within French literary criticism to interweave literary evaluation with the larger context.

Divergence #2: Moreover, the French media demonstrate a stronger structural coupling with the political system, indicating a closer relationship between the mass media and political functions. This divergence highlights the distinctive ways in which each country's media engages with literature and its broader socio-political context. In Luhmannian terminology, the French media exhibit a more pronounced structural coupling with the political system, indicating a closer and more intertwined relationship between mass media and politics (1990, p. 209). This stronger connection suggests that French media is more actively engaged in political discourse, integrating political analysis and commentary within its literary reportage. This divergence accentuates the unique ways each country's media approaches literature, reflecting broader socio-political contexts. French media's deeper political engagement implies that literary criticism in France often transcends pure aesthetic evaluation, delving into significant political and social issues such as the Armenian and Kurdish questions. Conversely, the British media may maintain a relatively looser coupling with the political system, focusing more on narrative techniques and the literary merits of the works. This distinction highlights how each country's cultural and political landscapes shape media responses, with French media serving as a conduit for political engagement through literature, while British media may prioritize the literary artistry and contextual impact within the broader literary canon.

Divergence #3: Based on how the French and English versions of *Snow* are presented and introduced in British and French subsystems, it can be asserted that Pamuk and his literary work are framed as 'classic' in the French subsystem. This status is reflected in the visual and textual layout of the covers, often imbued with a sense of timelessness and literary prestige, and in the narratives disseminated by French reviewers. French critiques tend to elevate the novel through extensive analysis and detailed commentary, focusing on its thematic depth, political undercurrents, and stylistic nuances, which all together contribute to its esteemed placement within the French literary repertoire. Conversely, the British framing of *Snow* tends to position the novel somewhere between a 'classic' and 'popular literature'. British editions may feature more contemporary and accessible cover designs aimed at attracting a broader audience. Reviews in the UK often highlight the novel's accessibility and relevance to contemporary issues, thereby making it more approachable to general readers. This dual positioning reflects a different cultural

approach, where the novel is appreciated for its literary merits but is also marketed and reviewed in a manner that aligns with popular literary consumption patterns. This blend of classifications acknowledges both the novel's literary significance and its potential to reach a wider audience, blending high literary praise with mainstream appeal, which is indicative of a broader strategy to engage diverse readerships.

4.3 CASE STUDY #2: ELIF ŞAFAK

Elif Şafak, born on October 25, 1971, in Strasbourg, France, is an esteemed author, essayist, and public speaker. Her storytelling is renowned for its complexity and exploration of themes such as cultural identity, memory, and human rights, establishing her as a prominent contemporary writer. With her works translated into over fifty languages, Şafak has gained significant international influence.

Her early life was characterized by diverse cultural exposure, a result of living in various countries due to her diplomat father and philosopher mother. After her parents separated, Şafak was raised by her mother in Ankara, Türkiye. This upbringing, especially the strong matriarchal influence, deeply affected her views on gender and society, themes often reflected in her work.

Şafak earned a degree in International Relations from Middle East Technical University in Ankara, followed by a master's degree in Gender and Women's Studies. She completed her academic journey with a Ph.D. in Political Science, focusing on topics like immigration, multiculturalism, and nationalism, which heavily influence her writing.

She made her literary debut with *Pinhan* in 1997, which won Türkiye's Rumi Prize. Her subsequent novels, including *Şehrin Aynaları* and *Mahrem (The Gaze)*, solidified her standing in Turkish literature. Her international recognition increased with the 2006 novel *The Bastard of Istanbul*. Şafak's writing is known for blending Eastern and Western influences, reflecting her multicultural background. Noteworthy novels include *The Forty Rules of Love*, which intertwines Rumi's life with a contemporary love story, and *10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World*, shortlisted for the Booker Prize in 2019, showcasing her talent for tackling universal themes of love, loss, and the search for meaning.

Beyond novels, Şafak is a respected essayist and speaker, contributing to publications like *The Guardian*, *The New Yorker*, and *The New York Times*. She addresses global issues such as freedom of expression, women's rights, and democracy, with her TED talks reaching a relatively broad audience.

Şafak's personal life is a testament to her cosmopolitan outlook, as she divides her time between London and Istanbul. A staunch advocate for global coexistence and harmony, Şafak embodies her multicultural values in both her personal life and her work. Her impact transcends Turkish literature, enriching global literary dialogue and seeking to mediate between Eastern and Western cultural divides. Her unique voice and courageous engagement with controversial themes ensure her lasting relevance and influence in contemporary literary circles.

4.3.1 Translations of Elif Şafak's works into English and French

The following chronological table outlines the books written by Elif Şafak, along with their translations into Turkish, English, and French, providing an insight into the author's literary works and their availability to readers in these three different languages. Included in this table are the publication dates of the original texts and their translations, the titles in each language, details about the publishing houses, and the names of translators responsible for making Şafak's writing accessible to global audiences.

Table 8: Elif Şafak's works in Turkish, English and French

TURKISH			ENGLISH			FRENCH		
Title	Date	Publisher/Translator	Title	Date	Publisher/Translator	Title	Date	Publisher/Translator
Kem Gözlere Anadolu	1994	Evrensel Yayınları						
Pinhan	1997	Metis Yayınları						
Şehrin Aynaları	1999	Metis Yayınları						
Mahrem	1999	Metis Yayınları	The Gaze	2006	Marion Boyars / Brendan Freely			
Bit Palas	2002	Metis Yayınları	The Flea Palace	2004	Marion Boyars / Müge Göçek	Bonbon Palace	2008	Phébus / Valérie Gay- Aksoy
Araf	2004	Metis Yayınları / Aslı Biçen (with the author)	The Saint of Incipient Insanities	2004	Farrar, Straus and Giroux			
Med-Cezir (Essay)	2005	Metis Yayınları						
Baba ve Piç	2006	Metis Yayınları / Aslı Biçen (with the author)	The Bastard of Istanbul	2007	Viking Penguin	La Bâtarde d'Istanbul	2007	Phébus / tr. from English by Aline Azoulay
							2008	10/18 / tr. from English by Aline Azoulay
Siyah Süt	2007	Doğan Kitap	Black Milk	2007	Viking Penguin	Lait noir	2009	Phébus / Valérie Gay- Aksoy
Aşk	2009	Doğan Kitap / K. Yiğit Us	The Forty Rules of Love	2010	Viking Penguin	Soufi, mon amour	2010	Phébus / tr. from English by Dominique Letellier
							2011	10/18 / tr. from English by Dominique Letellier
Firarperest (Essay)	2010	Doğan Kitap						

İskender	2011	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	Honor	2012	Viking Penguin	Crime d'honneur	2013	Phébus; tr. from English by Dominique Letellier
							2014	10/18 / tr. from English by Dominique Letellier
Şemspare	2012	Doğan Kitap						
Ustam ve Ben	2013	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	The Architect's Apprentice	2014	Viking Penguin	L'architecte du sultan	2013	Flammarion / tr. from English by Dominique Goy-Blanquet
Sakız Sardunya	2014	Doğan Çocuk						
Sakız Sardunya ile Eğlence Günlüğü	2016	Doğan Çocuk						
Havva'nın Üç Kızı	2016	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	Three Daughters of Eve	2016	Viking Penguin	Trois Filles d'Eve	2018	Flammarion / tr. from English by Dominique Goy-Blanquet
Sanma Ki Yalnızsın (Essay)	2018	Doğan Kitap						
10 Dakika 38 Saniye	2019	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	10 Minutes 38 Seconds in This Strange World	2019	Viking Penguin	10 minutes et 38 secondes dans ce monde étrange	2020	Flammarion / tr. from English by Dominique Goy-Blanquet
Bölünmüş Bir Dünyada Akıl Sağlığımızı Nasıl Koruruz (Essay)	2022	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	How The Stay Sane In Age Of Division	2020	Profile Books			
Kayıp Ağaçlar Adası	2023	Doğan Kitap / Omca A. Korugan (with the author)	The Island of Missing Trees	2021	Viking Penguin	L'île aux arbres disparus	2022	Flammarion / tr. from English by Dominique Goy-Blanquet

Based on the provided data, a synthesis and comparison of Elif Şafak's novels in Turkish, English, and French, illustrating the number of works and details of their publication is presented below.

In Turkish, Elif Şafak has published a total of 23 novels. Her works are primarily released by publishers such as Metis Yayınları and Doğan Kitap. This extensive publication in her native language reflects not only her roots but also a significant presence in the Turkish literary market.

12 of Şafak's novels has been published in English. Notable publishers like Viking Penguin and Profile Books have released most of her translated works, indicating significant readership and market presence in the Anglophone world.

For her French publications, Elif Şafak has 12 novels translated. Phébus and Flammarion are the primary publishers, representing a strong reception in the Francophone literary market.

Key observations reveal that as Şafak's native language, Turkish sees her most extensive output, including not just novels but also essays and children's books. In English, her major novels have found a significant audience, supported by prominent publishers such as Viking Penguin. This suggests a substantial market presence and readership in English-speaking countries. In French, Şafak's works are also well-represented, indicating a robust reception in the French literary market, further supporting her international acclaim.

Translators who contributed to the dissemination of Şafak's works in Turkish, English and French include Omca A. Korugan, Aslı Biçen, K. Yiğit Us, Müge Göçek, Valérie Gay-Aksoy, Aline Azoulay, Dominique Letellier, and Dominique Goy-Blanquet and Dominique Goy-Blanquet, which underscores the quality and appeal of her translations., emphasizing the importance of her work and the care taken to translate it accurately for French audiences.

Most of Elif Şafak's fiction has been translated into multiple languages, while her non-fiction works have seen limited translation, indicating an asymmetrical representation of her non-fiction in English, Turkish, and French. This imbalance highlights a greater international focus and appreciation for her fictional narratives.

The regularity of her work's translation increased notably after she began writing in English. This shift started with *The Saint of Incipient Insanities*, which was published in English in 2004. The same year, it was released in Turkish, translated by Aslı Biçen in collaboration with Şafak herself. This marked the beginning of a more systematic approach to translating her works across the three languages, ensuring broader accessibility and reach.

A significant milestone in Şafak's translation history is *The Bastard of Istanbul*, first published in Turkish in 2006 with a translation by Aslı Biçen, again in collaboration with the author. The English version followed a year later, in 2007. Since then, all her fiction has been made available in English, Turkish, and French. This consistency underscores a concerted effort to present her works simultaneously to a global audience, enhancing her international literary presence.

It is also worth noting that most of Şafak's works published in both English and Turkish have appeared almost concurrently, reflecting a strategic approach to maintaining linguistic and cultural relevance across her primary audiences. Her latest novel, *The Island of Missing Trees*, exemplifies this trend. It was published in English in 2021, followed by the French translation in 2022, and finally the Turkish version in 2023. This sequence highlights a careful planning process in her publication strategy, ensuring that her narratives reach diverse readerships in a timely manner.

However, the translation timeline into French shows more significant gaps. For instance, the French translations of her works, particularly *The Bastard of Istanbul*, often lag behind the English and Turkish releases. Unsurprisingly, all her French translations, except for *Black Milk*, were done from the English versions. *Black Milk* was uniquely translated from Turkish by Valérie Gay-Aksoy, a translator known for her work on Orhan Pamuk's books.

The case of Elif Şafak is unique and interesting in that she is regularly involved in the production process of both English and Turkish versions of her works. Self-translation involves an author translating their own work into another language and offers a unique perspective on the interplay between languages and cultures. Elif Şafak provides a compelling case study in this regard. Şafak's bilingualism and biculturalism deeply influence her self-translation practices, blurring the boundaries between 'original' and 'translated' texts. Gürbüz argues that on the one hand, this process allows for a high

degree of fidelity to the author's "original intent and style", as the author is intimately familiar with the nuances of both the source and target languages; on the other hand, self-translation also allows for creative freedom, enabling the author to adapt and modify the text to better suit the cultural and linguistic context of the target audience (Gürbüz, 2019, p. 46). For instance, *The Bastard of Istanbul* was written in English and later translated into Turkish by Aslı Biçen. However, Şafak's involvement in the translation process was significant, as she provided insights and guidance to ensure the cultural nuances were accurately conveyed (Yıldız, 2012, p. 110). Şafak's self-translation is not merely a linguistic exercise but a cultural one as well. Her works often explore themes of identity, belonging, and cultural conflict, which are inherently tied to language. By translating her own works, Şafak can re-contextualize these themes for different audiences (Gürbüz, 2019, p. 51).

In Şafak's case, the boundaries of translation are notably blurred. Her bilingual proficiency allows her to fluidly move between languages, often blending elements from both Turkish and English in her narratives. This linguistic hybridity reflects in her self-translations, where she might adapt idiomatic expressions, cultural references, and stylistic elements to resonate with both Turkish and English audiences (cf. Erkazancı-Durmuş, 2014a and 2014b).

4.3.2 *The Bastard of Istanbul*: Self-translation at play

Elif Şafak's novel, *The Bastard of Istanbul*, weaves together the stories of two families – one Turkish and one Armenian-American – in an exploration of memory, identity, and the lasting effects of historical trauma. Set in contemporary Istanbul, the narrative spans generations, delving into the interconnected personal and shared histories that bind and separate these families.

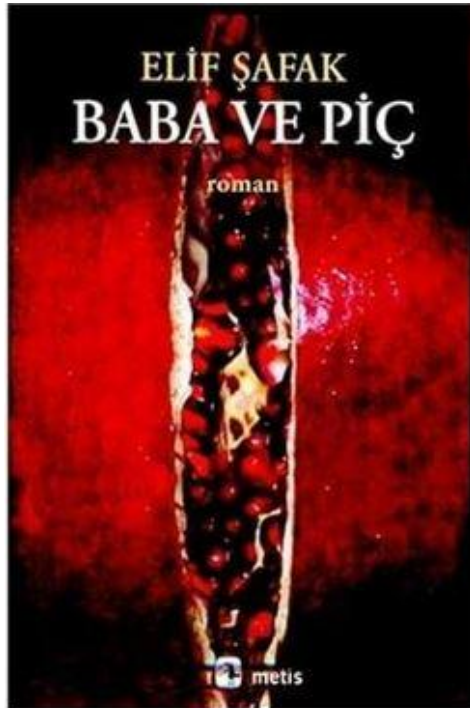
At the centre of the story is Asya Kazancı, a rebellious 19-year-old living with her female relatives in Istanbul, where the men in her family have a tendency to die young. Raised by her single mother, Zeliha, a tattoo artist, Asya is known as the 'bastard' of the family. The Kazancı household is filled with vibrancy and chaos, each woman holding onto her own secrets and sadness.

Parallel to Asya's tale is that of Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian, an Armenian-American struggling with her mixed heritage and the weight of her ancestors' history. Looking to uncover more about her family's past, Armanoush undertakes a secret trip to Istanbul to connect with her Armenian roots. During her stay with the Kazancı family, Armanoush's presence brings the stories of both families to the surface.

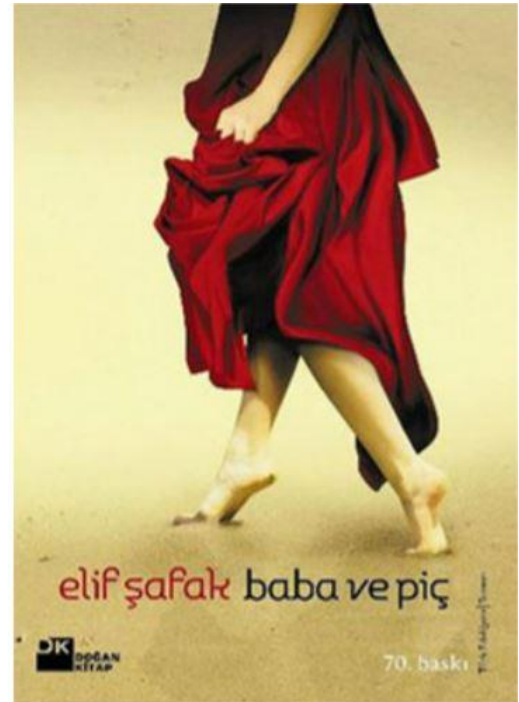
The Bastard of Istanbul is an intricate and multilayered tale that delves into the interaction between past and present, the complexities of cultural identity, and the importance of reconciliation and understanding. The novel serves as a profound family saga and a poignant reflection on how history shapes and lingers in our lives.

4.3.3 Analysis of peritextual elements: Book Covers

As mentioned, peritext refers to the external components surrounding the main text of a literary work, such as the cover, title page, preface, and author bio. These elements play a significant role in shaping the reader's initial reception of the book. In the case of *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Şafak, the analysis of peritextual features can provide insight into how the novel is presented and received, enhancing our understanding of the interplay between the text and its surrounding context.

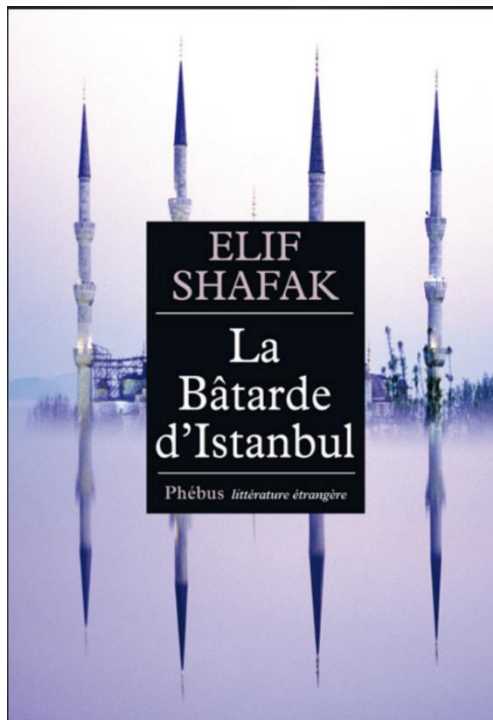


Metis Yayınları, 2006

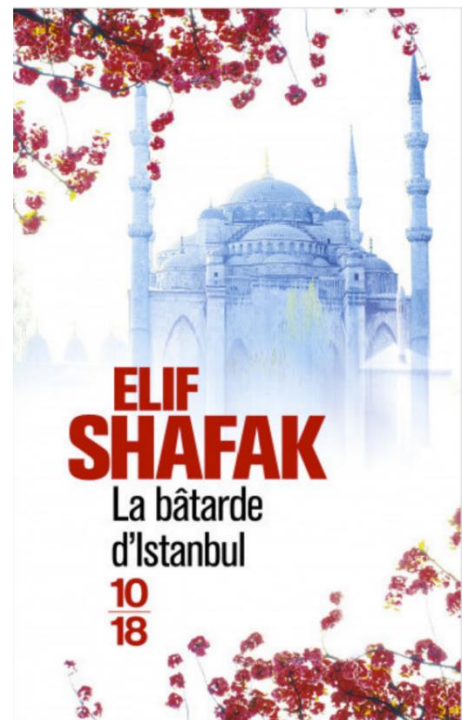


Doğan Kitap, 2010

Figure 11. Book Covers of *The Bastard of Istanbul* in Türkiye



Éditions Phébus



Éditions 10/18

Figure 12. Book Covers of *The Bastard of Istanbul* in France

The covers of the French editions of *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Shafak feature a visually striking and symbolic design, published by Phébus in 2007, with a preface by Amin Maalouf and by Editions 10/18 in 2008, both with the translation Aline Azoulay from English. Dominating the background is a serene image of Istanbul, marked by the iconic minarets of a mosque, likely the Blue Mosque. In the first cover by Phébus, the minarets of the mosque are reflected in a calm, misty body of water, referring to the waters of the Bosphorus. This reflection creates a dreamy, almost surreal atmosphere, evoking a sense of historical depth and cultural richness associated with Istanbul.

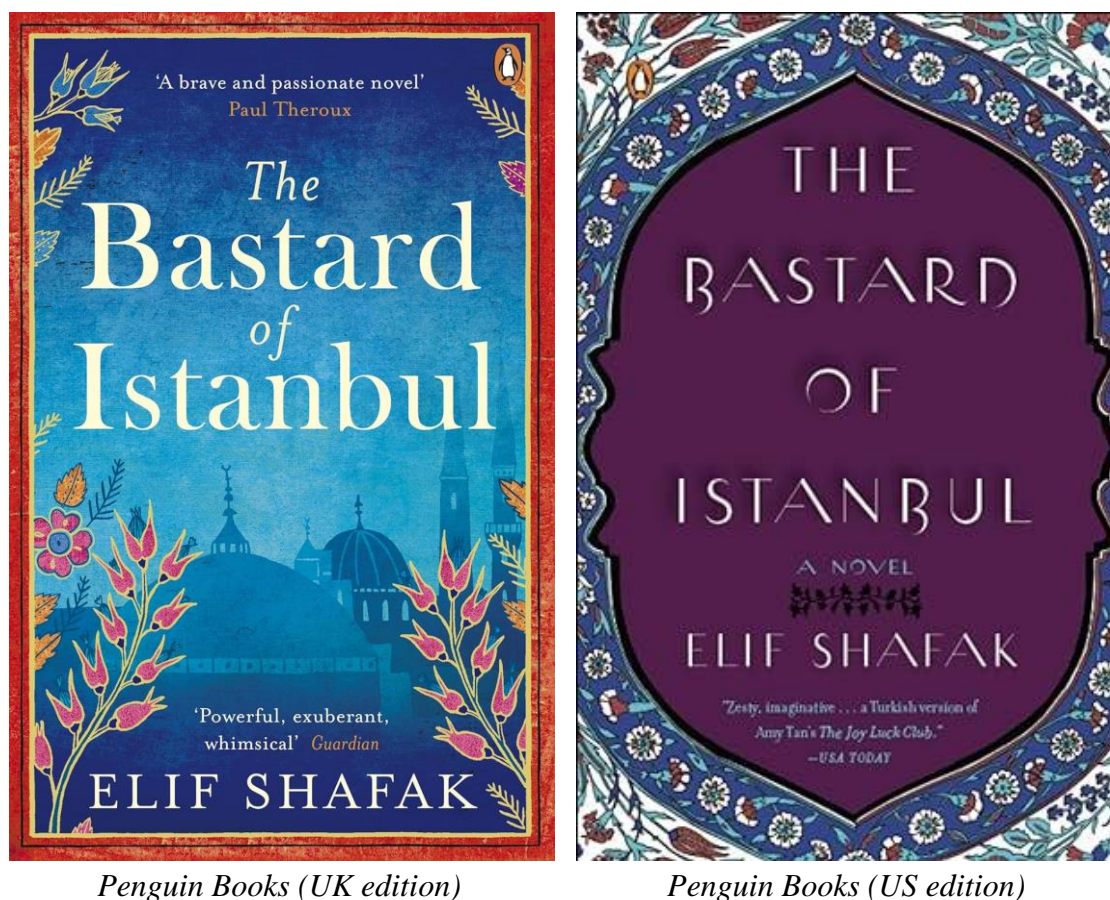
The central focus of the cover is the title and author's name, prominently displayed in a large, bold font. "ELIF SHAFAK"³³ is placed at the top in capital letters, immediately catching the reader's eye. Below it, the title *La Bâtarde d'Istanbul*, a direct translation of the English version *The Bastard of Istanbul* is presented in a slightly smaller yet still prominent font, maintaining a clean look. The use of white text on a black background creates a stark contrast, enhancing readability and drawing attention to the key information. Under the title, the publisher's name, Phébus, is noted along with the name of the category "littérature étrangère" [foreign literature), subtly indicating the book's genre.

The second cover of the French edition by 10/18 is a visually appealing and culturally rich design. The background features an ethereal depiction of the Blue Mosque, rendered in soft blue tones that lend a dreamlike quality to the image. This iconic structure, with its domes and minarets, immediately situates the reader in Istanbul, setting the stage for the novel's themes of heritage and identity.

³³ In one interview from the corpus conducted with Elif Şafak, she explains the addition of the "H" to her last name as follows: "Quand on en déplace une, le sens d'un mot peut changer, c'est comme un miracle", raconte celle qui a ajouté un 'h' à son patronyme d'origine. Safak a été traduit en Shafak, de la même manière qu'Istanbul peut devenir Istamboul, tout dépend d'où l'on se place. ['When you change one letter, the meaning of a word can change, it's like a miracle,' recounts the one who added an 'h' to her original surname. Safak was translated to Shafak, in the same way that Istanbul can become Istamboul, 'it all depends on where you stand' she says.]" (Eliard, 2007, Le Figaro littéraire)

Overlaying this background are branches of a flowering tree with bright red blossoms, which frame the top and bottom edges of the cover. The contrast between the delicate red flowers and the serene blue mosque adds vibrancy and life to the design, symbolizing the intersection of tradition and modernity, as well as the vibrant cultural tapestry of Istanbul. The author's name, ELIF SHAFK, is prominently displayed in bold, red capital letters at the centre of the cover, making it the focal point. Below the author's name, the title *La bâtarde d'Istanbul* is presented in a clear, black font. The juxtaposition of red and black text against the softer background ensures readability and emphasizes the importance of both the author's name and the book title. At the bottom of the cover, the publisher's logo 10/18 is positioned in red, maintaining the colour theme and adding a touch of modernity to the overall design.

Overall, the covers blend religious elements with a modern design approach. The reflective water and towering minarets in the first cover symbolize the themes of heritage and identity that are central to the novel. The second cover blends elements of religious architecture and natural beauty with a modern, eye-catching design. Moreover, the clean typography and layout ensure that the cover is visually appealing and informative in both editions. The use of colour and imagery not only attracts attention but also reflects the novel's exploration of complex themes related to cultural identity and familial ties.



Penguin Books (UK edition)

Penguin Books (US edition)

Figure 13. Book Covers of *The Bastard of Istanbul* in the UK

The covers of the English version of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, published by Penguin Books in 2006 and written in English by Elif Şafak, is often highlighted for its striking and evocative design, but it also invites critical scrutiny in several respects. Aesthetically, the cover employs a palette of rich, warm colours—often dominated by hues of blue and gold – that evoke the vibrant, cosmopolitan spirit of Istanbul as well as its Ottoman past. The intricate patterns and motifs used in the design nod to the rich artistic heritage of the city, reflecting its historical confluence of eastern and western influences. This visual appeal can immediately draw potential readers, aligning well with the book’s themes of cultural intersection and identity with an Orientalist twist.

However, it may be argued that the cover’s design, while beautiful, may also contribute to a clichéd or exoticized representation of Türkiye. The use of traditional patterns and motifs can be seen as pandering to Western stereotypes about the mystique of the East, rather than presenting a more nuanced or contemporary image of the city. This could

potentially influence a reader's expectations and interpretations of the novel, framing it within a romanticized context that might not fully align with Şafak's multifaceted portrayal of Istanbul. Additionally, the title typography and layout, designed to be striking, might be considered overly ornate by some, possibly detracting from the book's serious themes.

In sum, while the covers of *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Penguin Books are visually captivating and culturally resonant, it also risks oversimplifying and exoticizing the rich, intricate narrative within, potentially influencing reader perceptions not only about the novel but also about the Turkish identity.

4.3.4 Analysis of epitextual elements: Reviews and Interviews

Epitext relates to the external factors surrounding a literary work, such as reviews, interviews, and advertisements, which are not physically part of the book. Analyzing epitextual elements helps to understand how a work is situated within its broader cultural and communicative context, highlighting the interaction between the text and external influences. In the case of *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Şafak, studying epitext can provide valuable insights into how the novel is perceived and received within various cultural and linguistic contexts, shedding light on its critical reception and interpretative nuances.

In the following pages, I will provide an in-depth analysis of the reviews and interviews related to Elif Şafak's novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* in both France and the UK. This analysis encompasses a total of 24 reviews and interviews specifically focused on the novel, with 16 published in various British outlets and the remaining 8 in French publications. By analysing these varied sources, my goal is to provide insights into the critical reception that *The Bastard of Istanbul* has elicited in different cultural and linguistic contexts. It should be noted that only four of the six categories be employed in the analysis of epitextual elements in *Snow* will be scrutinized for *The Bastard of Istanbul*, as economic and geographic distinctions have not been covered by either the French or the British reviewers, which leaves us with the following distinctions: **(1) cultural, (2) political, (3) biographical, and (4) literary**

It is clear from the number of reviews and interviews surveyed that there is a significant difference in the coverage of Elif Şafak's novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* between France

and the UK. The fact that there are nearly twice as many reviews and interviews in British outlets compared to French ones may suggest a greater interest in the novel in the British subsystem. This could be due to a variety of factors, including differences in literary tastes, marketing strategies, or the author's profile and popularity not only in each country but also internationally.

Analysing the reception of Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* in the British subsystem, *The Times Literary Supplement* (Basu, 2007) praises Şafak's narrative for its intricate weaving of personal and political histories, though noting the challenge for readers unfamiliar with Turkish culture. *The Observer* (Bedell, 2007) is more critical, suggesting the novel is overly ambitious, resulting in a convoluted plot. This sentiment is echoed by *The Sunday Telegraph* (Choudhury, 2007), which appreciates the novel's intent but criticizes its execution as heavy-handed in dealing with Türkiye's historical controversies. *The Independent* (Byrne, 2008) highlights Şafak's bravery in addressing sensitive topics, which earned her a spot on the Orange Prize longlist despite facing trial in Türkiye. *The Daily Telegraph* (Colvile, 2007) commends the novel's rich depiction of Istanbul and its culinary traditions, yet points out the dark undertones of the family saga. *Daily Mail* (Cross, 2007) also reviews the novel favourably, focusing on its engaging storyline and well-drawn characters. *The Times* (Freely, 2007) emphasizes the novel's success in discussing Türkiye's complex history without descending into polemic, while *The Guardian* (Lowry, 2007) appreciates its nuanced portrayal of Turkish identity crises. *The Financial Times* (Matossian, 2007) lauds Şafak for transforming Türkiye's historical shame into compelling fiction, while *New Statesman* (Kurkov, 2007) notes the novel's ability to unravel secrets and lies within Turkish society.

On the French side, *Le Point* (Bouvard, 2007) describes *The Bastard of Istanbul* as a feast of storytelling centered on Asya, the novel's protagonist. *L'Express* (Clavel, 2007) and *Le Figaro* (Eliard, 2007) both highlight the novel's role as a cultural bridge over the Bosphorus, reflecting on Şafak's success in connecting Eastern and Western narratives. *Le Monde* (Dumontet, 2007) provides a sympathetic review, focusing on Şafak's vivid portrayal of a painful yet vibrant Istanbul. *Libération* (Semo, 2007) and *La Croix* (2007) underscore the novel's thematic exploration of Armenian heritage and the collective memory of Türkiye, bringing to light the country's unspoken histories. *Lire* (2007) and

Le Monde (Perrier, 2009) commend Şafak for her cross-cultural readership, noting her appeal among diverse political spectra.

4.3.4.1 Cultural Distinction

Elif Şafak's work demonstrates a unique blending of Eastern and Western influences, reflecting her personal background of being raised by both a westernized, secular, and liberal mother, and a grandmother steeped in oral tradition and traditional values. As mentioned before, this fusion is evident in her writing, which, according to reviews, incorporates emotional elements of oral tradition and Sufism alongside Western themes. She emphasizes the importance of restoring Ottoman words in language to preserve nuance lost in modernization. *The Bastard of Istanbul* juxtaposes traditional Turkish culture with the contemporary vibe of Istanbul, exploring the duality of ancient rituals at home and the modern intellectual cafe culture outside. Reviewers argue that the novel challenges stereotypes and misconceptions about Türkiye, highlighting the complexities of its multicultural history and that Şafak's portrayal of mixed families challenges readers to reconsider preconceived notions and confronts historical taboos and amnesias of both Turks and Armenians. Once again, as it has been observed in the case of Orhan Pamuk, reviewers tend to emphasize that she bridges divides and transcends boundaries, allowing her characters to exist freely in a world without limitations. Her ability to navigate complex cultural landscapes has earned her praise as one of the most significant Turkish novelists of recent times. Consider the following examples:

- “[Question] Cette synthèse entre Orient et Occident qui transparait dans vos romans, c’est aussi votre histoire? [Şafak]: ‘J’ai été élevée par deux femmes. Ma mère qui est occidentalisée, laïque, libre, et ma grand-mère qui a plus une culture orale et qui attache une importance aux traditions. Je suis le produit des deux. Et ce que j’écris est très occidental mais j’y inclus des éléments plus émotionnels de la tradition orale et du soufisme. Dans mon écriture, j’emploie des mots anciens empruntés à l’ottoman. En épurant la langue de tous ces mots, nous avons perdu la nuance. Il y a un regain d’intérêt en ce moment pour la culture soufie et ottomane. Un pays peut être occidental, et la Turquie est bel et bien un pays occidental, avec quelques touches orientales, ce n’est pas honteux.’” (Perrier, 2009, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “[Question] This synthesis between East and West which appears in your novels, is it also your story? [Şafak]: ‘I was raised by two women. My mother who is Westernized, secular, free, and my grandmother who has more of an oral culture and who attaches importance to traditions. I am the product of both. And what I write is very Western but I include more emotional

elements from oral tradition and Sufism. In my writing, I use old words borrowed from Ottoman. By purifying the language of all these words, we have lost nuance. There is a renewed interest at the moment in Sufi and Ottoman culture. A country can be Western, and Turkey is indeed a Western country, with some oriental touches, that's not shameful.”]

- “An East-West romp ensues that mingles folktale and melodrama with a teasing challenge to all illusions of cultural purity. Shafak laughs away the labels to cherish each ‘unique member of a unique species’” (Hirst, Tonkin and Guest, 2008, *The Independent*)
- “The Bastard of Istanbul juxtaposes traditional Turkish culture with life in contemporary Istanbul. At home, Asya takes part in ancient ceremonies to ward off the evil eye; outside the home, she is part of a cafe subculture in which she mixes with intellectuals whose vacillations between westernness, nationalism and nihilism are sometimes comical, sometimes surprising. For many readers this view of Turkish life will be a discovery.” (Kurkov, 2007, *New Statesman*)
- “[protagonist from the novel]: The problem with us Turks," says Auntie Cevriye, "is that we are constantly being misinterpreted and misunderstood. The westerners need to see that we are not like Arabs at all. This is a modern secular state. The Americans have mostly been brainwashed by the Greeks and the Armenians, who unfortunately arrived in the United States before the Turks did. So they are misled into believing that Turkey is the country of the *Midnight Express*.” (Kurkov, 2007, *New Statesman*)
- “The accusations demonstrate a wilful misreading of the book, in which the families are so mixed up that it is hard to take sides. Mrs Shafak, describing how many contemporary Turks are descended from minorities in a multicultural Ottoman Empire, is critical both of Turks’ amnesia regarding events before the country became a republic in 1923 and of the Armenian diaspora’s apparent obsession with history.” (Erdem, *The Times*, 2006)
- “[Şafak]: Il y a tellement de strates à Istanbul... La culture turque est une culture de synthèse avec une grande aptitude à se renouveler elle-même. Les gens sont ouverts au changement, très flexibles. C’est une source d’inspiration intense pour un écrivain.” (Perrier, 2009, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “[Şafak]: There are so many layers in Istanbul... Turkish culture is a culture of synthesis with a great ability to renew itself. People are open to change, very flexible. It is an intense source of inspiration for a writer.”]
- “Machisme, censure officielle et tabou familial, occultation ou oubli du génocide arménien, tous les maux d’une histoire refoulée sont recueillis à la fois par la vitalité et l’ironie romanesques, traçant leur sillon au coeur de chaque personnage tendrement moqué, et façonné dans les contradictions.” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le monde des livres*) [Back translation: “Male chauvinism, official censorship and family taboo, obscuration or forgetting of the Armenian genocide, all the evils of a repressed history are collected at the same time by the vitality and the romantic irony, tracing their furrow in the heart of each character tenderly mocked, and shaped in the contradictions.”]

- “Un pont sur le Bosphore: ELIF SHAFAK Portrait d’une romancière turque née à Strasbourg et qui enseigne aux États-Unis, sans renoncer à écrire sur son pays et son histoire effervescente.” (title, Eliard, 2007, Le Figaro littéraire) [Back translation: “A bridge across the Bosphorus: ELIF SHAFAK Portrait of a Turkish novelist born in Strasbourg and who teaches in the United States, without giving up writing about her country and its vibrant history.”]
- “Parce que l’écrivain acquiert dans ses livres la liberté d’être indifféremment homme ou femme, chrétien ou musulman, chinois ou turc, de vivre d’un côté ou de l’autre du Bosphore. Écrire, pour Elif Shafak, signifie briser les frontières et transcender les cultures, elle le dit et le répète encore, c’est sa profession de foi.” (Eliard, 2007, Le Figaro littéraire) [Back translation: “Because in her books the writer acquires the freedom to be man or woman, Christian or Muslim, Chinese or Turkish, indifferently, to live on one side or the other of the Bosphorus. Writing, for Elif Shafak, means breaking boundaries and transcending cultures, she says it again and again, it is her profession of faith.”]
- “Succès; Un pont sur le Bosphore” (title, Clavel, 2007, L’Express) [Back translation: “Success; A Bridge on the Bosphorus”]
- “Elif Shafak orchestre magistralement la rencontre à Istanbul entre une Turque et une Arménienne. Par-delà l’Histoire et ses tabous. C’est ‘la plus grande romancière turque de ces dix dernières années’, a dit Orhan Pamuk à propos de la sulfureuse Elif Shafak.” (Clavel, 2007, L’Express) [Back translation: “Elif Shafak masterfully orchestrates the meeting in Istanbul between a Turkish woman and an Armenian woman. Beyond History and its taboos. She is ‘the greatest Turkish novelist of the last ten years’, said Orhan Pamuk about the sultry Elif Shafak.”]

Another important element used as a cultural distinction in the communicative process is gastronomic:

- “Food is both theme and metaphor, substance and garnish in the novel. It is celebrated as both dazzling and soothing, tantalizing and nourishing, an experience that brings people together and also pushes them away.” (Chitrakha, 2007, Times Literary Supplement)
- “Le festin d’Asya: Dix-sept ingrédients - cannelle, pois chiches, noisettes, pistaches, eau de rose... (les dix-sept chapitres du roman) -, du savoir-faire, de l’investissement et une bonne dose de générosité sont nécessaires à la confection de cette friandise turque, ‘symbole de la continuité et de la stabilité’.” (Bouvard, 2007, Le Point) [Back translation: Asya’s feast: Seventeen ingredients - cinnamon, chickpeas, hazelnuts, pistachios, rose water... (the seventeen chapters of the novel) - know-how, investment and a good dose of generosity are necessary to make this Turkish delicacy, ‘symbol of continuity and stability’.]
- “Dark history, suffocating love and mouthwatering food” (title, Colville, 2007, The Daily Telegraph)

- “the narrative is laced with a mouthwatering appreciation of food.” (Colvile, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- “Évidents même, car le lecteur, bercé par les odeurs et les parfums, nourri de poésie et de recettes de cuisine, trace son propre chemin entre deux mondes et accepte les coups de théâtre comme autant de coups du sort.” (La Croix, 2007) [Back translation: “Obvious even, because the reader, lulled by smells and perfumes, nourished by poetry and cooking recipes, traces his own path between two worlds and accepts twists and turns as so many twists of fate.”]

Reviewers from both the British and French subsystem tend to signal that in *The Bastard of Istanbul*, food serves as a central theme and metaphor, symbolizing cultural richness and personal identity. Through examples from Turkish and Armenian cuisine, such as dolma, ashure, and baba ganoush, the novel highlights the characters’ personalities and emotions. Reviewers indicate that the meticulous detailing of food preparation, particularly in Asya’s feast with seventeen ingredients matches the seventeen chapters, underscores themes of continuity and cultural heritage, offering readers an immersive experience that bridges two worlds through sensory experiences and emotional connections. The vivid descriptions of food evoke sensory experiences and play a crucial role in engaging readers with the characters and their journeys, creating a multi-layered reading experience that blends cultural symbolism with personal narratives. Through this integration of food and storytelling, Şafak crafts a narrative that invites readers to explore themes of unity, division, and reconciliation in a flavorful and poignant exploration of cultural identity.

However, it is important to note that the use of food in the novel also carries Orientalist connotations, as it exoticizes Turkish and Armenian cultures through the emphasis on traditional dishes and flavors. While the novel does celebrate the richness and complexity of these cuisines, it also runs the risk of reinforcing stereotypes and simplifying the complexities of cultural identity, as argued by some reviewers. That being said, the novel’s exploration of food as a metaphor for cultural identity invites readers to question and critically engage with the ways in which food can both unite and divide people across cultural boundaries.

4.3.4.2 Political Distinction

The trial of Elif Şafak is a dominant theme in reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul*. The novel has sparked controversy and legal battles, with Şafak being prosecuted for addressing the Armenian issue in her work. The reviews highlight the political implications of Şafak's storytelling, emphasizing the courage and boldness required to navigate the Turkish-Armenian conflict. According to reviewers, through her exploration of historical taboos, Şafak challenges national narratives and invokes discussions on free expression and cultural memory. They argue that despite facing accusations of insulting Turkishness and enduring legal battles, Şafak's novel continues to resonate with readers and provoke critical engagement with Türkiye's complex history and modern-day challenges. The intertwining of personal narratives and political commentary in *The Bastard of Istanbul* offers a thought-provoking examination of identity, history, and the power of storytelling in shaping national discourse.

- “For all its quirkiness and humour, *The Bastard of Istanbul* is a measured and unusually courageous commentary on the Turkish-Armenian conflict. Şafak believes the present Turkish Government's insecurities about free expression are left over from the old Ottoman Empire, which systematically slaughtered its ‘intellectuals’ The persecution of Armenians in 1915 – in which hundreds were eliminated or driven out of the country – is an invisible link between the characters in this novel, a code that needs to be depicted to lend greater clarity to their lives. Elif Şafak, like Orhan Pamuk, was tried by the Turkish Government for ‘insulting Turkishness’. Her crime was to write about the genocide of Armenian deportees.” (Chitralkha, 2007, *Times Literary Supplement*)
- “in court this week, this time to accuse the bestselling novelist Elif Şafak. Her ‘crime’ is to have allowed a fictitious character, in her latest novel *The Bastard of Istanbul*, to use the word genocide while discussing his Armenian ancestors, but Kerincsiz and the Unity of Jurists have probably had their eyes on her since she took part in (and eloquently defended) a controversial conference on the Armenian question in Istanbul last year. They almost succeeded in banning it; when a loophole allowed it to be moved to a new venue, they called upon all of Turkey's patriots to gather outside and vent their anger.” (Freely, 2006, *The Guardian*)
- “Née en 1971, ce trublion a osé, comme le Prix Nobel, secouer les tabous qui bâillonnent son pays en évoquant le génocide arménien: dans *La Bâtarde d'Istanbul*, un roman turbulent et iconoclaste écrit en anglais, elle a eu le culot de parler des ‘bouchers turcs de 1915’... Résultat: accusée de ‘porter atteinte à la dignité de l’Etat’, elle a failli être expédiée en prison, avant d’être acquittée par ses juges en septembre 2006, faute de preuves.” (Clavel, 2007, *L’Express*) [Back translation: “Born in 1971, this troublemaker dared, like the Nobel Prize winner, to shake the taboos that gag her country by evoking

the Armenian genocide: in *The Bastard of Istanbul*, a turbulent and iconoclastic novel written in English, she had the nerve to speak 'Turkish butchers of 1915'... Result: accused of 'undermining the dignity of the State', she was almost sent to prison, before being acquitted by her judges in September 2006, for lack of evidence.”]

- “Dans un pays ‘polarisé’ comme la Turquie, où les sujets d’affrontement ne manquent pas sur le nationalisme et l’occidentalisme, la laïcité et l’islam, la démocratie ou l’influence de l’armée, et sur le génocide arménien, cette gracile romancière, éditorialiste et universitaire reconnue de 36 ans, a le courage des nuances et parle de réconciliation; mieux, elle l’écrit. Dans ses articles publiés en Turquie et à l’étranger, mais aussi dans ses romans, comme *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, son sixième, qui la fait aujourd’hui connaître en France.” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le Monde des livres*) [Back translation: “In a ‘polarized’ country like Turkey, where there is no shortage of topics of confrontation on nationalism and Westernism, secularism and Islam, democracy or the influence of the army, and on the Armenian genocide, this slender 36-year-old novelist, editorialist and recognized academic, has the courage of nuances and speaks of reconciliation; better, she writes it. In her articles published in Turkey and abroad, but also in her novels, such as *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, her sixth, which today makes her known in France.”]
- “Dans son pays, où la fondation de l’Etat laïque en 1923 a voulu remettre les compteurs et les mémoires à zéro, cela lui a valu un procès, à la sortie de *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul* (2006), à cause de l’évocation, par un de ses personnages arméniens, du rôle des Turcs en 1915: procès soldé par un acquittement.” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le monde des livres*) [Back translation: “In her country, where the founding of the secular state in 1923 wanted to reset the counters and memories to zero, this earned him a trial, upon the release of *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul* (2006), because of the evocation, by one of its Armenian characters, of the role of the Turks in 1915: trial ended in an acquittal.”]
- “IF YOU’VE HEARD ABOUT this book, it’s probably for the wrong reason. Eleven months ago, a group of ultranationalist lawyers prosecuted its author for insulting Turkishness. Her crime was to have allowed a fictitious character use the word ‘genocide’. She was acquitted and the book remains a bestseller.” (Freely, 2007, *The Times*)
- “‘Le passé n’est jamais mort et enterré’, écrit la romancière de 36 ans. Professeur d’études proche- orientales à l’université de l’Arizona, Elif Shafak vit entre Tucson et Istanbul et fut, pour ce roman, traduite devant la justice turque, en 2006, pour avoir ‘insulté l’identité nationale’ en évoquant le génocide arménien et ‘les bouchers turcs de 1915’. Finalement relaxée, alors qu’elle encourait une peine de trois ans de prison...” (Bouvard, 2007, *Le Point*) [Back translation: “• “‘The past is never dead and buried,’ writes the 36-year-old novelist. Professor of Near Eastern studies at the University of Arizona, Elif Shafak lives between Tucson and Istanbul and was, for this novel, brought before the Turkish courts in 2006 for having ‘insulted national identity’ by evoking the Armenian genocide and ‘the Turkish butchers of 1915’. Finally released, although she faced a three-year prison sentence...”]

- “The worst most authors have to fear is a critical review, but Elif Shafak’s latest novel led to her being put on trial under Turkey’s Article 301, which punishes anyone who “denigrates” the national character. Now, 18 months after her acquittal, Shafak’s” (Byrne, 2008, *The Independent*)
- “At last a contemporary novel tackles the greatest taboo in modern Turkey: official denial of the 1915 Armenian genocide - the 20th- century’s first holocaust - and its legacy. [...] This makes Shafak’s voice all the more remarkable. For Turkish readers she provides vital missing historical background – although discrimination against present-day Armenians in Turkey is not portrayed.” (Matossian, 2007, *The Financial Times*)³⁴
- “Novelist on trial for the ‘crimes’ of her characters” (title, Erdem, *The Times*, 2006, interview)
- “Mrs Shafak, 34, has been charged under Article 301 of the penal code with ‘insulting Turkishness’ through the fictional dialogue in her bestselling novel *The Bastard of Istanbul*, about the intertwined history of a Turkish and an Armenian-American family. The European Union, with which Turkey began accession talks last year, has been a strong critic of the law and is expected to condemn curbs on freedom of expression in a report on October 24.” (Erdem, *The Times*, 2006)
- “[article 301] which was also used to put Orhan Pamuk, the country’s most famous novelist, on trial” (Erdem, *The Times*, 2006)
- “[Shafak]: ‘I think the biggest worry regarding Article 301 is not that it puts people in prison but it silences them’. Even the briefest of Article 301 court cases has proved a platform for harassment of top writers but for Mrs Shafak it is even worse. She gave birth to a baby girl last Saturday and, since the court refused her request for the hearing to be postponed, she must now either excuse herself through a medical report or leave a five-day-old baby to go to court on Thursday. Charging fictional characters ‘is a new step’, Mrs Shafak said. ‘It means they are now trying to control art, and this is very alarming because in Turkey – a country that witnessed three military takeovers – art and literature had always been autonomous.’ The crime committed by her characters is to refer to the taboo subject of mass Armenian killings in Ottoman Turkey in 1915. The Armenians call it genocide, Turks say large-scale wartime deaths. The fictional Uncle Dikran speaks of ‘Turkish butchers’, others talk about being ‘slaughtered like sheep’ and claim all Turks are either nationalist or ignorant.” (Erdem, *The Times*, 2006)

³⁴ This is one exception in the British press that frames the events of 1915 under the Ottoman rule as an “Armenian genocide” and which tackles the novel specifically from this angle.

In *The Bastard of Istanbul*, a character discussing the Armenian issue refers to Turks as ‘butchers’, highlighting the Turkish-Armenian conflict and the 1915 events under the Ottoman rule. Elif Şafak faced legal action in Türkiye for addressing this sensitive topic, specifically for a character’s use of the word ‘genocide’. According to reviewers, Şafak’s portrayal of the Armenian issue through her characters’ perspectives remains a bold commentary on historical and ongoing tensions in Türkiye.

The review by Erdem, from *The Times* emphasizes that the trial of Elif Şafak is not merely about her book but is part of a broader political strategy by extreme nationalists to impede Türkiye’s aspirations to join the European Union. By highlighting such trials, these nationalists aim to showcase how Türkiye does not align with European values, thereby obstructing its EU membership bid.

There is also an interview conducted by Perrier and published in 2009 in the French daily *Le Monde*, where Şafak herself touches on a similar theme but frames it within a larger global context. Şafak comments on the fear of cosmopolitanism as a worldwide trend and poses a critical question for the European Union: She asks, will it remain a club of like-minded individuals, or will it embrace a form of renewal through diversity and inclusion?

- Both reviews highlight the political and cultural dimensions of Şafak’s trial, reflecting on the broader implications for Turkey’s relationship with Europe and the global fear of diversity. This trial is not just about her book, she says. The case is part of a political effort by extreme nationalists to hamper Turkey’s EU aspiration by demonstrating how un-European it is. (Erdem, *The Times*, 2006)
- “[Şafak]: La peur du cosmopolitisme est malheureusement une tendance mondiale. Une question cruciale se pose d’ailleurs pour l’Union européenne. Va-t-elle rester un club de gens similaires, ou s’ouvrir à une forme de régénération?” (Perrier, 2009, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: “[Şafak]: Fear of cosmopolitanism is unfortunately a global trend. A crucial question also arises for the European Union. Will it remain a club of similar people, or open up to a form of regeneration?”]

Marc Sémo, whose name is familiar as he also wrote a review on Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow* and several press articles on the Türkiye’s EU bid, even argues that the trial against Elif Şafak has been deliberately used by the French publisher who focuses more on her legal troubles and death threats from ultranationalists, similar to other Turkish intellectuals like Orhan Pamuk, rather than the book’s content.

- “Tous les éléments d’un livre à succès sont donc réunis dans ces quelque 400 pages d’autant que l’auteure, aussi belle qu’intelligente, parfaitement anglophone et brillante chroniqueuse dans la presse turque et américaine, évoque des thèmes dans l’air du temps

et notamment les identités mélangées au travers de la métaphore de ‘la bâtardise’. Mais les bons sentiments ne font pas souvent de la bonne littérature, surtout quand les personnages se réduisent à des archétypes parlant par clichés. C’est par moments très drôle au second degré, mais cet humour décalé semble le plus souvent involontaire. Son éditeur français préfère d’ailleurs centrer sa communication sur les déboires judiciaires de l’auteure et les menaces de mort qu’elle a reçues des milieux ultranationalistes, comme plusieurs autres intellectuels turcs briseurs de tabous, dont le grand romancier Orhan Pamuk.” (Sémo, 2007, Libération) [Back translation: “All the elements of a successful book are therefore brought together in these approximately 400 pages, especially since the author, as beautiful as she is intelligent, perfectly English-speaking and a brilliant columnist in the Turkish and American press, evokes themes in the air of time and in particular mixed identities through the metaphor of ‘bastardization’. But good feelings don’t often make good literature, especially when the characters are reduced to archetypes speaking in clichés. It is at times very funny in the second degree, but this offbeat humor seems most often involuntary. Her French publisher also prefers to focus its communication on the author’s legal setbacks and the death threats she received from ultranationalist circles, like several other taboo-breaking Turkish intellectuals, including the great novelist Orhan Pamuk.”]

4.3.4.3 Biographical Distinction

Both French and British reviews emphasize Elif Şafak’s unique background, highlighting her diplomat mother and her own experiences living in countries like Spain, Jordan, Türkiye, and the United States. According to reviewers, this multicultural upbringing is evident in her writing, which effortlessly integrates English and Turkish. Şafak’s work is acclaimed for its bold approach to controversial topics, such as domestic violence and honor crimes, which underscores her dedication to social justice and equality. Overall, Elif Şafak is portrayed as a talented and brave writer who skillfully blends diverse cultural influences in her work to produce powerful and thought-provoking literature. It is also noteworthy that several reviewers comment on her physical appearance, emphasizing her ‘Western’ look and should be reminded. Consider the following excerpts from reviews:

- “A ses yeux, pour l’écriture n’est pas l’exercice d’un contrôle vertical, mais l’horizon ouvert d’une vie nomade, commence auprès d’une mère diplomate qui l’emmène, adolescente, en Espagne. Un nomadisme qu’elle a poursuivi, entre l’Arizona, où elle enseignait encore récemment, et Istanbul, mais qu’elle pratique aussi entre les savoirs et les traditions: diplômée en women studies, docteur en sciences politiques, viscéralement attachée à l’existence d’une opinion publique critique et démocratique, Şafak se distingue pourtant de l’élite stambouliote laïque influencée par l’héritage Classique français des Lumières, qu’elle juge isolée dans sa tour d’ivoire, coupée de la diversité Culturelle Populaire.” (Dumontet, 2007, Le monde des livres) [Back translation: “In her

eyes, writing is not the exercise of vertical control, but the open horizon of a nomadic life, beginning with a diplomat mother who took him, as a teenager, to Spain. A nomadism that she continued, between Arizona, where she taught until recently, and Istanbul, but which she also practices between knowledge and traditions: graduate in women studies, doctor in political science, viscerally attached to existence of a critical and democratic public opinion, Shafak nevertheless distinguishes herself from the secular Istanbul elite influenced by the French Classical heritage of the Enlightenment, which she judges isolated in her ivory tower, cut off from popular cultural diversity.”]

- “Née en 1971 à Strasbourg d’une mère diplomate, elle a grandi en Espagne, vécu quelque temps en Jordanie. Aujourd’hui, elle se partage entre Istanbul et Tucson, où elle enseigne à l’Université d’Arizona. Elif Shafak est turque de souche, oui mais de souche nomade et multiculturelle. N’écrit-elle pas en anglais et en turc? Certains de ses compatriotes lui ont reproché de renier ses origines et de trahir le drapeau estampillé sur son passeport.” (Eliard, 2007, *Le Figaro littéraire*) [Back translation: “Born in 1971 in Strasbourg to a diplomat mother, she grew up in Spain and lived for some time in Jordan. Today, she is divided between Istanbul and Tucson, where she teaches at the University of Arizona. Elif Shafak is ethnic Turkish, yes, but of nomadic and multicultural origin. Doesn’t she write in English and Turkish? Some of her compatriots criticized him for denying her origins and betraying the flag stamped on her passport.”]
- “Il y a un an, Elif Shafak comparaisait devant un tribunal pour insulte à l’identité nationale. Était en cause un des personnages de *La Bâtarde*, qui parle sans tabou du génocide arménien. Génocide arménien: voilà une expression que cette passionnée de vocabulaire ne prononcera pas. Dans les journaux dont elle faisait la une en septembre dernier, on la disait intrépide, cette féministe issue de l’élite laïque stambouliote. Intrépide, ce n’est pas le premier qualificatif qui vous viendrait à l’esprit pour décrire cette femme douce. Est-ce sa récente maternité qui l’a assagie? Des cheveux blond vénitien encadrent son joli visage aux pommettes haut perchées. À chacun de ses sourires - des halos de mélancolie -, ses yeux gris se plissent délicatement. À 36 ans, Elif Shafak a gardé une allure juvénile, qu’auraient pourtant pu altérer ses combats pour la reconnaissance des violences conjugales ou des crimes d’honneur.” (Eliard, 2007, *Le Figaro littéraire*) [Back translation: “A year ago, Elif Shafak appeared in court for insulting national identity. One of the characters in *La Bâtarde*, who speaks without taboo about the Armenian genocide, was involved. Armenian genocide: this is an expression that this vocabulary enthusiast will not pronounce. In the newspapers whose headlines she made last September, she was said to be intrepid, this feminist from the Istanbul secular elite. Intrepid, this is not the first adjective that would come to mind to describe this gentle woman. Is it her recent motherhood that has calmed her down? Venetian blonde hair frames her pretty face with high cheekbones. With each of her smiles - halos of melancholy - her gray eyes wrinkle delicately. At 36, Elif Shafak has retained a youthful appearance, which could have been altered by her fights for the recognition of domestic violence or honor killings.”]
- “Née à Strasbourg, la romancière turque Elif Shafak, 38 ans, est l’auteur de plusieurs romans à succès: *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, *Bonbon palace*, et *Lait noir*, paru récemment

chez Phébus.” (Perrier, 2009, Le Monde) [Back translation: “Born in Strasbourg, the Turkish novelist Elif Shafak, 38, is the author of several successful novels: *La Bâtarde* d’Istanbul, *Bonbon* palace, and *Lait noir*, recently published by Phébus.”]

4.3.4.4 Literary Distinction

The reviews on *The Bastard of Istanbul* based on the literary distinction provide thorough and detailed insights into the novel, offering comprehensive information on its content and themes. Reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul* tend to focus on the complex interplay of Turkish society and history, particularly in relation to the events of 1915, most particularly framed as “Armenian genocide” by the French reviewers. Both the British and French reviews highlight the cultural conflicts and secrets faced by the characters, Asya and Armanoush, as they navigate their identities and forge a forbidden friendship. Moreover, they note the controversy sparked by Şafak’s exploration of taboo topics, such as abortion, while appreciating the novel’s rich portrayal of Istanbul as a character in itself.

- “Fin de journée pluvieuse à Istanbul. Une jeune femme entre dans une clinique. ‘Je dois avorter’, dit-elle. Elle a 19 ans et est célibataire. Ce qui va arriver ensuite changera le cours de sa vie. Vingt ans plus tard, Asya Kazanci vit avec ses quatre tantes, sa grand-mère et son arrière-grand-mère, dans une maison stambouliote. Depuis des générations, les hommes de la famille n’ont jamais atteint quarante ans, et ceci semble dû à une mystérieuse malédiction.” (Lire, 2007) [Back translation: “End of a rainy day in Istanbul. A young woman enters a clinic. ‘I have to have an abortion,’ she said. She is 19 years old and single. What happens next will change the course of her life. Twenty years later, Asya Kazanci lives with her four aunts, her grandmother and her great-grandmother, in a house in Istanbul. For generations, the men of the family have never reached forty, and this seems to be due to a mysterious curse.”]
- “The story is reminiscent of an Isabel Allende novel set between contemporary America and Turkey. It has an incredible scope, spanning the lives of two families over the past three generations. There are moments when the wealth of detail and complicated connections threaten to overwhelm you but Shafak reins things in by concentrating on two main characters, Asya and Armanoush.” (Groskop, 2007, The Express on Sunday)
- “Et quand, par un mariage imprévu, cet univers croise celui des Tchakhmakhchian, une famille arménienne installée à San Francisco depuis le génocide de 1915, pratiquement tous les conflits les plus douloureux de la société turque s’invitent dans le roman, et tombent entre les mains des personnages: plus particulièrement entre celles de deux adolescentes, Asya la ‘bâtarde’, la plus jeune Armanoush, des Kasanci, la cadette et des Tchakhmakhchian, jeune Arménienne-Américaine découvrant avec Asya Istanbul et

l'histoire de ses ancêtres.” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le monde des livres*) [Back translation: “And when, through an unforeseen marriage, this universe crosses that of the Tchakhmakhchians, an Armenian family living in San Francisco since the 1915 genocide, practically all the most painful conflicts of Turkish society find their way into the novel, and fall into the hands of characters: more particularly between those of two teenage girls, Asya the ‘bastard’, the youngest Armanouch, Kasanci, the youngest and Tchakhmakhchian, a young Armenian-American discovering Istanbul and the history of her ancestors with Asya.”]

- “C’est l’histoire de deux filles en quête d’identité que raconte Elif Shafak. La première, Asya Kazanci – ‘la bâtarde’ née d’un père inconnu - est une Stambouliote passablement délurée, qui fume, écoute du rock, fréquente les cafés branchés et brûle de voir sa patrie briser le joug des traditions rétrogrades. La seconde, Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian, vit à l’autre bout du monde, dans une Amérique où sa famille a émigré après le génocide arménien. Du passé de ses ancêtres, elle ne sait pas grand-chose, comme si l’exil lui avait volé une part d’elle-même. Et lorsqu’elle débarquera à Istanbul, elle trouvera en Asya une confidente, une complice hantée elle aussi par de lourds secrets: entre la jeune Turque et l’Arménienne, une amitié va se nouer, malgré les interdits qui pèsent pour les séparer.” (Clavel, 2007, *L’Express*) [Back translation: “Elif Shafak tells the story of two girls in search of identity. The first, Asya Kazanci – ‘the bastard’ born to an unknown father – is a fairly sassy Istanbulite, who smokes, listens to rock, frequents trendy cafés and is eager to see her homeland break the yoke of retrograde traditions. The second, Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian, lives on the other side of the world, in America where her family emigrated after the Armenian genocide. She doesn’t know much about her ancestors’ past, as if exile had stolen a part of herself. And when she arrives in Istanbul, she will find in Asya a confidante, an accomplice also haunted by heavy secrets: between the young Turk and the Armenian, a friendship will form, despite the prohibitions that separate them.”]
- “Like Orhan Pamuk, Elif Shafak got into trouble with the Turkish government for airing, in this novel, the subject of the 1915 Armenian massacre. This, and the way in which Istanbul features almost as a character in their work, is the end of their likeness, however. Shafak’s tragi-comedy of two families, one in Istanbul, consisting entirely of women, and a family of Armenian immigrants in Arizona, is an overwritten yet appealing take on the way in which ‘our ancestors breathe through our children’.” (This is the whole review; Owen, 2008, *The Sunday Telegraph*)
- We begin with the 19-year-old Zeliha Kazanci, striding furiously through the rain, fending off the wolfwhistlers of Istanbul as she makes her way to an abortionist. She has no doubts about her decision. The call to prayer she hears as the doctor puts her under should not affect her: Islam does not take a stand on abortion. Anyway, she is an Independent Woman with Ambitions. But, when she floats back into consciousness, she is told that she has staged a screaming fit so spectacular that the doctor did not dare to proceed. So she strides home to announce that she is pregnant and will keep the child. She refuses to name the father. Had there been a man in the house, she might not have had her way. But the Kazanci men have a way of dying young. (Freely, 2007, *The Times*)

Analysing the literary distinction in the discourse surrounding translations reveals a contrast between the reception of Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak. Unlike Pamuk, whose general writing and his novel *Snow*, which received no negative commentary, the reviews of Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* are more varied and can be categorized as positive, and negative. It is noteworthy that while Şafak's work has garnered significant praise for its boldness and depth, it has also faced criticism and mixed reactions. This divergence in reception highlights the different challenges and perceptions faced by these two prominent Turkish authors in the literary world.

On the one hand, French and British reviews praise Elif Şafak for her masterful storytelling, skillfully weaving together complex narratives and characters with elements of humor and drama.

- “À travers deux familles, turque et arménienne, d'où les hommes sont absents ou maudits, Elif entremêle brillamment des destins de femmes. Qu'elles soient féministes, nihilistes, mystiques, elles tiennent toutes de ce même passé violent, que certaines effacent, que d'autres ravivent. ‘Ce n'est pas un livre sur de grandes questions, mais sur des petits sujets. Les femmes turques et arméniennes se ressemblent, c'est ce que je voulais mettre en lumière.’ Il faut qu'Elif Shafak soit douée pour les miracles, pour transmuier ‘les petits sujets’ en chef-d'oeuvre.” (Eliard, 2007, Le Figaro littéraire) [Back translation: “Through two families, Turkish and Armenian, from which men are absent or cursed, Elif brilliantly interweaves the destinies of women. Whether they are feminists, nihilists, mystics, they all come from the same violent past, which some erase, which others revive. ‘This is not a book about big questions, but about small subjects. Turkish and Armenian women look alike, that's what I wanted to highlight.’ Elif Shafak must be gifted for miracles, to transmute ‘small matters’ into masterpieces”]
- “If one must find a flaw in Elif Shafak's new novel, it is this: *The Bastard of Istanbul* is too well rounded, its plot too seamless and telling so smooth that the story it tells glides easily along without friction, despite a grand scheme spanning several generations and crossing continents, and it aims to depict the historical differences between the Armenians and Turks over the past hundred years. The novel is written with a stylishness that is slightly intimidating.” (Chitralkha, 2007, Times Literary Supplement)³⁵

³⁵ While Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* received an entire page of coverage in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* was only given a quarter of a page, making it one of the more extensive reviews of her work within the corpus. Overall, reviews tended to be significantly longer for *Snow*

- “THIS IS a wonderfully magical, challenging novel from Turkey’s most prominent woman novelist. Shafak is a genius: she wrote this herself in English – no translator required. And you would not believe that she was not a native speaker: it is cleverly crafted, its language bursting with a lyricism many English and American authors would envy.” (Groskop, 2007, *The Express on Sunday*)
- “This makes the novel into a breathtaking genealogical thriller which will have you gasping with disbelief in the last few pages. An exciting, awe-inspiring literary read.” (Groskop, 2007, *The Express on Sunday*)
- “C’est un plaisir d’entrer dans ce roman, d’être brutalement happé dans le tumulte boueux d’un Istanbul détrempé, entre deux éclaircies” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le monde des livres*) [Back translation: “It is a pleasure to enter this novel, to be brutally caught up in the muddy tumult of a soggy Istanbul, between two clearings”]
- “Shafak’s book *The Bastard of Istanbul* has been long-listed for the 2008 Orange Broadband Prize for Fiction.” (Byrne, 2008, *The Independent*)

Her ability to explore the interconnectedness of Turkish and Armenian women’s experiences in a deeply profound and nuanced manner is commended. Critics hail her as a literary genius, comparing her work to that of renowned authors like Orhan Pamuk. Furthermore, Şafak’s writing style is celebrated for its elegance and captivating lyricism, with her novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* being described as a breathtaking and thrilling literary masterpiece. Overall, reviewers express admiration for Şafak’s talent in crafting compelling narratives that immerse readers in vivid and richly textured worlds, making her a standout figure in contemporary Turkish literature.

On the other hand, reviews published both in the British and French subsystems present a mixed reception of Elif Şafak’s literary work, pointing out certain shortcomings in her writing style and character development.

- “Historical events -- specifically the 1915 massacre of Armenians by Turks -- loom large in this vibrant culture-clash saga. Unfortunately, Elif Shafak isn’t the most accomplished of stylists, and her expositions, though informative, are awkwardly didactic. Yet this

compared to *The Bastard of Istanbul*, with Pamuk’s work garnering more detailed analysis and discussion in literary circles and the mass media.

remains a likeable novel and, in view of the political persecution Şafak has suffered in Turkey, a brave one, too.” (Cross, 2007, Daily Mail)

- “Misundertood - not political novel. But the case has caused her to be misunderstood. For *The Bastard of Istanbul* is not political in that sense.
- “Nor is it concerned with Turkey’s ever more tormented war with the Armenian diaspora. It is about families and the lies and silences that shape them. Though some of the lies date back to the final years of the Ottoman Empire and the genocide that may not be named, Şafak’s overriding interest is not history but gender.” (Freely, 2007, The Times)
- “Towards the end, the novel swings from the political to the personal, as Şafak reveals buried secrets and unexpected ties between the two families, both of which feel rather clichéd. Things aren’t helped by the re- entry into the narrative of Rose, Armanoush’s mother, who is a caricature of the insular American - the kind of woman who will take a cactus-shaped bottle of Mexican sauce to Istanbul in case the food isn’t any good. But this is still an engrossing novel, and one can only hope that its author’s courage in tackling this subject, and defending herself from an unmerited prosecution, will hasten the abandonment of an unconscionable taboo.” (Colvile, 2007, The Daily Telegraph)
- “Şafak’s double-sided narrative demonstrates how the Armenian diaspora and the Turkish people live in different time frames, one still nursing the wounds of old crimes, the other living in a present that accepts no responsibility for the past. Yet it could be said that Şafak’s novel is, on balance, not all that novelistic. Its characters lack true freedom and interiority and can seem mere symbols or meanings fitted into an overarching structure.” (Choudhury, 2007, The Sunday Telegraph)

Critics note that while Şafak addresses important historical events such as the Armenian issue in her novels, her writing style is sometimes perceived as didactic and lacking in sophistication. Some reviewers criticize the stereotypical portrayal of characters and scenarios in her narratives, which can come across as clichéd and lacking in depth. Additionally, Şafak’s exploration of complex themes like family, identity, and historical trauma is seen as falling short of true originality and nuance, with characters potentially being reduced to mere symbols within the overarching structure of her novels. Despite these criticisms, critics acknowledge Şafak’s courage in addressing controversial subjects and defending her work against political persecution, highlighting the importance of her contributions to contemporary literature.

There has been considerable attention given to the language and style of Şafak’s novel, with reviews offering insights on of how these elements contribute to the overall narrative and impact of the book.

- [Şafak]: “Le langage artistique est plus constructif que le langage politique, car il est fondé sur l’empathie. Le politique joue sur l’opposition entre ‘eux’ et ‘nous’. Pour un artiste, il n’y a pas d’Autre. Nous avons donc un dialogue plus constructif et le rapport avec le public est plus dépassionné.” (Perrier, 2009, *Le Monde*) [Back translation: [Şafak]: “Artistic language is more constructive than political language, because it is based on empathy. Politics plays on the opposition between ‘them’ and ‘us’. For an artist, there is no Other. We therefore have a more constructive dialogue and the relationship with the public is more dispassionate.”]
- “On lui reprocha aussi d’avoir écrit le roman en anglais, quand les quatre précédents l’étaient en turc: ‘Justement: l’autorité, c’est la langue’, répond-elle. ‘Et choisir d’écrire en anglais, une langue que j’ai apprise, et non maternelle, c’était prendre conscience de tout ce que je ne savais pas dire. Affronter ce vide... Pour un écrivain, c’est toujours un défi’, dit-elle simplement, en guise de congé.” (Dumontet, 2007, *Le monde des livres*) [Back translation: “She was also criticized for having written the novel in English, when the previous four were in Turkish: ‘Precisely: authority is the language,’ she replied. ‘And choosing to write in English, a language that I learned, and not my mother tongue, was to become aware of everything I did not know how to say. Facing this void... For a writer, it’s always a challenge,’ she says simply, by way of dismissal.”]
- “C’était en arrivant aux États-Unis, où ses romans n’avaient pas encore été traduits. De célèbre, elle était devenue anonyme. Elif a vu dans cette nouvelle virginité l’occasion de trouver l’autre écrivain qu’elle portait en elle. C’est ainsi qu’elle s’est mise à écrire en anglais, notamment *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, qui paraît ces jours-ci. ‘L’anglais est une langue mathématique, rationnelle et précise, qui convient parfaitement à l’humour et l’ironie. Le turc est sentimental, émotionnel, plus proche de mon cœur’, dit-elle.” (Eliard, 2007, *Le Figaro littéraire*) [Back translation: “It was upon arriving in the United States, where her novels had not yet been translated. From being famous, she had become anonymous. Elif saw in this new virginity the opportunity to find the other writer she carried within her. This is how she started writing in English, notably *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, which is being published these days. ‘English is a mathematical, rational and precise language, which is perfectly suited to humor and irony. Turkish is sentimental, emotional, closer to my heart,’ she says.”]
- “Le turc d’Elif Şafak est une immense toile qui relie les mots nouveaux aux anciens - soufis, persans, arabes, etc. - qui n’ont pas survécu à la ‘turquisation’ de la langue ottomane. Elif, qui arpente ce patrimoine oublié, réhabilite un lexique que ses lecteurs réapprennent dans ses livres à l’aide du dictionnaire.” (Eliard, 2007, *Le Figaro littéraire*) [Back translation: “Elif Şafak’s Turkish is a huge web that connects new words with old ones - Sufi, Persian, Arabic, etc. - which did not survive the ‘Turkization’ of the Ottoman language. Elif, who surveys this forgotten heritage, rehabilitates a lexicon that her readers relearn in her books using the dictionary.”]
- “Cette rencontre miraculeuse, Elif Şafak l’orchestre dans un récit très sensuel, qui brasse les eaux troubles d’un pays enlisé dans les pires archaïsmes. La romancière a eu le courage de les dénoncer et c’est le vent de la liberté qui, grâce à elle, a soudain soufflé

sur les rives du Bosphore...” (Clavel, 2007, L’Express) [Back translation: “Elif Şafak orchestrates this miraculous encounter in a very sensual story, which stirs up the troubled waters of a country mired in the worst archaisms. The novelist had the courage to denounce them and it was the wind of freedom which, thanks to her, suddenly blew on the banks of the Bosphorus...”]

Elif Şafak’s language and style are praised in both French and British reviews for their depth, empathy, and cultural richness. She is noted for viewing artistic language as more constructive than political language, as it is rooted in empathy rather than division. Additionally, Şafak’s decision to write in English for some of her works is seen as a deliberate choice to challenge herself and explore new linguistic territories. According to the majority of reviewers, despite English not being her native language, she embraces the precision and mathematical quality of the language, which complements her use of humour and irony. Furthermore, her Turkish writing is described as a vast tapestry that connects old and new words from various cultural influences that have been overshadowed by the Turkification of the Ottoman language. Şafak’s skill in weaving together these diverse linguistic elements are acclaimed for revitalizing a forgotten lexicon and engaging readers in a process of rediscovery. Overall, critics praise Şafak’s sensual and courageous narrative style, which delves into the depths of a culturally rich and politically complex landscape, shining a light on societal issues and historical taboos with a breath of fresh air and freedom.

In reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul* both in France and the UK, Elif Şafak’s name is often juxtaposed with Orhan Pamuk’s, reflecting Pascale Casanova’s concepts of consecration and accumulation. According to Casanova in *The World Republic of Letters* (Casanova, 2004, pp. 127-134), literary consecration involves the recognition and validation of an author’s work within the international literary field, often through association with already established figures. Pamuk, a Nobel laureate, serves as a symbol of literary prestige and international acclaim, thus Şafak’s frequent comparison to him signifies an attempt to position her within a similar realm of high literary status. This juxtaposition also highlights the process of accumulation, where Şafak’s cultural capital and legitimacy are enhanced by aligning her with Pamuk’s already consecrated position. Such comparisons aim to elevate Şafak’s profile and emphasize the significance of her contributions to literature, suggesting that she, too, is a notable and influential figure within the global literary landscape.

- “Elif Shafak’s crime was to use, or rather have her characters use, words such as “genocide” in relation to the pogrom against the Armenians that accompanied the dawn of the Turkish state. [...] If it is shocking that authors can be put on trial for what they write (as has happened to many other writers and journalists in Turkey, most famously Orhan Pamuk), it is also oddly appropriate, given the subject of this novel. The central question in *The Bastard of Istanbul* is whether it is best to disinter the past, with all the trauma and pain that entails, or cut ourselves off from it.” (Colvile, 2007, *The Daily Telegraph*)
- “Elif Shafak, like Orhan Pamuk, is a writer who tells uncomfortable truths about her country--a country that does not always welcome being talked about by writers. The similarity between Shafak and Pamuk lies in their relation to ‘Turkishness’--both take a bipolar view of Turkey, as if, while living in the centre of a maelstrom, they are able to fly above it.” (Kurkov, 2007, *New Statement*)
- “En littérature comme en d’autres matières, il est des critiques qui importent plus que les autres. Consacrée par le prix Nobel Orhan Pamuk comme « la plus grande écrivaine turque de ces dix dernières années », Elif Shafak signe, avec *La Bâtarde d’Istanbul*, son grand roman turc contemporain. Un grand roman turco- arménien, plutôt, qui valut à son auteur un procès et pour lequel, accusée d’avoir dénigré l’identité nationale, Elif Shafak risqua la prison avant d’être acquittée en 2006...” (La Croix, 2007) [Back translation: “In literature as in other subjects, there are critics who are more important than others. Consecrated by the Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk as “the greatest Turkish writer of the last ten years”, Elif Shafak signs, with *The Bastard of Istanbul*, her great contemporary Turkish novel. A great Turkish-Armenian novel, rather, which earned its author a trial and for which, accused of having denigrated national identity, Elif Shafak risked prison before being acquitted in 2006...”]
- “Dans cette saga palpitante au récit puissant, Elif Shafak maîtrise parfaitement l’art d’entremêler le drame et l’humour. Dans la littérature turque d’aujourd’hui, elle incarne la relève de la génération d’Orhan Pamuk.” (Lire, 2007) [Back translation: “In this thrilling saga with a powerful narrative, Elif Shafak perfectly masters the art of intertwining drama and humor. In today’s Turkish literature, she embodies the next generation of Orhan Pamuk.”]
- “If Orhan Pamuk and Elif Shafak, the two best-known Turkish novelists in the English-speaking world, have one virtue in common, it is that both have dedicatedly interrogated their country’s self-image, contrasting the narrowness of Turkism with the cosmopolitanism of the old Ottoman empire. Both have gone on trial, too, under an infamous article of the Turkish Penal Code, for the crime of ‘insulting Turkishness’. In terms of their viewpoints there is not much to choose between them. Shafak’s latest novel, *The Bastard of Istanbul*, shows her though to be a more attack-minded and less sophisticated novelist than her Nobel Prize-winning contemporary.” (Choudhury, 2007, *The Sunday Telegraph*)

In the above examples, it is indicated that both Elif Şafak and Orhan Pamuk share a common dedication to challenging Türkiye's self-image. Both authors courageously delve into the complexities of their country's history and societal norms, contrasting the narrow nationalism of Turkism with the cosmopolitanism of the Ottoman Empire. Notably, they have both faced legal challenges under Türkiye's penal code for allegedly "insulting Turkishness," indicating their shared commitment to addressing uncomfortable truths about Turkish identity. Overall, while Pamuk is recognized for his sophistication, Şafak is viewed as a more assertive and direct writer in her exploration of Türkiye's cultural and historical dilemmas.

4.3.5 Convergence and Divergence

Convergence #1: The British and French reviews of Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* provide both a detailed analysis of the novel, focusing on its exploration of Turkish society and history, particularly the 1915 events framed as the Armenian "genocide". Both British and French reviewers emphasize the cultural conflicts and secrets faced by characters Asya and Armanoush, and appreciate the rich portrayal of Istanbul. However, the reception is mixed; while some praise Şafak's masterful storytelling, elegant writing, and nuanced exploration of interconnected identities, others criticize her for stereotypical characters, didactic style, and lack of depth. This divergence highlights the varied challenges and perceptions faced by Şafak compared to her compatriot Orhan Pamuk, who has received more uniformly positive reviews. Despite criticisms, reviewers recognize Şafak's bravery in addressing taboo subjects and her significant contributions to contemporary Turkish literature.

Convergence #2: On the one hand, in both the French and English editions of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, the covers prominently feature the Blue Mosque as a symbol of Istanbul's cultural heritage. The French versions show tranquil images of the mosque over the Bosphorus and vibrant red blooms, blending tradition with modernity, while the English cover uses rich colors and intricate patterns to evoke Istanbul's artistic legacy. However, while visually striking, these covers run the risk of perpetuating clichés and exoticizing Turkish culture, potentially shaping readers' perceptions through an

Orientalist lens. Despite this, they effectively use a mix of traditional imagery and modern design to mirror the novel's exploration of cultural identity and heritage.

On the other hand, reviewers across British and French perspectives emphasize the significant role of food in *The Bastard of Istanbul*, where it represents cultural richness and personal identity. Through detailed depictions of Turkish and Armenian dishes like dolma, ashure, and baba ganoush, the novel reflects characters' personalities and emotions. This immersive experience of both senses and emotions bridges cultural divides, intertwining symbolism with personal stories. Some reviewers caution that the focus on traditional dishes could carry Orientalist undertones, potentially reinforcing stereotypes and oversimplifying cultural identities.

Convergence #3: Elif Şafak's trial is a key theme in reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, praised for challenging national narratives and sparking discussions on free expression and cultural memory. Despite legal battles, the novel resonates with readers, offering a compelling examination of identity, history, and storytelling's power in shaping national discourse. The character's controversial remarks on Turks as "butchers" highlight the sensitivity of the Turkish-Armenian conflict, leading to Şafak facing legal action for her bold commentary on historical tensions.

Convergence #4: Critics praise Elif Şafak's novel for its language and style, which are noted for their depth, empathy, and cultural richness. She is commended for prioritizing artistic language over political language, embracing English to challenge herself and explore new linguistic territories. Şafak's ability to weave diverse linguistic elements together in both English and Turkish is lauded for revitalizing forgotten lexicons.

Convergence #5: In reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, Elif Şafak is frequently compared to Orhan Pamuk in both France and the UK, indicating an effort to elevate her to a similar literary stature. This comparison enhances Şafak's cultural capital by aligning her with Pamuk's established literary prominence. Both authors are commended for challenging Türkiye's self-perception by delving into the complexities of its history and societal norms. They address the tensions between Turkish nationalism and the Ottoman Empire's cosmopolitanism, with both facing legal challenges for confronting uncomfortable truths about Turkish identity. While Pamuk is noted for his sophistication, Şafak is perceived as a more assertive and direct writer in her examination of Türkiye's cultural and historical issues.

Divergence: It is clear from the number of reviews and interviews surveyed that there is a significant difference in the coverage of Elif Şafak's novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* between France and the UK. The fact that there are nearly twice as many reviews and interviews in British outlets compared to French ones may suggest a greater interest in the novel in the British subsystem. This could be due to a variety of factors, including differences in literary tastes, marketing strategies, or the author's profile and popularity not only in each country but also internationally.

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak both exhibit distinct but comparable patterns in the translation and publication of their works, reflecting their global literary influence. Pamuk's works are extensively translated into English and French, though some non-fiction works remain untranslated, indicating potential challenges in that genre. Recent translation patterns show a trend towards faster translations, underscoring growing international demand and efficient processes. Early works experienced significant delays, highlighting the evolution of Pamuk's international reputation over time. The decreasing time gaps between original publications and translations illustrate increasing responsiveness from publishers.

Elif Şafak has a strong presence in her native language with numerous publications, and substantial international readership with consistent versions in English and French. Her translation timeline shows increased regularity after she began writing in English, reflecting a strategic effort to maintain linguistic and cultural relevance.

The findings of the present chapter predominantly support Heilbron's centrality hypothesis, with English often serving as a consecrating language. This centrality is reflected in the predominance of English versions preceding French ones. Moreover, Şafak's bilingualism and biculturalism facilitate a unique self-translation process, allowing her to effectively navigate and blend cultural nuances. This contributes to a hybrid narrative style that resonates across different linguistic and cultural audiences. Her strategic publication efforts ensure regular releases in both English and Turkish, followed by French translations.

Overall, both authors exhibit distinct yet comparable patterns in translation and publication, reflecting their global literary influence. Pamuk's extensive and timely translations underscore his established international reputation, while Şafak's bilingual proficiency and self-translation practices highlight her unique approach to cross-cultural storytelling. Their translation trajectories illustrate the dynamic interplay between linguistic markets, thematic considerations, and strategic efforts by publishers to cater to a global readership.

The reception of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* in France and the UK reveals distinct patterns that reflect the different cultural and linguistic contexts in which these works were reviewed.

For Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, the comprehensive analysis covers 61 reviews and interviews, with 32 from French outlets and 29 from British outlets. Both in France and the UK, the novel received significant attention from leading quality. This concentrated interest from quality media underscores Pamuk's status as a significant literary figure both in France and in the UK, appreciated not only for his storytelling but also for his commentary on political issues. The Nobel Prize had a substantial influence on the volume and nature of the reviews, enhancing Pamuk's visibility and framing his work within a broader literary and political context.

French reviews of *Snow* are more detailed and longer than those in the UK, often delving into intricate analysis and political themes like the Armenian and Kurdish questions. This reflects a deeper engagement with geopolitical nuances and a tendency to intertwine literary evaluation with broader contexts. Additionally, French media exhibit a stronger structural coupling with politics, while British media focus more on narrative techniques and literary merits. Furthermore, *Snow* is framed as a 'classic' in France, with covers and reviews emphasizing its thematic depth and political relevance. In the UK, it's positioned between 'classic' and 'popular literature', with a focus on accessibility and contemporary relevance alongside its literary qualities.

Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* is analysed through 24 reviews and interviews, with 16 from British outlets and 8 from French outlets. British reviews of Şafak's novel often highlighted its complex structure and thematic depth, with mixed opinions on its narrative execution. The boldness of Şafak's narrative, particularly in addressing Türkiye's contentious historical issues such as the Armenian issue, was a focal point. British critics

appreciated the novel's rich character development and evocative setting but varied in their assessment of its overall impact and coherence.

French reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul* emphasized the novel's cultural significance and Şafak's role in bridging historical and cultural divides. The French critics valued the novel for its exploration of Türkiye's complex history and its contribution to cultural dialogue. While both British and French reviews recognized the richness of the characters and the vividness of the setting, French reviews were more focused on the cultural and historical implications of Şafak's work, reflecting a broader appreciation for its thematic concerns. French reviews often highlighted the political and cultural intricacies of their work, while British reviews balanced literary style with thematic depth. Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*, on the other hand, elicited mixed reviews in the UK regarding its narrative development but was praised for its thematic boldness. In France, the novel was appreciated for its cultural significance and its role in addressing historical issues.

Unlike Pamuk, both the British and French reviews frame the novel as 'popular' with covers reflecting more clichéd patterns in both subsystems. Indeed, although Pamuk is esteemed for his refinement of his works' style, Şafak is perceived as a more assertive and straightforward writer when delving into Türkiye's cultural and historical challenges. Her literary merit is occasionally framed in negative terms. Pamuk's name appeared along with prominent international writers from the world canon, while this was not the case for Şafak. Literary consecration involves recognizing and validating an author's work internationally, often by associating them with established figures. Nobel laureate Pamuk symbolizes literary prestige, so comparisons with him aim to elevate Şafak to a similar high status. This also aims to enhance Şafak's cultural capital and legitimacy by aligning her with Pamuk's recognized position (Casanova, 2004, pp. 128).

This comparison illustrates how Pamuk and Şafak are perceived and critiqued in different cultural and linguistic contexts. Pamuk's work is deeply engaged with in both literary and political dimensions, reflecting his status as a prominent international author. Şafak's work, while similarly engaged with complex historical and cultural themes, is recognized for its narrative boldness and its contribution to cultural dialogue, particularly in France. Both authors' reception highlights the importance of cultural context in literary criticism and the varied lenses through which their works are interpreted in the receiving system.

Translation patterns, encompassing decisions about which texts are selected for translation and when, serve as reflections of the needs, expectations, and self-definition of the receiving system and these choices are driven by local interests and agendas, shaping which works are deemed worthy of translation (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006, p. 132).

From this perspective, drawing on Niklas Luhmann's concepts, translation can be seen as a "boundary phenomenon" within social systems (Tyulenev, 2009, 151). Luhmann's theory posits that social systems, including those involved in cultural production and reception, operate as autopoietic entities with boundaries that both separate them from and connect them to their environments (2012, p. 107). In the context of translation, this boundary function becomes particularly salient. Translation serves as a mechanism through which a social system, in this case, the European system, interacts with its external environment. In the present case, the translation of Pamuk's and Şafak's works, along with the relevant paratextual data, allows Europe to open up to new ideas, perspectives, and cultural products from its environment. In this sense, translation acts as a gateway, facilitating the exchange of knowledge, values, and artistic expressions across linguistic and cultural boundaries. At the same time, however, translation also plays a role in Europe's self-reproduction and boundary maintenance. When texts are translated, they are mostly shaped by the expectations of the receiving system. In the present case, this process enables the European system to incorporate foreign (i.e., Turkish) elements while preserving its own (distinctly European) identity and coherence. Thus, translation functions as a dynamic boundary phenomenon, mediating between Europe and its environment. It allows for the influx of external influences while also asserting Europe's autonomy (i.e., autopoiesis) and distinctiveness. In the selection process of systemic communication, which includes the selection of what to translate and how, the European system seems to negotiate its boundaries, selectively incorporating foreign texts while maintaining its internal cohesion.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been built upon a multifaceted analytical model that combines a macrostructural examination of the importation and exportation of literary works with a microstructural analysis of paratextual elements surrounding translations. The social context in which translated products circulate is deemed crucial, particularly when one considers how they are introduced and contextualized by the European system. The study has adopted a sociological perspective, concentrating exclusively on what is communicated through translations and paratexts and how. The study has aimed to make sense of the communication process from a sociological standpoint, primarily highlighting the social systemic and socially-oriented narrative perspectives.

Furthermore, this research has incorporated Luhmann's definition of communication, considering both diachronic and synchronic dimensions of the representation of the Turkish identity in the European system, particularly in the French and British subsystems. The concept of communication underscores the provisional and context-dependent nature of the meaning-making processes of the social systems, emphasizing the constructivist view of Social Systems Theory. Within this framework, the study has aimed to pinpoint the dominant narratives about the Turkish identity after Türkiye's candidacy to the European Union. Additionally, it has sought to understand the influence of narratives selected by the European media on translations from Turkish within the European system. By juxtaposing the Luhmannian concepts with socially-oriented narrative analytical tools developed by Somers and Gibson (1993, 1994) and Baker (2006, 2007), the study endeavoured to engage Social Systems Theory with text analysis within a broader socio-political context, seeking to make an original contribution to Translation Studies in light of such disciplines as sociology, media studies, and narrative theory for conceptual and analytical insights.

The dissertation is based on the analysis of two corpora, each comprising texts from distinct sources. The first corpus comprises press articles sourced from the British and French press spanning the years 1999 to 2008. Articles were selected based on their relevance to the study's objectives, focusing on the topics related to Türkiye's potential European Union membership, economic issues, political dynamics, and other pertinent issues taking place in the Turkish context. These articles serve as primary sources for

understanding the discourses surrounding Türkiye in British and French media during the specified timeframe. The second corpus consists of paratextual elements of two contemporary translations of the Turkish novels': Orhan Pamuk's *Kar* (known as *Snow* in English), and Elif Şafak's *Baba ve Piç* (*The Bastard of Istanbul*). These translations provide insight into the socio-cultural stakes involved to convey the source texts to English and French-speaking audiences, particularly by the mass media, functioning as the 'eyes' of the European system.

On the one hand, **the analysis of the first corpus** on press articles dealing with the Turkish identity published in France and the UK (**Chapter II**), focusing on similarities and differences between the perspectives of the British and French subsystems, was based on a diachronic overview of the representation of the 'Turk' and sought to answer **two main research questions: What topics are covered by the mass media regarding the Turkish identity, and how is the dominant narratives structured?** The overview signals that Europe historically differentiated itself from the Islamic civilization, with the Ottoman Empire symbolizing a significant threat. The establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 marked a positive shift in European perceptions of Türkiye, as fully dedicated in the path of Westernization. However, this shift was disrupted by the events like military coups, the Cyprus conflict, the Armenian issue, among other things, which reinforced negative views among European observers. Based on this premise, the analysis on contemporary press articles aimed to scrutinize the notable topics brought to the agenda of the European system. Foremost among these is the ongoing debate surrounding Türkiye's potential accession to the EU, which garners significant attention in both British and French subsystems.

While there is a general inclination toward supporting Türkiye's membership, concerns regarding economic, cultural, and political factors lead to reservations in both the British and French news outlets. One noteworthy convergence lies in the balanced portrayal of Türkiye in the media across both the British and French subsystems, indicative of a commitment to journalistic impartiality. While differing perspectives are evident in media coverage, prominent 'quality' newspapers strive to present a fair and equitable depiction of Türkiye. Columnists endeavour to express their viewpoints while avoiding exclusionary arguments based on cultural disparities to mitigate the risk of discriminatory

rhetoric or accusations of prejudice, signalling that impartiality – though considered as an illusion – is crucial for the autopoiesis of the mass media.

Lastly, a striking conclusion is that the evolving nature of the European Union has underscored the significance of the cultural distinction in delineating the system from its environment, with discussions framing Türkiye's potential accession in terms of its similarities or differences with the European identity. Socio-cultural and political dynamics within Türkiye are central themes in British and French analyses, often portraying Türkiye as a predominantly Muslim nation with secular and democratic values, perceived as 'less European' compared to existing EU member states.

On the other hand, the analysis of the first corpus on press articles also revealed that divergences between the British and French subsystems lies in their differing interpretations of the scope and foundational principles of the European Union. While the British subsystem often views Europe through an economic lens, conceptualizing it as a free-trade area or Commonwealth, the French subsystem emphasizes a broader integration encompassing political and cultural dimensions. This divergence reflects deeper differences in the perceptions of the EU's purpose and function, exemplified by the Brexit referendum in 2016.

One of the most striking conclusions is that the structural coupling between the political and economic systems in the UK appears stronger than that in France, particularly concerning the EU project, as defined in public discourse. While the economic distinction is dominant in the communications on the Turkish identity in the British subsystem, communications in the French subsystems tend to privilege cultural and political distinctions, highlighting a disparity between the British and French subsystems. Another divergence concerns contrasting narratives surrounding contentious issues such as the so-called Armenian "genocide" and Türkiye's secularist policies. While the British subsystem tends to avoid terms like "genocide" regarding Armenian history, the French subsystem commonly frames the events as systematic "genocide" – and this has also been observed in the analysis of reviews and interviews of translations published in British and French outlets. Moreover, while the British press reflects scepticism about Türkiye's commitment to secularism, the French press is more supportive about secularist practices. This divergence underscores the interplay between political and cultural distinctions

within European observations, with differing perspectives shaping media coverage and public discourse.

Overall, these points of convergence and divergence illuminate the complex dynamics shaping discussions within the British and French subsystems regarding the Turkish identity and the cultural nuances inherent in the European identity discourse. In contemporary European observations, Türkiye is predominantly seen as a society distinct from Europe. However, unlike historical portrayals of the Ottoman Empire, modern depictions do not cast the Turk as the ultimate Other of the European system, with a greater emphasis on concerns about political Islam over Türkiye's secularism. This aligns with Baker's (2006) viewpoint that the choice on what to categorize and the manner in which to categorize the narratives of identity is always influenced by our narrative standpoint. Furthermore, considering the metaphorical framing of the Turkish identity as a bridge, it becomes evident that varying degrees of otherness are attributed to Europe's eastern neighbours. In other words, Türkiye is seen as a "boundary" with a dual function (Luhmann, 1995, p. 28). Paradoxically, this boundary both separates the system from its environment, acting as a buffer zone against potentially harmful influences (such as the instability of the Middle East), and connects the system to its environment, serving as a mediator between two distinct civilizations. This connection allows the system (i.e., Europe) to selectively gather information necessary for its survival (i.e. autopoiesis) and communicate self-referentially, allowing the European system to reflect on its own geographic/literal and civilizational/conceptual boundaries.

The comparative research scrutinized in **Chapter III** aimed to enhance our understanding of the **importation of Turkish literature into European markets** by examining translation activities into French and English. The study sought to identify the common trends and disparities, assess the relevance of established translation theories to Turkish literature, and explore the broader impact of translation on cultural exchange. This chapter focused on the following **research questions: How do individual translation choices collectively result in dominant translational preferences regarding the choice of texts and authors? In what ways has translation influenced and continues to influence Türkiye's cultural and social fabric, both within the country and globally?** The findings suggests that political interest does not necessarily translate into cultural interest or vice versa. A significant conclusion is that, in terms of Social Systems Theory, the

structural coupling between the political and literary functional systems is not sufficiently robust to create a significant impact on the translation flows. Indeed, the asymmetrical representation of Turkish literature in France and the UK underscores the significant challenges the Turkish literary works face in gaining global visibility and consecration. Despite Türkiye's EU candidacy process in 1999, there has not been a significant increase in translation efforts, suggesting that the international literary system functions largely independently of geopolitical events. Additionally, initiatives like the TEDA project, launched in 2005 to promote public diplomacy through translation, have had limited impact on translation activities in France and the UK. Since 2005, growth in translation activities has been minimal, with the UK even seeing a decline in translations.

The study of translations from Turkish into French and English also reveals significant insights into the complexities of translational communication and its socio-cultural implications. It highlights the dominant presence of literary genres over non-literary ones in translations, reflecting the influence of language centrality on the types of translated works. Notably, translations into English are fewer and focus more on prominent Turkish literary figures, suggesting market demands and cultural perceptions as key factors. This highlights the substantial challenges Turkish literature faces in gaining global recognition and suggests the need for more sustained efforts to improve its visibility in the central Western markets.

The comparative analysis on the cases of Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak, focused on a second corpus comprising extratextual elements of translations in the British and French subsystems (**Chapter IV**), sought to answer the following **research questions: What stories and portrayals do the media and translations from Turkish into English and French offer about the representation of the Turkish identity, and how are the selected translations from Turkish received and represented in the British and French contexts?** The findings suggest that the French and British subsystems exhibit distinct yet comparable patterns in the translation and publication of their works, reflecting their global literary influence. Pamuk's novels, extensively translated into English and French, highlight his established international reputation, albeit with a few non-fictional works remaining untranslated, suggesting potential challenges in that genre. Recent translation trends indicate a shift towards faster translations, driven by growing

international demand and more efficient processes, with earlier works experiencing significant delays, showcasing the evolution of Pamuk's international renown over time. On the other hand, Elif Şafak enjoys a strong presence in her native language and substantial international readership, with publications in English and French. Her strategic approach to translation, particularly after beginning to write in English, underscores her efforts to maintain linguistic and cultural relevance by means of self-translation. The analysis predominantly supports Heilbron's (1999) centrality hypothesis, with English serving as a hypercentral consecrating language, as evidenced by English versions often preceding French translations. The study concludes that Şafak's bilingualism enables a unique self-translation process, contributing to a narrative style that resonates across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Both authors' strategic publication efforts ensure regular releases in English and Turkish, followed by French translations, reflecting the dynamic interplay between linguistic markets, thematic considerations, and publisher strategies to cater to a global readership.

The reception of Pamuk's *Snow* and Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* in France and the UK reveals distinct patterns reflecting diverse cultural and linguistic contexts. The study concludes that Pamuk's work receives much more significant attention from the leading newspapers in both countries, with French reviews often more detailed and political, focusing on themes like the Armenian and Kurdish questions. Conversely, the thesis reveals that the British reviews tend to prioritize narrative techniques and literary merits. *Snow* is framed as a 'classic' in France, while in the UK, it occupies a space between 'classic' and 'popular literature'. Similarly, Şafak's work is appreciated for its narrative boldness and cultural significance, with French reviews emphasizing its historical exploration, while British reviews highlight its thematic content which is framed more than often in Orientalist terms. Unlike Pamuk, both British and French reviews frame Şafak's novel as 'popular', occasionally framing her literary merit in negative terms. The comparison between *Snow* and *The Bastard of Istanbul* on their reception in different subsystems of the European system underscores the varied reception of Pamuk and Şafak in different cultural and linguistic contexts, with Pamuk framed as the mirror of the contemporary Turkish society and his reception engaging both literary and political dimensions, while Şafak's narrative is mostly welcomed for its boldness in tackling with conflictual issues and its contribution to cultural dialogue, with reservations indicating

that Şafak lacks aesthetic appeal, and her literary works are not well-received from an artistic standpoint, when compared to Pamuk. The study has been reveals that while Pamuk's work has been universally praised, reviews of *The Bastard of Istanbul* vary between positive and negative. Despite receiving acclaim for its bold themes, Şafak's writing has been criticized for its perceived didacticism, lack of sophistication, and reliance on stereotypes. Her exploration of complex topics is seen as lacking originality and nuance, with characters sometimes reduced to symbolic representations. Comparisons between Şafak and Pamuk in reviews aim to establish her as a significant literary figure, aligned with Pamuk's esteemed status. Drawing on Pascale Casanova's (2004) concepts of literary consecration and accumulation, this juxtaposition aims to elevate Şafak's cultural legitimacy and position her as an influential voice in global literature.

The divergence between the reception of Pamuk's and Şafak's works can be explained by different factors influencing their position within the world literary system. Pamuk achieved international recognition earlier than Şafak. His earlier works, such as *The White Castle* and *My Name Is Red*, garnered international acclaim and contributed to his establishment as a renowned figure on the international stage. It has been concluded that Pamuk is widely known for his innovative narrative techniques and style, which have received critical acclaim. As a Nobel Prize laureate, Pamuk is regarded as a cultural representative of Türkiye (e.g., Boulouque, 2006; Şafak 2004; Le Figaro, 2006). Furthermore, he benefits from robust publishing and marketing support. One of the sources for such support is the active promotion and engagement by Orhan Pamuk himself within Western literary and publishing circles, especially in the early stages of his career. Additionally, the role played by Andrew Wylie, a renowned literary agent known for his market-driven strategies, as well as the personal and scholarly commitment of translators like Victoria Holbrook and Maureen Freely, should also be taken into account.

Overall, the thesis aimed to uncover **the mechanisms by which translation and paratexts (i.e., media representations) contribute to the (re)framing of Turkish identity in the European system and to seek insights for the following questions: What are the representations on the Turkish identity disseminated by the mass media in Europe and how do these representations influence the reception of translations from Turkish?**

In order to seek answers to these main questions, the study has endeavoured to provide a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the representation of Turkish identity within the European system, focusing on the French and British subsystems. Through a combination of a macrostructural examination (based on quantitative analysis) and microstructural investigation (based on qualitative analysis), the thesis has suggested insights on the complex dynamics shaping discussions surrounding the Turkish identity and the cultural nuances inherent in the European identity discourse. Looking at the literature on the reception of translations from Turkish, albeit the presence of significant contributions to the field (e.g., Akbatur, 2010; Eker, 2015), it can be argued that they tend to focus predominantly upon the existing discourse on the Turkish identity in the receiving system, as they only focus on reviews and interviews around translations. In contrast, this thesis sought to offer an extensive investigation on past and present portrayals of the Turkish identity in the European system.

By adopting a sociological perspective and leveraging concepts from Social Systems Theory, particularly those of Niklas Luhmann, the study has offered valuable insights into how communication processes influence the construction and dissemination of narratives about Turkish identity within the European context. The comparative analysis of press articles and translations of literary works has revealed both convergences and divergences in the representations of Turkish identity, highlighting the communication dynamics between diverging functional systems, mainly mass media, literature, and politics in the UK and France. The thesis has revealed that one major divergence between the British and French systems was the observation based on the fact that the structural coupling between the mass media and the politics is much stronger in France. Furthermore, despite sharing some similarities, France and the UK have distinct principles and criteria for defining aesthetic quality and what constitutes literature. Each country's literary tradition is shaped by its unique cultural, historical, and social contexts, leading to differing standards and appreciations of literary works.

The representation of Türkiye within the European system unfolds through selective engagement and internal processing. The European system chooses specific external information to translate and interpret autonomously, demonstrating its independent decision-making and learning capacity. The mass media reviews and presents those translated texts, contributing extensively in the framing of translations and, more broadly,

to the representation of the Turkish identity. This involves an act of filtering the received information to spotlight particular narratives, actively constructing and altering the perceptions concerning Türkiye.

In tune with Niklas Luhmann's perspective, the findings of the thesis align with the assumption that translation can be considered as a "boundary phenomenon" within the world society (Tyulenev, 2009, p. 151). Luhmann's theory suggests that social systems, including those involved in cultural exchange, are self-referential (autopoietic) entities with boundaries that both separate and connect them to their environments. In translation, this boundary function is crucial. Translation enables the European system to interact with its external environment by introducing new ideas, perspectives, and cultural products, such as the works of Pamuk and Şafak. However, the thesis has revealed that translation also helps the European system maintain its identity and coherence since once a text is selected from the environment, the expectations of the receiving system largely shape the communication of these texts within the system itself, allowing Europe to incorporate foreign elements while preserving its distinct self-referential identity. Thus, it can be argued that through selective translation and interpretation, the European system negotiates its boundaries, and translation mediates between Europe and its environment, facilitating external influences while asserting Europe's autonomy (i.e., autopoiesis) and uniqueness.

Moving forward, there are several promising avenues for further research in this field. One potential area of exploration could involve a deeper investigation into the role of digital media and online platforms in the reception of translations from Turkish and the narratives about Turkish identity within the European system. With the rise of social media and digital communication technologies, understanding how these platforms influence the dissemination of cultural narratives and perceptions of identity is increasingly pertinent, most specifically to understand reader responses to imported cultural products. Additionally, future research could delve into the reception and impact of Turkish cultural products, such as films, music, and visual arts, in shaping European perceptions of Turkish identity.

By examining a broader range of cultural artifacts and media formats, researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of cultural exchange and identity representation in contemporary Europe. Additionally, the subsystems within

the European system under scrutiny could be expanded. Specifically, a comprehensive sociological investigation into the reception of translations and the representation of Turkish identity in Germany would significantly complement the present thesis and make important contributions to the field of Translation Studies. This investigation could provide deeper insights into how translated works are perceived and how Turkish identity is constructed and understood within the Germany, a founding EU member and a key actor in EU's decision-making processes. Overall, these potential avenues of research may contribute to deepen our understanding of the complex interplay between translation and identity politics within the European system.

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APPENDIX 1. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATIONS FROM TURKISH INTO FRENCH (1999-2008)

Year of publication	Name of the author	Title of the book	Name of the translator	Publishing house	Place
1999	Gürsel, Nedim	Le roman du Conquérant	Timour Muhidine	Seuil	Paris
1999	Kemal, Yaşar	La légende du mont Ararat	Münevver Andaç	Gallimard	Paris
1999	Nâzım Hikmet	C'est un dâr métier que l'exil	Charles Dobzynski	Le Temps des Cerises	Paris
1999	Nâzım Hikmet	Il neige dans la nuit et autres poèmes	Münevver Andaç et Guzine Dino	Gallimard	Paris
1999	Pamuk, Orhan	Le château blanc	Münevver Andaç	Gallimard	Paris
1999	Pamuk, Orhan	La vie nouvelle	Münevver Andaç	Gallimard	Paris
1999	Tekin, Latife	Les épées de glace	Alfred Depeyrat	Stock	Paris
1999	Antology	Le livre de Dede Korkut dans la langue de la gent oghuz: récit de la Geste oghuz, de Kazan Bey et autres	Louis Bazin and Altan Gökalp	Gallimard	Paris
2000	Altan, Ahmet	Comme une blessure de sabre	Alfred Depeyrat	Actes sud	Arles
2000	Batur, Enis	Le sarcophage des pleureuses	Noémi Cingöz	Fata Morgana	Saint Clément
2000	Evliya Çelebi	La guerre des Turc: récits de batailles (extraits du Livre de voyages)	Faruk Bilici	Sindbad	Paris
2000	Dalokay, Vedat	Kolo la chèvre	Alfred Depeyrat	Ecole des loisirs	Paris
2000	Gürsel, Nedim	Le derviche et la ville	Marie Davée	Fata Morgana	Saint Clément
2000	Hanoum, Leïla	Le harem impérial au XIXe siècle	Youssef Razi	Complexe	Bruxelles
2000	Pamuk, Orhan	La vie nouvelle (Poche) (Paperback)	Münevver Andaç	Gallimard	Paris
2000	Yildirim Hüseyin	Ema Lenge: une femme témoigne sur les massacres au Kurdistan: Dersim, 1937-1938	Metin Achard et Gérard Chaupin	L'Harmattan	Paris

2000	Antology (Re-edeition)	La montagne d'en face: poèmes des derviches turcs d'Anatolie	Guzine Dino, Michèle Aquier and Pierre Chuvin	Fata Morgana	Saint Clément
2001	Anar, Ihsan Oktay	Atlas des continents brumeux	Ferda Fidan	Actes sud	Arles
2001	Batur, Enis	Dense	Timour Muhidine	MEET	Saint-Nazaire
2001	Cumali, Necati	Le Dernier Seigneur des Balkans	Orhan Altan	Esprit des péninsules	Paris
2001	Gürsel, Nedim	Mirages du Sud	Marie Davée	Esprit des péninsules	Paris
2001	Gürsel, Nedim	Les turbans de Venise	Timour Muhidine	Seuil	Paris
2001	Latifi	Eloge d'Istanbul, suivi du traité de l'invective	Yerasimos	Actes Sud	Arles
2001	Pamuk, Orhan	Mon nom est Rouge	Gilles Authier	Gallimard	Paris
2002	Batur, Enis	L'amer savoir: une tentative de roman sur l'art de la fugue	Ferda Fidan	Actes sud	Arles
2002	Daglarca, Fazil Husnu	L'oiseau à quatre ailes	Ahmet Soysal	Cheyne	Chambon-sur-Lignon
2002	Ince, Özdemir	On meurt à moins	Ismet Birkan	Le Cherche Midi	Paris
2002	Nâzım Hikmet	De l'espoir à vous faire pleurer de rage	Münevver Andaç	Parangon	Lyon
2002	Nâzım Hikmet	Paysages humains	Münevver Andaç	Parangon	Lyon
2002	Nâzım Hikmet	Paysages humains (Paperback)	Münevver Andaç	La Découverte	Paris
2002	Nâzım Hikmet	La vie est belle mon vieux	Münevver Andaç	Parangon	Lyon
2002	Nâzım Hikmet	Vivre comme un arbre, seul et libre, vivre en frères comme les arbres d'une forêt	Erhan Turgut (ed.)	Turquoise	Levallois-Perret
2002	Mehmet Muhyiddin Üftâde	Le divân	Paul Ballanfat	Deux oceans	Paris
2002	Antology	Contes et légendes deTurquie	Rémy Dor	Flies France	Paris
2003	Ali, Sabahattin	Yousouf le taciturne	Paul Dumont	Serpent à Plumes	Monaco
2003	Babür, Zahîreddin	Le livre de Babur : mémoires de Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur de 1494 à 1529 (Re-edition)	Jean-Louis Grammont Bacqué-	POF	Aurillac
2003	Göle, Nilüfer	Musulmanes et modernes: voile et civilisation en Turquie	Jeanine Riegel	La Découverte	Paris

2003	Gürsel, Nedim	Balçon sur la Méditerranée	Esther Heboyan et Timour Muhidine	Seuil	Paris
2003	Gürsel, Nedim	Les turbans de Venise (Paperback)	Timour Muhidine	Seuil	Paris
2003	Gürsel, Nedim	Le voyage de Candide à Istanbul	Esther Heboyan	Comp'ACT	Chambéry
2003	Erdogan, Asli	La ville dont la cape est rouge	Esin Soysal Dauvergne	Actes sud	Arles
2003	Mağden, Perihan	Meurtres d'enfants messagers	Sylvie Taussig et Cemil Ulu	Actes sud	Arles
2003	Mungan, Murathan	Quarante chambres aux trois miroirs	Alfred Depeyrat	Actes sud	Arles
2003	Nâzim Hikmet	De l'espoir à vous faire pleurer de rage	Münevver Andaç	Parangon	Lyon
2003	Pamuk, Orhan	Mon nom est Rouge (Paperback)	Gilles Authier	Gallimard	Paris
2004	Anar, Ihsan Oktay	Le traité de mécanique: les vies incroyables et joviales des ingénieurs d'antan	Ferda Fidan	Actes sud	Arles
2004	Batur, Enis	La pomme: une tentative de roman sur les techniques de tissage	Ferda Fidan	Actes sud	Arles
2004	Gürsel, Nedim	Au pays des poisons captifs : une enfance turque	Esther Heboyan	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2004	Ibrahim, Abdürrechid	Un Tatar au Japon: voyage en Asie (1908-1910)	François Georgeon and Isik Tamdogan-Abel	Actes sud	Arles
2004	Kemal, Yachar	Regarde donc l'Euphrate charrier le sang, Vol. 1. Une histoire d'île	Altan Gokalp	Gallimard	Paris
2004	Nâzim Hikmet	La Joconde et Si-Ya-Ou	Abidine Dino	Parangon	Lyon
2004	Yirmisekiz Mehmet Efendi	Le paradis des infidèles: relation de Yirmisekiz Celebi Mehmed Efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence	Julien-Claude Galland	La Découverte	Paris
2004	Yunus Emre	Les chants du pauvre Yunus	Gérard Pfister	Arfuyen	Paris
2004	Yücel, Tashin	Vatandas	Noémi Cingöz	Rocher	Paris
2005	Batur, Enis	Ottomanes: autochromes de Jules Gervais-Courtellemont	Gül Mete-Yuva	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2005	Cumali, Necati	Le dernier seigneur des Balkans	Orhan Altan	Esprit des péninsules	Paris
2005	Gürsel, Nedim	Mirages du Sud: récits	Marie Davée	Seuil	Paris
2005	Ince, Özdemir	Mani est vivant !	Ferda Fidan	Al Manar	Paris

2005	Meriç, Nezihe	Les matins de Benguisu	Noémi Cingöz	l'Inventaire	Paris
2005	Nâzim Hikmet	Ceci est un rêve	Noémi Cingöz	l'Espace d'un instant	Paris
2005	Pamuk, Orhan	Neige	Jean-François Pérouse	Gallimard	Paris
2005	Antology	10 contes de Turquie	Anne Georges	Castor poche-Flammarion	Paris
2006	Aykol, Esmahan	Meurtre à l'hôtel du Bosphore	Alfred Depayrat	Buchet Chastel	Paris
2006	Burak, Sevim	La voix de son maître (Sahibinin Sesi, Istanbul 1965-1982)	Marie-Christine Varol et Timour Muhidine	l'Espace d'un instant	Paris
2006	Cengiz, Metin	Après la tempête : et autres poèmes	Metin Cengiz et Gérard Augustin	L'Harmattan	Paris
2006	Cetin, Fethiye	Le livre de ma grand-mère	Valérie Gay-Aksoy	Ed. de l'Aube	La Tour d'Aigues
2006	Erdogan, Asli	Le mandarin miraculeux	Jean Descat	Actes sud	Arles
2006	Kirikkanat, Mine G.	La malédiction de Constantin		Métailié	Paris
2006	Livaneli, Zülfü	Délivrance	Shirin Melikoff	Gallimard	Paris
2006	Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi	Pluie d'été	Haldun Bayrı	Actes sud	Arles
2006	Yunus Emre	Le petit livre des conseils	P. André Duchemin	Arfuyen	Paris
2006	Yücel, Tashin	Les cinq derniers jours du Prophète	Noémi Cingöz	Rocher	Monaco
2006	Antology	Absurdités et paradoxes de Nasr Eddin Hodja	Jean-Louis Maunoury	Phébus	Paris
2006	Antology	Lune et prune (Bilingual)	Rémy Dor	Langues Mondes- et	Paris
2007	Ali, Sabahattin	La Madone au manteau de fourrure	Jean Descat	Serpent à Plumes	Monaco
2007	Abasiyanik, Sait Faik	Une histoire pour deux	Rosie Pinhas-Delpuech	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2007	Abasiyanik, Sait Faik	Un homme inutile	Alain Mascarou	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2007	Abasiyanik, Sait Faik	Un serpent à Alemdag	Rosie Pinhas-Delpuech	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule

2007	Cumali, Necati	Le dernier seigneur des Balkans (Paperback)	Orhan Altan	Librairie Générale Française	Paris
2007	Cumali, Necati	Macédoine 1900	Faruk Bilici	Sindbad	Paris
2007	Gürsel, Nedim	De ville en ville: ombres et traces	Esther Heboyan	Seuil	Paris
2007	Hikmet, Nâzım	Le globe	Charles Dobzynski	Rue du Monde	
2007	Gürsel, Nedim	Un long été à Istanbul (Paperback)	Zeynep Tolgay-Bozdemir	Gallimard	Paris
2007	Meriç, Nezihe	Les matins de Benguisu	Noémi Cingoz	l'Inventaire	Paris
2007	Pamuk, Orhan	Istanbul: souvenirs d'une ville	Savaş Demirel, Valérie Gay-Aksoy	Gallimard	Paris
2007	Pamuk, Orhan	Neige (Paperback)	Jean-François Pérouse	Gallimard	Paris
2007	Somer, Mehmet Murat	On a tué Bisou!	Gökmen Yilmaz	Actes sud	Arles
2007	Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi	Le paradis des infidèles : relation de Yirmisekiz Celebi Mehmed Efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence	Julien-Claude Galland	La Découverte	Paris
2007	Antology	Lune et prune (Bilingual)	Rémy Dor	Langues et mondes- l'Asiathèque	Paris
2008	Altan, Ahmet	L'amour au temps des révoltes	Alfred Dupeyrat	Actes sud	Arles
2008	Batur, Enis	D'autres chemins	Ferda Fidan	Actes sud	Arles
2008	Batur, Enis	D'une bibliothèque l'autre: essai (Paperback)	François Skvor	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2008	Çetin, Fethiye	Le livre de ma grand-mère (Paperback)	Alexis Krikorian et Laurence Djolokian	Ed. de l'Aube	La Tour-d'Aigues
2008	Cücenoglu, Tuncer	Avalanche	Murat Aykaç Erginöz et Valérie Gay-Aksoy	l'Espace d'un instant	Paris
2008	Fürüzan	Pensionnaire d'Etat	Elif Deniz et Pierre Vincent	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule
2008	Gürsel, Nedim	La première femme	Anne-Marie Toscan du Plantier	Points	
2008	Gürsel, Nedim	Les turbans de Venise (Paperback)	Timour Muhidine	Points	

2008	Karaosmanoglu, Yakup Kadri	Ankara	Ferda Fidan	Turquoise	Levallois-Perret
2008	Kirkyacharian, Manuel	MK, récit d'un déporté arménien, 1915: dix années d'errance parmi les Kurdes et les Syriques: témoignage	Elif Saner and François Skvor	Turquoise	Levallois-Perret
2008	Mungan, Murathan	Tchador (Paperback)	Jean Descat	Actes sud	Arles
2008	Pamuk, Orhan	Istanbul: souvenirs d'une ville (Paperback)	Savaş Demirel, Valérie Gay- Aksoy	Gallimard	Paris
2008	Sabahattin Ali	Le diable qui est en nous	Jean Descat	Serpent à Plumes	Monaco
2008	Shafak, Elif	Bonbon Palace	Valérie Gay-Aksoy	Phébus	Paris
2008	Somer, Mehmet Murat	Hécatombe chez les élus de Dieu	Gökmen Yilmaz	Ed. du Masque	Paris
2008	Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi	L'institut de remise à l'heure des montres et des pendules	Tmour Muhidine	Actes sud	Arles
2008	Umit, Ahmet	Le pantin	Noémi Cingöz	Rocher	Paris
2008	Yashin, Mehmet	Constantinople n'attend plus personne: poèmes et essais	Alain Mascarou	Bleu autour	Saint-Pourçain- sur-Sioule

APPENDIX 2. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATIONS FROM TURKISH INTO ENGLISH (1999-2008)

Year of publication	Name of the author	Title of the book	Name of the translator	Publishing house	Place
1999	----	----	----	----	----
2000	Atasü, Erendiz	The Other Side of the Mountain	Elizabeth Maslen with the author	Milet Publishing	London
2000	Nesin, Aziz	Dog Tails	Joseph S. Jacobson	Southmoor Studios	Utah
2000	Nesin, Aziz	Istanbul Boy: Middle School Years: The Autobiography of Aziz Nesin, Part IV	Joseph S. Jacobson	Southmoor Studios	Utah
2000	Uzuner, Buket	Mediterranean Waltz	Pelin Arner	Remzi Kitabevi	Istanbul
2001	Çapan, Cevat	Where Are You, Susie Petschek? The Poems of Cevat Çapan	Michael Hulse with the poet	Arc Publications	Todmorden
2001	Fürüzan	A Summer Full of Love	Damian Croft	Milet Publishing	London
2001	Izgü, Muzaffer	Radical Niyazi Bey	Damian Croft	Milet Publishing	London
2001	İlgaz, Rıfat	Fourth Company	Damian Croft	Milet Publishing	London
2001	Nesin, Aziz	Hayri the Barber Surnâmé	Joseph S. Jacobson	Southmoor Studios	Utah
2001	Pamuk, Orhan	My Name is Red	Erdağ Gökner	Faber and Faber	London & New York
2001	Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi	The Time Regulation Institute	Ender Gürol	Turko-Tatar Press	Madison
2001	Tekin, Latife	Dear Shameless Death	Saliha Paker and Mel Kenne	Marion Boyars	London & New York
2001	Uzuner, Buket	A Cup of Turkish Coffee	Pelin Arner	Milet Publishing	London
2001	Yashin, Mehmet	Don't Go Back to Kyrenia	Taner Baybars	Middlesex University Press	London
2002	Hikmet, Nazım	Beyond the Walls: Selected Poems	Ruth Christie, Richard McKane and Talat Sait Halman	Avril & Yapı Kredi Yayınları	London

2002	Hikmet, Nazım	Human Landscapes from My Country	Randy Blasing and Mutlu Konuk	Persea Books	New York
2002	Karasu, Bilge	Death in Troy	Aron Aji	City Lights Books	San Francisco
2002	Nesin, Aziz	Out of the Way! Socialism's Coming	Damian Croft	Milet Publishing	London
2002	Nesin, Aziz	Socialism Is Coming: Stand Aside	Joseph S. Jacobson	Southmoor Studios	Utah
2002	Uzuner, Buket	The Sound of Fishsteps	Pelin Arner	Remzi Kitabevi	Istanbul
2003	Karasu, Bilge	The Garden of Departed Cats	Aron Aji	New Directions Publishing	New York
2003	Kemal, Orhan	Gemilé	Cengiz Lugal	Anatolia Publishing	Istanbul
2003	Kemal, Orhan	The Idle Years (The Story of a Small Man 2)	Cengiz Lugal	Anatolia Publishing	Istanbul
2003	Kemal, Orhan	My Father's House (The Story of a Small Man 1)	Cengiz Lugal	Anatolia Publishing	Istanbul
2003	Kemal, Orhan	The Prisoners	Cengiz Lugal	Anatolia Publishing	Istanbul
2003	Mağden, Perihan	The Messenger Boy Murders	Richard Hamer	Milet Publishing	London
2003	----	Turkey Inside Out. Descant 121 Summer 2003, Vol.34, No.2	(ed.) Karen Mulhallen, (guest ed.) Cem Akaş		
2004	Berk, İlhan	Selected Poems by İlhan Berk	Önder Otçu (ed.)	Talisman House Publishing	Jersey City
2004	Kulin, Ayşe	Photo "Sabah" Pictures	Martina Keskinetepe	Epsilon	Istanbul
2004	Kür, Pınar	A Crazy Tree	Ruth Christie	Epsilon	Istanbul
2004	Matur, Bejan	In the Temple of a Patient God	Ruth Christie	Arc Publications	Todmorden
2004	Faik, Sait	Sleeping in the Forest: Stories and Poems	Talat S. Halman & Jayne Warner (eds)	Syracuse University Press	New York
2004	Pamuk, Orhan	Snow	Maureen Freely	Faber and Faber	London & New York
2004	Şafak, Elif	The Flea Palace	Müge Göçek	Marion Boyars	London & New York

2004	----	“I’ve Always Remembered You on Moonlit Nights” from Parann Cinleri	Ruth Christie	Epsilon	Istanbul
2005	Mağden, Perihan	2 Girls	Brenden Freely	Serpent’s Tail	London
2005	Pamuk, Orhan	Istanbul: Memories and the City	Maureen Freely	Random House	New York
2005	Şeyh Galip	Beauty and Love	Victoria Rowe Holbrook	Modern Language Association Texts and Translations	New York
2005	----	Nightingales and Pleasure Gardens: Turkish Love Poems	Talat S. Halman & Jayne Warner (eds)	Syracuse University Press	New York
2006	Batur, Enis	Ash Divan. Selected Poems of Enis Batur	Clifford Endres, Saliha Paker, Selhan Savcıgil Endres, Mel Kenne, Ronald Templin, Coşkun Yerli	Talisman House Publishing	Jersey City, NJ
2006	Berk, İlhan	A Leaf About to Fall. Selected Poems	George Messo	Salt Publishing	Cambridge
2006	Eray, Nazlı	Orpheus	Robert Finn	University of Texas Press	Austin
2006	Halman, Talat S.	The Turkish Muse. Views and Reviews, 1960s-1990s	Jayne L. Warner (ed)	Syracuse University Press	New York
2006	Kulin, Ayşe	Last Train to Istanbul	John W. Baker	Everest	Istanbul
2006	Livaneli, Zülfü	Bliss	Çiğdem Aksoy	St. Martins Press	New York
2006	Pamuk, Orhan	The Black Book, (with an afterword)	Maureen Freely	Faber and Faber	
2006	Shafak, Elif	The Gaze	Brenden Freely	Marion Boyars	
2006	Şahin, Osman	Tales From the Taurus	ed. Jean Carpenter Efe	Bogaziçi University Press	Istanbul
2006	----	Contemporary Turkish Poetry: A Selection	ed. Suat Karantay	Bogaziçi University Press	Istanbul
2007	Başar, Kürşat	Music by My Bedside	Çiğdem Aksoy From	Everest	Istanbul
2007	Erdoğan, Aslı	The City in Crimson Cloak	Amy Spangler	Soft Skull	Brooklyn, New York

2007	Fergar, Feyyaz Kayacan	Mrs. Valley's War. The Shelter Stories of Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar	Ruth Christie & Selçuk Berilgen	Rockingham Press	
2007	Kulin, Ayşe	Aylin: English Edition	Dara Çolakoğlu	Remzi Kitabevi	Istanbul
2007	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi	The Bridge of the Golden Horn	Martin Chalmers (trans. from German)	Serpent's Tail	UK
2007	Rıfat, Oktay	Poems of Oktay Rifat	Ruth Christie & Richard McKane	Anvil Press	London
2007	Tekin, Latife	Swords of Ice	Saliha Paker & Mel Kenne	Marion Boyars	London/New York
2007	----	Quarelling with God: Mystic Rebel Poems of the Derwishes of Turkey	Jennifer Ferraro & Latif Bolat	White Cloud Press	USA
2008	Ağaoğlu, Adalet	Summer's End	Figen Bingül	Talisman House Publishing	USA
2008	Berk, İlhan	Book of Things	George Messo	Salt Publishing	Cambridge
2008	Berk, İlhan	Madrigals	George Messo	Shearsman Books	
2008	Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi	A Mind at Peace	Erdağ Gökner	Archipelago Books	USA
2008	----	Fifty Years of Turkish Drama	ed. Talat S. Halman	Syracuse University Press	USA

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		Revizyon Tarihi Rev. Date	25.01.2024

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Tarih:09/07/2024

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	Enstitü Anabilim Dalı	Mütercim Tercümanlık	
	Programı	İngilizce Mütercim Tercümanlık	
	Statüsü	Doktora <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Lisans Derecesi ile (Bütünleşik) Dr <input type="checkbox"/>

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.
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		Revizyon Tarihi Rev.Date	25.01.2024

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

Date: 09/07/2024

Thesis Title (In English)

Translation and Politics of Identity: Türkiye in the Eyes of Europe (1999-2008)

My thesis work with the title given above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on people or animals.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not a research conducted with qualitative or quantitative approaches that require data collection from the participants by using techniques such as survey, scale (test), interview, focus group work, observation, experiment, interview.
5. Requires the use of data (books, documents, etc.) obtained from other people and institutions. However, this use will be carried out in accordance with the Personal Information Protection Law to the extent permitted by other persons and institutions.

I hereby declare that I reviewed the Directives of Ethics Boards of Hacettepe University and in regard to these directives it is not necessary to obtain permission from any Ethics Board in order to carry out my thesis study; I accept all legal responsibilities that may arise in any infringement of the directives and that the information I have given above is correct.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Fatma Aksoy

Student Information	Name-Surname	Fatma Aksoy	
	Student Number	N18148493	
	Department	Translation and Interpreting	
	Programme	English Translation and Interpreting	
	Status	PhD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Combined MA/MSc-PhD <input type="checkbox"/>

SUPERVISOR'S APPROVAL

APPROVED
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Erkazancı Durmuş

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	FRM-DR-21 Doktora Tezi Orijinallik Raporu <i>PhD Thesis Dissertation Originality Report</i>	Revizyon No Rev. No.	02
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HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
MÜTERCİM TERCÜMANLIK ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞINA

Tarih: 09/07/2024

Tez Başlığı

Çeviri ve Kimlik Politikaları: Avrupa'nın Gözünde Türkiye (1999-2008)

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Fatma Aksoy

Öğrenci Bilgileri	Ad-Soyad	Fatma Aksoy	
	Öğrenci No	N18148493	
	Enstitü Anabilim Dalı	Mütercim Tercümanlık	
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DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.
Doç Dr. Hilal Erkazancı Durmuş

*Tez **Almanca** veya **Fransızca** yazılıyor ise bu kısımda tez başlığı **Tez Yazım Dilinde** yazılmalıdır.

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TO HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

Date: 09/07/2024

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Student Information	Name-Surname	Fatma Aksoy	
	Student Number	N18148493	
	Department	Translation and Interpreting	
	Programme	English Translation and Interpreting	
	Status	PhD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Combined MA/MSc-PhD <input type="checkbox"/>

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