



Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences
Department of Translation and Interpreting in English

**THE EFFECT OF TRANSLATION ON GAINING SYMBOLIC CAPITAL FOR
PUBLISHING HOUSES: A CASE STUDY ON AYRINTI YAYINLARI'S
PUBLISHING STRATEGY IN *AĞIR KİTAPLAR* SERIES**

Pelin KORKMAZ

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

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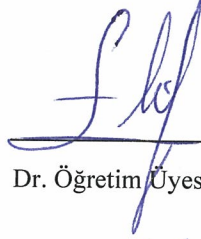
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KABUL VE ONAY

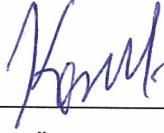
Pelin Korkmaz tarafından hazırlanan “The Effect of Translation on Gaining Symbolic Capital for Publishing Houses: A Case Study on Ayrıntı Yayınları’s Publishing Strategy in *Ağır Kitaplar* Series” başlıklı bu çalışma, 22.06.2018 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak Kabul edilmiştir.



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22 /06/2018



Pelin KORKMAZ

ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Elif ERSÖZLÜ danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığımı beyan ederim.

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ABSTRACT

KORKMAZ, Pelin. The Effect of Translation on Gaining Symbolic Capital for Publishing Houses: A Case Study of Ayrıntı Yayınları's Publishing Strategy in *Ağır Kitaplar* Series Master of Art Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

This descriptive and explanatory study analyzes the effect of translation on gaining symbolic capital, one of the most striking notions suggested by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, for publishing houses as agents with a case study of Ayrıntı Yayınları's *Ağır Kitaplar* series, which consists of completely translated books. The theoretical framework of the study is based on social turn in Translation Studies and sociologist Bourdieu's notions applicable to the discipline of translation. However, cultural turn sets the starting point for this theoretical framework, since it is closely related with the social turn. The thesis is based on the understanding that the act of translation has a manipulative and an ideological nature, and translation process in a publishing house is affected by the socio-cultural/political conditions of the country and world at that time and the translators' *habitus* and ideologies, as well as the ideology and publishing policy of the publishing house. As a result, it has been revealed that translation can be a tool for a publishing house to position itself in the world of books according to its own ideology and expectations of the target readers and this position can help that publishing house gain the symbolic capital, which is as much important as the economic capital to be accepted by readers. It has been demonstrated that Ayrıntı Yayınları is a publishing house that adopts a specific ideology and with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, has an important place especially for the readers in Turkey who also adopts the more or less same ideology.

Key Words: Cultural turn, social turn, Descriptive Translation Studies, ideology, Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic capital, *habitus*

ÖZET

KORKMAZ, Pelin. *Yayınevlerinin Simgesel Sermaye Elde Etmelerinde Çevirinin Etkisi: Ayrıntı Yayınları'nın Ağır Kitaplar Dizisindeki Yayın Stratejisi Üzerinden Bir Vaka İncelemesi*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Bu betimleyici ve açıklayıcı çalışma, yayınevlerinin, Pierre Bourdieu tarafından öne sürülen en dikkat çekici kavramlardan biri olan simgesel sermaye elde etmelerinde çevirinin etkisini, Ayrıntı Yayınları ve yayınevinin, tamamı çeviri kitaplardan oluşan Ağır Kitaplar serisi üzerinden bir vaka çalışması yoluyla analiz etmektedir. Çalışmanın kuramsal çerçevesini, Çeviribilimde sosyal kırılma ve Bourdieu'nun, çeviri disiplinine uygulanabilen kavramları oluşturmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, söz konusu kuramsal çerçeveyi oluşturmak için, kültürel kırılma başlangıç noktası olarak ele alınmıştır. Bunun nedeni, kültürel kırılmanın, sosyal kırılmayla yakından ilişkili olmasından ileri gelmektedir. Bu tez, çeviri eyleminin ideolojik ve manipülatif bir doğası olduğu; bir yayınevindeki çeviri sürecinin, çevirinin yapıldığı zamanda ülkenin ve dünyanın sosyo kültürel/politik koşullarından ve yayınevinin ideolojisi ve yayıncılık ilkelerinin yanı sıra, çevirmenlerin habitusundan ve ideolojisinden de etkilendiği anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, yayınevlerinin, ideolojilerine ve okurlarının beklentilerine göre kendilerini düşünce dünyası içinde konumlandırmalarında, çevirinin bir araç olabileceği ve bu aracın yayınevlerine, okurlar tarafından kabul edilebilmek için ekonomik sermaye kadar önemli olan sembolik sermaye elde etmelerinde yardımcı olabileceği ortaya koyulmuştur. Ayrıntı Yayınları'nın spesifik bir ideolojiyi benimseyen bir yayınevi olduğu ve Ağır Kitaplar serisi ile, özellikle Türkiye'de yine aşağı yukarı aynı ideolojiyi benimseyen okurlar arasında önemli bir yere sahip olduğu gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kültürel kırılma, sosyal kırılma, Betimleyici Çeviribilim, ideoloji, Pierre Bourdieu, sembolik sermaye, habitus

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KABUL VE ONAY	i
BİLDİRİM	ii
YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI	iii
ETİK BEYAN.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT	vii
ÖZET	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
AIMS OF THE STUDY.....	5
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	7
METHODOLOGY.....	8
LIMITATIONS	9

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE NOTION OF “TURN” OR (PARADIGM) “SHIFT” IN TRANSLATION STUDIES	13
1.2. (TOWARDS) THE “SOCIAL” TURN IN TRANSLATION STUDIES.....	14
1.2.1. The Emergence of Cultural Turn in Translation Studies.....	14
1.2.1.1. Translation Studies as an Autonomous Discipline	16
1.2.1.2. Translation in the Socio-Cultural Context	17
1.2.1.2.1. Polysystem Theory	17

1.2.1.2.2. Translation Norms Theory	20
1.2.1.2.3. Translation as Manipulation and Rewriting	22
1.2.2. The “Social Turn” and/or Social/Sociological Perspective in Translation Studies.....	25
1.2.2.1. Changing Dynamics in the World and Social Sciences	25
1.2.2.2. What is the Difference of Social Perspective from Descriptive Translation Studies?.....	29
 CHAPTER II 	
“BOURDIEUSIAN” TRANSLATION STUDIES	
2.1. THE KEY NOTIONS IN BOURDIEU’S SOCIOLOGY	35
2.1.1. <i>Habitus</i>	37
2.1.2. Field.....	38
2.1.3. Capital.....	40
2.1.3.1. Economic Capital	41
2.1.3.2. Cultural Capital	42
2.1.3.3. Social Capital	43
2.1.3.4. Symbolic Capital.....	44
2.1.4. <i>Doxa</i>	47
2.1.5. <i>Illusio</i>	45
2.2. THE INTERWOVEN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KEY CONCEPTS IN BOURDIE’S SOCIOLOGY	46
2.3. APPLICABILITY OF BOURDIEU’S NOTIONS IN TRANSLATION STUDIES.....	48
2.3.1. Pierre Bourdieu and “Sociological” Translation Studies	49
2.3.2. Pierre Bourdieu and the Field of Translation Publishing.....	52

CHAPTER III

AN OVERVIEW OF AYRINTI YAYINLARI AND *AĞIR KİTAPLAR* SERIES AND ANALYSIS OF AYRINTI'S SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

3.1. METHODOLOGY	62
3.2. AN OVERVIEW OF AYRINTI YAYINLARI.....	65
3.2.1. The Image of Ayrıntı Yayınları in Media.....	71
3.2.1.1. The Reflections of Ayrıntı Yayınları in Media with the Focus on the Translated Books.....	72
3.3. THE CONTENT OF <i>AĞIR KİTAPLAR</i>.....	78
3.3.1. The <i>Habitudes</i> of Translators of the Books in <i>Ağır Kitaplar</i> Series	86
3.3.2. The Image of <i>Ağır Kitaplar</i> in the Turkish Press	91
3.3.3. Readers' Comments regarding <i>Ağır Kitaplar</i>.....	98
3.4. THE FIELD AND MARKET OF PUBLISHING	103
3.4.1. The Weight of Translation in the Publishing Market regarding Social Sciences in the World and Turkey	105
3.5. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF TURKEY IN 1980s	108
3.5.1. Publishing After 1980 Military Coup in Turkey	110
3.6. GENERAL LITERARY TENDENCIES TODAY	112
CONCLUSION.....	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	121
APPENDIX	133
APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEWS WITH İLBAY KAHRAMAN AND BURHAN SÖNMEZ	133
APPENDIX 2. MESAI ARKADAŞLARIMA MEKTUP	148
APPENDIX 3. ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORKS.....	149
APPENDIX 4. ORIGINALITY REPORT	150

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Book Series in Ayrıntı Yayınları.....	66
Table 2. The Books in <i>Ağır Kitaplar</i>	79

INTRODUCTION

Translation is as old as human history. The first communication between people planted the seeds of translation as well. Language is more than merely letters. Music, for instance, is seen as a language composed of notes, while mathematics is another language composed of numbers. Hence, the sounds, symbols, even drawings on caves the first human beings used are languages and the interpretation of them is inherently the topic of translation. As a matter of fact, translation has made it possible to talk about human history today. It has had an important role, especially during the milestones of history. All the developments, discoveries, inventions carried out in one civilization have reached to another with the help of translation. Translators and interpreters have been either murdered, rewarded, or blamed, but have always been important figures, for sure.

Such an important phenomenon definitely cannot stay out of the academic discipline. Translation has always been an interesting and remarkable research area. However, research topics and perspectives gradually change in parallel with the changes and developments throughout the world, which it will be touched upon in Chapter I. Translation was first studied under the Linguistics discipline and merely seen as a linguistic transfer process. Then, in 1970s, translation became an independent discipline and was started to be seen as a culturally embedded activity in which translators are mediators between different cultures and have to take both target and source cultures into consideration. Afterwards, with the effect of globalization and rapidly changing world, the social aspects of translation have started to be recognized, especially throughout 2000s, which is accepted as a critical transition period in the economic, social, political and cultural conditions of the world. At this point, it should be remarked that cultural and social studies are actually closely related to one another. There is no doubt that everything social is also cultural. Hence, it can be suggested that there are no sharp boundaries between cultural and social perspectives in Translation Studies. However, social perspective focuses more on agents and actors in translation process individually, keeping the collective cultural and social atmospheres in mind, as well. The thoughts, ideologies, values, beliefs of people are shaped and affected by the culture of the society in which they were born and those factors also shape and affect that culture. This interrelation has

become even more complicated in today's globalizing world. Although it is true that today's civilizations have actually been formed with so many different cultures throughout the history, communication between different cultures has never been easier like today. Hence, when the subject is "the culture of a society", it is no longer the culture and the society alone that occur one's mind. People are living in a world that differences and similarities have to be in a harmony. Although those people have differences that should be highlighted, they are the same, as well. This reality has understandably increased the importance attached to sociology in general. As translation is the main communication tool in this globalizing world and Translation Studies has inevitably an interdisciplinary nature, Translation Studies also tends towards sociology. It can be seen that the studies about the relation between Translation Studies and social sciences have gained momentum especially in recent years. On that sense, literary field is particularly fruitful for scholars to study, since this field includes agents (translators, readers, editors, and publishers), their relations between one another and the market, also the expectations, values and beliefs of the society. Furthermore, literature itself reflects the cultural and social frameworks of the societies in the best way.

With the effect of those changing dynamics in the world and in the field of Translation Studies as well, it is possible to observe that sociological theories have been used to examine translational issues. Among those sociological theories, it can be observed that French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theories have been widely used in translational contexts, as can be seen in Chapter II of this thesis. Bourdieu focuses on agents, while evaluating the interrelation between society and individuals, by making use of *habitus*, *illusio*, *doxa*, field and capital, which is categorized into four as economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. With the notion of capital, Bourdieu analyzes the reproduction of social hierarchies and hegemonies as well as the fighting against those hierarchies and hegemonies by focusing not only on economic structures, but also on linguistic and cultural abilities (Özsöz, 2011, p. 11). Bourdieu states that symbolic capital covers all capital types to some extent and is an abstract capital necessary for having a say in a certain field (*ibid*, p. 12), which is the publishing sector in this thesis. This notion can be applied to Translation Studies to understand and demonstrate how some publishing houses gain prestige and symbolic capital for some readers by making use of translation.

As for this thesis, symbolic capital has also been chosen to try to understand the image of a publishing house in readers' eyes and how this image could drive those readers to buy particularly that publishing house's books. There are certain reasons why readers think that some publishing houses' translations are more reliable when it comes to certain books, which deserves a close examination.

There are some particular reasons for the selection of Ayrıntı Yayınları and its *Ağır Kitaplar* series. One of them is because it is widely accepted by the scholars in that publishing houses offer a wide range of study topics where socio-cultural elements influencing the translation activity are traceable. In her article entitled "Translation and the Field of Publishing: A Commentary on Pierre Bourdieu's *A Conservative revolution in publishing*", Gisele Sapiro, for instance, states that focusing on publishers' strategies provide a fruitful area to study "the norms of translation and connecting social factors to translation practices" (2008, p. 162). The other reason is based on a personal interest of the author of this thesis. During the internship at Ayrıntı Yayınları in 2013 for one month, there was a chance to observe the ideology and publishing strategy of the publishing house at the first hand. Another reason also stems from a personal observation. It has been observed that there are some publishing houses people prefer when it comes to certain texts, such as classics and the books in social sciences, according to both their own and publishing houses' ideologies. As it is known, many books in those fields consist of translated books. Hence, the reasons driving people to choose certain publishing houses and the reasons that make people think that the translations of certain publishing houses would be "better" have been questioned. *Ağır Kitaplar* series has been chosen for the study, particularly because it is thought to be a striking example with its content of entirely translated books. The books in that series are also remarkable, since they are highly theoretical books about politics, power, hegemony, resistance, and so forth, which is believed to be correlated well with the image and ideology of the publishing house. The time when that series has started to be published is also notable. As stated before, 2000s is a critical transition period in the world. During this period, the perceptions, expectations and standards in the economic, political, cultural and social contexts have been transformed and continue to be rapidly transformed in today's globalizing world. As it is widely known and accepted, publishing field cannot be considered separately from the

changes in societies. Therefore, it is not surprising that the perception of translation, as an inseparable part of the literary polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1978), has transformed in today's changing world.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

With the above-mentioned points in mind, this thesis aims to study how translation helps Ayrıntı Yayınları gain symbolic capital. This is one of the basic notions of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and will be achieved by using the publishing house's *Ağır Kitaplar* series, which are composed of entirely translated books. So as to achieve this aim, along with Bourdieu's notions, André Lefevre's notions of ideology will also be referred, since the ideology of the publishing house is another determinant on creating this symbolic capital.

By using the notion of symbolic capital, this study aims to reveal following issues:

- Ayrıntı Yayınları's ideological motive and commercial interest behind forming a series entitled *Ağır Kitaplar*;
- the effect of Ayrıntı Yayınları's institutional ideology on the selection of books and translators of those books in that series;
- the role of the editor as an agent in that selection process and the relation of that role with the publishing house's ideology;
- the importance of translators' *habitus* during the publishing house's editorial decision process for the translation of the books in that series;
- the effects of all those factors mentioned above on the publishing house's symbolic capital in the eyes of intellectual and dissident community, and finally, the sense of responsibility shouldered by the publishing house with regard to that symbolic capital.

At the end of this thesis, it is aimed to demonstrate once again that translation is a highly social phenomenon that is affected by the socio-cultural and political conditions of the societies and also affects the formation of, changes in and resistance to these conditions. Translation can also be an ideologically embedded activity to construct or deconstruct certain ideologies in the society. It is inevitably manipulative and ideological, and this does not necessarily have to be a negative thing. Translators do not live in a vacuum that can be isolated from the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions of their time. Each translator acquires certain ideology in time and has various *habitus*. Hence, translators might not want to translate the books that do not comply with their own personal

ideologies and that collide with their *habitus*. Similarly, a publishing house might not want to work with a translator whose *habitus* is very different from that publishing house's ideology. Based on this perspective, the author of this thesis wishes to demonstrate that:

- *Ağır Kitaplar* series has helped the publishing house that already has an important image in general gain a symbolic capital particularly for the “dissident” readers with a specific ideology in regards of politics in Turkey. It is striking that *Ağır Kitaplar* has been published in the political and social conditions of 2000s when publishing houses generally prefer to publish the books focusing on individual problems, tediousness and dilemma of modern people living in big cities, best sellers and self-help books;
- Ayrıntı Yayınları has chosen to publish that series so as to come to the forefront as a favored publishing house for the readers who share the same “dreams” (it will be examined in Chapter III) with Ayrıntı; to have the society's attention to social issues instead of individual ones and to lead the society during 2000s;
- Ayrıntı Yayınları, which was founded after the military coup in 1980 with the aim of removing the suffocating atmosphere in Turkey, is known as a dissident publishing house and this identity directs the publishing house understandably to choose the leftist theoretical books which share their “dreams”;
- the ideology of the publishing house affects not only the selection of books, but also of translators;
- the editor of *Ağır Kitaplar* series naturally reflects the ideology of Ayrıntı Yayınları and this ideology effects the editor's selection of the books to be translated and translators of those books.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to achieve those abovementioned results, this study wishes to seek answers for the following questions.

- 1) What is the effect of translation on gaining the symbolic capital for Ayrıntı Yayınları and its *Ağır Kitaplar* series in 2000s?
- 2) What is the ideological motive and commercial interest behind forming a series entitled *Ağır Kitaplar*, which entirely consists of translated books for the publishing house?
- 3) What is the institutional ideology of Ayrıntı Yayınları and what are the effects of that ideology on the selection of books to be translated, and also of the translators of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series?
- 4) What is the role of the editor as an agent in the selection of books to be translated and how is that role related to the ideology of the publishing house?
- 5) Is the translator's *habitus* important for the publishing house to decide the translator for the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series?

METHODOLOGY

The elaborated and comprehensive methodology will be explained in the core chapter, Chapter III. It is believed that it will be beneficial to remember the methodology before analysis. For now, it can be briefly stated that this study will be both descriptive and explanatory. The interviews made with İlbay Kahraman, one of the partners of Ayrıntı Yayınları, and Burhan Sönmez, the chief editor of Ayrıntı Yayınları and editor of *Ağır Kitaplar* series, will be the main sources for this thesis. The responses to the interview questions will be critically analysed through both theoretical framework and personal observations and ideas. The interviews have been conducted through both face-to-face communication and e-mail. Observable data from media, such as critiques, columns, interviews, reviews, blog posts about Ayrıntı Yayınları in general and *Ağır Kitaplar* series in particular, will also be used as support ve resources. Additionally, with the aim of supporting the claim of this thesis, some striking reader comments about the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series will be touched upon, yet only briefly. The framework and processing of all that information will be inductive. Subsequent to revealing the image and symbolic capital of Ayrıntı Yayınları based on *Ağır Kitaplar* series, the socio-cultural context of Turkey during the founding years of Ayrıntı Yayınları; the publishing field and market in Turkey, particularly regarding translation and general literary tendencies of 2000s in Turkey will be demonstrated.

LIMITATIONS

Through the literature review of Bourdieusian Translation Studies which will be analyzed in Chapter II, it has been observed that symbolic capital is one of the least studied notion of Bourdieu in the scope of translations. There are certainly some studies on symbolic capital, yet those studies concentrate more on translators' symbolic capital. Publishing houses are no wonder popular research objects as they have always been, yet not in terms of symbolic capital through translation activities. Hence, it is purposed that an analysis of the translations of a publishing house with symbolic capital on focus will be a humble initiative to fill such a gap in today's social "turn" in Translation Studies. Besides, as Pym indicates, it is legitimate for a research to "focus on just one explanatory variable" (2006, p. 5). The selection of a publishing house for this kind of study stems from the fact that publishing houses include many agents at the same time. Pym argues that "the bigger the circle, the more explanatory the factor" (*ibid*, p. 6) or in other words, "the bigger the system, the more it can explain" (*ibid*). Pym also points to the intricate context of translations especially in today's world: "there is more than just one society (language, culture) at stake, and the position of the mediator is not simple" (*ibid*, p. 8). Hence, even if one variable is chosen for the study, it is impossible to remain limited to that. In that case, choosing an institution already including many actors, like a publishing house, seems to be reasonable. However, it should be noted that the role of translators and editor as subjects will not be analyzed in this thesis, since such analysis requires dynamics that are too complex to be addressed within a master thesis. As Anthony Pym remarks, concentrating on translators merely as individuals might not reveal the general inclinations and patterns in the history of translation (1998, p. 160). Tahir Gürçağlar also asserts that in order to understand the context in which translations are produced and consumed, it is not enough to analyze the primary producers of translations, i.e., translators, editors and/or publishers and the relations between them (2005, p. 44). On the other hand, in the cases it is not possible to contact with the individuals directly, researchers need to refer to biographical data, which has some limitations. Daniel Simeoni and Marco Diani argue that biographical researches are like the 'curse of the Babel tower' (1995, p. 1), that is to say, they do not reflect the whole truth, but representation. Since conducting such study would require a comprehensive sociological analysis, it is limited

to the institutional image of publishing house through a series consisting of entirely translated books. The role of readers as agents has been intentionally excluded in this thesis, despite its importance. The reason of this exclusion stems from the fact that contacting readers who would admit to be a part of a research and give “true” and/or “reasonable” answers to questions is a tricky issue in which a lot of suspicious may arise for the “scientificity” of the study. Extending the scope of the study could also disgress the data. Additionally, when considered the “tough” content of *Ağır Kitaplar* series in particular, the critiques, news and/or reviews would give more concrete and objective results. However, as can be seen in Chapter III, some readers’ comments have been included as supportive materials. At this point, it should be reminded that this thesis is not based on the readers as agents, or it is not claimed to measure the readers’ opinions. These comments are included to strengthen the claim of this thesis, and to inspire further studies on readers within the scope of social “turn” in Translation Studies.

The rationale underlying the selection of *Ağır Kitaplar* series is the remarkable content of the books in that series. Even though Ayrıntı Yayınları publishes “prestigious” works in general, the books in that series are very theoretical from the fields of philosophy, sociology, and politics. Those books are “ağır” (tough) not only in figuratively, but also literally. They are thick and theoretical, which makes them hard to read. In a publishing market full of ready to be consumed books with their breathtaking/sensational (e.g. Fifty Shades of Grey) and/or pragmatic plots (e.g. self-help books), the choice of publishing such series is a kind of “bold” movement for a publishing house. In that sense, it is thought that this series is the one reflecting Pierre Bourdieu’s symbolic capital, which will be explained in the following chapter in detail.

Clearly, it is impossible to explain everything going on in the field of publishing and each cultural, political, social and economic dynamics in the world in a limited study, but as Pym says, “the important point is to discover something” (2006, p. 11). Additionally, “science is not a journey with a ticket bought beforehand to a certain station, a fixed place” (Ejxenbaum, 1968, p. 6-7; cited in: Even-Zohar, 1990a, p. 30). Hence, the answers obtained at the end of this thesis should not be regarded as “precise guidelines”. The results could change in time or when analyzed from a different perspective.

Content of the Chapters of this Thesis

In order to form a coherent and rational flow, this thesis has been divided into three chapters. In Chapter I, the theoretical background will be given. Even though the basic notion is Bourdieu's symbolic capital, the study has to follow a chronological path, since each new theory is built on the previous one. Hence, before explaining the so-called "turns" in Translation Studies, in the first chapter, the discussions about the notion of "turn" and whether the changes in translational perspectives could be named as turns or paradigm shifts or not will be first touched upon. Afterwards, the main milestones in the discipline of Translation Studies will be demonstrated under the notion of "turn" even in quotation marks. As a starting point, the cultural turn will be given a comprehensive space, since it is closely related to social turn that is the key theoretical framework of this thesis. Polysystems theory by Even-Zohar (1978), translation norms by Toury (1980) and Lefevere's views on translation as a rewriting and manipulation (1985) will be given utmost importance within the scope of cultural turn.

Based on the literature review, Chapter II will include a detailed explanation of Bourdieu's notions, i.e., *habitus*, field, capital, *doxa*, *illusio*, and particularly symbolic capital among these notions. The applicability of Bourdieu's notions to Translation Studies will be discussed with some examples. The reason why a whole chapter is separated for Bourdieu's notions and Bourdieusian studies is that those notions and studies are too comprehensive to summarize together with the cultural perspectives in Translation Studies.

The third and last chapter, as the core chapter of this thesis, will be based on the analysis of interviews made with İlbay Kahraman, one of the partners of the publishing house, and Burhan Sönmez, the editor of *Ağır Kitaplar* series. With the questions addressed at these interviews, it is aimed to understand the ideology, general outlook and distinctive characteristics of the publishing house; the book and translator selection process in the series; the general content of the series. Additionally, the news, articles, critiques about the publishing house in the media will be collected and evaluated so as to demonstrate the prestige and symbolic capital *Ayrıntı Yayınları* has. This chapter will also be a demonstration of the publishing market in the world in general and in Turkey, regarding the socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions ruling the market and the relations

between the agents, i.e., publishers, translators, editors, readers, participating in the production and reception processes of translated texts. The position of this publishing house in that general Turkish literary and publishing field will also be addressed so as to provide a comprehensive perspective for the relation between publishing sector and society. The agents in that sector and the relation of them with one another will also be mentioned to build a detailed image for the corresponding relationship between the effects of those agents and socio-cultural conditions on translation process.

All those abovementioned factors will be assessed using Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital and finally, personal observations and thoughts will be included. In the appendix of this thesis, the interviews will be included in Turkish.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this part, the theoretical framework of this thesis will be examined. Even though the term “social turn” is still controversial in the discipline of Translation Studies, there are many scholars using this nomenclature, even if in quotation marks. Besides, it is aimed that this thesis will contribute to the discussions of the possibility to mention a “social turn” and/or paradigm change in Translation Studies. In order to build a solid and comprehensive framework, the transition periods and progression of the discipline need to be touched upon first. Therefore, a background of Translation Studies will be given, and then the cultural turn will be dealt with as a starting point. The gradually changing approaches towards the “social turn” will be demonstrated in parallel with the both socio-political and socio-cultural changes in the world.

1.1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE NOTION OF “TURN” OR (PARADIGM) “SHIFT” IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

It should be first noted that whether or not the notion of “turn” and/or “paradigm shift” could be used to express the changing research topics and perspectives in Translation Studies over the years is still controversial. However, it is possible to observe that many scholars commonly use these notions. Mary Snell-Hornby, in her comprehensive and referential book entitled *The Turns of Translation Studies: New paradigms or shifting points?* (2006), inquires this issue in detail. According to Snell-Hornby, it is generally neglected that new paradigms in a discipline are inherently built on the previous traditions and this is one of the reasons why there should be caution to call some developments as “turns” and/or “paradigm shifts” (*ibid*). She also remarks that boundaries between “ground-breaking contributions (new paradigms)” and “a change in position on already established territory (shifting viewpoints)” could be “hazy” (*ibid*, p. ix). According to Snell-Hornby, the theories of Manipulation School are particularly remarkable on the sense of “turn”, since these theories “presented a new paradigm for literary translation as based on the theory of the polysystem (Hermans 1985), creating the school of Descriptive Translation Studies (and with it Toury’s – still influential – concept of the translation

norm)” (*ibid*, p. 162). Snell-Hornby draws attention to the fact that “the various positions of the reader and the translator as reader” after 1990s have become research topics in Translation Studies and cultural turn “inspired a rich amount of work in fields like postcolonial and feminist translation, placing the focus on the vital but hitherto neglected factor of power in translation” (*ibid*, p. 164). As a result of all the changing dynamics in Translation Studies, as well as in the world of culture and thought, neurophysiology, psychology and sociology have become new fields to be benefited from, among which the sociological perspective, “particularly with reference to the cultural sociology of Pierre Bourdieu” (*ibid*, p. 172) is the most common one. However, Snell-Hornby believes that the notion of translation sociology had been referred before by James Holmes, Michaela Wolf and even inferred in the theories of Holz-Mänttari (*ibid*). Therefore, she is skeptical about the possibility to mention a new sociological paradigm, yet still believes that “translation sociology is a welcome alternative to the purely linguistic approach, and it is an issue of immense importance with a wealth of material for future studies” (*ibid*). On the other hand, as Frank points out, if “one theory replaces a former dominant theory, Kuhn describes this as a paradigm shift” (Frank, 2007, p. 1). Additionally, in order to mention a paradigm shift, one theory does not necessarily have to completely falsify the other. Frank states that “It is possible to have different co-existing theories each directed toward the same object of study, but each with a different approach and focus” (*ibid*).

It is now well accepted that translation is not merely linguistic transfer, which refers to a paradigmatic shift all by itself. Even though translation scholars might not find exact answers regarding the scientificity of the notions of “turn” or “shift”, there is no doubt that the research topics and perspectives are gradually changing in Translation Studies day by day. The best nomenclature to express those changes is “turn” or “paradigmatic shift” for now.

1.2. (TOWARDS) THE “SOCIAL” TURN IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

1.2.1. The Emergence of Cultural Turn in Translation Studies

In order to comprehend the course towards cultural paradigm change in Translation Studies, it is believed that a general socio-political and socio-cultural context of the world needs to be portrayed first. The cultural aspects of translation have actually come to the

forefront after the Second World War. Even though translation and interpreting activities have always been needed since the inception of social life, they reached the highest visibility as a result of the foundation of the United Nations in 1945 and following Nurnberg trials where war criminals were judged. Furthermore, the world underwent ideational, political, cultural, social and economic transformations after the war, as it is known. First and foremost, it was heavily wounded both psychically and spiritually because of the fascist ideology and intolerance to differences. Therefore, the idea that the world is united in harmony with differences started to be dominant. People across the world needed to work together in a peaceful atmosphere to heal all the injuries. This situation inevitably brought forth the necessity to know and interact with different cultures for all people across the world. In order for this to materialize, people had to live a humanly life. Therefore, governments adopted developmental economy politics to offer people such a life. However, the labor force had drastically decreased because of the war. The countries that were in a relatively better situation, such as Germany, France started to “import” labor force from different countries. When those different people started to actually live together, they went beyond merely knowing one another, i.e., beyond “exotic” cultural boundaries and they made an interwoven connection. Consequently, the world made a huge progress to dress its wounds, both psychically and spiritually. After that “recovery” period, people started to reflect upon more transcendental issues. In this setting, whereas some people of colonized nations fought for their independence, some people of colonizer nations were in search of more abstract issues, which the latter is known as 68 movement. 1974 petrol crisis triggered by those independence movements and 68 movement brought for a totally new economic and cultural paradigm (this new paradigm was named as “globalization” after years, when Real Socialism collapsed). Finally, people are here and live in this globalization era that is constantly expanding. Speaking of which, the period during which European Coal and Steel Community evolved into European Union is also related to those abovementioned developments, which is intentionally untouched, since it is believed that the abovementioned context suffices to understand the underlying dynamics of the foundation of these organizations.

Within that context summarized above, Translation Studies also underwent a cultural transformation. Tahir Gürçağlar refers that “translation as a process and product” has constituted an important research area for different disciplines such as “literature, cultural

studies, history” since 1970s (2005, p. 9). However, as it is learned from Bielsa Mialet, the “cultural turn” as a term was first used in the book titled with *Translation, History, and Culture* edited by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) “to refer to a change in the object of study of TS away from a linguistic approach” (2010, p. 155). As Bielsa Mialet states, a cultural perspective in social sciences in general has started to come into existence largely with the effect of postmodernism (*ibid*). Consequently, the value and importance of translation have highly increased. Sela-Sheffy also notes that improvement, by mentioning the increased number of departments in universities, workshops, seminars and events, online discussion groups, all “intended to stimulate a professional consciousness and a group solidarity” are all effective for the profession to earn the prestige (2005, p. 12). However, before starting to demonstrate the paradigm shifts from cultural to social, it should be noted that there is no definite date or time indicating the initiation of cultural and/or social turns in Translation Studies. The shifts between those theories are not statistic and ready to be classified. It can be understood from the brief introduction above that the studies do not follow a definite chronological flow. Particularly for the theories developed in 1990s, it is still contradictive whether they are part of the “cultural”, “social”, or “socio-cultural” perspectives or not. Pym further claims that it is not clear if cultural and social turn is the same thing (2006, p. 1). However, he states that “sociological is partly quantitative (abstract empirical data) and the cultural is usually qualitative (signifying practices)” (*ibid*). The most prominent and related theories accepted to be within the cultural turn of Translation Studies will be summarized in the following parts. The aim here is just to indicate important paradigm shifts without making a distinct classification.

1.2.1.1. Translation Studies as an Autonomous Discipline

Within scientific perspective, translational issues were studied under the field of Linguistics for a long time. It is accepted that “Translation Studies” gained an autonomy with James Holmes’ paper titled with “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” in 1972 (Venuti, 2000), even though there are some initiative thoughts beyond linguistic perspective until that time. Indeed, there had been nomenclature attempts before, yet Holmes’ suggestion has been accepted and found the most suitable one. Holmes highlights the need for an independent scientific discipline by pointing to “the complex

of problems clustered round the phenomenon of translating and translations” (*ibid*, p. 173). He also determines the objectives of this new discipline and further creates a “map” in which the subfields according to those objectives are defined:

(1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted. The two branches of pure translation studies concerning themselves with these objectives can be designated *descriptive translation studies* (DTS) or *translation description* (TD) and *theoretical translation studies* (ThTS) or *translation theory* (TTh) (*ibid*, p. 176).

Holmes designates three major research areas in DTS as product-oriented, function-oriented and process-oriented DTS (*ibid*). He addresses many issues ranging from translator training to translation criticism, to discourse analysis and even to sociological studies that have just been discussed in detail. As can be seen, Holmes draws the theoretical and practical framework for this autonomous scientific discipline. He paves the way to even today’s research topics, by stating, “[t]ranslation studies has reached a stage where it is time to examine the subject itself. Let the meta-discussion begin” (*ibid*, p. 183). Indeed, it is now possible to conduct a sociological translation thesis thanks to Holmes’ DTS framework. Furthermore, it can be claimed that DTS has formed the basement for the theories used throughout this thesis. Therefore, it has been reminded here, with the intention to pay a professional respect.

1.2.1.2. Translation in the Socio-Cultural Context

1.2.1.2.1. Polysystem Theory

Even-Zohar, the theorist of Polysystem Theory, first explains what system and polysystem refer to in his interpretation in order to determine the position of translation in the literary polysystem. Even-Zohar adopts “a functional [and dynamic] approach based on the analysis of *relations*” in the socio-cultural context (1990a, p. 9; emphasize is original). The first thing to be noted is the fact that Even-Zohar handles all cultural and social phenomena embedded in the society as dynamic systems constantly moving in accordance with the principle of “dynamic stratification” and there is always a struggle between center and periphery (or canonized and non-canonized, or primary and secondary) in and/or between those dynamic systems (*ibid*, p. 13-17). Consequently,

polysystems consist of “*the network of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables* (“occurrences”/ “phenomena”)” (1990b, p. 27; emphasizes are original). Literature also constitutes a polysystem formulated as following: “The network of relations that is hypothesized to obtain between a number of activities called “literary”, and consequently these activities themselves observed via that network” (*ibid*, p. 28). Hence, “the literary “product” is discussed, analyzed and described in terms of the intricate network of relations that condition it” (*ibid*, p. 30). He reformulates Roman Jakobson’s scheme of communication and language (Jakobson, 1960) to demonstrate the “macro-factors involved with the function of the literary system” (1990b, p. 31-40). He summarizes the dynamics in that scheme as following:

[A] CONSUMER may “consume” a PRODUCT produced by a PRODUCER, but in order for the “product” (such as “text”) to be generated, a common REPERTOIRE must exist, whose usability is determined by some INSTITUTION. A MARKET must exist where such a good can be transmitted. None of the factors enumerated can be described to function in isolation [...] (*ibid*, p. 34; emphasizes are original).

In order to contextualize the translation in that literary polysystem, those aspects need to be highlighted first. *CONSUMERS* are not regarded merely as individuals, but also as a group, i.e., the “*public*” (*ibid*, p. 37). For this thesis, consumers are dealt within a more narrow perspective and are limited to the readers of *Ayrıntı Yayınları*. However, when the “dissident” adjective are used to address and generalize *Ayrıntı*’s readers, consumers would include a group. Additionally, *INSTITUTION* takes part in governing norms and hosts “at least part of the producers, “critics” (in whatever form), publishing houses [*Ayrıntı Yayınları*], periodicals, clubs, groups of writers [*Ayrıntı*’s reflections in the media], government bodies [...], educational institutions [...], the mass media in all its facets, and more” (*ibid*; emphasize is original). Institution has the power (or put it Lefevre’s words, *patronage*, as will be seen later in this chapter) to govern the production and consumption of literature through legitimations and restrictions (*ibid*). At this point, the case *Ölüm Pornosu* (translated by Funda Uncu) should be referred to (it will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters). *MARKET*, related to monetary issues, is crucial for the literary activities to gain ground (*ibid*, p. 39), as will be seen in Chapter III. *REPERTOIRE* refers to “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product” and it is determined through “pre-knowledge” and “agreement” (*ibid*). Then, “the literary repertoire is the aggregate of rules

and items with which a specific text is produced, and understood” (*ibid*). Even-Zohar states that Bourdieu’s *habitus* theory (see Chapter II) could be used to address the relations between the repertoire and producers (*ibid*, p. 42), which is believed a foresighted approach if it is considered that Bourdieu’s theories started to be linked to translational phenomena only in the 1990s, as will be seen in Chapter II. PRODUCT here refers to “any performed (or performable) set of signs, i.e., including a given “behavior”, that is to say, it is more than text (*ibid*, p. 43). Texts as products have certainly important place and they “constitute a source for the kinds of *habitus* prevailing at the various levels of society, helping to preserve and stabilize it” (*ibid*, p. 44).

After drawing the framework of system and polysystem, in his paper entitled “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem”, Even-Zohar assesses translated literature as “a particular literary system” (1990c, p. 45). On the other hand, translated literature also constitutes an inseparable and integral part of the literary polysystem through its effects on both the selection of source texts to be translated and adopting “specific norms, behaviors, and policies” (*ibid*, p. 46). Saliha Paker examines the translation activities during the Tanzimat period of the Ottoman Empire within the framework of Polysystem Theory (Paker, 1986, 2008). The massive translation movement during the early Republican period of Turkey also sets a good example for this situation (see Tahir Gürçağlar 2001a, 2008a, 2008b). During this period, there is another role of translated literature which can be addressed within the notion of Even-Zohar’s cultural repertoire, as Tahir Gürçalar states: “Translation could be a means as a tool for nation building, as a trigger or intermediary for processes of social transformation or as a way of social expression” (2005, p.10; unless otherwise specified, together with this translation, all the following translations belong to the author of this thesis). Even Zohar points that if current literary polysystem no longer appeals to a younger generation at historical turning points, translated literature becomes primary even in central literatures (1990c, p. 48). When translations are in the periphery of the literary polysystem, they are “modelled according to norms already conventionally established by an already dominant type in the target literature”; hence, they play a conservative role (*ibid*). However, it should be noted that translated literary polysystem is also stratified differently, that is to say, some translated literature could be in primary position, whereas the other could be in secondary (*ibid*, p. 49). For instance, the translations of canonized literature and

translations from English language are in the central position in today's publishing market, as will be seen in Chapter III. Consequently, Even-Zohar indicates, "translation is no longer a phenomenon whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system" (*ibid*, p. 51).

Tahir Gürçağlar states that "polysystem theory sheds light to the relation of translation and culture, the function of translation in cultural transformation, which Linguistics theories fail to explain, by emphasizing the socio-cultural aspects of translation process" (2005, p. 18-19). The fact that Even-Zohar deals with texts "within a network of relations with the other texts located in the center and periphery of a body of systems" is "a dynamic and diachronic point of view" which places translations in a historical and contextual position (*ibid*, p. 19). Therefore, Polysystem Theory is given utmost importance within cultural Translation Studies.

1.2.1.2.2. Translation Norms Theory

Gideon Toury, another scholar from Tel Aviv University, has helped translation free from the dominance of Linguistics in his pioneering paper entitled "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation" (Toury, 1978/1995; cited in: Venuti, 2000). In this paper, Toury states that "being a translator cannot be reduced to the mere generation of utterances", on the contrary, it has a "cultural significance" (*ibid*, p. 198). He deals with translation in "socio-culturally relevant settings" and thinks translators "*play a social role*, i.e., to fulfill a function allotted by a community" (*ibid*; emphasize is original). Norms are described as "inter-subjective" and "socio-cultural constraints" located between "relatively absolute rules" and "pure idiosyncrasies" in the society (*ibid*, p. 199). They regulate the relations between people and/or institutions in the social life through determining the actions allowed/praised/punished (*ibid*, p. 199-200). As can be seen, the notion of norm does not necessarily refer to a negative connotation. Additionally, it should not be understood that in order for a behavior to be regarded as a norm, the entire society has to comply with that behavior. On the contrary, as Hermans states (1991, p. 162), "non-compliance with a norm in particular instances does not invalidate the norm" (cited in: Venuti, 2000, p. 200). Since translation cannot be evaluated out of the socio-cultural context it is produced and received, Toury regards it as "a norm governed activity" in which the norms of both

the source and target languages/cultures are in force (*ibid*, p. 200). In that case, there is first an **initial norm** that governs the main decisions about the nature of translation: “whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation’s adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability” (*ibid*). However, Toury also remarks that no translation can be and/or should be an exact copy of the original and each translation naturally has shifts, even when adequacy is adopted as a translation norm, because of the differences between cultures and also dynamic/unstable nature of norms (*ibid*, p. 201). As for the translation context, Toury handles norms within a broader perspective in a way to include both the process of translation and the individual roles of translators (*ibid*, p. 202-204), which increases the determining role of the translator. At the end of his article, Toury argues that “**it is norms that determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested by actual translations**” (*ibid*, p. 204; emphasize is original). It should be stressed that the most adopted norms in translation also depend on the historical context. For instance, whereas the mainly adopted translation norms were adequacy for the linguistic approaches, cultural approaches rather concentrate on acceptability. On the other hand, postcolonial translation scholars advocate that the stress on the target language/culture is an oppressive approach. Furthermore, different texts need different translation strategies, hence adopting different norms. However, translators are not passive actors before those norms. Not only are they constrained by the norms, but also participate in “shaping the process” through critics, academicians, universities or the other institutions translators are trained (*ibid*, p. 204-205). Translators, on the other hand, might not comply with the norms, yet they accept to pay the price that may be minor, like revision, or major, like “taking away one’s earned recognition as a translator” (*ibid*, p. 206) or legal sanctions, even expatriations.

Translation norms theory is remarkable, since the relation of translations with cultural and social context is revealed in this theory. The position and role of translators are also recognized and not only the translated product itself, but also the process of translation are concentrated on. Toury’s views of translated text as a part of target language and culture also indicate a remarkable shift, since translation had always been evaluated within the source language and culture. It would be reasonable to state that Toury’s approach has demolished the hegemony of source language/culture in translation.

Furthermore, the “acceptability” and “adequacy” norms will be needed so as to analyze the readers’ comments regarding *Ağır Kitaplar*, as will be seen in Chapter III.

1.2.1.2.3. Translation as Manipulation and Rewriting

The manipulation and rewriting theory (Lefevere, 1985, 1992; Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990, 1998) is one of the most prominent cultural theories that emphasize the cultural, historical and ideological aspects of translations and the effects of those aspects on the production, distribution and reception of translations. In the general editors’ preface of the book entitled *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* edited by Lefevere (1992), translation activity is defined as a “rewriting” of the source text in the target culture, and it is claimed that “all rewritings reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a society in a given way” (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990, vii). It is remarked that rewriting “undertaken in the service of power [...] can help in the evolution of a literature and a society”, which bears the traces of polysystem theory:

Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain, and in an age of ever increasing manipulation of all kinds, the study of the manipulation processes of literature as exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live (*ibid*).

Lefevere asserts that “issues such as power, ideology, institution, and manipulation” play important roles on “the acceptance or rejection, canonization or non-canonization of literary works” (1992, p. 2). He remarks that people increasingly read the literature mainly through rewritings; hence, those rewritings create the images of “a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature” for those readers (*ibid*, p. 4-5). Rewritings, on that sense, participate in the construction, reconstruction or deconstruction of these images above. Surely, rewriter, i.e., translators could gain prestigious position (in Bourdieu’s words, symbolic capital; see Chapter II), or could be regarded as secondary or disreputable. The concept of patronage takes an important place in this theory. Lefevere thinks that there is “a double control factor” in the literary system (*ibid*, p. 14). One control factor is located within the literary system through professionals (e.g. “critics,

reviewers, teachers, translators”) and refers to “a series of “constraints,” in the fullest sense of the word, on the reader, writer, and rewriter” (*ibid*). The other one called “patronage” and operating “mostly outside the literary system” should be understood as “something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (*ibid*, p. 15). Lefevere notes that “patronage can be exerted by persons, [...] and also by groups of persons, a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and [...] the media, both newspapers and magazines and larger television corporations” (*ibid*). This patronage can be effective on the distribution process of translation through censorship (at that point, it is necessary to remember *The Protection of Minors from Sexually Explicit Materials Act* in Turkey), critiques, and education. Translators can be either in line with the ideology imposed by that patronage, or against that ideology. That patronage is also effective on the readers’ perceptions and expectations from translations, by determining applicable translation norms in a given time. According to Lefevere, patronage has three components as ideological, economic and status (*ibid*, p. 16). Ideological component “acts as a constraint on the choice and development of both form and subject matter”, economic component refers to pension patrons give “writers and rewriters” and status component means “[a]cceptance of patronage” and it brings “integration into a certain support group and its lifestyle” with it (*ibid*). Tahir Gürçağlar, who is a scholar highly reflecting upon the translation activities in the Republican period of Turkey, states that governmental patronage in all three dimensions prevailed in 1930s in the field of publishing and Translation Bureau emerged as a continuation of that patronage through the reports and speeches suggesting the translation norms in the First Publications Congress (2008b, p. 40).

As can be seen, the context in which translations are done and translators live is given utmost importance in the manipulation and rewriting theory. This approach provides a highly comprehensive framework to deal with cultural, contextual and political variables in the processes of translation. Furthermore, considering translation as a “rewriting” is a radical rejection of the sanctity of the source text, which Theo Hermans defines as “the implicit norm being a *transcendental* and *utopian* conception of translation as reproducing the original” (1985, p. 9; emphasizes are mine). In such a context, calling translations as ‘rewritings’ and considering translators as some sort of “writers” indicates

an important shift. Translators are considered as agents with their own cultural backgrounds and ideologies engraved in their minds. It is accepted that translators do not live in a vacuum and cannot be isolated from the society they live in; therefore, they manipulate and rewrite the source text during the translation process, with the influences of culture, politics and ideology. On the one hand, the cultural and ideological aspects in the societies they live in affect translators; on the other hand, they participate in the reproduction, reinforcement and/or transformations of those cultural and/or ideological dynamics.

It should be noted that the term of “manipulation” is not used with a negative association in this theory. On the contrary, it is assessed as a natural consequence of the context-based characteristic of translation activities. When the power relations underlying translations are considered, no translation can be neutral (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1998, p. 136). In *The Manipulation of Literature*, Hermans states “[f]rom the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (1985, p. 11). It should be noted that this theory is concentrated on literature as a dynamic and complex system. As Wolf suggests, the theory of manipulation and rewriting refers to a broadened perspective in Translation Studies, which gives a boost to new interdisciplinary studies and consequently, “publications on feminist translation, postcolonial translation and ethnographic approaches, among others” have increased (2007, p. 132).

It is safe to state that translation has been moved beyond the linguistic framework thanks to those abovementioned approaches. According to Tahir Gürçağlar, Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory and Toury’s norm theory developed based upon Even-Zohar’s ideas could be accepted as the starting point of Descriptive Translation Studies as proposed by Holmes (2005, p. 19). However, the search of neutrality and objectivity in Descriptive Translation Studies is strongly criticized by different scholars from different approaches. For instance, Theo Hermans states, “the claim to neutrality or objectivity is already an ideological statement itself” (1999, p. 36). Pym also argues that the underlying reason why the human factor cannot be given enough place in Descriptive Translation Studies is because of that pursuit of neutrality/objectivity (1998, p. 26). At that exact point, Hermans points to the translations leading to transformations in source culture (1999, p. 40-41). There is a perfect example for this situation in Turkey. The prestige and fame of Elif

Şafak and Orhan Pamuk are resulted from not only their authorship in Turkish, but also their works translated into foreign languages around the world. Tahir Gürçağlar, after summarizing those general critiques towards Descriptive Translation Studies, suggests that it would be reasonable to push neutrality/objectivity claim into the background and consider that “there is a subjectivity arising from the cultural position of the researcher in the processes of data gathering, norm determining and reason explaining” (2005, p. 26). As it will be seen in Chapter II, Bourdieu touches upon the similar concept by inquiring the “objectivity and subjectivity” of the researcher.

In conclusion, cultural turn has extended the scope of interdisciplinary studies, as can be clearly seen from the abovementioned theories and approaches. By concentrating on the functions of translations in target cultures “towards notions of cultural manipulation, ideology and power”, cultural turn indicates an important transition period in Translation Studies, since it is what gives the interdisciplinary nature to the discipline as a study of cultural interaction (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1998, p, 6). Besides, it is understood that translated text itself is not the only means to analyze translations. Without even looking at the actual translation, through paratexts, such as book covers, inner covers, advertisements of translated books, as well as peritexts, such as reviews, critiques, news, prefaces, the position of translation and translators, general literary understandings and approaches, applicable translation norms and policies in the given society could be revealed. Therefore, the context and content of Translation Studies have been significantly expanding since the first cultural approaches, as it can be seen below.

1.2.2. The “Social Turn” and/or Social/Sociological Perspective in Translation Studies

1.2.2.1. Changing Dynamics in the World and Social Sciences

It goes without saying that translation is a “socially regulated activity” (Hermans, 1997, p. 10) and this helps scholars to position “translator and translation researcher as a constructing and constructed subject in society” (Wolf, 2007, p. 133). As of 1970s, the perception of language, culture, society and the relationship between them have transformed with the effect of “decolonization, feminist, and civil rights movements”

(Inghilleri, 2005, p. 130). Besides, in the flowing years, the changes have gradually accelerated. Tahir Gürçağlar states, “particularly since 1980s, poststructural and postcolonial movements penetrating cultural studies and literature have started to inquire the methods of Translation Studies and possibilities of objective information” (2005, p. 13). Those movements have offered new research topics and models for Translation Studies (some of these topics have been mentioned above). Throughout 1990s, with the effect of neoliberal economy politics, as well as globalization and postmodernism in politics and culture, the dynamics in the world changed again. Various people and cultures have started to be recognized in their own contexts. Both awareness and resistance to power have increased across the world. Thus, Translation Studies has started to concentrate generally on the agents and their observable behaviors as of those times (Chesterman, 2006, p.11). After 2000s, cultures and societies have become interwoven, which creates in Pym’s words “multicultural societies” (2006, p. 14). Pym also indicates that it is now possible to observe “many cultures within the one society”, as well as “the one cultural practice in many different societies” such as “monotheism, vegetarianism” (*ibid*). Moreover, “economic globalization” brings “increased trade, travel and access to information” with it (*ibid*, p. 15), which increases the importance of translation activities. In order to find ways to connect this “cross cultural communication” with “emerging world systems”, Translation Studies should adopt a “more sociological” perspective “to the actions of translators and publishers, whose agency is explicitly recognized” (*ibid*, p. 15). Additionally, Cronin draws attention to the role of translations and translators in such world, by asserting, “[t]ranslation makes us realize that there have been and are other ways of seeing, interpreting, reacting to the world” (2003, p. 70). At that point, Bermann addresses the consequences of “the era of globalization” on “the translator’s professional, social and political position in society:

In a world where individual nation-states are increasingly enmeshed in financial and information networks, where multiple linguistic and national identities can inhabit a single state’s borders or exceed them in vast diasporas, where globalization has its serious – and often violent – discontents, and where terrorism and war transform distrust into destruction, language and translation play central, if often unacknowledged, roles (2005, p. 1).

It could actually be observed that there is a paradigm change in social sciences in general, with the effect of those abovementioned swift changes in the societies. During 19th

century, for instance, sociology aimed to describe “European nation states, with the idealist assumption that each had its distinctive set of cultural practices”, whereas 20th century’s sociology shifted its focus to “progressively smaller social groups” (Pym, 2006, p. 14). This paradigm change is naturally reflected in interdisciplinary Translation Studies in which sociological and anthropological issues are also studied. Hence, Pym asserts that recent Sociological Translation Studies challenges “the kind of sociology that would stay at the level of just one nation state, or perhaps two” (*ibid*). On the other hand, Inghilleri predicated on anthropology and points out that “a more sociological or ‘social’ approach” has emerged in translation and interpreting practices since their “socially situated” nature and participation in the “production or reproduction of the local/global social order” were realized (2005, p. 126). As Inghilleri states, culture and language were used to be regarded as “a set of organizing principles for generating appropriate behavior within a culture” (Goodenough, 1964, cited in: Inghilleri, 2005, p. 131). Clifford Geertz (1973), on the contrary, views culture “as an assemblage of texts, the stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures that enable a society to exist as more than just an aggregate of individuals” as Inghilleri states (2005, p. 131). According to Inghilleri, this “semiotic approach foregrounded the social dimension of cultural knowledge and practice, viewing culture as grounded in social processes and relationships” (*ibid*).

Bielsa Mialet demonstrates the need and emergence of social perspective in translation, by criticizing the cultural turn for creating “the text versus context dichotomy”, even though it indicates a “move away from exclusively textual concerns towards wider cultural concerns” (2010, p. 169). As she points, the dominance of English language (and accordingly Anglo-American culture) in cultural field creates “inequalities in global information flows” (*ibid*, p. 158), yet, also, in Spivak’s words, “spurious and hyperbolic admiration” (Spivak, 2005, p. 94) of non-dominant languages (Bielsa Mialet, 2010, p. 158). Hence, in this context, “a general theorisation of the specific role of translation becomes a necessary means of explaining the nature of transnational cultural exchanges” and this is where the sociology of translation steps in (*ibid*). Bielsa Mialet stresses the role of translation for “writers in dominated languages” on “literary recognition, international existence” also on reinforcement of “the existence of an autonomous international position within their national field” (*ibid*, p. 160).

Michaela Wolf, one of the pioneering scholars in the “social” Translation Studies brings light to the reasons of emergence of social turn by summarizing the deficiencies of the cultural studies as follows:

The “cultural turn” rise in the sixties of the twentieth century. All major approaches, in one way or another, had taken into consideration cultural factors in translation [...] But none of them had extensively focused on the implications the text’s surroundings would have on the text production, and the “outdoor” factors which shape the translation’s deeper impact were hardly discussed (2007, p. 131).

According to Wolf, until social/sociological approaches to translation, “the view of translation as a social practice and consequently the role of translators and other persons involved in the translation process as social agents” have always been neglected (*ibid*, p. 132). She summarizes the general framework of those approaches as follows:

[...] any translation is necessarily bound up within social contexts: on the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other hand, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation, and as a result the strategies adopted in the translation itself (*ibid*).

By referring to Snell-Hornby’s abovementioned book entitled *The Turns of Translation Studies. New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (2006), Wolf notes that there must be “a break-up with traditional views on a certain subject” in order to talk about a paradigm shift or “turn” (2010, p. 32). However, those new perspectives “not necessarily discard once and for all long-lasting perceptions, but take established approaches as a basis [...] for sketching new horizons and further developments” (*ibid*). Wolf thinks that Translation Studies is more inclined to such paradigm shifts by nature, since it is “located in the contact zones “between cultures”, and is therefore exposed to different constellations of contextualization and structures of communication” (*ibid*). Therefore, it is possible to talk about a “sociological turn” in Translation Studies and emergence of “sociological translation studies” especially when the recent studies are considered and “valuable insights into the functioning of the translation process, the construction of a public discourse on translation and of the self-image of translators” (*ibid*, p. 34). However, at the end, it should be noted that “sociology does not always have all the answers” (*ibid*, p.

34). Conversely, almost all social sciences could offer Translation Studies fruitful frameworks to analyze the role of translations on the functioning of social lives.

1.2.2.2. What is the Difference of Social Perspective from Descriptive Translation Studies?

Descriptive Translation Studies, which could be accepted as the starting point for the cultural approaches in translation, has dealt with “wider contextual considerations” with its all developments since 1970s, as Pym suggests (2006, p. 2). However, Pym states that most of those studies still concentrate on texts (*ibid*). Even though it is understandable when it is considered that “sociolinguists aim first to describe language use; and much of Descriptive Translation Studies came from literary studies, where the text remains the thing” (*ibid*), this approach fails to explain the role and effect of mediators. Pym also indicates that it is an important development, since it dealt with “a sociology of target-side effects, but little was said about any sociology of translators” (*ibid*). Nevertheless, there are also some studies in the cultural turn in which translators have more or less become the objects of study. For instance, Lefevere’s (1992) “studies of power relations between translators and patrons” and Venuti’s (1995) inquiries “about the social effect of certain translation norms on the asymmetric relations between cultures” are important sociological initiatives, yet they are believed to fail to form “any orthodoxy that might be called a sociology of translators” (*ibid*). On the other hand, Pym has a different approach to the discussions of “social” paradigm change. He thinks that it should not readily be talked “about “sociocultural” or “social and cultural” approaches, contexts, factors, whatever” (*ibid*, p. 11). As a matter of fact, both social and cultural are interwoven, since “[they] are opposed to the “eternal” or the “ontological” (*ibid*). Pym, at that point, refers to abovementioned quantitative (relations between people) and qualitative aspects (signifying practices, such as texts, discourses) to explain the reason why both social and cultural terms are used (*ibid*). Furthermore, *cultural* factors are more *observed*, whereas *social* factors are more used to *explain* the cultural factors (*ibid*; emphasizes are original). Nevertheless, sociology cannot be perceived as the only discipline as “a wider and better-established discipline” to explain the social dynamics in the translation process (*ibid*, p. 12). At that point, Pym reminds us the factors that should be taken into account:

In Bourdieu's terms (cf. 1980: 19-36), we must still subjectivize the objective (we must ask who is selecting and analyzing the object, and why), as well as objectivize the subject (we must do the sociology of the people carrying out research). In Australian terms, the boomerangs we throw at others will come back at ourselves (*ibid*, p. 13).

However, it should be noted that the scholars of Descriptive Translation Studies criticized for not considering the social factors, such as Even-Zohar and Toury, revise their approaches in accordance with the emerging social perspective in Translation Studies. For instance, Even-Zohar, who thinks that current theories are insufficient to explain the relations of agents organizing social life, extends the scope of Polysystem Theory in such a way to address those relations in a socially functioning context (1997). According to him, "the conditions under which competing producers wish to take control of the power institution which enables them to market those products they wish to promote" could be the new research object now (*ibid*, p. 17). He reformulates the *interdependencies* between the factors participating in the social communication as follows:

[...] a CONSUMER may "consume" a PRODUCT produced by a PRODUCER, but in order for the "product" to be generated, then properly consumed, a common REPERTOIRE must exist, whose usability is constrained, determined, or controlled by some INSTITUTION on the one hand, and a MARKET where such a good can be transmitted on the other (*ibid*, p. 20; emphasizes are original).

It will not be laid emphasis upon all the factors in that scheme here. However, some factors that bear the traces of Bourdieu's notions should be mentioned. For instance, Even-Zohar is of the opinion that Bourdieu's *habitus* theory provides a good basis to understand "the link between the socially generated repertoire and the procedures of individual inculcation and internalization" since it supports "the hypothesis that the models functionalized by an individual, or by a group of individuals, are [...] schemes conditioned by dispositions acquired by experience, i.e., time and place dependent" (*ibid*, p. 24-25).

Even-Zohar's approach to the process of culture planning and resistance (Even-Zohar, 2002a [originally 1997]) also bears the traces of a social perspective, in which the production, distribution and reception of cultural goods (of which translation is a valuable part) are analyzed through the relations and roles of agents in the socio-cultural context. Even-Zohar defines culture planning as "a deliberate act of intervention, either by power

holders or by ‘free agents’ into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire”, helping the “making, re-making and maintaining of collective entities” (*ibid*, p. 45). The entities Even-Zohar refers cover both the individuals and groups of individuals participating in the resources mobilization in certain fields through their power on and access to those resources (*ibid*, p. 46), which connotes the *capital* notion by Bourdieu. Even though the nations and states are the leading actors in the making of cultural repertoire, “making may refer to any initiatives taken in order to create a social formation on whatever scale” (*ibid*). Cultural labor evaluated by Even-Zohar as “a socio-cultural energy” (*ibid*) used to participate in the making of repertoires through the accessibility resources. This labor is not evenly distributed among the population because of the (not only material, but also symbolic) power imbalances. At that point, Even-Zohar employs the notion of “wealth” to address “the relation between socio-cultural energy and the accessibility of resources” in both collective and individual levels (*ibid*, p. 47). As Even-Zohar himself also puts forth, this notion resembles with Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital (*ibid*). The internalization (“acceptance”) of the cultural repertoire by the community (“success”) and externalization (“resistance”) to it (“failure”) could be analyzed through the relations of “planning endeavors” with their “access-to-resources” (capital) and mobility (*ibid*, p. 47-50). Hence, it is safe enough to contend that Even-Zohar adopts a gradually more social perspective to examine all processes of cultural production. Translation, which could be used as a tool for culture planning as previously demonstrated by Even-Zohar, then could transform into “wealth” (cultural, and as it will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, symbolic) in the production and maintenance of and resistance to the culture planning processes.

Furthermore, Toury also addresses the role of agents by pointing to the “relative one-sidedness” of the “environmental feedback” received by trainees in specialized schools, due to the fact that “most of the responding agents, and certainly all the ones that count, are teachers, who, moreover, tend to adhere to a very similar set of norms” (1995, p. 256). With the purpose to understand “the way people become translators”, Toury adopts a sociological approach to norms, “understood as regularities of behavior” and analyzes “a social subjectivity” (*ibid*, p. 241).

Therefore, it can be stated that the most significant difference observed in the “social” Translation Studies is evidently the focus on agents, as also will be demonstrated in

Chapter II of this thesis. By referring to James Holmes' abovementioned article in 1972, Chesterman further claims that "within the field of Translation Studies we may be witnessing the development of a new subfield, a new branch" (2009, p. 13) and suggests to name this as "Translator Studies" (emphasize is original) which "would cover sociology, culture and cognition, all looking at the translator's agency, in different ways" (*ibid*). Chesterman states that the sociology of *translators* deals with many issues ranging from "the status of (different kinds of) translators in different cultures, to "the translator's habitus", as well as to questions "relating to gender and sexual orientation" and to "the public discourse of translation" (*ibid*, p. 16). However, Chesterman suggests to benefit from the field of sociology not only to deal with translators, but also *translating process*, i.e., "translation practices and working procedures, quality control procedures and the revision process, [...] relations with other agents including the client" could be dealt with a sociological perspective (*ibid*, p. 17). Chesterman restructures Holmes' map, by classifying Translation Studies as "four big branches: textual, cultural, cognitive and sociological" (*ibid*, p. 19). He depicts the framework of all branches other than textual as follows:

The cultural branch deals with values, ethics, ideologies, traditions, history, examining the roles and influences of translators and interpreters through history, as agents of cultural evolution. The cognitive branch deals with mental processes, decision-making, the impact of emotions, attitudes to norms, personality, etc. The sociological branch deals with translators'/interpreters' observable behaviour as individuals or groups or institutions, their social networks, status and working processes, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology, and so on (*ibid*).

For those recent sociological Translation Studies, Chesterman, also indicates that since those studies are based "on the translators themselves and the other agents involved", it is possible to call this model as the "*agent model*" (*ibid*; emphasize is original). Tahir Gürçağlar also points to the importance and position of subjects in "social" Translation Studies, yet she has a critical approach to the perception of "subjects" as merely translators (2005, p. 43). She remarks that there are also some individuals who could play an active role in the selection, production and consumption processes of translated texts, even if they are not directly related to the production of translated texts (*ibid*). Those individuals usually have "a comprehensive effect and power over the society", such as "politicians, businesspeople or the similar people in the position of any leadership" (*ibid*).

Toury names them as ‘agents of change’ by stating their role on changing the cultural repertoire (2002, p. 151). Tahir Gürçağlar draws attention to companies’ or politicians’ patronage over translation because of their support through private institutions or funds (2005, p. 44). Even Zohar also points to politicians’ explicit and implicit ‘planning’ efforts and those efforts would clearly effect on translation politics and strategies (Even-Zohar, 1994, 1997).

Wolf explain the interrelation between agents and society in sociological paradigm shift in translation as follows:

on the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation, and as a result the strategies adopted in the translation itself (2010, p. 33).

Since “social”/sociological Translation Studies mainly concentrate on agents, Pym stresses the shift from texts to mediators in the field of translation and interpreting, and claims that it would be good to question, “who is doing the mediating, for whom, within what networks, and with what social effects” (*ibid*). He thinks that “translators instead of individual translations” should be studied, “since the human agent necessarily brings together several social and cultural fields” and “the focus on norms was a major advance in this direction” (*ibid*, p. 18).

As will be seen in Chapter II summarizing Bourdieusian Translation Studies, sociological theories among which those of Pierre Bourdieu are the most common have increasingly used in Translation Studies particularly in recent years (Bielsa Mialet, 2010, p. 156). Bielsa Mialet displays the increasing tendency towards the sociology of translation:

one of the leading journals in the discipline, *The Translator*, dedicated a special issue to the theme of “Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translating and Interpreting”, published in 2005. In the same year, an international conference with the title “Translating and Interpreting as a Social Practice” was organised, with the aim of contributing to a conceptualisation of a general translation sociology (*ibid*).

Moreover, the idea that Bourdieu’s theories can be applied to translation is also shared by the sociologists themselves, as it can be understood from a special issue of *Actes de la*

recherche en sciences sociales, the journal founded by Bourdieu himself, on “Translation: International Literary Exchanges” (*ibid*).

Consequently, no matter whether the recent approaches and research topics justify the nomenclator “social turn” or not, there is no doubt that social perspective in Translation Studies has been dominant recently and seems to continue to be dominant for a long time. The scope of interdisciplinary studies also has extended in a way to include not only literature, but also sociology, psychology, anthropology, (critical) discourse analysis. According to Ari, “[a]s long as today’s paradigm of Translation Studies needs to reflect a general theory based on the theory-practice and individual-society relations, translation will continue to exist as a social system/field” (2014, p. 340). Tahir Gürçağlar also states that Translation Studies requires broader perspectives day by day in a way to include “translated and not-translated texts [Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses*, for instance], social and cultural vectors, translators as individuals and groups” (2005, p. 42). It can also be said that the established principle for the methodology in Translation Studies, i.e., the principle “the investigation of translational phenomena should start from the empirical fact, i.e. from the translated text itself” (Hermans, 1985, p. 13) has been demolished by the cultural and social perspectives in Translation Studies. As long as the communication and interaction among people continue, which is an irrefutable fact, unless the world ends, translation remains a socially embedded activity that needs to be assessed within a social perspective.

CHAPTER II

“BOURDIEUSIAN” TRANSLATION STUDIES

In this chapter, the key notions, i.e., field, *habitus*, *doxa*, *illusio* and capital in Bourdieu’s theory of social practices will be mentioned briefly and symbolic capital, used as the main notion in this thesis, will be elaborated. The purpose of this chapter is to give a complete point of view about the notions of Bourdieu and to understand why these notions can be utilized in Translation Studies. Afterwards, some studies trying to link Bourdieu’s notions with translation studies will be touched upon so as to exemplify that those notions can be fruitful for the discipline of Translation Studies.

2.1. THE KEY NOTIONS IN BOURDIEU’S SOCIOLOGY

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is a contemporary French sociologist affected by the theories of Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 7). However, based on those theories, he forms a different point of view correlating with the changing world. He offers a more complete approach for the position of agents in societies by considering both social and individual conditions. On that sense, he differs from classical Marxist theories that reduce individuals into economic conditions. His sociology is known as ‘reflexive sociology’ that is the “self-analysis of the sociologist as cultural producer and a reflection on the sociohistorical conditions of a science of society” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 36; cited in: Inghilleri, 2005, p. 128). He influences not only the field of sociology, but also other social disciplines with his theories. It can be seen that Bourdieu is a very productive scholar with many field studies he conducted and articles he published. Even though his views and study topics change in time, it can be said that he fundamentally focuses on the reproduction of social hierarchies, domination mechanisms in the society and the relation between agents’ social origins and their preferences and practices in their lives (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 7). It can be seen that Bourdieu witnessed important social changes and political movements in the French society and the world throughout his life. It is believed that this makes Bourdieu tend towards the effects of those changing conditions on societies and agents. It will now be looked at his sociological views.

In 1979, Bourdieu used “*habitus*” and “capital” notions and his theories and views were shaped based on those notions throughout 1980s (*ibid*). As of those times, his activism rose remarkably and this can also be observed in his studies (*ibid*, p. 12). He conducted many studies focusing on socially suppressed individuals, civil rights and social movements, the bad effects of neoliberalism on the societies, workers, and so forth (*ibid*).

Bourdieu introduces new notions into the field of sociology. Today, especially the notions of *habitus* and field are known as “Bourdiesian” (*ibid*, p. 141). Furthermore, he deconstructs some established perceptions and approaches in the field of sociology. First of all, Bourdieu rejects the established dichotomies in sociology, such as “micro/macro, material/symbolic, empirical/theoretical, objective/subjective, public/private, structure/agency” (Power, 2015, p. 48), which is a groundbreaking approach. He identifies his sociology as *constructivist structuralism* or as *structuralist constructivism*, different from Saussurean or Lévi-Straussian one (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14). He questions the nature and scope of that field, expectations from sociologists, the validity of commonly used methods in sociology, such as statistics and biography, the problematic of objectivity and subjectivity, *a priori* assumptions of sociologists, the sociology of schools, the sociology of culture, and so forth, which will not be mentioned here because of the limitation of this study.

The difference and importance of Bourdieu’s sociology can be seen through his best-known theory of social fields. Bourdieu sees the society in a dynamic and continuously changing context where different agents with different *habitus* are always struggling, and this helps him observe different findings and relations each time (Ari, 2014, p. 85). It is believed that this highlights the similarity/homogeneity of differences, which perfectly correlates with the realities of post-modern societies and perception of post-modern identities. Ari states that individuality and society are identified through difference in Bourdieu’s theory and “this helps to establish the circular relation between society and individual: Society is formed through agents constructed by it and agents are formed through society they are constructed by” (*ibid*, p. 88-89).

Now, it will be given some information about the important notions of Bourdieu’s sociology of culture, briefly. Afterwards, the engaged relationship between those notions will be touched upon. Lastly, some critiques to Bourdieu’s sociological approach will be

summarized. At the end of the chapter, the applicability of those notions to Translation Studies will be demonstrated with some examples.

2.1.1. *Habitus*

Habitus is the best-known and unique notions in Bourdieu's sociological theory. This notion is not actually invented by Bourdieu. As Jourdain and Naulin state, the origin of this term goes back to Aristoteles' *hexis* (2016, p. 42). While Aristoteles uses *hexis* as "psychical skills and behaviors provided by education and forming the basis of one's capacity to act", Saint Thomas d'Aquin translates it as *habitus* and defines it as "learned sociality of traditions (especially religious ones) which become spontaneous in time" (*ibid*). Simeoni says that Aristotle's *hexis* is "a quality of being or "disposition" characterized by stability and permanence" (1998, p. 15).

Bourdieu uses this notion differently in a sociological sense: "A structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices." (1984, p. 170). This is a very brief definition summarizing the fundamentals of the notion. Bourdieu defines this notion in many of his books. However, the most comprehensive one is as following:

[*Habitus* is a] system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (1990b, p. 53).

As can be understood, socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions are very important for acquiring *habitus*. People come from different social classes and families with different religious backgrounds, beliefs, views and experiences. These factors shape their perceptions for social world. Besides, as people socialize in the society they live in and become productive in life, they meet and interact with different *habitu*s. Additionally, *habitus* is understandably affected by the general socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions of societies at particular times. Therefore, it can be said that the relation between *habitus* and individuals is correlative. Societies consist of people with different *habitu*s, and those *habitu*s are shaped under the political, cultural, economic and social conditions of societies. This relation is so internal that people can act according to

the expectations of social context without even thinking about it (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 45). In other words, *habitus* is the collection of taken for granted actions. Bourdieu gives an example of a tennis player to explain this unconscious knowledge. He says that a tennis player can predict where a tennis ball is going to fall without thinking (*ibid*), since this is internalized unconsciously with repetitive acts.

Habitus is a fundamental and broad notion in Bourdieu's theory of practice and it gains meaning together with the other notion (field, *illusio*, *doxa* and capital) in his sociology. There are certainly more sociological usage and definitions of *habitus* that are not touched upon here in order not to extend the scope of the study. However, all notions in Bourdieu's sociology will be explained in the following parts, and a complete understanding will be provided in this way.

2.1.2. Field

Bourdieu's field is an umbrella notion forming the basis of his theory of social practice. It can be regarded as alternative for Marxist theory using production relations and classes to analyze the society (Özsöz, 2011, p. 7). Bourdieu believes that "social life cannot be analyzed only with economic factors and classes" (*ibid*).

It has been mentioned that Bourdieu identifies his sociology as *constructivist structuralism* or *structuralist constructivism* earlier. Within the framework of this sociology, Bourdieu thinks that there is an ontological accomplice between *habitus* and field (*ibid*, p. 6). "While field tends to structure *habitus*, *habitus* also tends to structure the perception of field" (*ibid*), that is to say, the relationship is bilateral (*ibid*). Swartz explains that relation briefly:

Fields are competitive areas of struggle over different kinds of capital. Bourdieu thinks of society as a complex arrangement of many fields, such as the economic field, the artistic field, and the political field. The notion of field posits that social situations are structured spaces in which actors compete against one another for valued resources. Fields offer constraints and opportunities independent of the resources brought by actors to situations. The driving force of *habitus* is mediated by fields, and the constraints and opportunities imposed by fields are mediated through the dispositions of *habitus* (2002, p. 655-665).

Hence, it is understood that field and *habitus* can always move and they affect one another in the process of forming and/or reforming (Ari, 2014, p. 99).

Field can also be called as “social space”, which is defined shortly as “the system of relations” by Bourdieu (1989, p. 16). Bourdieu states that “[social] space is constructed in such a way that the closer the agents, groups or institutions which are situated within this space, the more common properties they have; and the more distant, the fewer” (*ibid*). However, spatial distances can be effective on social distances:

It is true that one can observe almost everywhere a tendency toward spatial segregation, people who are close together in social space tending to find themselves, by choice or by necessity, close to one another in geographic space; nevertheless, people who are very distant from each other in social space can encounter one another and interact, if only briefly and intermittently, in physical space (*ibid*).

Indeed, all people feel themselves close to some places/people/situations and they are comfortable around them. Besides, people have some presuppositions for certain things in their social lives. When one sees a woman wearing a *Chanel* bag, for instance, s/he assumes that the woman is from high society and s/he adjusts his/her language and/or attitude towards the woman. That language and/or attitude could be anger, envy, or disgust, according to how the person perceives high society, based on his/her *habitus* and (social/cultural/economic) capital. Furthermore, it is known, both unconsciously and consciously, that people must do certain things in order to be included in certain fields. For instance, for someone who wants to be an academician, the first thing that comes to people’s minds is that there are some necessary things to accomplish, such as doing a master and doctoral degree, writing a thesis and submitting articles in conferences. Besides, it is known that one has to dedicate himself/ herself to that goal, accepting that it is a lifetime process. Wacquant gives a similar example, noting that someone who wants to be a scientist must acquire the scientific capital required for that field and accept the *habitus* of that field as his/her own *habitus* (2007, p. 63; cited in: Özsöz, 2011, p. 7).

According to Bourdieu, “social fields are neither the arithmetical additions of random actions, nor the integrated result of a common plan” (2005, p. 61; cited in: Özsöz, 2011, p. 7). In other words, field is not something deterministic. The boundaries of different fields are ambiguous and changeable, even though there are some unwritten rules to be part of a particular field. Additionally, those boundaries could completely change with

the effects of socio-economical and socio-political conditions. Bourdieu states that fields are “social life’s gaining autonomy as a result of the increasing differentiation process after the increase in the division of labor” (Jourdain and Naulin, 2011, p. 122). Each field must have its own objects, such as power for political field, prestige for artistic field to gain that autonomy (*ibid*).

To sum up, it can be said that all people take positions in social, cultural and political fields differently according to “[their] total capacity of capital, the type of the capital and the evolution of that capacity and type in time” (*ibid*, p. 110-111). There is a group of people (classes) with which the other people share the fields, yet those people keep being affected by the other fields, as well. The conflict is constant and makes fields dynamic.

2.1.3. Capital

The first thing that should be noted that capital is addressed from a broader perspective than Marxist theory in Bourdieu’s sociology. As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu tries to analyze the reproduction of social hierarchies and hegemonies with the notion of capital. However, at that point, he criticizes the Marxist theory giving priority to only economic factors (Özsöz, 2011, p. 11). Bourdieu believes that four different types of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) take part in that reproduction process, according to the conflicts between social agents in different fields (*ibid*, p. 11-12). According to Bourdieu, with capital, people can take positions in a particular social field and gain some profits as a result of competitions in that field (1986). He explains this situation as following:

The structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies (1993a, p. 73).

It has been mentioned above that Bourdieu splits capital into different categories. If it is referred to his own words, he shortly categorizes capital as following:

[...] capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is

convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility (*ibid*, p. 47).

Capital, with all different types, depends on the social status a person has and each class has different priorities for capital (Bourdieu, 1986). For instance, the capital an academician and a businessperson have/or want to have would not probably be the same. However, the balance between different types of capital is important and capitals can also be converted into one another, as will be seen later. Agents still want to persist the capital they already have as much as possible:

Capital, [...], takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible (*ibid*, p. 46).

No matter which type of capital it is, there is something in common for all: possessing any high amount of capital is a privilege and brings new positions/statuses in the social field with it (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 395; cited in: Özsöz, 2011, p. 14).

Now, it will be taken a look at the different types of capital.

2.1.3.1. Economic Capital

This is, beyond any doubt, the most known type of capital. Money is the first thing that comes to people's mind when "capital" is said. Even though Bourdieu believes that all the other types of capital can be obtained through the possession of economic capital (1986, p. 53), he does not give the priority to economic capital, as opposed to Marxist theory. Bourdieu points out that capitals are convertible into one another and some goods/services can only be obtained via social relationships, for instance, and their effects will not be immediate and concrete (*ibid*, p. 54). It is true that money can provide access to many things, ranging from material and luxury things, to cultural and educational resources. However, it is seen in people's daily lives that money is not always enough by itself. Material richness not accompanied by intellectual richness creates a negative image in minds. How and where to use the economic capital is important and defines the

characteristics and social status of people/institutions with that capital. It is believed that the difference between bourgeoisie and parvenu arise from that. Bourdieu suggests an integrated point of view for the issue of capital, stating the following:

The real logic of the functioning of capital, the conversions from one type to another, and the law of conservation which governs them cannot be understood unless two opposing but equally partial views are superseded: on the one hand, economism, which, on the grounds that every type of capital is reducible in the last analysis to economic capital, ignores what makes the specific efficacy of the other types of capital, and on the other hand, semiologism (nowadays represented by structuralism, symbolic interactionism, or ethnomethodology), which reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication and ignores the brutal fact of universal reducibility to economics (1986, p. 54).

Transformation of one type of capital into another requires a specific labor and some amount of time, according to Bourdieu:

[...] the transformation of economic capital into social capital presupposes a specific labor, i.e., an apparently gratuitous expenditure of time, attention, care, concern, which, as is seen in the endeavor to personalize a gift, has the effect of transfiguring the purely monetary import of the exchange and, by the same token, the very meaning of the exchange (*ibid*).

Basically, economic capital refers to material/monetary accumulation agents/classes/institutions/groups (e.g. nobles, the grandchildren of Ottoman emperors, and so forth) possess and it provides an easier access to other types of capitals. However, it also requires the other types of capital for the sustainability, maintenance of power and prestige in the social field.

2.1.3.2. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital should bring education into minds. Bourdieu analyzes cultural capital based on the unequal academic success of children from different social classes (1986, p. 47). This approach can be seen as a paradigm shift, since traditional social theories, as Bourdieu points out, tend to see this success gap as a result of “natural aptitudes” (*ibid*). He makes a correlation between academic success and academic investment, and at that point, he criticizes economists for seeing this investment from only monetary perspective, by stating that “they are unaware that ability [academic] or talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital (Becker 1964a, p. 63-66)” (*ibid*, p. 48).

However, cultural capital also should not be evaluated from a narrow perspective and it appears in different forms:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (*ibid*, p. 47).

The “fate” of academic success can really be observed in the social life. Children who were raised by academician families, for instance, have more chance to accumulate the cultural capital necessary for being an academician. First of all, thanks to the economic capital their families also have, those children would probably not have to work as children of worker families, so they would have plenty of time to improve themselves scholarly. Secondly, they would have access to many academic resources at first hand. Thirdly, they would meet the academic world earlier thanks to the friends of their families, so would adopt the academic way of thinking more easily.

Shortly, cultural capital, the first holders of which are academicians, stands for the intellectual accumulation necessary for having a say in the social, political and cultural life and it also brings the financial power with it. However, economic capital of the cultural capital holders is not as high as the actual economic capital holders, such as the owners of big companies. When those big companies, however, invest in cultural activities as well through foundations, such as IKSIV (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts) founded by Eczacıbaşı Holding in Turkey, the percentage of cultural and economic capital could become closer to one another.

2.1.3.3. Social Capital

Social capital is associated with the network of social relations and social titles, and it is highly connected with the other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). Agents tend to keep their social positions and capitals through the connections they have made and the network is introvert:

[...] the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). This is done through the alchemy of *consecration*, the symbolic constitution produced by social institution (institution as a relative – brother, sister, cousin, etc. – or as a knight, an heir, an elder, etc.) and endlessly reproduced in and through the exchange (of gifts, words, women, etc.) which it encourages and which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition. Exchange transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition and, through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, reproduces the group (*ibid*, p. 52).

Acquiring of social capital requires high time and energy, and the maintenance of that capital gets easier as the amount of capital increases (*ibid*). Hence, inherited high amount of social capital is very effective and tends to possess lasting connections (*ibid*). Institutionalized social capital, on the other hand, is more challenging, since it brings with a high responsibility with it, making the possessor the voice of that group (*ibid*, p. 53). Bourdieu refers to the concept of nobility to express this situation. He thinks, “the metonymy which links the noble to his group is clearly seen when Shakespeare calls Cleopatra ‘Egypt’ or the King of France ‘France,’ just as Racine calls Pyrrhus ‘Epirus’ (*ibid*). Jourdain and Naulin state that as the network of relationship along with the economic and cultural capital of the agents in that network increase, the social capital also increases (2016, p. 107). Clearly, some individual and/or institutional agents become the representative and image of some particular groups/classes/institutions.

In the social life, it can be observed that people socialize not only instinctively, but also intentionally to keep and/or change their position/power/capital in a certain field. The more well-connected people are, the more leverage they will have in the power struggles in the field.

2.1.3.4. Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the most inclusive notion to comprehend the dynamics in the society, since it involves each of the other capitals. Symbolic capital has come into existence as the combination of all the other capitals, but it has also unique features. Before referring to theoretical explanations, it should be noted that symbolic capital is all about prestige

and recognition. The good image individuals/institutions/groups have in people's minds is the result of their accumulation of symbolic capital. Financial power, cultural richness, social network of relationships, political status, the representability of any class or power are all determinant factors in that accumulation process. There are some people/institutions/groups all people, as individually and collectively, trust, respect, or feel the sense of belonging to. This stems from the symbolic capital they have in societies.

Bourdieu believes that academia can set a good example for the symbolic capital (1989, p. 21). He refers to a court scene from Kafka's *The Trial* (1968) to explain the absolute, universal characteristics of symbolic capital (*ibid*, p. 22). Indeed, courts, like governments, have universal value and prestige and people inherently respect, and/or learn to respect that prestige. Possession of symbolic capital brings symbolic power with it, which becomes more effective as the authority level increases (*ibid*, p. 23). Bourdieu explains this power as following:

Objective relations of power tend to reproduce themselves in relations of symbolic power. In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense or, more precisely, for the monopoly over legitimate naming, agents put into action the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles and which may be juridically guaranteed. Thus titles of nobility, like educational credentials, represent true titles of symbolic property which give one a right to share in the profits of recognition (*ibid*, p. 21).

Academia nominations and rewards could be good examples for this. Some institutions that have symbolic capital manage our perceptions, shape our tastes, mobilize some group of people, stating that that some films/actors/actresses/artists/academicians are "good" or "bad" and "should be respected" or "should be punished".

Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of assumption by people in the process of acquiring the symbolic capital, suggesting that this situation is not inherent, but interrelated:

The class (or the people, the nation, or any other otherwise elusive social collective) exists if and when there exist agents who can say that they are the class, by the mere fact of speaking publicly, officially, in its place, and of being recognized as entitled to do so by the people who thereby recognize themselves as members of the class people, or nation, or of any other social reality that a realist construction of the world can invent and impose (*ibid*, p. 24).

According to Bourdieu, goods, i.e., economic capital can be used as a tool for possession and pressure:

[...] in the absence of any juridical guarantee, or any coercive force, one of the few ways of “holding” someone is to keep up a lasting asymmetrical relationship such as indebtedness; and because the only recognized, legitimate form of possession is that achieved by dispossessing oneself - i.e. obligation, gratitude, prestige, or personal loyalty. Wealth, the ultimate basis of power, can exert power, and exert it durably, only in the form of symbolic capital; in other words, economic capital can be accumulated only in the form of symbolic capital, the unrecognizable, and hence socially recognizable, form of the other kinds of capital (1977, p. 195).

Indeed, the motives of all rich people doing charity work are not the same. Some do that as some kind of unwritten “rule” of being rich without questioning, others do that to be recognized as “good people” as a sort of investment for their future business. Furthermore, an important family name could oblige the successor to follow her/his family tradition, even s/he, personally, does not want to. Hence, symbolic capital also participates in the process of reproduction of social hierarchies. Bourdieu detailly explains this reproduction process:

[...] symbolic struggles, both the individual struggles of everyday life and the collective, organized struggles of political life, have a specific logic which endows them with a real autonomy from the structures in which they are rooted. Owing to the fact that symbolic capital is nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized, when it is known through the categories of perception that it imposes, symbolic relations of power tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space. More concretely, legitimation of the social world is not, as some believe, the product of a deliberate and purposive action of propaganda or symbolic imposition; it results, rather, from the fact that agents apply to the objective structures of the social world structures of perception and appreciation which are issued out of these very structures and which tend to picture the world as evident (1989, p. 21).

The perception and content of symbolic capital could change depending on the general conditions in the societies. For instance, while honor in pre-capitalist societies accounts for symbolic capital, social prestige is important in modern societies (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 108-109).

In sum, symbolic capital is a unique, abstract capital bearing the traces of all the other types of capital. The social prestige getting stronger with the help of the other capitals could sometimes be more effective than those capitals. Additionally, symbolic capital is

necessary to maintain the power that agents possess in certain fields. People or institutions with symbolic capital have power to construct, manipulate, direct our perceptions and believes.

2.1.4. *Doxa*

Doxa can be summarized as the whole of beliefs, rules and structure of social fields. These are adopted without questioning, although there are certainly some historical and political reasons beneath that rooted rules. Each field creates its own rules, i.e., *doxa*, and “these define the legitimate acquisition and keeping mechanisms of the capital specific to that field” (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 123). Jourdain and Naulin gives a familiar example: in order to have an academic career, a thesis has to be submitted (*ibid*). That is to say, people accept this rule and begin their careers with knowing that they have to follow this rule. Bourdieu highlights the “unquestionability” and “unthinkability” nature of *doxa*:

One of the important properties of a field lies in the fact that it implicitly defines 'unthinkable' things, things that are not even discussed. There's orthodoxy and heterodoxy, but there is also *doxa*, everything that goes without saying, and in particular the systems of classification determining what is judged interesting or uninteresting, the things that no one thinks worthy of being mentioned, because there is no *demand* (1993a, p. 51).

There are many unwritten rules that people consciously or unconsciously follow in the social life. The reasons of this obedience could stem from various reasons, such as getting accepted by the society, wishing to gain economic (cultural and/or symbolic) capital, and so forth. It is personally believed that the relative relationships in the usual Turkish families set a good example for *doxa*. Most people seem to inherently feel responsible to maintain the relationship with relatives without questioning. In order to be accepted by the society/to get married/to gain some economic advantage (such as inheritance), or because of any other personal or complicated reasons, relationships with relatives, as *doxa*, are the inseparable part of most people's lives.

2.1.5. *Illusio*

Illusio is a metaphoric notion referring to “game”, that is to say, social practices in social fields. People should have some benefits from the social practices in their lives. Otherwise, there is no point to play the game. *Illusio* here corresponds to those benefits (Özsöz, 2011, p. 6). Joining the game in a field also means that accepting the *doxa* of that field without questioning (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 405; cited in: Özsöz, 2011, p. 6). As might be understood, all players have their own leverages in that game and those leverages correspond to the notion of capital (Özsöz, 2011, p. 6). According to Bourdieu, collective participation is the most important point to be highlighted for *illusio* (1996). Bourdieu states that, “each field (religious, artistic, scientific, economic, etc.), through the particular form of regulation of practices and the representations that it imposes, offers to agents a legitimate form of realizing their desires, based on a particular form of the *illusio*” (*ibid*, p. 228).

Inghilleri states that Bourdieu uses the notion of *illusio* “to account for what allows agents to become invested, taken in and by the game, which is “both presupposed and produced by the functioning of historically delimited fields” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 115)” (2005, p. 136). From this statement, it could be inferred that the structure of the field defines the characteristics of game and people should be eager to participate in that game for the maintenance of the field. Bourdieu asserts this relationship as following:

A field even the scientific field defines itself by (among other things) defining specific stakes and interests, which are irreducible to the stakes and interests specific to other fields (you can't make a philosopher compete for the prizes that interest a geographer) and which are not perceived by someone who has not been shaped to enter that field (every category of interests implies indifference to other interests, other investments, which are therefore bound to be perceived as absurd, irrational, or sublime and disinterested). In order for a field to function, there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the habitus that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes, and so on (1993a, p. 72).

Internalizing the *illusio* is only possible with internalizing the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 151; cited in: Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 124). “Habitus enables social practices to be adopted *per se* according to the expectations of fields, without calculating the profit consciously” (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 124).

After giving the framework for Bourdieu's notions, the interwoven relationships between those notions should be pointed.

2.2. THE INTERWOVEN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KEY CONCEPTS IN BOURDIE'S SOCIOLOGY

Each notion gains their meanings over their relationships with the other notions. They all are the inseparable parts in Bourdieu's sociology. Now, both Bourdieu's own explanations and the analyses of some scholars regarding that integrated relationship will be seen.

Bourdieu simply demonstrates the basic principle between *habitus* and field:

When people only have to let their habitus follow its natural bent in order to comply with the immanent necessity of the field and satisfy the demands contained within in it (which, in every field, is the very definition of excellence), they are not at all aware of fulfilling a duty, still less of seeking to maximize their (specific) profit (1993a, p. 76).

Habitus should understandably comply with field. Otherwise, all the practices people have done become meaningless. The fact that this thesis has been written, for instance, is something done without questioning in order to be appropriate for the academic field. Additionally, the cultural capital accumulated so far is an important factor to complete and submit this thesis. The social relationships with Ayrıntı Yayınları enables this thesis to progress more easily. The reason behind the wish to do the compulsory internship in that publishing house in the first place is that it corresponds to the *habitus* of that thesis' author.

The fact that Bourdieu suggests four different types of capital does not mean that these are independent of one another. It is true that each has its own characteristics, they construct the social life altogether. Turner, who calls Bourdieu as cultural structuralist, points to this issue, by stating that each of four capital types enables both reproduction and conversion of capitals in the social field. Moreover, "the distribution of them [capitals] determines the objective class structure of social system" (Turner, 2003, p. 495-496; cited in: Özsöz, 2011, p. 12). The position of an agent in a field is identified through the symbolic capital s/he possesses (Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 83; cited in: Arı, 2014, p. 215).

Even though people always dream, the magnitude of those dreams often depends on their economic, social and cultural capacity they have and/or internalized. Besides, it depends on their perception of happiness and good life. For instance, a builder's dream could be becoming an officer with a moderate salary, while another one might want to become a civil engineer. They may be the individuals in the same social class, but a range of dynamics, such as their personal experiences, the *habitus* of their families, the people they have contacted with are effective on structuring and shaping their lives. Simeoni notes that our choices are not restricted or governed by "external socio-economic pressures only" (1998, p. 18).

It has been mentioned above that Bourdieu believes that cultural capital reproduces the social hierarchies. Özsöz, in his unpublished master of art thesis, explains this reproduction process in relation with the other notions (2009, p. 37-39). He refers to Bourdieu's thoughts about the middle-class families transferring the cultural capital they possess to their children. However, the resources necessary for academic success are found in symbolic capital and this capital is determined by the dominant class. Hence, the practices of the dominant class are imitated in order to obtain symbolic capital. Education, by this way, creates certain typologies in a culturally and economically legitimate way. *Habitus* also is an important factor in this educational system. Families transfer their *habitus* to their children through domestic education and that *habitus* accompanies them during their educational journey. They also transfer their experiences to their children and this goes on probably in the same way throughout generations. Eventually, people from lower class who do not have a qualified education would not have the necessary symbolic capital. Hence, they would always be economically secondary in the social field.

As seen, Pierre Bourdieu tries to analyze all social, cultural, economic and political dynamics structuring the societies and the relationship between different agents and classes. While doing so, he offers a more integrated point of view as opposed to classical social theories. He considers individual, collective and historical experiences while analyzing how social hierarchies are reproduced. He effects not only the field of sociology, but also many other social disciplines, such as translation studies, as it will be seen in the following part. It is believed that the theories and approaches of Bourdieu are especially useful for explaining the complicated dynamics of 2000s, when identities and classes are almost metamorphosed. The oppressor-oppressed or exploiter-exploited

relationship is still in force, yet in a different form. Additionally, there are many other factors other than economic ones directing that relationship.

As might be expected, there are also some critiques to Bourdieu's theories. He is fundamentally criticized for seeing individuals as "unconscious" by condemning them to *habitus*; being "deterministic" by reducing individuals into mechanical ones who only serve social structures, and not taking social changes into consideration (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016, p. 143-144; emphasizes are mine). His "most controversial and dubious claim" is that one can overcome "the subject/object dualism" without abandoning "a claim to an objective social science", since "many critics (and supporters)" believe that "it appears to contradict his refusal to accept the autonomy of subjective knowledge" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 138). However, it can be said that Bourdieu's theory bearing the traces of important transition periods in the world and containing many examples from daily life can give fruitful research ideas to the scholars studying in social sciences, despite of its deficiencies. Furthermore, the correlation between societies and agents and the handicaps of this correlation are highly popular topics in cultural and social studies, especially in today's world, and Bourdieu's theories can also be useful on that sense. Evaluating phenomena under their own conditions, as suggested by Pierre Bourdieu, would help scholars produce more complete and coherent findings.

2.3. APPLICABILITY OF BOURDIEU'S NOTIONS IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

In this part, some studies and ideas of scholars around the world that try to connect Bourdieu's key notions summarized above with Translation Studies will be mentioned. The chapter will be based on a literature overview. The purpose here is to form the basis of this thesis and demonstrate that the theories in Translation Studies and sociological theories could be used together for the future studies. Finally, the connection with the market of translation publishing with Bourdieu's sociological theory for publishing sector will be elaborated, with symbolic capital on focus.

2.3.1. Pierre Bourdieu and “Sociological” Translation Studies

As seen earlier, translation has started to be seen as a culturally embedded action in which translators and all the other actors (publishing houses, critics, translation bureaus, editors, readers and so on) are culturally reflective parts after the cultural paradigm change. Even though it is true that cultural and social studies are actually integrated, there are some different dynamics cultural Translation Studies are not enough to explain anymore. It is personally believed that some of the reasons of that are the transformations in the perception of many concepts, such as individual, collective, identity, culture, communication, trade, income, pressure, violence, media, policy, and so on in 2000s. When the subject is “culture”, it is not clear that which “culture” it is anymore. Even though people are not bilingual and bicultural, they can access to the foreign culture more easily. Internet has caused enormous, but suspicious information; social media have made communication easier; the way people resist to pressure has changed; the perception of gender has transformed in a way that homosexuality is an insufficient term now; violence and pressure still exist, but in a more implicit way; the working conditions and principles have changed... It is possible to augment those examples. By all means, this new world cannot be evaluated independently from history. Hence, if today’s world is combined with historical traces, a more complicated table will be faced. The known classifications and dichotomies are not fully effective in this complicated table. Besides, the position of “subjects” and “power” those subjects have thanks to their “capital” are very important and tricky factors. Each subject has his/her own experiences that effect and also are affected by the social dynamics; and money is not the only factor to have power. At this point, Pierre Bourdieu’s sociology, trying to analyze the social dynamics in a broader sense without referring to the “outmoded” dichotomies (exemplified above), becomes a part of research topics in Translation Studies. Inghilleri also states that there is an increasing tendency towards Bourdieu’s sociology in Translation and Interpreting Studies in recent years (2005). She suggests that it is because of a globalist paradigm shift in which translation and interpreting are regarded as socially, culturally and politically governed activities “connected to local and global relations of power and control” (Cronin, 2003; cited in: Inghilleri, 2005, p. 125). Bourdieu, however, is not the only sociologist whose theory can be adapted to Translation Studies. Niklas Luhmann and

Bruno Latour are also among the primary ones (see Hermans, 1999 for Luhmann; Buzelin, 2005 for Latour) Arı, in her comprehensive book *Çeviri Sosyolojisi*, for instance, suggests the combination of the theories of Bourdieu and Luhmann (2014).

The most studied notions of Bourdieu in Translation Studies are *habitus*, field, capital and the integrated relations between these notions. According to Inghilleri, those concepts and also the concept of *illusio* can make a valuable contribution to understand and theorize “the interaction between agency and structure” (2005, p. 126). The topics that Translation Studies has always questioned correspond to the topics questioned in Bourdieu’s sociology. The concept in the *habitus* notion, for instance, is not actually novel for Translation Studies. As Simeoni (1998) states, Toury (1995) questions the similar things without using the term of “*habitus*”. However, the focus of *habitus*-focused Translation Studies is the participation of translators in the “maintenance” and reproduction of norms, while Toury focuses on “what controls the agents” (Simeoni, 1998, p. 26). In brief, Bourdieu’s theories are one of the most applicable theories for understanding and analyzing today’s complex social dynamics observed in translation process.

Arı states that the *habitus* notion reveals that acts of individuals are constructed and internalized through conjunct historical realities (2014, p. 227). On that sense, it supports and broadens the concept of norms (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 4; cited in: Arı, 2014, p. 227). There are also the expectations and realities of the translation market in this framework that should be considered. Even though it is possible to talk about some paradigm changes from time to time in accordance with the changing conditions in the socio-cultural structures, there are some historically shaped rules and norms effecting the collective *habitus* of translators. After all, no matter how different translators’ *habitus*es are, “the strategies and freedom of translators have been determined within the limits of the translation field and rules of the game” (Arı, 2014, p. 227). This dilemma is seen worth for studying. However, there is a highly important point that Arı draws attention to at that exact point. Arı notes that those similar dispositions of translators mentioned above are explained merely through the notions of “obedience” and “pressure” and it does not correlate with the realities of practical life (*ibid*). Apart from that, the expectations, qualifications and working conditions of the profession have changed with the effect of recent developments. As Simeoni points out, the field of translation is more diverse and

global, translators are expected to have high computer skills, to broaden their expertise to related fields, such as “information and consulting services” (1998, p. 13-14).

Tahir Gürçağlar points that translation should be discussed as a social phenomenon and the context where translations are produced and consumed should be considered (2005, p. 125). She states the importance of subject in the social analysis of translations:

Thanks to the subject-oriented approach, individuals are not in the position of ‘objects’ stuck in the social patterns and directed by some entirely predetermined structures anymore. On the contrary, it is realized that people, with their own backgrounds, individual choices, successes and failures, could affect social structures as much as they are affected by them (*ibid*, p. 190).

That subject-oriented approach enables scholars to realize that systems contain not only texts, but also people who shape those texts; so, it should be focused on the characteristics of individuals, their processes of socialization, internalization of social and cultural norms, and power to change those norms over resistance (*ibid*).

Tahir Gürçağlar reminds us that Bourdieu’s theories have become popular in recent years among the scholars in the field of translation (2005). Even-Zohar, for instance, reviews the framework of his polysystem theory and states that Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* could be used to explain the interaction between individuals and social structures/systems (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 42; cited in: Tahir Gürçağlar, 2005, p. 191). There are also some limited studies regarding the connection between Bourdieu’s theories and translation in Turkey (see: Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001; Ezber, 2004).

Arı reports that Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural field, especially the notions of social action, social field, *doxa* and consecration can be used to study translated texts (2014, p. 217). Defining translation as a social action means that translation needs to be studied as an individual action and social event (*ibid*). She also states that thanks to Bourdieu’s theories, it is now possible to deal with the social actors in the process of translation in a broader concept (*ibid*, p. 220). Within the context of Bourdieu’s theories, the translated texts connected with the fields of policy and economy in societies are seen as the parts of cultural production (*ibid*, p. 222). In those fields, translators play certain roles in compliance with their positioning, i.e., they join the “illutio” (*ibid*).

At this point, it is necessary to note that literary translations are studied most within Bourdieu's sociological perspectives, since it is believed that a society is best reflected through literature. Another reason of this situation is, as Sela-Sheffy indicates, that literary translators are more visible before the public and can "achieve the highest reputation as individuals" (2005, p. 11). Furthermore, "ordinary translators" (*ibid*, p. 19; emphasize is original) more easily acknowledge that clients have the last say on the final product, whereas literary translators do not want the interference of any agent, even the publishers and editors (*ibid*), whose role is indeed important. However, that does not mean that translation bureaus, for instance, cannot be a part of sociological Translation Studies. On the contrary, there are many factors that could be studied, such as what types of texts and which language pairs are mostly translated; which criteria are expected from translators and the owners of translation bureaus; what the working conditions of translators are and what the general image of translation bureaus is, and so on.

In the light of that information, it is possible to say that Translation Studies, in today's complex social structures, need interdisciplinary approaches more than ever. Sociology, as a discipline that studies society with all aspects, could be a good reference to analyze the individual and collective social dynamics in the field of translation.

2.3.2. Pierre Bourdieu and the Field of Translation Publishing

As stated before, *habitus* of (particularly individual) agents in the field of translation have been most questioned notion of Bourdieu in Translation Studies, so far. Even though it cannot be denied that there is a gap that needs to be filled with that concept in this rapidly changing globalizing world, such kind of study is too intricate for a master thesis. It is known that individuality is hard to measure and this kind of measurement requires more comprehensive information on the discipline of sociology and on the reliable methods of measurement. Hence, knowing the scope and capacity of a master thesis, a less intricate and more measurable topic has been chosen for the study: a "prestigious" publishing house and the role of its "quality" and "trustable" translations on the accumulation of symbolic capital. On the basis of the literature review that has been made, it can be said that the notion of capital has been little studied and is indeed worth to be studied. Many scholars actually indicate the importance and adaptability of that notion in the context of

translation. Inghilleri, for instance, believes that “[Bourdieu’s] views on organized social and cultural practices and the strategies of different form of capitals have been used effectively to inform the insights offered by both existent and emerging perspectives within the [translation] discipline” (2005, p. 126). Goanvic attaches high importance to the notion of symbolic capital, but with translators on focus (2005, p. 161-162). He stresses that authors acquire symbolic capital by recognition and they have to constantly regain it “through new works published in the literary field”, whereas translators “[benefit] from the symbolic capital invested in the original work” and “[confer] on the author and on the work a quantity of capital by submitting it to the logic of a target literary field, and to its mechanisms of recognition” (*ibid*). In that sense, it is believed that symbolic capital can be used to explain the translation dynamics in the publishing field.

Publishing houses have always provided a solid and valuable framework for scholars from nearly all social sciences, in terms of ideological and sociological traces in the choice of books/translations/editors and the production and distribution processes of works. Since “the international circulation of literature depends mostly on translation” as Sapiro states, (2008, p. 158), publishing houses have an important place in Translation Studies. Bourdieu himself indicates the dynamic construction of the publishing market:

The fact that texts circulate without their context, that – to use my terms – they don’t bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that the recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings... (1999, p. 221; cited in: Gouanvic, 2010, p. 121).

Bourdieu also describes the literary field as “a force-field” in which all agents constantly struggle to transform or maintain “the established relation of forces” with the use of capital they have “acquired through previous struggles” (1990a, p. 143; cited in: Gouanvic, 2005, p. 151).

Another reason of why publishing houses are interesting for Translation Studies results from the fact that the roles of agents are different from the non-literary agents with regard to “freedom” and “conforming to norms”. Non-literary texts hardly bear the traces of any ideology, whereas literary texts are highly rich in that sense. Besides, translators and/or editors have relatively more freedom to choose the publishing houses they would like to

work with. Besides, the literary translators' and editors' *habitués* are more traceable in their word choices and selections of books, respectively. A digression is necessary here to indicate one point: The only determinant for a publishing house is not the ideological and habitual resemblance and the desire to acquire symbolic capital. A high economic capital, which is a rare situation in the field of publishing in Turkey, could actually prevail the habitual affinity. That is to say, a translator and/or editor might prefer an ideologically non-relevant publishing house to earn more money in some extreme cases, such as the high economic capital provided by Harry Potter series. Furthermore, economic capital could also bring symbolic capital with it and vice versa (remember the convertibility of capitals). Gouanvic points out that the publishing houses, as agents of cultural industry, try to gain the symbolic capital of a source culture's literary work in the target culture and they also gain economic income by this way (2002, p. 161-162; cited in: Arı, 2014, p. 217). He demonstrates the common tendency of publishing houses to publish the most successful works of the source language in the target language (*ibid*). Since the capitals the actors have acquired in a field define the struggles in that field, the size of capital could intensify the struggles. Wolf reflects upon that situation in her study shedding light "the power relations inherent in the translational production process by identifying the massive capitals invested in the "Harry Potter" field", reveals "mediation space" for the translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* into German" (2002; cited in: Wolf, 2007, p. 139; emphasizes are original). She also draws attention to the hierarchical structure of the translation market that is defined as to "the weight of the various languages" (2007, p. 140). This can be proven via the translated works in the international market, as well as "the illustration of the forces operating on this market and contributing to the promotion, prevention and manipulation of translations" (*ibid*, p. 141). Wolf explains the power relations in the field of (literary) translation publishing with the actors holding different type and/or amount of capitals:

Not only do [centres dominated by power relations in the field] have ideological and aesthetic interests, but they also engage in the struggle for acceptance of translation products, e.g. if translators attempt to anticipate the ideas of critics and the reading public, or if they change a publishing house for the launching of a new book, in order to increase the economic and symbolic capital (*ibid*, p. 141).

Wolf also agrees with the views of Heilbron and Sapiro (2007) on the field of literary translation:

Heilbron and Sapiro (2007) argue that for inspecting translation processes, sociological approaches can shed light on the logics which determine the circulation of symbolic goods. One is operating within the political relationships between the countries involved, another one within the international book market, and a last one within the domains of cultural exchange (2007, p. 140).

In another study, Bachleitner and Wolf also study the literary translations in German speaking countries through Bourdieu's notion of field. In that study, they take the institutions and individuals participating in the production, distribution and receiving processes into consideration (2010, p. 7; cited in: Ari, 2014, p. 211). Bachleitner and Wolf put emphasize on the competitive relations in the field of literary translation and question how one literary work can be so effective that it could make the whole field of literature spread. They demonstrate the hierarchical order and power relations in the field of translation regarding the translations of dominant and non-dominant languages (Van Doorslaer, 2006; cited in: Ari, 2014, p. 211). It is possible to argue that the translations, to a large extent, are done from today's dominant language, English as *lingua franca*, into non-dominant languages around the world. On the other hand, translation from a non-dominant language into a dominant language (from Turkish into English, for instance) brings high economic profit for authors and publishers with it and increases the prestige of the translated work. In that way, a peripheral literature gets the chance to be recognized internationally and to increase its symbolic capital (Bachleitner and Wolf, 2010, p. 9; cited in: Ari, 2014, p. 212). At that point, Bachleitner and Wolf note that the power relations in that peripheral-central literature field are not stable and can always change (*ibid*). According to those scholars, the macro structure of the field of international literature identifies a framework for analyzing the national literature market and translations in that market, such as agents involved in the processes of choice of texts for translation, and production, distribution, receiving of the translation could be analyzed (2010). Translators, together with the all other agents, determine the position of translation in the target literature; and by this way, they direct the flow of literary capital (*ibid*, p. 12).

Giséle Sapiro's article titled with "Translation and the field of publishing: A commentary on Pierre Bourdieu's "A conservative revolution in publishing"" (2008) has been very

stimulating for the author of this thesis, during the process of searching a research subject. Sapiro believes that the role of publishers “in the international circulation of books is crucial” (*ibid*, p. 154), which is the idea also shared by the author of this thesis. Thus, “a sociological approach to translation” should “take into account [publishers]” (*ibid*). She also refers to “Bourdieu’s economy of symbolic goods and field theory” (*ibid*) to develop a sociological approach to the translation dynamisms in publishing houses. Bourdieu’s theory can be briefly and clearly understood through Sapiro’s explanations; therefore, it will be directly cited from her:

In his seminal 1971 article on the market of symbolic goods (Bourdieu 1971), he developed a theory of the production and circulation of symbolic goods based on the opposition between small-scale and large-scale circulation. The field of cultural production is structured around this opposition. The law of the market rules the pole of large-scale circulation, where sales are the main criterion for measuring success. By contrast, at the pole of small-scale circulation, aesthetic or intellectual criteria, arising from the judgement of peers (writers, literary critics), prevail over the larger public’s approbation (*ibid*, p. 154-155).

Sapiro also stresses an important point in the functioning of small-scale publishing houses:

[S]ymbolic recognition by peers is likely in the long run to result in a greater consecration of the text and its author. When a text is canonized as a classic and included in anthologies, academic programmes and literary textbooks, it becomes a profitable product for its publisher. This conversion of symbolic capital into economic capital is a long-term process, as opposed to the search for short-term profit that is typical of the book industry’s commercial pole (*ibid*, p. 155).

As it is known, publishing houses are private institutions grounded on specific purposes. They all have different publishing policies and strategies reflecting their ideology. There naturally has to be a commercial interest behind their foundation, since no institution can function without money. Besides, economic capital is primary for their foundation in the first place. However, the only determinant in the small-scale and large-scale publishing houses is not the economic capital they have. A publishing house, for instance, might want to remain “small”, since it might seek for “marginality” and want to address the readers who hardly find the books suitable for their tastes. Such strategy could also bring economic interest with it (It will be demonstrated in the following chapter).

Sapiro informs us Bourdieu thinks that publishers play a role on the legitimization of literary products through “transfer of symbolic capital from the publisher to the writer: to publish is to consecrate. Consequently, the publisher “creates the creator”” (*ibid*). At this juncture, the views of authors and literary critics, even politicians on the publishing house (e.g., Translation Bureau times when the Minister of Education was highly effective on the image and sustainability of publishing houses; see Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001, 2008a) are important for the recognition of that publishing house. Sapiro articulates that Bourdieu’s thoughts on the field of publishing (1999) are substantially shaped by his attitude towards neoliberalism because of “the commercial constraints [...] increasingly imposed on publishers” since he thinks that it poses a threat “the autonomy of the literary field” (2008, p. 155). According to Bourdieu, selection process is sociologically important with “the chain of agents involved in it, from the series editor to the board and the publisher or manager, including writers and translators who recommend the manuscript” (*ibid*). Based on Bourdieu’s these views, it has been chosen to make interview with *Ağır Kitaplar* series’ editor Burhan Sönmez and publisher İlbay Kahraman. Sapiro also shares the construction and results of a statistical survey concentrating on the field of French literary publishers (*ibid*, p. 156). Even though that survey is beyond the scope of this thesis, the variables are mentioned to understand the content of such analysis: “1) juridical and financial status of the publishing house; 2) commercial dependency; 3) weight on the market; 4) symbolic capital; and 5) share of translated literature in the publisher’s list (percentage of the overall number of titles) and languages translated” (*ibid*). The last three variables will also be discussed in this thesis without referring to a statistical method, but interviews and data reviews. Bourdieu’s views on the independent publishing house is also interesting with regard to translation. According to Bourdieu, small publishers are more innovative and eager to “take risks and discover new authors in order to survive” (*ibid*, p. 157), which is, to large extent, based on translational practices. Additionally, “publishers endowed with high symbolic capital have many [national] authors [...], so that they are less motivated to search for new works abroad and invest in translation costs” (*ibid*). At that point, Sapiro asserts, “translation can be a means for accumulating symbolic capital and building a credible list”, especially for the “newcomers” (*ibid*).

Sapiro also regards the publishers’ strategies in series and the role of translations on series as valuable (*ibid*, p. 161). She points out that the different strategies in different series

might “arose from cultural and political motives” (*ibid*), as will be demonstrated for the publishing strategy of Ayrıntı Yayınları in *Ağır Kitaplar* series. The reception of translators in both national and international levels should also be analyzed, according to Sapiro (*ibid*, p. 163). She draws attention to the factors having roles in and/or before the reception of translations: “The publisher, the series, sometimes the preface, the presentation of the text and of its author, along with the translation itself - all these elements contribute to assign a meaning to the translated text” (*ibid*). To give a personal example, the fact that the translator’s name is on the cover of a book is a good first impression for the author of this thesis, because of the translational *habitus* and personal/professional sensitivity to the visibility of translators.

Last point to be mentioned in Sapiro’s article is the relevance of Bourdieu’s approach to the field of publishing on “micro level”:

the process of selecting and translating one particular book or the work of a single author can be carefully investigated, while taking into account the constraints imposed on the translator by the publisher and the specific stakes (economic, political and/or cultural) that determine its importation and reception (*ibid*, p. 163).

As can be seen, “one particular series” of a “single publishing house” has been chosen for this thesis. Therefore, in Sapiro’s sense, it can be said that a “micro level” analysis will be conducted in the following chapter.

There are also stimulating studies in Turkey, which will be gladly mentioned. Tahir Gürçağlar, for instance, is one of the most productive and cited scholar, who highly reflects upon the socio-cultural dynamics of literary translation in Turkey. In many of her studies, she refers to publishing houses and the translation strategies of those publishing houses to elucidate the effects of translations on the cultural processes and the multi-dimensional relationships of the actors in the field of translation (It is impossible to include here all of her works on that topic; therefore, only the most relevant ones will be mentioned). In her awarded doctoral dissertation titled with “The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923-1960” (2001; published as a book later; see 2008a), drawing on Bourdieu’s notions of *habitus*, symbolic capital and agency, Tagir Gürçağlar analyzes the translation practices of the Western literary canons ruled by the government-

sponsored Translation Bureau during the Republican period of Turkey, as a tool for culture planning, formation of a new literature and Turkish humanism.

Tahir Gürçağlar's analysis of Altın Kitaplar publishing house's best-seller translations between 1950s and 1960s, with the agents (readers, translators, editors, editorial directors) as well as the strategies and norms structuring those agents and translations on focus is particularly worth to mention (2005, p. 125-164). Even though she does not directly refer to Bourdieu's notions in that analysis, it is believed that it supports the methodology and research topic of this thesis. Tahir Gürçağlar detects the publishing house's book selection, approach to and relations with the translations/translators with the help of particularly the interview with the editorial director Batu Bozkurt, which is the same methodology chosen in this thesis as well. She also supports her views with the translators' and readers' comments on the publishing house. Tahir Gürçağlar draws a frame for future studies, by stating that how translations are produced and consumed need to be studied (Pym, 1998, p. 106; cited in: 2005, p. 131-132), since "their position in the general social and cultural context without reducing the subjects, institutions or texts into dichotomies" (2005, p. 128) can be detected in this way. It is believed that this is the exact point where publishing houses step in, since they allow for thorough investigation of production, distribution and reception of translations. Tahir Gürçağlar suggests to situate "more abstract phenomena, such as reading habits and translation norms" in such analyses, yet it should be considered that "both concrete and abstract phenomena could change in time" (*ibid*, p. 132). Furthermore, series that have become widespread during 1960s (*ibid*, p. 149) have an important place in the publishing market, since they provide various literary genres for various readers with different tastes, backgrounds (It is considered that it is necessary to add *habitus* to this equation). Tahir Gürçağlar concludes that "series are used as a marketing and sale strategy, since people do not choose the literary work they would like to read according to the author, but to the genre" (*ibid*, p. 150). This finding has driven the author of this thesis to dedicate whether this situation is also true for *Ağır Kitaplar* by Ayrıntı Yayınları, in a different way. Furthermore, translations are crucial for the general image and perception of publishing houses, as Tahir Gürçağlar also states (*ibid*, p. 158). It is believed that her conclusion on the perception of Altın Kitaplar's readers about the quality translations based on the general image of the publishing house could be generalized. On the other hand, translations also

participate in the construction process of that image i.e., symbolic capital, which is the claim of this thesis and will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

As can be understood from all those studies summarized above, investigating publishing houses as socially regulated institutions including various agents with different *habitus*es and capitals could reveal the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions of the country in question and/or the general literary tendencies and approaches in the world at that time, which all affect the translations. In that sense, the interdisciplinary studies are highly crucial so as to interpret those complex dynamics before/during/after the process of translation. Even though it is true that translation has actually never been simple, since it deals with languages the mystery of which has never been fully solved, the social world and the relationships between people, on the other hand, have never been as complex as today. In that sense, Translation Studies need to consider the myriad dynamics in the field of translation, ranging from the individual and institutional actors, to both source and target culture and to the economic conditions of the professional field. Since Bourdieu's theories, as many scholars agree, account for the integrated relations between the individuals and society with not only economic factors, but also other variables on focus, these theories could be used in Translation Studies inquiring the "social" perspective of "individual" translations. Bourdieu demonstrates that society consists of different individuals with different *habitus*es who are affected by and also affect the construction of social fields. The field of publishing forms a fruitful ground to analyze many variables in the translation process at the same time.

CHAPTER III

AN OVERVIEW OF AYRINTI YAYINLARI AND *AĞIR KİTAPLAR* SERIES AND ANALYSIS OF AYRINTI'S SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

When certain social issues, especially regarding the translation field, are questioned by the author of this thesis, it is realized that it is difficult to explain those issues with the generally accepted notions. Literary translation has always been the subject of interest for the author since the beginning of (even before) the education. This requires the necessity to understand some complex relationships in Turkish culture, the source culture, and the economic and political dynamics in the field of publishing both domestically and internationally. Besides, there is also an important human factor in translational job. Especially in literary translation that is open for manipulation, ideological traces and political references, the signature of the translator is more apparent. Additionally, Turkey offers prolific research areas with all the socio-cultural and socio-political transformations it has been through and also its relationships between literature and translation throughout those periods. Together with this personal interest and, as seen in Chapter II, gradually increasing scholarly tendency towards the analyzing of social dynamics in translation activity, it has been questioned why some publishing houses have a good image for the author of this thesis when it comes to translated books. This thesis has initially resulted from this interest.

From this starting point, in this chapter, general information about Ayrıntı Yayınları and *Ağır Kitaplar* series will be presented first. That information has based on both the publishing house's official website (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>) and official facebook account that is actively used (<https://tr-tr.facebook.com/ayrintiyayinevi/>). Additionally, answers to interview questions directed by the author of this thesis to İlbay Kahraman, one of the partners of Ayrıntı, and to Burhan Sönmez, the chief editor of Ayrıntı, and other data found in the media have also been included. Ten (10) prominent news and articles regarding the translated books of Ayrıntı will be analyzed to demonstrate how people generally regard Ayrıntı's translations. Afterwards, also ten (10) materials regarding the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series will be examined with the intention

to prove that those books have made an important contribution for the publishing house to acquire symbolic capital. It is necessary to state that there are for sure a lot more materials about the books in question, yet the most supporting ones have been chosen so as to give a thorough explanation. The *habitus* of the translators of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series will also be referred. The answers to the interview questions will be the supportive materials for this analysis. Lastly, some readers' comments that are believed to reflect the symbolic capital Ayrıntı Yayınları has through *Ağır Kitaplar* series will also be included. It goes without saying that the production and reception of literary works are linked to the conditions in which they are produced and received. Thus, the socio-cultural conditions of Turkey in the founding years of Ayrıntı Yayınları will also be touched upon. Furthermore, the position and place of Ayrıntı Yayınları and its *Ağır Kitaplar* series in the Turkish publishing market cannot be adequately evaluated without mentioning the economic and literary conditions of the market. In today's globalized market, the publishing market in a country also cannot be discussed separately from the publishing market in the world in general. In order to do such examination, Bourdieu's referential article "A conservative revolution in publishing" (2008) and Gisele Sapiro's UNESCO *Index Translationum* database analysis (2014) will be taken as references. However, it is necessary to emphasize that this will be confined to the limits of this thesis. The main purpose is not to picture the publishing market with all the gift socio-cultural, economic and political relationships as a whole, but to detect the position of *Ağır Kitaplar* series in the Turkish publishing field from the point of translation. Therefore, inspired by Tahir Gürçağlar's methodology used in her referential book *Kapılar* (2005), based on a big and comprehensive online bookstore *Idefix* (<http://www.idefix.com/>), the list of the bestseller books in Turkey will be examined, but by restricting it to the translated books. The analysis of all this information collected in this chapter, together with the other data collected through media, will be linked lastly. At this point, it is believed that it is necessary to elaborate the methodology that has been touched upon briefly at the beginning of the thesis.

3.1. METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on the observable and explicable data about Ayrıntı Yayınları in general and Ayrıntı's *Ağır Kitaplar* series in particular. Using this kind of data enables

researches to be more persuasive and prevents their hypotheses from being simply “personal interpretations”. Pym draws attention to that point, by stating “to assess the probabilities we have to build up a database of known causation, and to do that we have to look at all possible factors” (2006, p. 4). Since this study is interdisciplinary making use of a sociological theory, it could be useful to look at the research methods used in sociology. As a recommendation for methodology in Translation Studies regarding social issues, Pym indicates that “empirical sociology provides the data-gathering procedures (questionnaires, interviews)” (*ibid*, p. 12). Hence, apart from the data obtained from media, interviews will be used as supportive resources to prove the hypothesis of this study. The information obtained from both sources will be analyzed within a different perspective of the Descriptive Translation Studies, a method suggested by Tahir Gürçağlar in her book *Kapılar* (2005). Tahir Gürçağlar points a distinction between descriptive/empirical and interpretative/critical approaches and regards that distinction as “artificial” (*ibid*, p. 13), since such distinction “prevents us from handling the relations between translation and culture as well as the history of translation and history of culture in an integrated approach” (*ibid*, p.14). She also points to the fact that particularly in recent years, there has been a pursuit of ‘eclectic’ method combining descriptive and critical methods and approaches in Translation Studies (*ibid*, p. 27; emphasize is original). Accordingly, in order to reasonably picture the obtained data, an overview of socio-cultural context of Turkey in 1980s, when Ayrıntı Yayınları was founded, will be mentioned. At that point, it should be noted that the assumptions of the researcher would determine the conclusions, as Tahir Gürçağlar states (*ibid*, p. 32).

Throughout this thesis, satisfying explanations will be provided rather than just descriptions, since, as Pym states, “the real intellectual task awaiting us is precisely to form some consensus about what a satisfying explanation might be” (2006, p. 3). While analyzing, “deterministic reasoning” should be avoided, since it “cannot explain translation (nor translators, presumably)” (*ibid*, p. 4). Furthermore, the fact that “all conceivable factors are potentially good explanations” is an illusion that researchers should not sink into (*ibid*). Hence, Pym suggests Toury’s *probability*, that is to say, “The more X, the more Y” proposition could be “a way out of this dilemma” (*ibid*; emphasize is original). For this thesis, this proposition is “The more “good” translations a publishing house has, the more symbolic capital it acquires”. Consequently, probability gives

researchers a way to predict, “what is likely to happen when something changes in the explanatory factor” (*ibid*). In this matter, causal and/or “multifactorial conditioning” between translations and symbolic capital for a publishing house is aimed to be demonstrated. It is important to note that this probability could also function as *commutative* relation (*ibid*, p. 8) that is to say, “the more symbolic capital a publishing house acquires, the more “good” translations it has” in our case. Namely, the causation is two-fold: “the prestige could be due to the translations, and the translations could be due to the prestige” (*ibid*). Pym calls this causation as “asymmetric causation” or “relatively symmetrical correlations” and believes that it demonstrates “translation is more productive than reproductive. Translational phenomena are partly the causes of other phenomena [...]” (*ibid*, p. 17, 18).

In order to demonstrate the image of Ayrıntı Yayınları in the field of publishing, particularly in terms of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, the critiques for the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series will be examined. Through those resources, it will be drawn on the ideology, publishing policy and position of Ayrıntı Yayınları in the field of publishing and the relations of it with translators and editors. The content of *Ağır Kitaplar* will be explained and it is intended that the approach and position of translation in Ayrıntı Yayınları in general and *Ağır Kitaplar* series in particular will be revealed. After giving the general context, the general literary approaches and tendencies in the field of publishing sector in 2000s will be touched upon to position Ayrıntı Yayınları in the Turkish publishing field. Applying such a methodology drives us to analyze “the flow of translations not only from the standpoint of source and target languages but also according to genres, publishers, and series” (Sapiro, 2014, p. 88).

It should be emphasized that this thesis does not claim to create “a simple prescription” in Pym’s words, since as he states, it is impossible to do that in complex contexts, like translation, even if there is a causation (*ibid*, p. 9). Besides, since “the one piece of information can be contextualized in more than one way” (*ibid*, p. 11), another researcher could study Ayrıntı Yayınları and *Ağır Kitaplar* series in a different way. As a matter of fact, some recommendations for further studies will be given at the end of the conclusion part.

3.2. AN OVERVIEW OF AYRINTI YAYINLARI

Ayrıntı Yayınları, which is recognized as a dissident publishing house, was founded in 1988 when the effects of 1980 military coup started to clear away slowly, by a group of leftist intellectuals who had been actively fighting against oppressions since 60s and 70s. Ayrıntı adopts socialism and aims at “informing” people about that, as it will be seen from the expressions Kahraman uses below. The ideology and that motive to “inform” understandably effects the book selections. Hence, *Ağır Kitaplar* series has special importance to the author of this thesis, since it corresponds well to the founding goals and general image of Ayrıntı. It is also striking to demonstrate that sales are not concerned as much as it is expected from a commercial institution.

However, it should not be thought that Ayrıntı produces works that only correspond to socialist and/or leftist ideologies. Otherwise, it would contradict its founding purposes. It needs to be stated that calling Ayrıntı Yayınları as a socialist publishing house should not be understood that Ayrıntı refrains itself from understanding “the other” ideologies. In fact, it can be claimed that socialism is not a means, but an end for Ayrıntı. This clearly requires not only technical knowledge of the ideology itself, but also internalization of the underlying ethical and humanistic principles. Hence, it brings the necessity to know about many other supporting and refuting ideologies with it. At this point, it would be good to refer to Kahraman’s own words when he comments about the reactions to their *İdea* series that includes theological books, such as “Ayrıntı hidayete mi erdi?” [*“Did Ayrıntı find the true path?”*]:

“Some of our readers interpret our [...] publishing policy in a wrong way. [...] It is a very important publishing service to introduce the books we have published in this series, such as “Kurtuluş Teolojisi”, “Hristiyanlıktaki Ateizm” and “İhvan-ı Safa Risaleleri” which has not been translated into another language for a thousand years to our readers; [...] I would like to remind the ones who criticize us for publishing “Mesnevi” that the whole translation of this work has been published for the first time and the devout translators have not translated the parts that do not serve their purposes” (2013; cited in: Ünalın, 2013).

Ayrıntı has recently published its 1001st book and has exactly twenty-seven different series, among which the *Yeraltı Edebiyatı* (Underground Literature) series is unique, i.e., no other publishing house has such series. The complete alphabetic list of Ayrıntı’s series

is as follows (This list has been prepared on March 2018. Hence, the numbers will probably show differences in time):

Table 1. The Book Series in Ayrıntı Yayınları

1. Ağır Kitaplar (Tough Books)	39 books
2. Ayrıntı Dergi (Ayrıntı Magazine)	24 issues (this is a biweekly magazine)
3. Beyaz Kitaplar (White Books)	13 books
4. Bilim (Science)	7 books
5. Bilimkurgu (Science-fiction)	2 books
6. Biyografi – Otobiyografi (Biography – Autobiography)	5 books
7. Dinozor Çocuk (Dinosaur Child)	44 books
8. Dünya Sorunları (World Problems)	2 books
9. Edebiyat (Literature)	228 books
10. Felsefe (Philosophy)	14 books
11. İdea (Idea)	34 books
12. İnceleme (Examination)	287 books
13. Kara Kitaplar (Black Books)	28 books
14. Klasik (Classics)	33 books
15. Lacivert Kitaplar (Navy Blue Books)	45 books
16. Pedagoji (Pedagogy)	3 books
17. Sanat ve Kuram (Art and Doctrine)	57 books
18. Sarı Kitaplar (Yellow Books)	8 books
19. Schola (Ecole)	40 books
20. Seçme Yazılar (Selected Writings)	6 books
21. Sinema (Cinema)	9 books
22. Şiir (Poetry)	22 books
23. Tarih (History)	28 books
24. Türkçe Edebiyat (Turkish Literature)	58 books
25. Türkçe Klasik (Turkish Classics)	7 books
26. Yakın Tarih (Recent History)	31 books
27. Yeraltı Edebiyatı (Underground Literature)	122 books

As can be seen from the table, Ayrıntı has published 1.172 books (except the issues of Ayrıntı Magazine). From those books, 952 of them are translations. The series Tough Books, Science, Science fiction, Biography-Autobiography, Literature, Black Books, Classics, Navy Blue Books, Yellow Books, and Selected Writings consist of 100% translated books. The most comprehensive series is *İnceleme* [Examination] series, which

can be referred as the basis of *Ağır Kitaplar* series. The 271 of the books in Examination series are translations. The fact that the publishing house gives weight to this series can also be interpreted as the purpose of preparing the readers for *Ağır Kitaplar* series. As Kahraman states, Ayrıntı has started to publish this series “with the purpose of bringing some books [more truly, contents] from Examination series to the forefront” (2017). Kahraman assesses this as a sort of marketing strategy. The publishing house wanted to intensify the interest towards certain books and *Ağır Kitaplar* was emerged out of this motive.

As of 2013, Ayrıntı has started to publish *Ayrıntı Dergi* (Ayrıntı Magazine), which is called as “bimonthly socialist political and cultural magazine” (<http://ayrintidergi.com.tr/>). As it can be seen, Ayrıntı defines itself as “socialist” and it is understood that it is involved in politics as well. It is a member of YAYBİR (Yayıncılar Telif Hakları ve Lisanslama Meslek Birliği [Professional Association of Publishers]) and IFRRO (International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organization). In 2011 Dünya Kitap Ödülleri [World Book Awards] organized in TUYAP Book fair, Ayrıntı got “The Best Publishing House of the Year Award” (Türkiye Gazetesi, 2000). It also has an intellectual visibility in the international book market. As Kahraman states, Ayrıntı participates in London, Frankfurt, Bologna and Gothenburg International Book Fairs every year (personal communication, 14 November 2017). In his interview in the newspaper *Vatan*, Kahraman states that the book fairs offer them good bases to meet new authors and books and adds that the book fairs in Turkey are becoming more and more “fair” atmospheres (2013; the stress is added). Furthermore, Burhan Sönmez, the chief editor of Ayrıntı Yayınları and the editor of *Ağır Kitaplar* series, author, translator and academician, joined at the Board of Directors of PEN International in 2017 (CNN Türk, 2017). Sönmez is an internationally known author whose books have been translated into 29 different languages (*ibid*). Apart from many local awards he has received (Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Sedat Simavi Edebiyat Ödülü [Journalists Association of Turkey Sedat Simavi Literature Award] is just one of them), he also received international Václav Havel Library Foundation’s “Disturbing the Peace” Award in 2017 (VHLF, 2017). The details about the local and international news announcing that award will be used one of the resources to show Ayrıntı’s prestige in the following parts.

Ayrıntı uses social media accounts, i.e., Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, actively and effectively. It posts about not only literary, but also political topics. Important historical dates, political murders and also current developments for the Left are always on their agenda. The panels and activities Ayrıntı have organized at book fairs are striking in this respect, such as “*Bir Devlet, İki Cumhuriyet*” (One State, Two Republics) and “*Laiklik, Din, Özgürlük*” (Secularism, Religion, Freedom) at 2016 TÜYAP book fair (CNN Türk, 2016). Additionally, the publishing house organized a memorial night for Vedat Türkali, an important intellectual figure in the politics and literary world of Turkey (CNN Türk, 2016). Ayrıntı has published new books on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution, announcing that they hope those books will help “spread hope for an equal and a free world” (2017, <https://www.instagram.com>). When the publishing house’s 999th book consisting of Marx’s compiled works is announced on the Facebook account, it is stated that Marx is still important because he undeniably has the strongest voice to say another world is possible and it is mentioned about him as a “revolutionary leader” (2017, <https://www.facebook.com/ayrintiyayinevi>). Ayrıntı also actively participates in some protests, symposiums and any other activities as a “counterpart” and make statements at such events. For instance, Ayrıntı is among the publishing houses that support the academicians from “Academicians for Peace” who are suspended, dismissed, detained and/or exposed to pressure because they signed a petition entitled “We won’t be a party to this crime”. Ayrıntı and many other publishing houses publish a statement entitled “Publishers’ Initiative for Peace” (CNN Türk, 2016). Ayrıntı always shares posts about the important political murders of Turkey during especially 1970s and 1980s, including 30 March 1972 Kızıldere massacre, 16 March 1978 Istanbul University massacre and also some important dates regarding the important political figures from Turkish revolution history, for instance birthday of Deniz Gezmiş, who was hanged in 1972. On the death anniversary of Ulaş Bardakçı, another killed young revolutionist, Ayrıntı posts a picture of him lying dead in the street on Facebook with the following caption:

On 19th of February 1972, they put Ulaş down in Istanbul, Arnavutköy. This photo was taken in front of his home after his being killed. This photo is the mutual memoirs of a ruined youth. There, lying in the street with his riddled body with 25 bullets is not #UlaşBardakçı, but the life of a generation... (2017, <https://www.facebook.com/ayrintiyayinevi/>).

This post is especially striking, since Ulaş Bardakçı was not as popular as Deniz Gezmiş was; so, it is most likely that people from “inside” of Turkish revolutionary world know him. The language is also very touchy. It is obvious that there is an emotional connection with Ulaş Bardakçı and the thoughts he represents.

Through social media and its own website, Ayrıntı can make a close relation with its readers. Kahraman states that they take the comments and critiques of their readers into account and the internet is the main channel the readers use for this (Kahraman, 2018). At that point, Kahraman adds that their readers generally write them by themselves without the demand of the publishing house. Hence, it can be inferred that the readers of Ayrıntı, especially the ones of *Ağır Kitaplar*, are “conscious” readers.

Ayrıntı’s visibility highly increased in 2011 when the translator of Chuck Palahniuk’s book *Snuff* (Ölüm Pornosu) Funda Uncu and the owner of the publishing house Hasan Basri Çıplak were judged because of the sexually explicit content of the book (Hürriyet, 2011). The details about that incident will be touched upon in the following parts.

The “about” part on the publishing house’s Facebook account is striking regarding the ideological structure of Ayrıntı: “*Kitaplar karşı ve yana olmayı seçenler için vardır. Ya da sıkılanlar için basit vakit öldürücülerdir.*” (“Books are for people who choose to be opponent and supporter. Or they are simply tools to kill time for the ones who get bored.”). The word choices are striking to detect their identity. The implication on the power and the ideological mediation of literature demonstrates that it is an ideologically biased publishing house. As it can be seen, İlbay Kahraman also confirms it in the interview held with him. Kahraman states, “Ayrıntı is a publishing house that internalizes democracy and aims at informing people about democratic behaviors” (2017). At first glance, it could seem as a highly assertive statement for a publishing house. At that moment, it should be remembered the “culture planning” (Even-Zohar, 1994) role of publishing houses. Publishing houses’ aims have never been based solely on literature itself. There are many examples from history showing the critical role played by publishing houses in a society, such as the situation during the early years of the Turkish Republic (for a detailed analysis of that period, refer to Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001). Even if one does not know much about Ayrıntı, the motto, which is “Ayrıntılar Önemlidir”

[Details Are Important], could also give some ideas about the publishing house's identity at the first step. When it is asked what that motto means, Kahraman, by pointing out the foundation years of the publishing house, states that they think people had little intellectual knowledge at that time, yet that the knowledge itself is important. According to Kahraman, daily information and knowledge provided by newspapers has always been popular, but he states that they want to direct people to read, search and get informed in detail. At that point, it should be questioned that how it could help the publishing house get what it is desired, i.e., "helping the Turkish left recover from the suffocating atmosphere of 1980 military coup". Kahraman states that they know the exact solution is not their duty as a publishing house; it is something politicians should and/or can do. However, he adds, they could be an important milestone by providing necessary knowledge for people to direct to the truth and act accordingly. Moreover, after the serious damage because of the military coup, the Turkish left lost its hope, as it is known. Hence, Kahraman notes that they want to sprout the hope through intellectual knowledge. The dinosaur emblem is also worth to analyze. Dinosaur as an image is associated with "old-fashioned" things. With the use of it, the publishing house seems to tell people "You may think that our dreams have become extinct like dinosaurs, and yes, we are proud to be dinosaurs." Indeed, Kahraman confirms it in another interview held with him (Almaz, 2017). Hence, it can be understood that the motive for founding such a publishing house also stems from an ethical responsibility shouldered by the founders towards the leftist ideology. The "About Us" section on the official website (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>) declares, "The founders of the publishing house were a few *dreamers* who came from *leftist tradition* and they never gave up the mission of questioning themselves and the life itself" (italics are added). The reason why the founders are called as dreamers is that both socio-economic and socio-political conditions of 1980s of Turkey were really tough to found such a publishing house, as will be seen in the following parts of this chapter. However, the founders did not give up the "another world is possible" dream and kept doing their best maybe not in the streets this time, but in the publishing sector. Kahraman confirms it in an interview made for Ayrıntı's 30th anniversary of foundation by stating that the founding years were harsh because of the darkness resulted from 12 September military coup and that they see publishing as a guide lighting their way (2017). The publishing house does not hide its ideology, by clearly

stating that Ayrıntı has always chosen “labor over capital, opposition over power, culture over economics, and traditional dance music over military cadence”. It is said that Ayrıntı is proud of introducing the authors and social scientists to Turkey, such as Michel Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, Chuck Palahniuk, Ursula L. Guin, all are worthy of notice, since all those authors reflect either leftist or somehow “outsider” ideologies. The fact that it is stressed the “collective labor” in the whole processes of publishing, including not only intellectuals, translators, and editors, but also composers is also a demonstration of the publishing house’s worldview and ideology.

It should be noted that it is impossible to include all examples because of the limited time and space. However, those are believed to be sufficient to provide an insight on the ideological and institutional structure of the publishing house.

3.2.1. The Image of Ayrıntı Yayınları in Media

It is safe to state that Ayrıntı Yayınları is accounted for a popular and visible publishing house in media. However, this popularity should not be understood as the popularity of “pop culture”. Ayrıntı is generally recognized as “the publisher of Chuck Palahniuk and underground literature”. On that sense, it is also different from any other publishing houses in Turkey (as mentioned before, the “underground literature” series of Ayrıntı is unique). Many newspapers, columnists, literati, especially the leftist ones, give place to Ayrıntı and its various books. Especially after the previously mentioned trial in 2011 regarding Chuck Palahniuk’s *Snuff*, there was a huge media coverage for Ayrıntı. Apart from the general reactions to the censorship, the attitude of the police officers to the translator of the book in question has increased the density of reactions. Funda Uncu, the translator of *Snuff*, states that the police officers ask her embarrassing questions, such as “Were you not ashamed of writing these? Are you a fashion model? Have you come to the police stations before?” The news is delivered differently in two different newspaper. While *Milliyet* reports Funda’s statements are “claims” (Anter, 2011), *Cumhuriyet* uses the expression of “weird interrogation” in headline (2011). Even though the police department denies these, the Leftist people who have faced the censorship tradition before have not been convinced.

The incident and following trial stated above have increased the visibility of Ayrıntı in a positive way. It is possible to infer that the institutional role has been played so effectively that Ayrıntı has managed to “bother” the “dominant” ideology. For an alternative publishing house founded against the militaristic ideology, it can be regarded as an accomplishment. As seen from this incident and the news examined below, it can be safely stated that Ayrıntı still maintains the foundation principles. Based on those “old” principles, the publishing houses always try “new” things. It is seen that Ayrıntı has enriched the product range in time, from classics (2015) to Turkish classics (2017).

In the following part, ten (10) materials chosen among fifty (50) pieces will be examined regarding the prestigious image of Ayrıntı Yayınları. However, it should be noted that this thesis is not based on discourse analysis. Therefore, the direct expressions will be used and not the hidden ideology or meaning in the texts.

3.2.1.1. The Reflections of Ayrıntı Yayınları in Media with the Focus on the Translated Books

It is possible to find a lot of news regarding Ayrıntı Yayınları in written and visual media. In various newspapers and magazines, regardless of the ideology, one can encounter blurbs of Ayrıntı’s books. It is regarded as striking, since those books are not necessarily classics or more “popular” or “sensational” ones. It can be interpreted that also “tough” books can find some recognition. Furthermore, even some “rightist” or “not leftist” newspapers, such as Yeni Şafak, which has negatively mentioned about Ayrıntı before as will be seen below, give places to Ayrıntı. It means that some books published by Ayrıntı are hard to neglect, even though those books might not correspond to the ideology of that newspaper. Defaming news is also possible to be interpreted that Ayrıntı has managed to “bother” the “counter” ideologies. Hence, it is seen that Ayrıntı is generally a recognized publishing house in the publishing field. Ten (10) news that is believed to support the claim of this thesis will now be examined.

1) The fact that Ayrıntı has an important image in the media does not necessarily have to be analyzed through the “leftist” and/or “liberal” texts. Understandably, something popular in the Left finds its correspondence in the Right, as well. For instance, Yeni Şafak, known as a “right-wing” and “conservative” religious newspaper, publishes a news about

Ayrıntı in 2016 regarding the sexual harassment of children by the teacher in the dormitory of Ensar Foundation, which is known to be ideologically close to the government, in Karaman. The headline of the news is “Ahlaksızlığın ‘Ayrıntı’sı!” (The ‘Ayrıntı’ [Detail] of Immorality!) (2016). It is acknowledged that newspapers take sides and are free to express their ideologies. However, the language used here seems to be unexpectedly harsh with the exclamation mark. Additionally, the word choice (“immorality”) is denunciatory. Yeni Şafak attacks Ayrıntı’s attitude towards Karaman incident through its publication of Michel Foucault’s *The Eye of Power* (translated by Işık Ergüden). It is known that Yeni Şafak is ideologically close to the government and Ensar Foundation. Hence, it calls the sexual harassment news as “allegations” and evaluates news regarding Ensar Foundation as “defamation efforts”. By trimming the full expressions in this book, Yeni Şafak uses the expression “with the consent of child” and creates an image that Foucault defends child rape. The newspaper evaluates all reactions towards that incident in general as “the initiatives to dishonor Turkey before the eyes of the whole world” and blames Ayrıntı for supporting those reactions with #StopChildRapeInTurkey hashtag on Ayrıntı’s official Twitter account. By this means, Yeni Şafak tries to discredit Ayrıntı. That effort of Yeni Şafak is believed to demonstrate Ayrıntı’s intellectual effect and power to create a public opinion.

2) Radikal, that was a former newspaper representing leftist-liberal ideology, uses the following expression in a news announcing Ömer Faruk’s leave from the publishing house:

“In Turkey, especially in a *highly critical period when the Left ideology had been changing*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, that has translated the books by *different and important* thinkers, critics, authors into Turkish, has acquired *an important place in Turkey’s world of thought*” (2008; italics are added).

The stressed expressions demonstrate both the founding years of Ayrıntı and the role the publishing house has played during those years. Besides, the “different” and “important” adjectives, used to describe the books Ayrıntı has translated, are believed to support the claim of this thesis. Ayrıntı is recognized as a publishing house that publishes prominent works and by this way, makes an important contribution to the world of (leftist) thought. In order to mention the bringing of those “thinkers, critics, authors” into Turkey, translations of their works have to be “acceptable” in Toury’s terms. Hence, the

translations have been accepted and adopted by the targeted readers, given the ideology of Radikal, as well.

3) It is believed that blog posts can also be used as materials for such an analysis that has been conducted throughout this thesis. Since the books are written and published for people to read, the comments and thoughts of “the ordinary readers” (by this expression, it is meant the people who are not academicians, critics, authors or journalists) are worth to mention. Besides, Kahraman himself states that they care about their readers’ comments (2018). From this point, a blog post by Eren Hatırnaz, a young and enthusiastic student, has drawn attention, since Hatırnaz touches upon the translation while examining Paul Lefargue’s *Tembellik Hakkı* (translated by İhya Kahraman) by Ayrıntı (Hatırnaz,2016). By comparing Ayrıntı’s translation with another translation by another publishing house, Hatırnaz says he does not have difficulties in understanding Ayrıntı’s translation. While s/he is analyzing the preface of the translator, he says the following:

“From the *Foreword*, you can directly understand that the translator has comprehensible knowledge about the topic. When you read the book, you say “okay, I can trust in the quality of translation” and can read the rest of the book with inner peace” (*ibid*).

By concluding his remarks, Hatırnaz says that Ayrıntı Yayınları has published a very “good” (the exact expression Hatırnaz uses) book regarding the quality of translation and thanks Ayrıntı Yayınları before the translator İhya Kahraman for bringing such a qualified work into Turkish. This blog post demonstrates that the translation has found its correspondence in this young person’s life so well that he has shared his thoughts with people.

4) In an interview with İlbay Kahraman in 2013, on the 25th anniversary of Ayrıntı’s foundation, the journalist İpek Ceylan Ünalın, mentions the important place Ayrıntı has acquired since the beginning of its publishing life and has brought many important books by striking authors around the world into Turkish (Ünalın, 2013). It goes without saying that a good quality of translation makes this possible. Hence, Ünalın happens to comment upon the quality of the translations.

5) *Edebiyat Haber*, a comprehensive website of literary news from abroad and home, gives place Ayrıntı’s poetry series in detail. In the news, it is said that Ayrıntı will bring

many important poets into Turkish with “meticulous translations” (2015). The fact that a website known for literary news regards Ayrıntı’s translations as “meticulous” is very significant to show the image of Ayrıntı when it comes to the issue of translation. A good quality of translation is especially important for intellectual readers. Translation is, without a shadow of a doubt, important for all readers. However, people tend not to consider the translation when they buy a book in general. Hence, considering the content of the website and its probable target readers, the stress on the quality of Ayrıntı’s translations is understandable and striking. In another writing on the same website, the “controversy” nature of Ayrıntı’s new series *Şiir* (Poetry) is pointed out, considering the decreasing interest towards poetry and efforts to exclude it from the literature. It is also appreciated the meticulous work and research done by the publishing house and is highlighted that Ayrıntı tries to “back” the genre that has been trying to be excluded. As an opponent publishing house, it is not surprising that Ayrıntı wishes to protect the “old-fashioned” values, which also corresponds to the “dinosaur” emblem.

6) CNN Türk states that Ayrıntı has prepared Maya Angelou’s poetry book *Kafesteki Kuşun Şarkısı* (translated by Faris Kuseyri) with a “significant care” as worthy of the big poet (2015). In another news from CNN, the expertness and academic identities of the translators of *İhvan-ı Safa Risaleleri*, published as five volumes, are highlighted (2017). In the periodical blurb of the recently published books by Ayrıntı, CNN reviews *Halkın Özgürlüğü* by John Dunn (translated by Akın Emre Pilgir) and assesses the tone of the book as “a masterful tone” (2017). Because this book is a translated book, people actually owe that “masterful tone” to the translator. Unfortunately, the visibility of translation and translators has not been at the level that is expected and desired. Even though there is a rising awareness regarding this topic, it is hard to quit old habits. However, it does not pose an obstacle to assess this “masterful tone” expression as the result of good quality of the translation and meticulous work by the translator. The same applies to the expression “a fascinating novel of thought” used for *Nietzsche Ağladığında* by Irvin D. Yalom (translated by Aysun Babacan), which is one of the best-sellers of Ayrıntı (2017) and “a fascinating, magnificent treasure of stories” for *Yüzbir Gece Masalları* (translated by Claudia Ott and Hüseyin Tüzün), which is the 1001st book of Ayrıntı (2017).

7) In his writing on *Bianet*, Mustafa Sütlaş examines Ivan Illich’s *Tools of Conviviality* (*Şenlikli Toplum*; translated by Ahmet Kot), which is the first book published by Ayrıntı

Yayınları (2012). Sütlaş approaches this as an important detail regarding the book. He states that this book is also important from another point of view since it was the first book published by Ayrıntı Yayınları, “which has made significant contributions to Turkey’s world of idea and culture” (*ibid*). The fact that Ayrıntı is recognized as such publishing house demonstrates that it has acquired a considerable amount of symbolic capital.

8) On the announcement of *Gece Yarısı Gezegeninden Raporlar* by Nalo Hopkins (translated by Gül Korkmaz) on *Kayıp Rıhtım*, it is stated “Ayrıntı Yayınları is moving fast towards stealing our hearts” with its *Science-fiction series* after Ursula K. Le Guin’s *Vahşi Kızlar* (translated by Seda Taş) (Soysal, 2018). Soysal thanks the publishing house “for giving place to the authors with certain sensitiveness about certain topics in this series” and says that she is looking forward to the continuity of the series (*ibid*). This writing also implies that the other book in the series has been accepted and regarded as “good”. The fact that Soysal is looking forward to reading more books from this series shows that the translations of the first two books have probably found a connection with her. For such a current series, it is believed that this is a good accomplishment to be appreciated.

9) On the online version of *BirGün*, which is a leftist newspaper, Rahmi Öğdül handles the 25th anniversary of Ayrıntı’s foundation in his column with the following expressions:

Ayrıntı Yayınları, which has remolded our country’s after-90s-ideational world with its publications, is celebrating its 25th birthday; and keeps publishing the books that correspond to the social and cultural transformations we have been experiencing in Turkey (2011).

From these strong expressions, it can be claimed that the publishing house has been successful in conducting its mission so far, particularly if it is considered the ideational resemblance of *BirGün* and Ayrıntı and the same “old dream” the both hold onto.

10) Lastly, it is necessary to mention significant news especially for the discipline of Translation Studies. Ayrıntı has recently come up a plagiarism news regarding the translation of *Frankenstein* from Classics series (translated by Hande Yazıcı). The translator of the same book published by İş Bankası Yayınları, Yiğit Yavuz, realized that the translation was a clumsily falsified version of his own translation (Cumhuriyet, 2017).

For this plagiarism incident, twenty (20) materials have been scanned and it has been observed that the incident has mainly be conveyed with a neutral style. *Cumhuriyet* stresses that Ayrıntı’s approach to that incident has won readers’ appreciation (2017). *Haber Türk* mentions Ayrıntı as “one of the most rooted institutions in the publishing field” (2017). *Oda TV* announces the incident as “scandal” in the headline, yet there is no positive or negative comment in the news (2017). The incident has understandably found correspondence to translation forums, such as *Çeviri Blog* (2017, refer to <https://www.ceviriblog.com/>) and *Proz.com* (2017, refer to <https://www.proz.com/>). Some readers appreciate Ayrıntı’s fast action, whereas the others think that the incident is the publishing house’s fault in the first place. However, it can be said that this news is generally shocking for many people, especially because it comes from Ayrıntı, which is known for its meticulous translations. Besides, it is known that Ayrıntı attaches high importance to the notion of labor. Hence, in the media, there is an emphasis on the “non-deliberate” nature of the incident. As a matter of fact, the translator Yiğit Yavuz states that there are a lot of plagiarist publishing houses in the publishing market, yet adds, “Ayrıntı is of course not one of these plagiarist publishing houses. Here, the translator seems to play the publishing house a trick” (2017; cited in: Aydemir, 2017). Besides, Yavuz says that when he called his editor Koray Karasulu to inform him about this issue, Karasulu told him not to worry about the situation and that he would talk to Ayrıntı and Ayrıntı would probably withdraw the book from the market (*ibid*). The trust underlying those words demonstrates the image of Ayrıntı. Indeed, the day after Yavuz announced the plagiarism on his twitter account, Ayrıntı immediately withdrew the book from the market and published a notice to apologize to the translator and publishing house, by stating that this situation is “unacceptable” for Ayrıntı (BirGün, 2017). Even though Yavuz criticizes Ayrıntı by stating that it could have been more careful, he also states that Ayrıntı did what it should be done and won the readers’ appreciation (*ibid*). As a result, it can be said that Ayrıntı acted in accordance with its institutional policy and prestigious image.

As can be understood from those abovementioned materials, Ayrıntı publishes many books from many different genres. However, even though the contents and topics are becoming more diversified day by day with the effects of the changing dynamics in the field of publishing, ranging from economy to readers’ profile, it can be observed that the

publishing policy and values have been stable. Kahraman states that they were dinosaurs in the past and keep being dinosaurs today, but in an evolved way (2017, cited in: Almaz, 2017). However, he interprets this evolution as returning to self, since diversity is the basis of socialist ideology. The fact that Ayrıntı has started to turn toward the east and eastern classics regarding the history of Turkish Left could be evaluated as the most striking change. Kahraman explains the diversity of the book series with this shifting approach and believes that these series have corresponded well to the expectations of Ayrıntı's readers despite the low selling-numbers. He believes that Ayrıntı can satisfy its readers not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

These materials regarding the translated books in the media have been analyzed only to give a general image of Ayrıntı's publishing policy and the quality of the books. It has been intended to limit the news to this point, since throughout this thesis, it is mainly interested in the news about *Ağır Kitaplar* series in general, and the comments and thoughts about the translation of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* in particular.

3.3. THE CONTENT OF AĞIR KİTAPLAR

As can be seen on the Table II below (it is based on the list on the website of the publishing house, 2018, <https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>), there are thirty-nine (39) books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series and all of them are translated books. This understandably makes the publishing house heavily dependent on translations, which provides a prolific base for such thesis. Apart from this series, translated books generally occupy a remarkable place in Ayrıntı, as we learn directly from Kahraman. He states that about a decade ago, 95% of their total books were translations. He even defines Ayrıntı as “a boutique publishing house publishing translated books”. However, he says that this situation started to change as of 2009 and they want to include more copyrighted books. Translated books now make up 85-90% of their total books, but Kahraman states that they intend to decrease this percentage.

Table 2. The Books in *Ağır Kitaplar*

Original Name	Author(s)	Translation	Translator(s)	Publication Date of Original (Published version by Ayrıntı)	Publication Date of Translation	Print Run	Number of Pages	Has it been translated before?
What Is To Be Done? In Context Lenin Discovered	Lars T. Lih	Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek	Melih Pekdemir	2006	1 st print: 2018	1000	896	No
The Great Escape Health, Wealth, and the Origins of Inequality	Angus Stewart Deaton	Büyük Firar - Sağlık, Varlık ve Eşitsizliğin Kökenleri	Aysun Babacan	2013	1 st print: 2018	2000	336	No
La Révolution Inconnue – Russie 1917-1921	Volin	Bilinmeyen Devrim – Rusya 1917-1921	Erden Akbulut	1947	1 st print: 2017	1000	672	No
Karl Marx: Selected Writings	Karl Marx Compiled by: David McLellan	Hayalet - Seçme Yazılar	H. Bülent Gözkân, Mehmet Şiray, Murat Türkmen, Volkan Çıdam, Kâzım Özdoğan, Fuat Dara Elhüseyni, Engin Abat, Seçim Bayazıt, Utku Özmakas, Bülent Eken, Sercan Çalıcı, Mustafa Tüzel, Aziz Ufuk Kılıç, Tanıl Bora, Kurtul Gülenç, Güçlü Ateşoğlu, Aslı Önal, Selin Aktuyun	1982 (?) /2000 (?)	1 st print: 2017	2000	672	No
Une Historie Critique de la Sociologie Allemande	Frédéric Vandenberghe	Alman Sosyolojisinin Felsefi Tarihi	Vefa Saygın Öğüt	1998	1 st print: 2016	2000	480	No
Eighteen different source books	Alexis de Tocqueville	Sömürge ve Kölelik - Öteki Üzerine	Nuri Fudaylı Kıcıroğlu, Burak M.	-	1 st print: 2016	2000	432	No

compiled by Lütfi Sunar		Seçme Yazılar	Nuri Gücin, Hasan Turunçkapı					
Anatomy of Criticism	Northrop Frye	Eleştirinin Anatomisi	Hande Koçak	1957 (?)	1 st print: 2015	2000	430	No
The Dialectical Imagination	Martin Jay	Diyalektik İmgelem	Sevgi Doğan	1996	1 st print: 2017	2000	480	No
Against the Mainstream	George Gerbner	Medyaya Karşı	Güneş Ayas, Veysel Batmaz, İsmail Kovacı	1958 (?)	1 st print: 2014	1000	496	No
Naissance de l'ideologie Fasciste	Zeev Sternhel	Faşist İdeolojinin Doğuşu	Şule Çiltaş Solmaz	1989	1 st print: 2012	2000	352	No
Critical Psychology Introduction	Dennis Fox, Isaac Prillelensk y, Stephanie Austin	Eleştirel Psikoloji*	Eda Erdener, Melih Barsbey, Güneş Kayacı Sevinç, Özgür D. Yurtsever, Miray Erbey, Burcu Ovacık, Derya Koptekin, Eser Sandıkçı, Esen Karan, Gün ey Öztürk, Özge Savaş, Mukadder Okuyan, Özlem Çolak, Baran Gürsel, Ufuk Kılıçarslan, Eylül Fidan Akıncı, Özge D. Yılmaz, Günseli Yarkın, Burcu Başaran, Pınar Önen, Düzgün Uğur, Fevzi İşsever, Aylin Deniz Ülkemen	2001	1 st print: 2012 2 nd print: 2017	2000	592	No
Sweet Violence The	Terry Eagleton	Tatlı Şiddet	Kutlu Tunca	2003	1 st print: 2012	2000	400	No

Idea of the Tragic								
The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act	Fredric Jameson	Siyasal Bilinçdışı	Yavuz Alogan, Mesut Varlık	1981	1 st print: 2011	2000	272	No
Cultures of Darkness	Bryan D. Palmer	Karanlığın Kültürleri	Şebnem Kaptan	2000	1 st print: 2011	2000	608	No
Globalization: A Basic Text	George Ritzer	Küresel Dünya	Melih Pekdemir	2010	1 st print: 2011	2000	608	No
Common Wealth	Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri	Ortak Zenginlik	Efla Yıldırım	2009	1 st print: 2011	2000	384	No
The Culture of Flowers	Jack Goody	Çiçeklerin Kültürü	Mehmet Beşikçi	1993	1 st print: 2010	2000	640	No
The Idea of Europe	Anthony Pagden	Avrupa Fikri	Rahmi Ögdül, Mesut Varlık	2002	1 st print: 2010	2000	408	No
The Annotated Flatland	Edwin Abbott	Açıklamalı Düzülke	Barış Bıçakçı	2001	1 st print: 2008	2000	400	No
The City in History Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects	Lewis Mumford	Tarih Boyunca Kent*	Gürol Koca, Tamer Tosun	1991	1 st print: 2013 2 nd print: 2013	2000	736	No
Economic Justice and Democracy	Robin Hahnel	İktisadi Adalet ve Demokrasi	Yavuz Alogan	2005 (?)	1 st print: 2006		444	No
Géopolitique du goât	Christian Boudan	Mutfak Savaşı	Yaşar Avuç	2004 (?)	1 st print: 2006		384	No
General Ethics, A Philosophy of Morals, An Ethics of Personality	Agnes Heller	Bir Ahlak Kuramı	Abdullah Yılmaz, Ertürk Demirel, Koray Tütüncü	1988, 1990, 1996	1 st print: 2006	2000	832	No
Multitude	Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri	Çokluk*	Barış Yıldırım	2004	1 st print: 2004 2 nd print: 2011	2000	384	No
De la horde à l'État Essai de psychanalyse du lien social	Eugène Enriquez	Sürüden Devlete	Nilgün Tural	1983	1 st print: 2004	2000	473	No
The Sex Revolts Gender, Rebellion, and Rock'n' Roll	Simon Reynolds, Joy Press	Seks İsyanları	Mehmet Küçük	1996	1 st print: 2003	2000	432	No
Histoire de la sexualité I: La volonté de savoir	Michel Foucault	Cinselliğin Tarihi*	Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver	1976 (?)-1984 (?)	1 st print: 2003 7 th print: 2016/7	2000	496	Yes ¹ (by Alfa Yayınları)

¹ İ. Kahraman (personal communication, 17 March 2018), states that previously translated version is not the same with their book. The previous version was a compile of some articles by Foucault, which are also included in their book. The book itself as a whole has not been translated before.

Women Who Run With the Wolves	Clarissa Pinkola Estés	Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar: Vahşi Kadın Arketipine Dair Mit ve Öyküler*	Hakan Atalay	1992 (?), 1995 (?)	1 st print: 2003 29 th print: 2018	2000	544	No
2 source books: Das Jazzbuch, The Jazz Book	Joachim E. Berendt	Caz Kitabı*	Neşe Ozan	Dass Jazzbuch: 1991 The Jazz Book: 1992	1 st print: 2003 3 rd print: 2010	2000	592	No
The Art of Moral Protest	James M. Jasper	Ahlâki Protesto Sanatı	Senem Öner	1997	1 st print: 2002	2000	592	No
Always Coming Home	Ursula Kroeber Le Guin	Hep Yuvaya Dönmek*	Cemal Yardımcı	1998	1 st print: 1998 3 rd print: 2013	2000	528	No
Disziplin	Ulrich Bröckling	Disiplin*	Veysel Atayman	1997	1 st print: 2002 2 nd print: 2008	2000	448	No
Empire	Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri	İmparatorluk*	Abdullah Yılmaz	2000	1 st print: 2001 9 th print: 2018	2000	416	No
Marxism, Morality and Social Justice	Rodney G. Peffer	Marksizm, Ahlak ve Toplumsal Adalet	Yavuz Alogan		1 st print: 2001		512	No
Lipstick Traces A Secret History of the Twentieth Century	Greil Marcus	Ruj Lekesi – Yirminci Yüzyılın Gizli Tarihi*	Gürol Koca	1989	1 st print: 1999 2 nd print: 2013	2000	512	No
The Stories We Are An Essay on Self-Creation	William Lowell Randall	Bizi Biz Yapan Hikayeler*	Şen Sür Kaya	1995, 2014	1 st print: 1999 2 nd print: 2014	2000	464	No
An Intimate History of Humanity	Theodore Zeldin	İnsanlığın Mahrem Tarihi*	Elif Özsayar	1994	1 st print: 2000 5 th print: 2014	1000	480	No
Masse und Macht	Elias Canetti	Kitle ve İktidar*	Gülşat Aygen	1992	1 st print: 1998 8 th print: 2017	2000	528	No
The Fall of Public Man	Richard Sennett	Kamusal İnsanın Çöküşü*	Abdullah Yılmaz, Serpil Durak	1992	1 st print: 1996 5 th print: 2016	2000	480	No

As it can be seen on the table, the books are not only figuratively “tough”, but also literally “heavy” with many pages from 272 to 832. Those books are serious and theoretical books written by important theoreticians and littérateurs. The contents can be understood even through the name of the authors and books. It can be seen that the publishing house is

able to follow the international publishing market closely. There are no significant differences/gaps between the publication dates of the original and translation, in general. However, the publications of Volin's *Bilinmeyen Devrim*, Frye's *Eleştirinin Anatomisi* and Gerbner's *Medyaya Karşı* seem to take a long time. If it is considered that these books had not been translated and published by the other publishing houses before, it can be claimed that Ayrıntı has filled a significant gap in this regard. On the other hand, Hardt and Negri's *Çokluk* was published at the same time with the original publication. Hahnel's *İktisadi Adalet ve Demokrasi* and Boudan's *Mutfak Savaşı* were published the following year and two years after the original publication, respectively. These quick publications can be called as a publication success. Besides, they demonstrate the close relationships Ayrıntı might have with the international book market. This is not surprising given the attendance of international book markets and especially the visibility and recognizability of Burhan Sönmez, the chief editor of Ayrıntı. In Bourdieu's terms, Sönmez here is the agent "who [has] been oriented by [his] understanding of [the] inscribed constraints toward a specific knowledge of the field's objective probabilities, of [his] own possibilities, [his] room for maneuver" (2005, p. 137).

Another striking point is the fact that most of the books have not even been printed second time, yet. However, the publishing house has not given up and still continues to publish those books. Therefore, it can be inferred that the main concern is something else but selling. When Kahraman is asked what the motive is to form such a series, he replies that they did not do it for selling high numbers, since they were aware of the fact that it would be very hard for such series to be sold because of the price and intense content. However, surprisingly, he adds, the interest towards the series has been higher than expected. İlbay thinks that it could be because of the fact that the books are cult in their fields and the (dissident intellectual, it could be added) readers have been expecting those books, since the readers have been struggling to find such books in the publishing market. At that point, Kahraman specifically points out some books, such as *Mass and Power*, *The History of Sexuality*, which are popular in that series. He also refers that their target readers care about the content, not the price and this could be another factor for this series to be sold. However, it should be noted that the selling numbers are still not high, but it could be considered as high according to such series that includes highly theoretical and hard to read books. There are some exceptional books Kahraman also draws attention to,

such as *Women who run with the wolves* (the effect of rising feminist movement around the world in general cannot be ignored on that situation), but he stresses one more time that their aim is to “inform” people with this series. When Burhan Sönmez, the editor of *Ağır Kitaplar* series, is asked what their criteria is to include a book into *Ağır Kitaplar* series, Sönmez states that they take its content, historical importance and position in the field into consideration. In brief, they choose some sort of “classics” in the relevant field. It is noteworthy that Sönmez also states *Mass and Power* by Elias Canetti and *The History of Sexuality* by Michel Foucault as examples of such classics. It can be asserted that these are “classics of classics”. Considering Kahraman calls those books as “popular”, it is safe to suggest that the books could address the expectations of the dissident readers who have been waiting for those kinds of books. In this case, Ayrıntı fills an important deficiency by “importing” those books and this is one of the important factors that bring the publishing house “symbolic capital”, as it will be seen in the following parts. In the second interview with Kahraman, it is directly asked how Ayrıntı interprets the selling numbers of *Ağır Kitaplar* series from the point of success, and Kahraman clarifies what he said earlier:

Since we are a commercial institution, we naturally want our books to be sold for two reasons: from cultural perspective, we want more people to read them, and from economic perspective, we want them to create fund for our other projects. Each publishing house thinks in the same way. So, a book is not published not to be sold. However, there are some books that needs to be published even though they will not be sold. Of course, you wish them to be sold, but still, they are important [...] let us say in regards of the cultural history of Turkey. [...] For example, our new book *Lenin’i Yeniden Keşfetmek* has 900 pages. A 900-page-book is hard to be sold in Turkey [...] Under these [economic and cultural] circumstances, we had to publish [this]. Let us assume that it has been sold 60 copies; still, we would be happy to publish this, since we would want to present that book to the cultural life of Turkey (2018).

As mentioned earlier, Ayrıntı is celebrating its 30th anniversary in the publishing market. The books chosen to be published for this anniversary are noteworthy regarding this abovementioned “informing” goal. 999th book is a compilation of Marx, which is in *Ağır Kitaplar* series; 1000th book is *Zamanın İzinde* (On the Track of Time), which traces history from 1900s to 2015 with a huge photo archive; and 1001st book is *Yüzbir Gece Masalları* (The Tales of 101 Nights), which is considered as the sister of *Binbir Gece*

Masalları. (The Tales of 1001 Nights). İlbay Kahraman explains why they have chosen those books as following:

[...] I am a Marxist and I want people to learn Marx. I believe that Marx is a thinker of not only his time, but also today and future. He has approximately 50,000 works and I think that nobody has ever read them in Turkey. Okay, maybe I am too assertive; let us say certain people, maybe few of them have read them, but I believe that people should know the thought culture created in his all works. Based on this belief, I suggested this book for publication. I already desire to publish all works of Marx. So, this one could be a good starting point and could inform people. I was very excited when I saw the book and thought that we should translate it. [...] With the second book, we want to examine Turkish history. [...] The last one is actually a surprise for us. If *The Tales of 101 Nights* had not been found, we would have ended in the 1000th book. A friend of Burhan [Sönmez] has told him about that book tracing back 400-500 years before *The Tales of 1001 Nights*. [...] This is important to us, since tales are the first examples of written literature. We thought that it would be very good to publish one of the first examples, maybe even the first example [...] (*ibid*).

As it is clear from his statement, “the informative role” played by the publishing house effect the book selection. As Eker-Roditakis points while analyzing Žižek’s image in Turkey through different publishing houses, “the reasons for setting up the business can tell us why this particular publishing house found [particular books] relevant for Turkey” (2013, p. 226). This selection criterion actually applies to “all the books chosen to be translated and published” (*ibid*) in all publishing houses. After all, both publication and translation are ideologically governed activities. As for translation, the selection of translators also becomes an important part of publishing process, and it can bear ideological traces. Even though it could be debatable whether the only thing that matters should be the translator’s field of expertise or not, it is commonly known that publishing houses take the ideologies of translators into consideration. The same also applies to translators to decide to work or not to work with a publishing house. It is personally not thought that it is an ethical problem. Translation is inherently an ideological activity and translators should be free to choose the publishing house they would like to work with. Hence, the same should apply to publishing houses, as well. It has been asked both Kahraman and Sönmez what they take into consideration while deciding the suitable translators for Ayrıntı’s books in general and *Ağır Kitaplar* in particular. Kahraman actually repeats the generally acknowledged criteria: mastery on both source and target languages, and the expertise required for the genre of the book. However, he also notes

that these general criteria could be put aside when circumstances demand it, by pointing out the dismissed academicians by the decrees in Turkey. For solidarity, Ayrıntı has given those academicians an opportunity no matter what their expertise is. The expressions Kahraman uses when he talks about this situation are noteworthy, like “there are *our own* friends whom we know well and who are *ideationally close* to us” (italics are added). However, for *Ağır Kitaplar* series, the criteria should be different. Detailed knowledge on the terminology is the first criterion to be considered because of the “tough” content of those books. Sönmez also highlights that for *Ağır Kitaplar* series, “the translator should have a deep knowledge on the *context, content* and *rhetoric* of the work” (italics are original). Furthermore, Sönmez’s opinions as an editor on the necessity of the ideological resemblance between publishing houses and editors have been questioned. Sönmez states that for Ayrıntı, “the determinant factors are the editor’s interest in the world of book, editor’s reading activities and his/her qualified works”. Sönmez also stresses that they do not prefer to work with someone who are misogynist or racist. It is likely that those people do not prefer to work with Ayrıntı, as well. Sönmez explains the professional and personal reasons to decide to work with Ayrıntı as following: “[...] its publication line, the intellectual and cultural accumulation resulted from this line and the desire to make a contribution to this accumulation as much as I can”. It is believed that the expression of “the desire to make a contribution” should be stressed here. It reminds us the concept of institutional patronage (Bassnet and Lefevere, 1990). It is known that each publishing house has an institutional identity shaped with the ideology it is based on. Hence, the actors from editors to translators are like a family sharing the similar goals. It should be noted that this is not necessary or obligatory, for sure, but preferable for both publishing houses and editors and/or translators. The translator and/or editor does not have to be leftist, but at least, s/he should be comfortable with being a part of the publication of a book bearing leftist ideology traces. As for Ayrıntı, Sönmez’s expression implies the “solidarity”, which demonstrates that he shares the ideas or dreams of Ayrıntı and wants to do something to help.

3.3.1. The *Habituses* of Translators of the Books in *Ağır Kitaplar* Series

It goes without saying that the role of agents is highly crucial on the whole publication process. That role becomes even more important when it comes to translation, since the

agents included in the translation process, such as “translators, teachers, literary critics, publishers, journalists, politicians, patrons, literary salon organizers, even organizations, such as NGOs” as John Milton says, may play more complex roles (2006, cited in: Demircioğlu, 2009, p. 139). Many editors in the field of publishing, for instance, could be translators, academicians, one of the associates of the publishing house and/or a member of an NGO at the same time. At those circumstances, it is possible to see the reflections of almost all characteristics of their different roles. Demircioğlu thinks that Milton’s statement implies the variety of the agents and intermediary roles played by them (*ibid*). At that point, “option-makers” role of agents Even-Zohar mentions should also be reminded. Even-Zohar sees those agents not only as “human elements”, but also as “societies” (2002b, p. 166; cited in: *ibid*). As it can be seen, both Milton’s and Even-Zohar’s statements imply the “multi-functioning” roles played by the agents on the translation process. This also brings the necessity to question the mutual relations of the agents with one another.

In general, it is safe to suggest that Ayrıntı is a meticulous publishing house regarding the translation. It should be reminded that it was a boutique publishing house heavily dependent on translations when it was founded, as Kahramana also states. Ayrıntı sends a sort of style guide to the translator with the title of “Mesai Arkadaşlarıma Mektup” (see Appendix 2) [A Letter to my Fellow Workers], which has also been shared with the author of this thesis during the internship in the publishing house. It goes without saying that the title of the text says a lot about the ideology and about the publishing house’s kind approach to the translators. It may not seem to be directly related to our topic, yet it is believed that it is definitely related to the productivity of the translators. Hence, the fact that the translations by Ayrıntı are generally regarded as “good” probably has become possible thanks to the “good” working conditions of the translators. In this “style guide” (since the publishing house avoids to use the term guide, it is preferred to be used here in quotation marks), it is emphasized that the publishing process is based on a collective work and if the end product does not meet the expectations, the process starts to operate from backwards, since it is impossible to publish the book as it is. The most striking expressions are following:

- This is an experimental work that needs to be enriched and discussed. Hence, you can contribute to this bunch of rules, criticize and discuss them.
- However, unless we persuade ourselves otherwise, these rules are our applicable rules on behalf of a mutual language and certain textual discipline.
- As you all know, it is hard to deal with texts. The mistakes are permanent and will always follow you.
- No matter who you are, please do not trust yourselves excessively when it comes to a text. [...] Hence, in each circumstance you feel suspicious, it is required to refer to the guide.

Apart from these expressions, it is also striking that all the rules start with the personal pronoun “we” as an emphasis on the mutuality of the work of publishing. It is clearly understood how much Ayrıntı attaches importance to the “details” as it is stated in its motto. Therefore, the “details are important” motto refers to not only the content of the book, but also the general working principle of the publishing house.

It is understood that ideational closeness with not only editors and/or translators, but also other agents playing roles at different stages is important to Ayrıntı. For instance, Kahraman states that they would like to work with a curator who is a daughter of their friend during the preparation process of Ayrıntı’s 30th anniversary exhibition, and that it is not because of some feudalistic mentality, but because they understand one another (2017, cited in: Almaz, 2017). In the same interview, Kahraman replies a question related with Ayrıntı’s book selection process as following: “We have an editorial board, but first and foremost, we have some principles. [...] Our friends in the publishing house share more or less the same ideas. Hence, these principles are at the forefront during book selections” (*ibid*). It is crystal-clear that the role of editors as agents are crucial at publishing houses. Besides, it is generally accepted that ideational closeness is preferable, but not compulsory, it should be added. However, in Ayrıntı Yayınları, this ideational closeness seems to be deeper. Kahraman states that the editor of a particular series puts his/her weight behind the series and as s/he keeps doing this, s/he “embraces” it and as s/he embraces it, s/he “identifies” himself/herself with it (*ibid*). Feeling oneself as a part of something or someone is deeper than having more or less the same ideology with something or someone. In these circumstances, it would be striking to take a brief look at the translators of *Ağır Kitaplar*.

Kahraman states that as for *Ağır Kitaplar* series, they try to work with translators who have some expertise on the field, or who have knowledge at least on the terminology

related to the topic of the book. In this part, only five (5) of the translators who have translated the biggest number of books and/or who have received the most attention will be mentioned.

It is not surprising that the first translator that comes to minds is Hakan Atalay, the translator of *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar*. Atalay is a psychiatrist and also has an academic title (Assoc. Prof. Dr.) who now works at Okan University Hospital and also gives lectures at the Faculty of Medicine (<http://www.okanhastanesi.com.tr/>). He has two (2) other translations in *İnceleme* series of Ayrıntı Yayınları: *Freud Savaşları* and *Belleğini Yitiren Toplum* (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>). When the content of the book(s) is considered, the expertise of Atalay on psychiatry makes him a good choice for the publishing house. If it is returned to *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar*, the fact that the author herself is also a psychiatrist could require a professional approach from the “inside” of the field. In the end, the translator seems to be successful, as will be seen in the following parts of this chapter.

It should be mentioned about Mehmet Küçük, who was an important translator in the field of social sciences, but unfortunately died in 2012. He translated exactly thirteen (13) books for Ayrıntı Yayınları, all of which are from *İnceleme* series, except for *Seks İsyanları* (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>). Küçük graduated from METU (Middle East Technical University) Department of Sociology and started to do translations and editing/revising of the texts in the field of social sciences as of 1990s (2010, <http://sabitfikir.com/>). Working with the same translator in the similar fields and/or the same authors brings consistency that is highly important in translation, and particularly in translation of theoretical texts in sense of terminology. This is not a rare practice in Ayrıntı (Funda Uncu should be remembered here, for instance, as the translator of Chuck Palahniuk).

It is wished to be mentioned about Yaşar Avunç, who is the translator of eighteen (18) different books ranging from *Literature* to *Examination* by Ayrıntı Yayınları. Avunç is directly related with language. He graduated from Istanbul University, the Department of French Language and Literature and he is an expert on Albert Camus. His translations were published not only in Turkey, but also in France (refer to <http://www.biyografya.com/>). Hence, he is a successful and visible translator in his field.

The other translators of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series are also striking from different points, since there is some information given about those translators on the Ayrıntı's website. No information is given for each translator. These translators are Melih Pekdemir (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/kisi/>) and Veysel Atayman (<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>). Melih Pekdemir has four (4) translations and two (2) original works by Ayrıntı and the two (2) of those translations, *Küresel Dünya* and *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek*, are from *Ağır Kitaplar* series. As will be seen later, Melih Pekdemir is known for his political identity, apart from his translator and author identities. Hence, Ayrıntı introduces him by emphasizing his active political role as a representative of DEV-GENÇ (Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey), which was a Marxist-Leninist organization active during 1960s and 1970s, in the revolutionary history of Turkey. The ideational closeness of Pekdemir with Ayrıntı is clearly seen and it could be one of the factors Ayrıntı has considered before deciding to work with Pekdemir. Veysel Atayman, on the other hand, has six (6) translations and one (1) original work. Atayman is described as strong from linguistic and theoretical perspectives. He spoke German and had deep academic knowledge, practical experiences and some accomplishments, awards on literature, philosophy and cinema. Unfortunately, he died in 2016.

As can be seen, Ayrıntı does not leave its work to chance and works with competent translators. The translators as actors could be examined in a more detailed way within the sociological Translation Studies for another study. Tahir Gürçağlar states that systemic approaches could be “reductive” sometimes and this prevent us to assess “the readers, translators, editors from the perspectives of their relations with the globalizing world literature and their changing approaches to the translation” (2005, p. 164). Hence, it should be concentrated on “the characteristics of individuals, their processes of socialization, internalization of social and cultural norms and sometimes, causing a transformation by resisting [these norms]” (*ibid*, p. 190).

Consequently, it can be asserted that Ayrıntı is deemed as a successful publishing house that has brought many important works from the world of thought into Turkey. The publishing house usually works with competent translators and this helps the translations be qualified and trustable.

3.3.2. The Image of *Ağır Kitaplar* in the Turkish Press

Before analyzing the third parts' words regarding the books in *Ağır Kitaplar*, it is believed that it will be necessary to look at how the publishing house does the marketing of the related books. From the translational perspective, the first striking thing is the fact that the names of the translators and the language pairs are written on the book cover, except the books with many translators. In that case, the names of all translators are definitely given in the copyright page. It is known that the translations are generally done from *lingua franca*, English. There are also many English translators. Hence, translation of a French or German book from its original language could be a plus for many people from the academia and for the others who care about such things. It is understood that the publishing house also thinks that this is a feature that needs to be emphasized. Besides, the fact that a publishing house gives the translator's name directly on the book cover can imply that it values the translation, so such publishing house probably works with "good" translators. As another successful marketing strategy, in the inner cover page of a book from *Ağır Kitaplar*, the other books from that series are given. Normally, if the author of a book has any awards, it is announced on the book cover. As for the books in *Ağır Kitaplar*, there are no such examples. However, if there is a preface written by someone other than the author(s) of the book, it is specified, like in *Açıklamalı Düzülke* by Edwin A. Abbott (translated by Barış Bıçakçı). This book is presented as "with Ian Stewart's preface and notes".

As it is known, the internet has become an inseparable part of marketing today. Hence, Ayrıntı also uses digital marketing methods. On its official website, it is possible to view the first sixteen (16) pages of the books (The following information has been accessed from those pages). On this website, the information regarding the author (and sometimes, translator) and if any, the other books by this author can be accessed.

The books mainly include the authors' lives, their contributions to the related fields and other works. Prefaces, forewords, the notes of the publisher/translator/translator team/publisher and translator/editor are intensely used. Those could be both with and without signatures. For instance, there is a preface for the Turkish edition of *İmparatorluk* by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (translated by Abdullah Yılmaz); *Ruj Lekesi* by Greil Marcus (translated by Gürol Koca); *Bir Ahlak Kuramı* by Agnes Heller (translated

by Abdullah Yılmaz, Koray Tütüncü and Ertürk Demirel); *Ahlaki Protesto Sanatı* by James M. Jasper (translated by Senem Öner); *Alman Sosyolojisinin Felsefi Tarihi* by Frédéric Vandenberghe (translated by Vefa Saygın Öğütler). In *Caz Kitabı* by Joachim E. Berendt (translated by Neşe Ozan), there is Ozan's note in the first pages of the book, in which Ozan tells about the translation process briefly. In *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek* by Lars T. Lih (translated by Melih Pekdemir), the latest book from *Ağır Kitaplar*, there is Pekdemir's short note regarding the title of the book. *Bilinmeyen Devrim* by Volin (translated by Erden Akbulut) includes the publisher's note (unsigned) regarding the source of the book. *Hayalet* (translated by 18 different translators), that includes the selected writings by Karl Marx, is announced as the 999th book of Ayrıntı. In this announcement, it is said that Ayrıntı has always wished "a world where there is no exploitation, where humans do not destroy the nature and where no one oppresses the other". Hence, the philosophical and sociological books are regarded as one of the means to achieve that dream (...). *Sömürge ve Kölelik* by Alexis de Tocqueville (translated by Lütfi Sunar) is striking, since there is the editor's preface and introduction. The translator and editor's mutual note regarding the challenges faced during the translation and publication process of *Eleştirinin Anatomisi* by Northrop Frye (translated by Hande Koçak) in detail is also striking, since such a mutual note is rarely seen in the field of publishing.

As will be demonstrated in the following parts of the chapter, the publication time of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series coincides with the rising of self-help, sensational and science-fictional books. Under such market conditions, it is hard for such "tough" books to draw attention and gain a visibility in the media. However, the interest has not remained at a marginal level, as Kahraman also states at the beginning. The number and diversity of the materials about *Ağır Kitaplar* series has been personally founded as surprising, too. It is understandable that those books find a considerable amount of space in the leftist media. However, the rate of the news in the "counterpart" and/or rightist media is also substantial.

It should be noted that translation is still, unfortunately, not used as an assessment criterion in general in the media. Surely, some expressions, such as "The language/narration of the author is fluent/clear/understandable" are widely used, but as it is clear, those expressions do not highlight that the fluent/clear/understandable language

is actually the success of the translator of the relative book. Hence, news using such expressions without clearly mentioning the word “translation” have also been included for the analysis here. Additionally, ten (10) materials among eighty-seven (87) MTM [Media Monitoring Center] news has been chosen for the analysis.

1) Ali Atıf Bir, in his writing on *Hürriyet* about jazz, touches upon *Caz Kitabı* and directly mentions the quality of translation (2003). He calls the book as “a spectacular jazz history book”, which can be assessed as the success of the translation. He specifies that Neşe Ozan, the translator, translated the book by comparing the original German print dated 1991 and the translated English print dated 1992. That detail might have stricken Bir as an academician (Prof. Dr.) who speaks English. As a matter of fact, Bir states, “I did not compare it with the English, of course, but Neşe Ozan seems to have overcome a challenging job. The book can be easily read despite all those names”.

2) On the online version of *Sabit Fikir*, which is a literary magazine, Oylum Yılmaz reviews *Women Who Run with The Wolves (Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar)*, translated by Hakan Atalay) on her column titled *Şahane Bir Kitap [An Amazing Book]* and stresses how wonderful the book is regarding the content (2010). Even though Yılmaz does not touch upon the translation itself clearly, as stressed before, the fact that she makes such intense and positive comments demonstrates that the translation is “accepted” by the columnist. Moreover, the fact that the columnist reviews this book under the title of *Şahane Bir Kitap* tells a lot in the first place. If the translation had not been readable, understandable and/or qualified enough, Yılmaz would not be able to make such a review now. For the same book, a journalist, Damla Çeliktaban, makes an interview with the translator, Hakan Atalay, in *Habertürk*, which is a highly pleasing and striking incident regarding both the visibility of the translation and translators, and the successful image of the book (2018). Çeliktaban implies that the more and more growing interest to the book has driven her to make such an interview. Çeliktaban asks many questions regarding the content of the book and its relations to our society through that interview. It can be asserted that this visibility might have been resulted from the “expertness” of the translator, who is an Assoc. Prof. Dr. in psychiatry and “familiarity” of Atalay through TV. It also demonstrates that *Ayrıntı* has succeeded in working with the “expert” translators in this series, as revealed before in this chapter. On the magazine *Arka Kapak*, the editor of the magazine, Hayrullah Gürdağ, discusses *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* under

the title of “The Editor’s Choice” and regards the translation as “successful”: “Even though there are occasionally some parts that set examples for the academic environment, it is a well-done translation in the sense of the tone, considering it as a whole” (2017).

3) For Dennis Fox’ *Eleştirel Psikoloji*, we see similarities with *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* on *Taraf Kitap*, *Cumhuriyet Kitap* and *BirGün* (<http://www.medyatakip.com>), but this time, the focus is on the author. All interviews present Fox as the writer of *Eleştirel Psikoloji* published by Ayrıntı Yayınları. Therefore, it is possible to say that the book has created the wish to make such interviews. If it is regarded as an accomplishment for a publishing house, it is believed that the role of the translator cannot be denied here.

4) Emrah Pelvanoğlu, the faculty member at Yeditepe University, the department of Turkish Literature and Language Teaching, states that *Eleştirinin Anatomisi* had been waited for so long by the time it was translated by Ayrıntı Yayınları in his review of the book (2015). İlbay Kahraman has already stated in the interview that the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series had been waited by certain readers (2017). In the second interview, Kahraman clarifies this statement more by stating that their books are read by some intellectuals and academicians (2018). Even though academicians speak at least one foreign language, that language is not necessarily English. Kahraman states that they want to help an academician who, for instance, speaks German, but not English or an intellectual who speaks French when s/he wants to find certain books. Kahraman gives these examples for *Lenin’i Yeniden Keşfetmek*, the most recent book from *Ağır Kitaplar*, yet it can be asserted that the translation of *Anatomy of Criticism* also coincides with this approach, especially if Pelvanoğlu’s review is considered. This book seems to get so much attention in the media and most of that attention shares the same thought regarding the necessity and expectance for the translation. “Even” in *Yeni Şafak Kitap* (as stated before, the ideological difference and distance of *Yeni Şafak* with Ayrıntı is known), there is a review of the book by Necip Tosun with the title of “A Firm Critique Regarding the Principle, Scope and Method of Criticism” (2015). Tosun emphasizes that this important book is *finally* in Turkish with the translation of Hande Koçak, which also demonstrates that Ayrıntı has fulfilled an important gap by bringing this book into Turkey. Last, but definitely not least, as far as it is learned from the blurb in *CNN*, “at the end of each chapter, there is a glossary that explains the important notions, a reading list, possible helpful websites and questions for discussion so that everyone who is interested in

psychology can easily read the book” (2017) Thus, it is aimed at reaching more readers, which corresponds to the publishing houses “informing mission” and this is found as striking by *CNN*.

5) In the review of Ayrıntı’s 999th book *Hayalet: Karl Marx*, which is also in the scope of *Ağır Kitaplar*, in *BirGün Kitap*, Güçlü Ateşoğlu states that this book deserves to be described as “the best Marx anthology that is read most not only in Turkey, but also in the world” and adds “Reading Marx has never been so enjoyable!” (2017). Ateşoğlu makes these assertions not solely based on the comprehensive content of the book itself, but also on the meticulous translation process of the book:

“This study, from a philosophical perspective, is seeking for discussing Marx, translating his works and reflecting upon him. [...]

So, it is required to make a certain notional path dominant on the texts and to make philosophical notions “visible”. Marx highly refers to the previous philosophers, especially to Kant, Fichte and, of course, to Hegel while using [certain terms]. If the philosophy of these philosophers’ time is not known well, we are deemed not to understand and interpret Marx fully, [...] Briefly, it would be good to consider that this work has been prepared in accordance with also such a purpose.

All the issues I addressed above drive one to see how Marx writes in his own language and to make a comparison during the preparation process of a book including translations of Marx’ works. So, the fact that many things that are not in McLellan edition have been included in the texts and that the English edition has been compared with Dietz Verlag’s Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels: Werke (A Collected Work with 48 Books) edition, and additionally with Progress Publishers’ Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels: Collected Works make the work stronger” (*ibid*).

That amount of labor really deserves appreciation. It demonstrates how seriously the publishing house takes its work. That is why Ateşoğlu can state that the book is a referential book perfectly suited for both lectures on Marx and deeper studies (*ibid*).

6) In his review of *Karanlığın Kültürleri* in *Akşam Kitap*, Tefik Kalkan makes a lot of positive comments regarding the tone of the author: “When a serious amount of work and time meet a bright tone, *Karanlığın Kültürleri* has emerged” (2012). This demonstrates that the translator of the book has accomplished to transfer the tone of the original text, or “rewrote” it, in Lefevre’s term, in a way that fascinates the readers.

7) Ayca Yılmaz, in *Radikal Kitap*, regards *Küresel Dünya*, which is an important book for Ayrıntı as the 600th book, as an “assertive” book (2012). Apart from assessing the

content of the book, Yılmaz makes an important comment regarding the translation and translator Melih Pekdemir, who has translated many other important books so far, as Yılmaz says (*ibid*). She states that the translation of the book can easily be assumed good, when it is considered that Pekdemir is one of the representatives in the socialist politics tradition of Turkey (*ibid*). It demonstrates that Ayrıntı has made right choices for translators. The ideational closeness and/or resemblance might not one of the main conditions for translation, in some circumstances as in *Küresel Dünya*, it could affect the perception of the book in a good way. That book has also found itself a remarkable place on many different media channels. 13 sources (4 of these sources have been directly used and cited in Bibliography) have been found through MTM reports (<http://www.medyatakip.com>).

8) Burak Özçetin, on *BirGün Kitap*, heavily praise Geroge Gebner's *Medyaya Karşı*, whose publication in Turkish took a lot of time (2014). Özçetin first draws a detailed portrait of the situation in Turkish academia by touching upon the lack of important theoretical books' translations, and then expresses his pleasure for the publication of *Medyaya Karşı*. Özçetin states that Veysel Batmaz is a student of Gebner and regards this situation as an important contribution to the book (*ibid*). At the end of his writing, Özçetin states that this book stands for being a referential book for academicians and congratulates the publishing house and the translators of the book for their important contributions (*ibid*). Hence, it can be asserted that *Medyaya Karşı* has also filled an important gap in the academia thanks to Ayrıntı Yayınları's analytical approach and meticulous work.

9) *Mutfak Savaşları* draws a remarkable attention for the author of this thesis, as a different book regarding the title and topic. There is a commercial success of the book that needs to be mentioned first. Like *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek*, translated only into English and Turkish (as Kahraman states, 2018), this book also was translated only into Turkish and Spanish, as it is learned from Alp Türkmenoğlu's review in *Yemek ve Kültür* magazine (2013). This is a highly innovative and bold move for a publishing house with no huge economic capital. Therefore, it can be claimed that Ayrıntı trusts in the symbolic capital with this move. This book discusses the cultures of cuisines from a geopolitical perspective. As a publishing house that attaches importance to the details, this book is definitely one of the books Ayrıntı has brought into Turkish as a referential book.

10) Generally speaking, the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* find place in the blurbs of different range of newspapers and magazines ranging from local ones to personal blogs, not only in the academic or leftist sources. However, *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar*, as the most popular book in *Ağır Kitaplar*, understandably has got the biggest interest. There are twenty-five (25) MTM resources for that book (<http://www.medyatakip.com>). It means that the books in this series have reached to and stricken many people with different backgrounds, ideologies and levels of intellect. In *Vatan Kitap*'s "The Favorites of Istanbul Book Fair" section, for instance, *Karanlığın Kültürleri* from *Ağır Kitaplar* is mentioned (2011). It could be thought that this book is too "tough" to become one of "the favorites" of a book fair targeted at a wide range of readers at the first place, yet it has clearly acquired some popularity. Surprisingly, *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* has become so popular that it is possible to observe that it has become an advertising material even in the newspapers and/or magazines with a "contradictory" publishing policy with *Ayrıntı* or the book itself, as seen in *Sabah Cumartesi*, a magazine insert of *Sabah*, in which you can probably see the materials that are criticized in *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* for the women (2017). In a news titled "A holiday would not be a holiday without books" on *BirGün*, *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* is also on the list (2017). When the ideology and possible readers of *BirGün* are considered, it might not be much surprising. However, this time, it is surprising that the book has been regarded as "a holiday book". It can be interpreted that for *BirGün*'s readers, the "tough" content and "big number of pages" of a book might not pose a challenge. Besides, there are some authors known with the publishing house, like Chuck Palahniuk, which can be deemed as a commercial and literary success. Michael Hardt, one of the most important thinkers reflecting upon globalization, oppression, politics, culture, with Antonio Negri, together whom Hardt writes some books, has been known in Turkey thanks to *Ayrıntı*. The books written by Hardt are seen both in *Ağır Kitaplar* and in its "younger sibling" *İnceleme* series. In news announcing Hardt's coming to Turkey, it is generally said that Hardt's books are published by *Ayrıntı Yayınlar* in Turkish (2014, <http://www.medyatakip.com>). In 2011, *Ayrıntı* invited Hardt to TUYAP Book Fair (Radikal, 2011), which is an important move that has naturally had an affect on forming the image of "the publisher of Hardt". Therefore, it can be put forth that *Ayrıntı* not only creates a symbolic capital, but also does what needs to be done to maintain that capital. Hardt and Negri's mutual work

translated as *Ortak Zenginlik* into Turkish is regarded as “a successful translation” in the “Some Remarkable Books” section on *BirGün Kitap* (Alicı, 2011).

Last, but not least, it is necessary to mention the news from Václav Havel Library Foundation’s official website announcing the “Disturbing the Peace” Award awarded to Burhan Sönmez. This award is described as follows by the foundation itself (italics are added):

“The Disturbing the Peace Award is awarded annually to a *distinguished* writer of fiction, literary nonfiction, biography, memoir, or drama, who is *courageous* in *dissent* and has been *punished* for challenging an oppressive regime” (Václav Havel, 2017).

This is a demonstration of Ayrıntı’s prestige and recognizability also in the international media. Apart from that, this award itself is highly important when its content is considered. As Bourdieu states, literary awards are one of the factors demonstrating the symbolic capital of the relevant publishing house and/or author/editor (2008). In this case, Sönmez not only gets a literary award, but also a “dissent” literary award as a “courageous” author/editor as a representative of a “distinguished” publisher.

There are many other supportive materials for *Ağır Kitaplar* series, yet it is naturally impossible to mention every one of them. However, as can be understood from all the abovementioned news, Ayrıntı has a prestigious image on readers’ minds as a publishing house that can deal with the “tough” translations and that brings significant, wished works and authors into Turkish. Even though the writers of those examined materials are also the readers of this series, it could be beneficial to examine briefly the “ordinary” readers of the books.

3.3.3. Readers’ Comments regarding *Ağır Kitaplar*

Tahir Gürçağlar states that studying current issues in descriptive Translation Studies allows scholars to directly contact institutions and individuals related with the translation phenomenon (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2005, p. 156). In this regard, she suggests contacting with the readers within the framework of the reception study, which is not a common practice (*ibid*, p. 157). However, as stated at the beginning, this thesis is not based on readers’

comments. In this part, some supportive materials that are hard to be ignored will be touched upon. It has been referred to <http://www.idefix.com/> again to find these materials, which is a method Tahir Gürçağlar has used in her referential book *Kapılar* (2005).

As understood from the analyses in the previous parts, Ayrıntı Yayınları is generally seen as a “good” publishing house. This image naturally has an effect on the perception of the translations by this publishing house. Tahir Gürçağlar confirms this by stating the following: “The readers assume that the translations of successful and long-established publishing houses will also be successful” (2005, p. 158). This is also one of the personal assumptions that have driven the author of this thesis to write such thesis.

There are 967 books from Ayrıntı Yayınları on *Idefix* (refer to <http://www.idefix.com/>). From 39 books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, 37 ones are on sale. It is seen that ten (10) of them received comments from readers (From this point on, the comments will be numbered as “Reader 1”, “Reader 2” and so forth). As the best-seller book in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* received seven (7) comments, which is understandably the biggest number. *Hep Yuvaya Dönmek* and *İmparatorluk* follow it with two (2) comments. The others all received one (1) comment each. From eighteen (18) comments in total, five (5) of them are negative, among which two (2) comments are related to the content and the rest is about the language, i.e. translations. At this point, it will be good to remind that the comments regarding the language of the book and/or style of the author will also be evaluated within the borders of translation.

Starting with the most commented book, *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar*, it can be observed that the women have deeply identified themselves with the book and have been intensely affected by it. In the oldest comment (dated 16.12.2003), Reader 1 says that “If you are a woman, you can find your selfness without hiding behind the masks, if you are a man, you can understand the reasons of women behaviors you find strange, through this book.” In another comment dated 28.11.2006, Reader 2 states that she sometimes felt like she was “hit in the eye” or “tore apart in pieces” while reading the book. It is seen that the expressions are intense. The same reader calls the book as a “psychological guide” and it needs to be read for women to understand one another. The emphasis on “we” constitutes a firm evidence of the fact that the translation has been “accepted” by the reader. In the comment dated 05.03.2008, Reader 3 says, “In each sentence, I felt the nail hit right on

my forehead. And read many parts again and again.” In another comment (24.09.2011), Reader 4 asserts, “many psychiatrists would not be able to establish such findings as true as these tales have done.” That reader also says that she has “rediscovered” herself by this book and “gotten excited by each line”. In the comment dated 25.07.2013, Reader 5 states how much she has been affected immediately after she read the book and refers the book as “one of the rare books that have an effect on her life”. Another woman reader, Reader 6 (16.09.2014), claims, “It is a highly important book that reminds the women of their origins and their power, and you will be able to see no tales or stories as the same again”. The reader says that she has given and is giving this book as a present to all the women she loves, since she believes that “everyone brought into the world by a woman should read it”. In the most recent comment (16.11.2014), Reader 7 states that this is a book that needs to be read “at least twice” and calls the book as “a spectacular narration”. In order for a translated book to create such a powerful effect as seen with *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar*, the translation should be, in Toury’s terms, “acceptable” and not bother the readers regarding the language use. Hence, the translator Hakan Atalay has deserved all these good credits as much as the author has, since he has become the voice of the book. Moreover, the fact that such a “feminine” book was translated by a man in such a way that all the women who have read the book have identified themselves with the book demonstrates that the translator could convey the soul of the book successfully.

For Ursula K. Le Guin’s *Hep Yuvaya Dönmek*, Reader 8 tells her or his feelings about the book in particular and author in general:

“While you are in a busy schedule, the best thing you can do to take a deep breath is to read a book by Ursula K. Le Guin. She holds your hand and walks you around the world she has created. New races, new languages... In addition, she introduces many other things to you... Until you reach to the final point, you will have gained another new perspective without even noticing. Afterwards, it is harder, since you leave the semi-real, semi-imaginary world and return to your busy schedule, yet this time, you keep all those new links you have met in your mind.”

This comment is especially striking if it is considered that Ayrıntı is one of the publishing houses that introduce Ursula K. Le Guin to the Turkish readers, after Metis Yayınları, which is, it should be reminded, an ideologically close publishing house to Ayrıntı. Ursula K. Le Guin’s twenty-six (26) books have been published by Metis (<http://www.metiskitap.com/>) and six (6) books by Ayrıntı

(<https://www.ayrintiyayinlari.com.tr/>). Even though it is not clear whether the reader has read the other books by Le Guin (it is clearly understood that s/he has read more than one book by the author) from Ayrıntı or not, it can be safely claimed that the translation of this specific book has not changed her or his thoughts and feelings for the author. Hence, Ayrıntı and Metis seem to catch the “essence” of the author on regards of translation.

Reader 9 refers the same book as “one of the best books s/he has ever read” (09.12.2013). Even though the concept of goodness is controversial and highly personal at some points, this reader can now do that ranking thanks to the translation of the book. If the translation were not qualified, the reader would now call the book as one of “the worst” books no matter how good it is regarding the content.

İmparatorluk has received negative comments from the readers, one of which is related to the theme itself, and the other is related with the language use. Here, the second one will be concerned. Reader 10 (28.06.2014) calls the book as “an intellectual torture” regarding the language use: “The authors have used highly boring and difficult language, or maybe the translator has translated it like that, but in the end, it is not that easy to read and comprehend. I threw the book away even before finishing Chapter I”. Even though it is hard to speculate something by just looking at one bad comment, the reader could be someone who has just tended towards theoretical topics and who is not used to the heavy language, or on the contrary, who has high expectations because of his/her deep knowledge about the topic. However, one bad comment does not destroy the whole image of Ayrıntı. Even though Ayrıntı considers the specialty of the translators for the books in *Ağır Kitaplar*, as both Kahraman and Sönmez states, it is still possible that some translations have failed to meet the expectations. Kahraman states that they closely follow the comments of their readers, and if one book has received several bad comments regarding the translation, they discuss that book on the editorial board. Accepting the mistakes and taking the responsibility of those mistakes by acting accordingly also demonstrates the established, prestigious and principled code of practice.

If the other comments are assessed, particularly the ones regarding the language and translation, three (3) comments are deemed as striking. It is seen that Reader 11 comments about *Siyasal Bilinçdışı* under the title of “false translation” (26.01.2012) by concentrating on two specific terms and claims that “the translator gentlemen seem to be

unfamiliar with Hegel philosophy”. It is a strong claim and it is impossible to detect the accuracy of it here with that limited information. The book has not been written by Hegel, but someone else. Hence, the “falseness” of the terms could be resulted from the author, or the reader might know Hegel terms “wrong”. All these assumptions would be speculative, and they are not the concern here after all. It is believed that this comment, no matter how negative it is, is also important regarding the visibility of the translation and the publishing house. Reader 12 makes a constructive criticism regarding the terms used in *Bir Ahlak Kuramı* (15.03.2013) by asking the explanations of some French, Latin, German terms used throughout the book. This reader states that s/he has to look at a dictionary during the reading process. It means that the translation of the book has achieved to get that reader’s attention. The fact that this comment is directed to the publishing house could demonstrate that the reader expects his/her comments will be taken into consideration. Lastly, an “informed” comment about *Bizi Biz Yapan Hikayeler* will be mentioned (13.07.2010). In this comment, Reader 13 states the following: “The title of the book grabs your attention, yet it requires some effort and time to work. If you are not used to reading works in the field of social sciences, you need to be patient. But, once you finish reading, your award is huge, of course”. It is believed that this comment can be interpreted by generalizing. It is not hard to imagine that reading of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* requires some familiarity, at least some interest and mental readiness for the “tough” language and content of the books. No matter how “fluently” the translator tries to translate, these books are inherently “tough” regarding the content. Hence, it is natural that some readers find the books hard to read. Hence, it is important to have that awareness before reading. However, as this reader states, *Bizi Biz Yapan Hikayeler*, and all the other books in *Ağır Kitaplar*, form good basis for the topics in social sciences and similar fields.

If Kahraman’s own words regarding the readers of *Ağır Kitaplar* series are considered, the main claim of this thesis will be revealed: “This series has become such a series identified with us” (2017). Kahraman states that there are of course similar initiatives in the other publishing houses, yet even though some could find their correspondence, one author, for instance, whose works were best-sellers in Ayrıntı could not achieve the same

success in another publishing house when his/her works were transferred with huge fees. Kahraman thinks that it could be related with the characteristics of the Turkish readers.

As it is clear, *Ayrıntı* in general and *Ağır Kitaplar* in particular are intensely reviewed, commented, and criticized in different media channels. Based on all those various sources analyzed above, it can be asserted that *Ayrıntı* is deemed as a prestigious publishing house. Hence, a “tough” and “detailed” series like *Ağır Kitaplar* would be published by a publishing house that gives utmost importance to “details” and that concerns about “tough” topics in the world. So as to fully detect *Ayrıntı*’s “unique” place in the general publishing market with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, it is believed to be necessary to question the general operation of the market, the publishing conditions after 1980 military coup and general literary tendencies during the publication times of *Ağır Kitaplar* series.

3.4. THE FIELD AND MARKET OF PUBLISHING

The publication industry is a very grift industry in which so many different factors ranging from social to political, and agents, including publishers, editors, translators, critics, readers, academicians, play different significant roles. For a publishing house to operate well, all these factors and actors should be in a collaboration with one another. Burhan Sönmez, the chief editor of *Ayrıntı*, also highlights the importance of the collaboration with the translator and editor. These factors could be examined in many different ways, yet in this part, Bourdieu’s approach will be based since it is also one of the bases of this thesis. At this point, for a personal introduction before a detailed analysis of Bourdieu’s views on this subject, the first thing that needs to be said, by referring to also Bourdieu’s terms, is that economic capital is the fundamental and first resource to found and operate a publishing house. For a prolific functioning afterwards, a publishing house should have a symbolic capital so that people keep buying books of that publishing house. To gain that symbolic capital, the agents’ social capital, from publisher to editors, to translators and critics who write reviews for the publishing house’s books as well, may play as a supportive role. Depending on the types of books and the ideological expectations from a publishing house, cultural capital, i.e., academic accumulation, could also be effective for the accumulation of the symbolic capital.

Publishers are understandably in the center in the field of publishing. With their choices dedicating the publishing ideology and principle of the publishing house, editors follow publishers. According to Bourdieu, “[a] publisher is a person invested with the extraordinary power to ensure publication, to confer upon a text and its author a public existence [...] along with the fame and recognition that this entails” (2008, p. 123). From Bourdieu’s perspective, the publishing process actually starts with the authors who “decide where to send their manuscripts based on the more or less accurate image they have of different publishers, at least of those attached to specific schools” (*ibid*, p. 124). As it will be seen, both Burhan Sönmez and İlbay Kahraman state that Ayrıntı would not prefer to work with someone who is against the publishing house’s principles. From Bourdieu’s perspective, it can be claimed that the same applies to the authors (or translators) when they send their manuscripts. For instance, a homophobic author would probably not send a homophobic text to Ayrıntı.

Globalization has made the nature of publishing more grift, as Bourdieu points. He regards the publishing field “as a relatively autonomous social space” (2008, p. 127) and describes the field of publishing as follows:

“In the global structure of the field and at any given moment, each house occupies a specific position with respect to every other depending on its relative wealth in rare resources (economic, symbolic, technical, etc.) and on the power that it confers upon the field; it is this position that orients the specific position-takings of decision-makers” (*ibid*, p. 124).

If this is adapted to the local structure of the Turkish publishing field, it can be claimed that Ayrıntı has a “specific position with respect to” its “symbolic” wealth in “rare” books like in *Ağır Kitaplar*. Hence, the publishing house will be preferred and trusted when the readers look for such books as in *Ağır Kitaplar*. Even though Bourdieu states that publishers tend to keep their “tactical information regarding sales or descriptive information regarding the social characteristics of their executives” (*ibid*, p. 127) as their institutional structure, Ayrıntı has been generally open to sharing these issues (except the sales numbers) for this thesis. It is believed that it is related to the publishing house’s ideology that is also based on mutuality and transparency.

It is hard for a publishing house to gain an authority and that authority brings heavier responsibilities with it. Bourdieu portrays this as follows:

“[...] the larger and more compartmentalized a publisher becomes, the more extensive and complex become its decision-making mechanisms (at least in appearance), until they end up functioning as a sort of sub-field within which agents (financial, commercial, literary) confront each other with various degrees of authority depending on the position of the decision-making unit within the publishing field (and this authority itself can vary over time due to changes in position and to the type of work in question)” (*ibid*, p. 128).

From this perspective, the reason why Ayrıntı’s plagiarism created an intense surprise can be understood better. As the prestige rises, the expectations from the readers and critiques also rise.

Bourdieu divides the publishing field into two categories as large-scale publishers “ruled by the law of the market” and small-scale publishers “where investment in great works with the potential to become “classics” is conceived in terms of the long run” (Sapiro, 2014, p. 88). From this perspective, it can be asserted that Ayrıntı is neither a “large scale” nor a “small-scale publishing house”. As it is clear from the overview of Ayrıntı given above, the publishing house is against the general tendencies of the market both politically and culturally. Furthermore, Ayrıntı wishes to invest in works with the potential to enrich the Turkish readers culturally, particularly with *Ağır Kitaplar* series. Overall, the publishing house does not have an economic capital big enough to be a “large scale” publishing house. On the other hand, it would not be true to regard Ayrıntı as a “small-scale” marginal publishing house. As seen before, Ayrıntı is visible and effective in the field of publishing with the publication of valuable books and successful translations.

3.4.1. The Weight of Translation in the Publishing Market regarding Social Sciences in the World and Turkey

In this part, as understood from the title, the weight of translation in the field of social sciences will be measured. With this purpose, the books translated from three source languages (English, German and French) during 1990s and 2000s in the field of social sciences will be detected. In the first scan, the target languages will not be specified.

However, in the second part of the analysis, the target language will be Turkish. The analysis will be carried out with the help of *UNESCO Index Translationum* database. It should be reminded that this part will not demonstrate the situation of translation in the whole publishing market. The analysis is limited to the content of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar*, and their original languages. In *UNESCO Index Translationum*, the two subjects as “Law, Social Sciences, Education” and “Philosophy, Psychology” have been founded relevant regarding the content of *Ağır Kitaplar*.

As Gisele Sapiro, who is a distinguished scholar working on the publishing field, calls, translation shows “asymmetrical flows” (2014, p. 85) in the publishing field. According to the *UNESCO Index Translationum* database (refer to <http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/>), from the field of “Law, Social Sciences, Education” in the 1990s, 31.217 books were translated from English, the *lingua franca*, in the world, and 170 books were translated from English into Turkish. As for French, which is a highly prolific language in social sciences, these numbers were 6.940 and 91, respectively. Lastly, 5.844 books were translated from German, which is deemed as the language of philosophy, in the world, and 59 ones were translated from German into Turkish. If the period between 2000 and 2018 is looked at, it is seen that around the world, 51.306 books were translated from English, 7.136 ones from French and 7.207 ones from German. These numbers are respectively 71, 10 and 34 from those languages into Turkish. From 1990 to 1999, the other category, i.e., “Philosophy, Psychology”, includes 28.126 translations from English, 5.512 from French and 6.533 from German. These numbers are 139, 49 and 38 respectively into Turkish. During the period between 2000 and 2018, 36.698, 5.371 and 7.483 translations were done from English, French and German, respectively in the world. From those languages into Turkish, there are respectively 62, 6 and 11 translations.

As clearly seen, English as a source language has been the most translated language in the field of publishing. The same expectedly applies to Turkey’s publishing field. As stated before, it is not intended to draw the whole portrait of the universal and national publishing field. Hence, at that point, it has been confined to *Ağır Kitaplar* series. From thirty-nine (39) books of *Ağır Kitaplar*, thirty (30) of them have been translated from English, seven (7) of them from French and only two (2) of them from German. The

results are not surprising regarding English. However, as for German, the number is personally expected to be higher, when the weight of German language in the field of social sciences is considered. On the other hand, the patronage of French language in the field of sociology in particular could be the reason of this “surprising” result.

When it is examined whether Ayrıntı’s any book was translated from Turkish into English, French and German in the field of “Law, Social Sciences, Education” during 1990-1999 or not (based on UNESCO *Index Translationum* database), it is seen that there are no translations from Turkish into any of those three languages. The situation is the same in the field of “Philosophy, Psychology”. As for the period between 2000 and 2018, the same results are applicable to all languages in both fields. When it is searched in all categories and all languages between 1990 and 2018, there is still nothing to display. As it is clear, Turkish is a peripheral language regarding the translation. However, as stated before, Burhan Sönmez’ own books have been translated into different languages. Considering Ayrıntı’s future mission to publish more copyrighted books, it might be possible to see the translations of Sönmez’ books.

As a result, the dominance of English language is crystal-clear, despite the globalization of the market and the “diversity” and “visibility” of different books, languages and authors. The Turkish publishing market still heavily depends on translations, and texts written in English language. Sapiro thinks that the asymmetry in the publishing field is resulted from not only economic, but also cultural and political factors (2014, p. 86). Besides, some languages have been identified with some fields and gained certain symbolic capital by this way, such as German language for philosophical translations (*ibid*) and French language for sociological translations. Sapiro states that “the social functions of translations in different fields” needs to be analyzed to understand the reasons of this asymmetry (*ibid*). These functions will not be reminded here, as it is commonly demonstrated that translation can serve political, cultural and social purposes. Sapiro states, “[t]ranslation may also serve economic objectives, in the book market in particular” and “[t]ranslation of “upmarket” literary or scholarly works is not always profitable, economically speaking, but it is invested with cultural, esthetic, or intellectual values” (*ibid*, p. 87), as seen in *Ağır Kitaplar* series. It is possible to state that Ayrıntı is

economically bounded by the universal publishing market, regarding the weight of translation. However, with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, the publishing house seems to have a unique position, because of the non-profitable content of the book. Even though the books in the series have been translated from the universal dominant languages, the books themselves are “not suitable” for the market conditions. So as to understand the reasons of this situation, it is necessary to deal with the socio-cultural context of the times when Ayrıntı was founded, as well as the dominant literary tendencies during the publication years of *Ağır Kitaplar*.

3.5. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF TURKEY IN 1980s

The fact that no literary activities can be evaluated separately from socio-cultural context they are in is motherhood and apple pie. Hence, it is necessary to portray the founding years of Ayrıntı, i.e., 1980s, since those years witness important socio-cultural incidents, which cannot be disregarded for a complete analysis. Besides, it will be good to handle the other publishing houses founded after 1980 military coup in order to detect the situation of the Turkish publishing market at that time.

It is believed to be good to start with the milestone, i.e., September 12, 1980 military coup and its effects on the publishing tendencies in Turkey. On that day, the Turkish army seized control of the government on account of “rebuilding the democracy that had been insufficient for some time on firmer grounds and restoring the governmental authority that had lost its power and effect” (from the speech of Kenan Evren, Chief of General Staff in 1980; 2017, refer to <https://www.youtube.com>). If it needs to be summarized that coup with statistics, the results are following:

- 650,000 people were taken into custody
- 230,000 people were put on trial
- 1,683,000 people were blacklisted
- Military prosecutors demanded the death penalty for 7,000 people
- 517 people received the death penalty
- 50 people were hanged

- The military rule revoked the citizenships of more than 14,000 people
- 388,000 citizens were denied Turkish passports
- 30,000 people fled Turkey to seek refuge abroad
- 299 inmates died in prisons due to "indeterminate" reasons
- 14 inmates died in hunger strikes (Hürriyet Daily News, 2012)

Even though the number of the banned books is not included in the list, it is known that many books were banned because of the “inconvenient” contents in time. Moreover, people burnt their books by themselves. It is storied by the witnesses of the period that the smoke was rising from the chimneys of the houses and the books and guns were demonstrated in the same frame on the TV news. Afterwards, the legal and institutional structures of the coup started to be formed, since it was necessary to organize the daily life. Starting with the Constitution, many laws were amended in time, including Higher Education Act, Trade Union Act, Political Parties Act, and Associations Act.

It goes without saying that all these factors caused many people to quail and become distant towards politics. However, the physical force and political and legal regulations were not enough to destroy the “leftist” cultural hegemony in life. By the time of 1980 military coup, the “leftist” wind had been blowing in the country and that wind was determining the socio-cultural and socio-political life. That being the case, there were two things that could be done: Either to create a counter argument, or to move people away that leftist perspective. Since the political actors of the coup did not have enough cultural accumulation to create a counter argument in Turkey, the second way was chosen. As a way of moving people away the collectivist soul, individualism was used in the cultural field. There are surely many different variants playing roles to make such a transformation in the cultural field, yet within the context of this thesis, the reflections upon the publishing field in Turkey are relevant. Because of the abovementioned psychical and legal conditions, the publishing market already “sank into a deep sleep”. It is not hard to imagine that publishing “leftist” works in these circumstances was challenging in both economic and political ways.

3.5.1. Publishing After 1980 Military Coup in Turkey

While Turkey was struggling with the effects of 1980 coup's devastating effects on life, there were many ideational and cultural developments going on around the world. Freedom movements had been diversified. Gender movements, animals' rights, ecological problems had become inseparable parts of the fights for freedom and rights. However, the oppression methods had also been transformed and it can be asserted that both development and regression were happening at the same time. Turkey had almost lost all the political and cultural gains, let alone followed those rising movements. Hence, the Left had to pull itself together, draw a new path for fight and dedicate its position in this changing world of thought by self-criticizing, analyzing and binding up wounds. In her writing for the 25th birthday of *Ayrıntı* on *BirGün*, Serap Çakır mentions the importance and challenges of *Ayrıntı* by drawing attention to this point (2012). *Ayrıntı* was founded when the direct effects of the coup on the daily life had just started to be wiped away and attempted to flame the political and socio-cultural life and to give hope for the Left. Hence, the journey had never been easy. Kahraman tells Çakır that during *Ayrıntı*'s foundation years, the Left was losing its power also in the west, not just in Turkey; so, the Left had to say something new against the postmodern discourses and *Ayrıntı* was resulted from the responsibility to do something under these circumstances (*ibid*). Kahraman's crystal clear expressions to a question regarding the position of *Ayrıntı* today leaves no room for doubt that it has always stood firm ideologically: "Ayrıntı is a leftist publishing house that has been trying to take sides with labor" (*ibid*). Additionally, for the journalist's question regarding the opponent characteristics of *Ayrıntı*'s publications, Kahraman states that "Ayrıntı has always been opponent and will always be," (*ibid*) like a slogan. In the extended version of the interview in *Varlık* magazine, Kahraman states that even when there will be a "socialist" power one day, they think that it will be their duty to find and show alternatives also for this" (Çakır, 2012).

From the point of publishing, Kahraman calls those years as "dark periods" when the oppression and police precautions were intense (2017; cited in Almaz, 2017). He states that there were similar incidents that have happened to the academicians today with the

Article 1402 and one could be dismissed at any moment (*ibid*). Hence, it is not hard to imagine how difficult the publishing activity could be under those circumstances.

It is believed that an overview of the other publishing houses founded during 1980s could form a good basis for dedicating Ayrıntı's position in the field of publishing. It is needless to say that there are dozens of publishing houses founded in that period, yet three of them have been chosen here according to the ideological resemblance and contradiction. These are İletişim (1982), Metis (1982) and Timaş (1984). İletişim tells about itself as following on its website (refer to <https://www.iletisim.com.tr/>):

“[...] The people who attempted to found the publishing house, were among the group who thought this “civilianization” and “democratization” [it is referred to the civil elections and handing over the government to the civilians] method would not solve anything. These people were in the opinion that the military government's manner which had grudged politics for the society and which did not consider the people of this country as adults; also, the legitimization of that manner posed a critical and deep problem. This was, as a matter of fact, a problem that had been institutionalized and engraved in minds. Even before September 12, 1980, the founders of İletişim Yayınları had some problems with “the order of Turkey”, were conducting activities, contemplating, writing and publishing something for a radical transformation of the society and for a libertarian socialism. [...] It was aimed at encouraging the liberation motives, autonomous movements and thoughts from every aspect of the society, and it was wished to be accomplished through a non-didactic manner that made people talk, instead of talking itself.”

Another publishing house that publishes similar books with Ayrıntı Yayınları and seems to share the same ideology more or less is Metis Yayınları. On the “about us” section on its official website, it is said that Metis Yayınları was founded by “5-6 leftist college students who could not relate their educations to their personalities as a cultural and political focus” (refer to <http://www.metiskitap.com/>).

Lastly, Timaş Yayınları declares that their publishing policy embraces “everyone who has something to say, except the texts that include political partiality, opposition to and insult of the basic gospels and contradiction to the general moral structure of the society” (refer to <http://www.timas.com.tr/>).

As can be seen, İletişim and Metis are based on certain explicit ideological motives that resemble with Ayrıntı's. The both were founded to help the Left recover from the effects of 1980 military coup. Hence, the publishing houses can easily be called as “leftist”, which is not hidden. On the contrary, Timaş Yayınları is associated with the Right even though it is not explicitly expressed. From the “about part” section on the website of Timaş, it is understood that the “basic gospels” and “general moral structure” in the Turkish culture and religion are important values that need to be protected, which is a discourse predominantly the Right and conservative ideology is based upon. As a result, even though Ayrıntı may not be the only “bold” publishing house founded after the 1980 coup, it does not diminish its uniqueness, regarding its publishing policy.

3.6. GENERAL LITERARY TENDENCIES TODAY

Today, it is observed that publishing as series is a common practice in the publishing field. This trend actually goes back to the older times. However, today, almost all publishing houses conduct such kind of publishing. Tahir Gürçağlar explains the reason as following: “Since the readers of popular literature make their book choices according to the genre, not to the author, the presentation of books under different series informs the readers about the genre of the books and serves as a marketing and sale strategy” (2005, p. 149-150). In this respect, the name of *Ağır Kitaplar* actually does its own marketing.

Firstly, it should be stressed that in this part, it is not claimed to demonstrate all literary tendencies today fully. Because of the limited time and space, it has been chosen one online bookstore (<http://www.idefix.com/>) and “best-sellers” section to figure out where Ayrıntı Yayınları in general and its *Ağır Kitaplar* series in particular stand. As stressed before, only translated books will be embraced. Additionally, personal observations and experiences will be used to evaluate the literary tendencies today. At this point, it should be reminded that it is important to understand the market conditions in which Ayrıntı competes with the other publishing houses with “huge” capital, but “small” intellect. This is actually related with the rapid ideological and economic transformations in publishing starting in the 1980s and escalating in the 1990s and 2000s, Bourdieu also draws attention to this by describing the new generation publishers as following:

“[...] salesman with no scruples” but with consummate expertise in all commercial aspects of the business, is more than justified in calling himself a professional, yet at the same time he cannot help but come across as limited, handicapped even, amputated of the vital literary dimension informing a publisher’s strategies. [...] there is a contingent of editors who are running publishing houses and who are, at the risk of sounding malicious, almost illiterate [...]” (2008, p. 139).

As a matter of fact, in Turkey, selling books in the supermarkets is the starting point of this transformation in publishing. It may seem as a “good” thing at the first glance, but when the newspapers started to give books as a promotion, it caused that the “idea” has become ordinary. Opening of D&R stores, which are big bookstores in big shopping malls and in “luxury” streets, was the peak point in this “commodification” of literature.

Under these circumstances, the success criterion must be something else but sales numbers. If the relevant “best-sellers” section on *Idefix* is examined, it is seen that there are 1049 books, among which 650 ones are translations (These numbers have been prepared on 1 April 2018). When the diversity of the books in that list is considered, it is hard to make generalizations regarding the most-preferred genres or topics. It is possible to see both “light” and “tough” books in the list. It is seen that eighteen (18) books from Ayrıntı Yayınları are in that list. The translated names and series they belong to are as following: *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* (Tough Books), *Nietzsche Ağladığında* (Literature), *Karanlığın Sol Eli* (Literature), *Göğü Delen Adam* (Navy Blue), *Parfümün Dansı* (Literature), *Spinoza’nın Sevinci* (Philosophy), *Ezilenlerin Pedagojisi* (Examination), *Dikizleme Günlüğü* (Navy Blue), *Suluk Mavi Nokta* (Science), *Televizyon: Öldüren Eğlence* (Examination), *Bir Gün Tek Başına* (Turkish Literature), *Vahşi Kızlar* (Science-fiction), *Karakter Aşınması* (Examination), *Doğruyu Söylemek* (Examination), *Tüketim Toplumu* (Examination), *Cinselliğin Tarihi* (Tough Books), *Divan* (Literature) and *Küreselleşme* (Examination). As it is clear, there are two books from *Ağır Kitaplar* series. However, it is noteworthy that the Examination series that includes similar books with the ones in *Ağır Kitaplar* series comes to the forefront in that list with six (6) books. When the recent “sensational” popular topics and themes, such as vampires, blood, dystopias, plots and so on in literature and cinema are considered, this could seem surprising and contradictory at first glance (At this point, it should be digressed a little to mention Ayrıntı’s book titled *Vampirin Kültür Tarihi* [*The Cultural History of Vampire*]). In today’s literature where the “vampire” theme has been widely used as a sensational,

attractive fiction, this book examines vampires from the Marxist perspective and questions why and how vampire has become an “object of desire” in the modern world based on the cultural history of the notion. The book has been published in *İnceleme* [Examination] series. With this book, Ayrıntı plays its role, informs people about an “emptied notion”, and demonstrates what the notion actually means. This corresponds well to Ayrıntı’s “informing people” motive and “details are important” motto). During 2000s, some people hold on some sensational, i.e., relevantly “lighter” topics to run away the challenges of the modern life, such as uncertain future, depression, loneliness, economic and political crises on the one hand; yet on the other hand, the others tend towards deeper questionings to figure out the ways out. Hence, after the dense political atmosphere in 1980s and 1990s, many people move away from politics and tend towards “lighter” and/or “insignificant” issues, while the others have transformed politics and moved it to a different level to find solutions for the personal crises. It should be noticed that the rising of identity and ecological politics and feminist and LGBTi movements in Turkey coincides with 2000s. Therefore, the reason why Ayrıntı’s *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* from Ağır Kitaplar series has drawn considerable interest is that it corresponds to feminist questionings. Kahraman already states that the new reader profile has adopted “read today, forget tomorrow” mentality and they do not want to adapt to this kind of reader profile, but to enhance the knowledge and accumulation (Kahraman, 2017). He also highlights that they make a “cultural publishing” and this requires a political point of view to show interest towards their publications (*ibid*). Therefore, Ayrıntı, particularly with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, stands in a unique position and provides “alternative” and “different” books against today’s literary tendencies.

CONCLUSION

Social and/or sociological perspective in Translation Studies is developing more and more day-by-day. Publishing field, with its socio-political, -cultural and -economic structure, provides a prolific research area for the scholars that wish to study in that field, especially in the context of globalizing and/or globalized market. This has been a trend in Translation Studies since the beginning of the cultural turn, yet in this new perspective, the emphasis on agents, including publishers, editors, translators, readers, are striking. This study is intended to be a contribution to this emerging field.

Based on the combination of the empirical data obtained from different sources and theoretical background, it can be concluded that Ayrıntı Yayınları, which is striking as a publishing house founded after 1980, represents a unique position in the field of publishing with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, since the purpose of Ayrıntı with that series is not to accumulate financial capital, but not symbolic capital, either as exactly in Bourdieu's terms. Ayrıntı does not wish to control over national literary prizes and the press, as emphasized in Bourdieu's symbolic capital notion. Indeed, Ayrıntı does not need to be told what a "good" publishing house is. Ayrıntı values the opinions of its targeted readers, but nobody else. It is evident on the website of the publishing house: "We are still loyal to our original stand. If we have managed to survive until today, we owe it to our handful readers who responded well to our stand. Now, we are planning to publish more "disturbing" books relying on these readers again." It is safe to suggest that with the "disturbing" books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, Ayrıntı fills an important gap formed after 1980 coup in the Turkish intelligentsia; that is one of the main reasons Ayrıntı has found correspondence within the readers, especially with the *Ağır Kitaplar* series.

Ayrıntı can be regarded neither as a large, nor as a small-scale publishing house, in Bourdieu's terms, since it does not retain all forms of economic, commercial and symbolic capital (yet). However, Ayrıntı has the symbolic capital "in the form of esteem or admiration from a small [but growing] number of "discoverers": avant-garde critics and writers, enlightened booksellers and informed readers" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 136). It is observed that the accumulation of symbolic capital in Ayrıntı is not as slowly as in small-scale publishing houses. Besides, in some circumstances, Ayrıntı has accomplished

to transform that acquired symbolic capital into economic capital, such as in *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* (translated by Hakan Atalay).

Responses to each of the research questions stated in the Introduction Chapter will be as following:

1) What is the effect of translation on gaining the symbolic capital for Ayrıntı Yayınları and its *Ağır Kitaplar* series in 2000s?

It is known that when readers want to buy and/or read a new book, they generally tend to choose the publishing house(s) they have somehow engaged in before. Those readers might have read and liked some of that publishing house's books before, or they may have a good image for that publishing house, with the effects of the ideological stance of that publishing house and some reviews, news, or any other sources that could help form the perception of the readers. When it comes to a translated book, additional variants engage in the selection process. The readers in Turkey do generally not consider the quality of translation in the first place. However, it should be noted that the genre and/or topic of the book, expectation(s)/ reading habits and reading culture/ideology/social and/or professional status of the readers could affect on that consideration. Furthermore, the importance of the translation is likely to be understood during/after the reading process. Even though it is hard, and also maybe not objective, to rate the quality of translations, it can be safely asserted that to be able to read a book fluently without interruption is important for almost all readers. At this point, it should be noted that the "intellect" and/or "cultural accumulation" of readers not necessarily be the determinant(s) for the reception of translations. Even "ordinary" readers (by ordinary, it is meant that people who do not have particular cultural capital, such as critics, academicians, authors) can easily detect a "non-readable" translation. Hence, Ayrıntı's symbolic capital regarding *Ağır Kitaplar* series is not only emerged from the quality of translations in general, which is already a criterion for almost all publishing houses, but also the "good" quality of translations of the "tough" books such as in *Ağır Kitaplar* series. The fact that the literary translations of X publishing house are "successfull" does not necessarily mean that the translations of all sorts of books, especially books from the field of social sciences, would also be "good". Although that "success" may be resulted from a general meticulous work of the relevant publishing house and it is possible to expect that this will

affect the other translations, social sciences are one of the tough disciplines that require certain level of expertise for translation. However, the linguistic expertise is not the sole and adequate determinant at that point. When it comes to *Ağır Kitaplar* series, additional objective and subjective criteria of taste come to the forefront. The harmony of the books regarding language use, context and ideology are understandably important for the “informed” (Bourdieu, 2015) readers of *Ağır Kitaplar*. Hence, in terms of that series, the quality of translations is particularly valuable and bring “extra” points to the publishing house during the process of symbolic capital acquirement. As seen from the analyzed sources from the media, it can be asserted that the translations of Ayrıntı are mostly trusted and deemed qualified. It is crucial to state that this generalization might not be objective, but subjective. However, when the ideological nature of the reading activity/translation and cultural taste, especially for Ayrıntı Yayınları and the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, are considered, it is believed that it should not refrain scholars from making such a subjective deduction.

2) What is the ideological motive and commercial interest behind forming a series entitled *Ağır Kitaplar*, which entirely consists of translated books for the publishing house?

As a commercial institution, Ayrıntı Yayınları naturally seeks for an economic profit. That economic profit is already compulsory for the publishing house to circulate and operate on the grounds of the founding purposes. Nevertheless, commercial motives can be ignored from time to time whereas ideological motives are prioritized. In a publishing field where “popular” and “sensational” books are in demand, where publishing has been moved to plazas and where knowledge is trivialized, Ayrıntı Yayınları, with *Ağır Kitaplar* series, which consists of “tough” books in terms of content, weight and price, from the world of thought, aims at following: spreading the leftist world of thought to people as much as possible; informing people and encouraging them to reflect upon and discuss “serious” and “disturbing” issues; giving hope to the readers who might have lost their hope after the 1980 military coup; broadening the readers’ horizons. If there needs to be something to be said regarding the “tough” issues, it will be said by a publishing house founded to say the things that would not be said by the others. From the perspective of marketing strategy, the reason why some books have been collected under the title of *Ağır*

Kitaplar is to more easily reach to people who might be seeking for some sorts of books such in *Ağır Kitaplar* and to become more visible in that field.

3) What is the institutional ideology of Ayrıntı Yayınları and what are the effects of that ideology on the selection of books to be translated, and also of the translators of the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series?

- As in all publishing houses in general, there is an editorial board in which the books to be published are discussed in Ayrıntı as well. Moreover, Ayrıntı attaches a high importance to the collective labor during the publication process. The publishing house sees each agent, from redactor to typesetter, is equally important in this process. Hence, it can be concluded that Ayrıntı Yayınları is a leftist publishing house that operates in a democratic and participative way, which corresponds to the publishing house's world-view. The publishing policy shaped by that institutional ideology is determined mostly according to the developments and course of events in the world of thought, not to the ones in the commercial world. When the books published by Ayrıntı are examined, especially the ones in *Ağır Kitaplar* series, it is seen that many of the books have been translated for the first time. Hence, Ayrıntı has brought those books to the field of Turkish publishing. The books which have gained a "classics" status in the field of research-examination (Sönmez), i.e., the "cult" books are chosen (Kahraman) for *Ağır Kitaplar* series. As in the other publishing houses, Ayrıntı wishes that the translators have certain level of expertise on the relevant field. This expertise gains more importance when it comes to the books in *Ağır Kitaplar*. The translator is expected to have a grasp on the "context, content and rhetoric" of the book (Sönmez). However, in some circumstances, ideological priorities could be seen, as in the case of the suspended, dismissed, detained academicians who signed the "Academicians for Peace". For the purpose of solidarity, Ayrıntı gave those academicians translations regardless of their expertise (Kahraman). For instance, an academician in the field of social sciences can translate a literary book, which normally contradicts to the meticulous working principle of the publishing house (Kahraman). Based on the content of that series and Kahraman's and Sönmez's own words, it can be stated that the readers of that series mostly expect for those books to broaden their horizons, to provide them new references/data for grounding/enhancing their intellectual knowledge. Ayrıntı not only publishes the books to meet those expectations regarding the content, but also works with the translators who are equipped

with the theoretical framework, with conceptual and notional expertise and with linguistic references that would help meet those expectations.

4) What is the role of the editor as an agent in the selection of books to be translated and how is it related to the ideology of the publishing house?

As an agent who has the utmost importance in the field of publishing, an editor needs to consider so many economic, social and cultural factors before selection of the book to be published. The content of the book, the economic conditions of the market, the socio-cultural analysis of the targeted readers, making relations with the foreign publishing houses, in case of translations, contacting possible translators and assessing the test translations of those translators, and so on, are on an editor's agenda. In *Ayrıntı Yayınları*, the book suggestions are democratically discussed in the editorial board. However, it should be noted that there is no strict functioning in this board. As a reflection of the publishing house's ideology, there is a sincere relationship between the agents. For instance, Kahraman states that he made a friendly suggestion to publish *Marx: Selected Writings* and "friends" in the editorial board "thankfully" accepted it. The comfortable tone could easily be perceived during the interview with Kahraman.

5) Is the translator's *habitus* important for the publishing house to decide the translator for the books in *Ağır Kitaplar* series?

If it is considered that Sönmez, as the chief editor of *Ayrıntı*, emphasizes a collaboration between editor and translator, it can be detected that ideological closeness is important, especially in such a series including highly ideological books like *Ağır Kitaplar*. Since translation is not only the convey of language, but also the transfer of apprehension, the translator of a book in *Ağır Kitaplar* is better to internalize the apprehension of the book. For instance, there are certain terms and notions that could mean differently for different ideologies, such as "public". Public is perceived as "government" from the rightist perspective, whereas it is understood as "folks" from the leftist perspective. In this case, a translator who does not comprehend this difference will almost inevitably do a wrong translation, let alone "good" or "bad" one. Apart from this linguistic aspect, there is also an ideological aspect of this situation, as both Kahraman and Sönmez clearly state. *Ayrıntı*, as a publishing house that attaches importance to certain moral values, will not work with someone, for instance, who sees the women as inferior (Sönmez, 2017). The

situation actually applies to almost all publishing houses, because of the ideological structure of the publishing field. Moreover, relativeness and “fellowship” (Kahraman, 2017) with the translators are preferable. This is also important for reaching a coherent, established (or “institutionalized” that should be added) tone in the translations.

Last thing that needs to be stressed regarding the symbolic capital of Ayrıntı Yayınları is actually a personal experience. During the thinking process of this master thesis, it is thought that Ayrıntı would definitely help and give the necessary resources and information. There was a confidence about that. The sincerity of the publishing house could easily be felt during the internship process. It is believed that this is a good demonstration of the publishing house’s symbolic capital in readers’ minds.

Even though they are not within the scope of this study, some reader comments have been founded so striking that it has become inevitable to mention these comments even briefly. For future studies, it is believed that reader comments will offer a prolific research domain within the scope of social paradigm in Translation Studies. After all, those translations are done to address readers. Hence, readers’ expectations, evaluations and reading habits are determinants of the translational context. However, it should be noted that the translational context also effects on all the factors stated above. Hence, this is an interwoven relation and tackling this relation within a more comprehensive perception study would make important contributions to Translation Studies. It goes without saying that this kind of research should be based on a socio-cultural context. As Tahir Gürçağlar states, even though the translators and/or editors have become the research topics within the scope of the notion of “agent”, readers are still not the part of such researches. The interview, as the method of this thesis, can be a useful method for these kinds of studies.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEWS WITH İLBAY KAHRAMAN AND BURHAN SÖNMEZ

İLBAY KAHRAMAN (13.03.2017, THROUGH FACE TO FACE INTERVIEW)

PK: Ayrıntı Yayınları'nı nasıl bir yayınevi olarak tanımlıyorsunuz? Ama ben burada, internette bulabileceğimiz bilgileri sormuyorum. Sizin için, yani İlbay Kahraman için nasıl bir yayınevi Ayrıntı?

İK: Bu zor bir soru. Demokrasiyi kendisine iş edinen, insanların demokratik davranışlar konusunda bilgilenmesini sağlayan bir yayınevi diyebilirim.

PK: Kısaca böyle mi özetliyorsunuz?

İK: Evet, kısaca böyle diyebiliriz.

PK: Peki, “Ayrıntılar Önemlidir” mottunuz ne anlama geliyor? Bu mottoyla, yayıneviniz için nasıl bir imaj çiziyorsunuz?

İK: Yayınevinin kurulduğu döneme bakarsanız, bu dönemde biz, insanların entelektüel bilgiye yabancı olduğunu, bilginin kendisinin önemli olduğunu düşündük. O dönemde daha çok popüler bilgiyle, gazete bilgileriyle yetiniyordu insanlar; hala da öyledir aslında. Yani, gündelik hayatta, gazete bilgileri, popüler bilgiler egemendir. Biz, popüler bilgilerle yetinmeyin, daha derinlemesine bilgilenin, araştırın, öğrenin tarzı bir yaklaşımı önerdik. Bu da onun bir göstergesi.

PK: “Ayrıntı” dediğiniz, bu derinlemesine bilgilere tekabül ediyor yani.

İK: Evet, yani her şeyin ayrıntısına girmek.

PK: Kuruluş amaçlarınızda bildirdiğiniz, “Türkiye solunu, 1980’in boğucu atmosferinden bir nebze de olsun kurtarma” amacına ulaşabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Bu konuda başarılı olduğunuza inanıyorsanız da, sizce neden başarılı oldunuz?

İK: Bu bizim görevimiz değil aslında. Biz bu yolda yalnızca bir kilometre taşı olabiliriz. Demin de söylediğim gibi, biz bilgilenmeyi, bilgiyi öne çıkararak, insanların bilgilendikçe yönelmelerini sağlayan bir yayıneviyiz. Türkiye solunda da bu böyle; yani, solun umutsuzluğa düştüğü dönemde, bilgilerle kendisine yeni kaynaklar, yeni bilgi kaynakları bulup umudu çoğalsın istedik. Bu anlamda da, katkı sunduk. Çözüm bizim işimiz değil, çözüm partilerin işi.

PK: Ama önemli bir katkı sunduğunuza inanıyorsunuz?

İK: Evet, önemli bir katkı sunduğumuzu düşünüyorum.

PK: Bu yıl, yayın dünyasındaki 30. yılınız; öncelikle tebrik ederim. Bu yıla özel çıkardığınız 3 kitap var, bunlar oldukça dikkatimi çekti benim. Biri yine Ağır Kitaplar dizisinde yer alıyor, Marx’ın seçme yazılarından oluşan *Hayalet: Seçme Yazılar*; ikincisi Ercan Kesal ve Enis Rıza’dan *Zamanın İzinde*; üçüncüsü de, *Binbir Gece Masalları*’nın kızkardeşi olarak tanımladığınız *Yüzbir Gece Masalları*. Neden bu kitapları seçtiniz 30. yılınıza özel olarak?

İK: Şimdi, 999. kitap, Marx’tan seçmeler. Ben bir Marksistim ve insanların Marx’ı öğrenmesini isterim. Marx’ı sadece yaşadığı dönemin değil, daha sonraki dönemlerin, bugünün de değil, geleceğin düşünürü olarak niteliyorum. Toplam 50.000 sayfaya yakın yazıları var Marx’ın. Türkiye’de hiçkimsenin bu yazıları okuduğunu düşünmüyorum. Belli çevreler, belki bir-iki kişi okumuştur; o kadar da iddialı olmayayım; ama en azından, Marx’ın bütün eserlerinde oluşturduğu o düşünce harsını insanların bilmesi gerektiğini düşündüm. Bunun için, böyle bir derlemeyi ben önerdim. Ben zaten, Marx’ın bütün eserlerini basmayı arzu eden bir insanım. Bu kitap da, o yolda en azından bir buklet sunabilir, insanları bilgilendirebilir diye düşündüm. Kitabı gördüğümde çok heyecanlandım. Tam istediğim ölçülerde bir kitaptı ve bunu çevirmeliyiz dedim. Yayın kurulu da kabul etti sağolsun ve böylece kitap yayınlanmış

oldu. İkinci kitap *Zamanın İzinde*. Bu bizim Enis Rıza'nın önerisiydi aslında. Enis Rıza'nın büyük bir fotoğraf arşivi var. Bu arşivden bir şey yapabilir miyiz diye, zaman zaman kendi aramızda konuşurduk; Enis benim yakın dostumdur. Sonra bunu yayın kuruluna getirmeye karar verdik. Genel Yayın Yönetmenimiz Burhan Sönmez ile konuştuk. Burhan bunu heyecanla karşıladı. 1900'lerden 2015'e kadar, fotoğraflarla zamanın tarifini verelim, Türkiye'nin tarihini irdeleyelim istedik. Güzel bir çalışma oldu. Sonra Ercan Kesal da bazı fotoğraflara yorum katsın diye bir görüş belirdi içimizde. Bana göre çok çok güzel bir kitap çıktı ortaya. Son kitapsa bir sürpriz oldu aslında. Biz 1000.'de bitirecektik, eğer *Yüzbir Gece Masalları* bulunmasaydı. Burhan'ın bir arkadaşı ona *Yüzbir Gece Masalları*'ndan bahsetmiş. Claudia Ott, Endülüs kökenli biri, *Binbir Gece Masalları*'ndan 400-500 yıl öncesine dayanan bir masal keşfettiğini söylemiş. Bu bizim açımızdan önemliydi; çünkü masallar yazılı edebiyatın ilk örnekleridir; yani, sözlü edebiyattan yazılı edebiyata geçişin ilk örnekleridir. Bu ilk örneklerden birisini, hata belki de ilk örneği bizim basmamız çok uygun olurdu diye düşündük ve o şekilde seçtik.

PK: Bu kitap ilginç de bir tercih aslında, değil mi? Daha önce benzer bir kitap yayınlanamadınız diye biliyorum, yanılıyorsam düzeltin lütfen.

İK: Yok, daha önce masallara ilişkin bir kitap yayınlamadık.

PK: 60'lı yıllardan itibaren yayınevleri daha çok diziler halinde kitaplar yayınlamaya başladı. İşte çocuk dizisi, klasikler dizisi gibi. Sizin de pek çok diziniz var. Bu politikanın altında yatan neden nedir? Yani, neden diziler halinde yayın yapmayı tercih ediyorsunuz?

İK: Bu, sizin de dediğiniz gibi, sadece bizim tercihimiz değil. Bütün yayınevleri bu tercihte bulunuyor. Nedeni de, görünür olmak. Yani, kategorize edilmiş belli yayınları görünür kılmaktır burdaki amaç. Mesela, bizim *İnceleme* dizimizin içerisinde sosyoloji kitapları vardır, ekonomi kitapları vardır, ekonomi-politik kitapları vardır, felsefe kitapları vardır. Şimdi böyle olunca, o dizinin içerisinde, bizim *İnceleme* dizimizde 250'ye yakın kitabımız var mesela, bazı kitaplar kayboluyor. Bunları daha görünür kılmak için, mesela biz ayrı bir Felsefe dizisi örgütledik. Belli kitapları giderek orda toplayacağız. Okuyucularımız da, felsefeyle ilgili bir şey bulmak istediklerinde, doğrudan Felsefe dizisine başvurabilecekler.

PK: Yani, okurların aradıkları şeyi onlara direkt verebilmek amaç.

İK: Evet, insanlar aradıklarını direkt orada bulabilsinler istiyoruz. Bu amaçla mesela, Tarih dizisi de yaptık. Daha önce de denemiştik bu diziyi Masis Kürkçügil editörlüğünde ve çok iyi bir tarih dizisi yaptığımızı düşünüyorum. Amaç işte bu. Tarihi arayanlar aradıklarını o dizide bulsun, yer altı edebiyatını arayanlar aradıklarını orda bulsun. Diziler halinde yayın yapmanın mantığı budur; bizim için de, diğer yayınevleri için de bu mantık aynı.

PK: Peki bu dizilerin oluşturulmasında, dizide yer alacak kitapların belirlenmesinde nasıl bir yol izliyorsunuz? Bu süreçte önem verdiğiniz noktalar neler?

İK: Dizilerin belirlenmesinde ve kitapların oluşturulmasında, yayın kurulumuz devreye giriyor. Kurulda bunları tartışıyoruz, dizi editörleri öneriler getiriyorlar. Ya da herkesin kafasında bir şey oluştuysa, mesela artık belli bir konudaki kitaplarımız çok fazla, bunları yeni bir dizi olarak şekillendirelim diye görüşler belirebiliyor, yayın kurulunda bunlar tartışılıp bir karara bağlanıyor. Yayın kurulu, evet, bunu yeni bir dizi olarak gösterebiliriz derse, dizi oluşmuş oluyor.

PK: Çeviri kitaplar, yayınevinin tüm kitapları içinde ne kadarlık bir yer kaplıyor? Rakam belirtmek zorunda değilsiniz, genel olarak soruyorum.

İK: 10 yıl öncesine, yani 2007'ye kadar, %95'ini falan oluşturuyordu. Biz başlangıçta, çeviri kitaplar yayınlayan bir butik yayınevi görünümündeydik. Ancak 2009'dan itibaren bu politikayı değiştirip, telif kitaplar da almayı düşündük. Şu anda çeviri kitaplar %85-90 civarına düştü. Bunu giderek daha da ilerletmeyi düşünüyoruz. Yani, çeviri ağırlıklı bir yayınevi değil, telif kitaplar da basan bir yayınevi olarak hissettirmek istiyoruz kendimizi.

PK: Peki, çevirmenleri belirlerken baz aldığınız kriterler nedir?

İK: Burda aslında herkes bizim gibi hareket ediyor. Kriter şu: Kaynak dilde egemen olduğu kadar, hedef dilde de egemen olmasını arzu ediyoruz. Bunu da birtakım kriterlerle

belirlemeye çalışıyoruz; mesela deneme çevirisi veriyoruz. Bu deneme çevirisini kontrol ediyoruz, daha sonra gönderdiği çevirileri peyderpey kontrol ederek, daha önceki çevirilerini kıstas alarak, bunu belirlemeye çalışıyoruz.

PK: Aslında ben burda genel kriterleri değil, özellerini sormak istemiştım; çünkü söylediğiniz şeyler her yayınevinin ya da her kurulun beklediği şeyler.

İK: Özel bir şey istiyorsanız, şunu söyleyebilirim: Kendi arkadaşlarımız var; bildiğimiz, tanıdığımız, düşünsel olarak bize yakın olan insanlar... Mesela, son dönemde akademisyen arkadaşlarımız işsiz kaldılar. Kötü çeviriler de yapsalar, biz akademisyenlere çeviri veriyoruz onları desteklemek adına. Kötü çeviriler yaptılar diye söylemiyorum bunu; mesela bir akademisyenin alanı sosyal bilimler, ama biz kendisine edebiyat çevirisi veriyoruz. Normalde bu durum, bizim kriterlerimize uymaz. Edebiyat çevirisi yapacak kişinin biraz da edebiyat yaklaşımının olması lazım. Ama biz o arkadaşlara edebiyat çevirisi de veriyoruz; sonra redaksiyonla düzeltmeye gidiyoruz ya da bir şekilde ortak çalışmalarla çeviriye uygun hale getirmeye çalışıyoruz. Onun dışında, bizde daha önce çeviri yapan, bildiğimiz, tanıdığımız, dost olduğumuz insanların tabii ki önceliği var. Kriterlerimizi genel olarak böyle özetleyebilirim.

PK: Şimdi Ağır Kitaplar dizisine gelelim. Bu dizi, nasıl bir ihtiyaçtan ve nasıl bir fikirle doğdu? Ve şimdiye kadar, amaçladıklarına ulaştı mı sizce?

İK: İnceleme dizisinde kendisine yer bulabilecek, bir, hacim olarak ağır, çoğunluğu 500 sayfadan fazla, iki, konu olarak ağır olan, kendi konusunda yazılmış kült kitapları, Ağır Kitaplar başlıklı bir dizi içerisine yerleştirmeye çalıştık. Aslında böyle bir dizi kolay kolay tutmaz; çünkü Türkiye’de maalesef, insanlar kitap alırken fiyatına bakıyorlar. Fiyatı fazlaysa, bu kitabı almayayım, bunun yerine üç tane kitap alırım diye düşünüyorlar. Bizdeyse böyle olmadı, bu dizi tuttu. Tutma nedeniyse, bir, konusu açısından gerçekten öğretici ve arzu edilen düzeyde olması; iki, zaten kült kitaplar olması. Yani, bu kitaplar aslında bekleniyordu; örnek verecek olursak, *Kitle ve İktidar* diyelim. Pek çok insan, “keşke bu kitap çevrilse de biz de okusak” demiştir ve çıkınca da bir karşılık bulmuştur diye düşünüyorum. Ya da Foucault’un *Cinselliğin Tarihi* gibi veya *Siyaset Sosyolojisinin Tarihi* gibi birçok kitabımız, bu şekilde beklenen kitaplardı ve biz de buna karşılık verdik.

Zaten bu dizinin okuyucuları da fiyattan çok içeriğe bakıyorlar; o açıdan da bir karşılık buldu. Tabii yine de çok satmıyor. Bu dizide beklentimiz, aman best-seller olsun, 5-6 baskı yapsın değil. Ha 5-6 baskı yapanlar da var. Mesela *Kurtlarla Koşan Kadınlar* 10 baskı yaptı; *Kitle ve İktidar* yine birkaç baskı yaptı; ama hiç baskı yapmayanlar da var. Beklentimiz çok baskı yapması yönünde değil, bilgilendirme yönünde.

PK: Anlıyorum. Peki, bu dizinin çevirmenlerinin belirlenmesinde özel olarak dikkat ettiğiniz noktalar var mı? Daha önce konuştuğumuz, çevirmenlerle ilgili genel kriterler haricinde yani. Çünkü adı üstünde Ağır Kitaplar bunlar...

İK: Elbette, konunun uzmanı olmasına, en azından terminolojiye hâkim olmasına dikkat ediyoruz; ama burada da sıkıntılar var tabii ki. Bu soruna siz de aşinasınızdır. Türkiye’de keşke çevirmen daha ihtisas sahibi olsaydı. Örneğin, ekonomi çevirmeninin asgari bir ekonomi bilgisi olsaydı; edebiyat çevirmeni, mesela Alman edebiyatı çevirecekse o alanda söz sahibi olsaydı; ama maalesef Türkiye’de bugüne kadar bu olmadı. Çeviribilim bölümlerinin artmasıyla birlikte böyle bir ihtisaslaşma olur mu bilmiyorum; ama olsa iyi olur.

PK: Bu yönde çabalar var.

İK: Bu iyi bir gelişme. Şöyle düşünün, Fransız edebiyatından bir kitap çeviriyorsunuz. Kitabı çevirirken çevirmen şöyle bir şey düşünse: Bu yazar Victor Hugo’dan etkilenmiş; üslubunda veya içeriğinde Hugo’nun etkileri görülüyor dese, bu yayınevini de bilgilendirecek bir şeydir. Yazarla, yazarın geçmişiyle bir ilişki kurup yazarı özel bir yere getirmesi, yazara karşı özel bir ilgi uyandırması açısından yayınevinin de önünü açacak bir şeydir bu. Maalesef bugün bunları göremiyoruz. Arzu ediyoruz elbette, mümkün olduğunca bunu yapmaya da çalışıyoruz. Demin dediğim nedenlerle, geçmişte çalıştığımız, o konudaki yapısını, egemenliğini bildiğimiz çevirmenlere o doğrultuda davranıyoruz.

PK: Son sorum. Ayrıntı, bu Ağır Kitaplar dizisiyle Türk yayıncılığında ve entelektüel camiasında sizce nasıl bir yerde duruyor? Okurlar neden bu dizideki kitapları okumak

ister? Bu kitapların beklendiğini söylemişsiniz çünkü. Ve bu tarz kitaplar okuyacakları zaman, neden Ayrıntı'yı tercih etmeliler?

İK: Bu da yine zor bir soru; çünkü diğer yayınevleri nasıl düşünür, bilmiyorum. Bizim için bu dizi, demin de söylediğim gibi, kendi dizilerimiz içerisinde, İnceleme dizisinin biraz daha belli kitapları öne çıkarması esasına dayalı bir dizi. Yani, belli kitaplara duyulan ilgiyi yoğunlaştırmak için bu diziyi çıkarmayı seçtik. Burada biraz da pazarlama devreye giriyor. Kitap 400-500 sayfayı geçiyor, fiyat olarak diğer kitaplara kıyasla daha yüksek. Dolayısıyla, pazarlama açısından düşünürseniz, bu kitabı okuyucunun alması için, biraz daha ilgi odaklı bir performans sergilemeniz gerekiyor. Biz de bu bağlamda düşündük ve bir karşılığı oldu mu diye sorarsanız, evet, bizim yayınevimizde oldu. Zaten bizim yayınevi gibi, bizim aynı kategoride yarıştığımız yayınevleri buna benzer şeyler yapıyorlar ve bunların karşılığı görülüyor; ama biz yaptık diye, birileri de “aman, şu yazara biz de yönelelim” deyip hurra saldırdılar; beklenen karşılığı görmediler. Yani, bu dizi, biraz da bizimle özdeşleşmiş bir dizi oldu. İnsanların, “bak Ayrıntı’da iş yapıyor, şunu ben de yayınlayayım, bizde de iş yapar” dedikleri şey öyle olmuyor. Bu biraz da Türk okuyucusunun yapısı mıdır, bilmiyorum; bazı yazarları ya da kitapları yayıneviyle özdeşleştiriyorlar. Edebiyatta da böyle bu. Mesela, bizde yayınlanmış bir kitap, adını vermeyeyim, çok satacak diye, üstelik de çok büyük paralar yatırarak bizden transfer ettikleri bir yazar, B yayınevinde hiç karşılık görmedi. Bizde çok baskı yapmış, çok satan, hatta bizim en çok satan kitaplarımızdan birisiyken, o B yayınevinde yapmadı. Biz yılda 2-3 baskı yapıyorduk, onlar daha ikinci baskıyı bile yapamadılar. Yani, böyle bir şey var diye düşünüyorum.

PK: Böyle bir imajınız var yani. Sizinle özdeşleşmiş bazı kitaplar...

İK: Evet, bir imajımız var ve “Ayrıntı imajı” dediğimiz şey, başlangıç mottomuzda da belirttiğimiz gibi, bizim ayrıntılara önem vermemiz ve okuyucunun ayrıntılarla buluşmasını istememiz. Yani, detaycı bir yayıneviyiz. O detayı merak edenler de bize başvuruyor. Öyle bir imajımız var diye düşünüyorum.

PK: Bence de öyle; ben de tezimde bunu kanıtlamaya çalışacağım zaten. Benim sorularım bunlardı; sizin eklemek istediğiniz, belirtmek istediğiniz bir şey varsa, duymak isterim.

İK: Şunu söyleyebilirim belki: Yayıncılık zor bir iş, özellikle de Türkiye’de. Birincisi, devletten hiçbir destek görmüyorsunuz. İkincisi, girdileri çok pahalı. Mesela kâğıt, dolar gibi. Dolar nasıl dalgalanıyorsa, kâğıt da öyle dalgalanıyor. Gündelik hayatta bizim okuyucularımızdan aldığımız en büyük eleştiri, kitaplarımızın pahalı olması. Evet, kitaplarımız pahalı, neden; çünkü birincisi, daha temiz kâğıt kullanmaya çalışıyoruz. İkincisi, telifini kuruşu kuruşuna ödüyörüz; çevirmene de, redaktöre de, son okumacıya da. Biz, çevirmen-redaktör-son okuyucu üçlemesini her kitabında kullanan bir yayınevliyiz; bunlar para demek. Bazı yayınevleri sadece çevirmen kullanıyor ve o çevirmen de genelde, en ucuz çeviriyi yapan kimse o oluyor. Öyle olunca, bizim yarı fiyatımıza kitap çeviriyorlar, bir redaksiyon ve son okuma söz konusu değil. Dolayısıyla kitap başlangıçtan %10’luk bir tenkisata uğruyor, yani %10 daha ucuz oluyor. Ayrıca, kitap çok sattıkça ucuzlar. Bir kitabı 50.000 basarsanız, kitabın maliyeti yarı yarıya düşer. E bizim kitaplarımız çok satan kitaplar değil. Telifi yüksek, çevirisi yüksek, her şeyi yüksek, satışı düşük. Dolayısıyla, bir ters orantı var; bu ters orantı da kitabın pahalı olmasına neden oluyor. İster istemez bizim okuyucumuz da, özel ilgisi olan, Ayrıntı’yı benimseyen, parasına kıyan, okumayı seven okuyucular oluyor. Bu ters orantının bazen bir doğru uzantısı oluyor. O uzantı bizi mutlu ediyor şimdilik; ama ne kadar böyle gider, onu bilmiyorum.

PK: Zaman ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ederim.

İK: Rica ederim, ben de teşekkür ederim.

SECOND MEETING WITH İLBAY KAHRAMAN (17.03.2018, THROUGH FACE TO FACE INTERVIEW)

PK: Merhaba! Klasik bir giriş yapalım. Benimle yeniden görüşmeyi kabul ettiğiniz için tekrar teşekkür ederim

İK: Rica ederim.

PK: Ağır Kitaplar dizisi içerisindeki kitapların satıp satmaması, yayınevinin başarı anlayışı açısından nerede duruyor?

İK: Şimdi biz ticari bir kuruluşuz; dolayısıyla, kitapların satmasını arzu ederiz. İki nedenden dolayı bunu arzu ederiz. Birincisi, daha çok okuyucu tarafından okunmasını kültürel açıdan arzu ederiz. İkincisi, ekonomik olarak onun bize geri döndüsünü sağlamak, başka projelere kaynak oluşturur diye isteriz. Bütün yayınevleri de böyle düşünüyor. Yani, kitaplar satmasın diye yayınlanmaz; ama bazı kitaplar vardır ki, satmasa bile yayınlanmak durumundadır. Satılmasını arzu edersiniz; ama satmasa bile o kitap önemlidir. O kitabın yayınlanması, diyelim ki Türkiye'nin kültürel ortamı açısından çok önemlidir. Biz bu kitapları, biraz da o açıdan tercih ettiğimiz için, böyle bir deyim kullanmıştım. Yani, bakıyorsunuz, yeni çıkardığımız kitap, *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek*, 900 sayfalık bir kitap. Şimdi 900 sayfalık bir kitabın Türkiye'de satma şansı çok azdır; çünkü Türk okuyucusu genelde kitabın arkasını çevirir, etiketine bakar. İçerik önemli değildir; içerik ancak çok az sayıda, yani 50-60 okuyucu için önemlidir. O para ve o içeriği bilerek satın alır. Diğerleri, içeriği çok tartışır, parayı çok tartışır, cebine bakar vs. ve sonra satın almaya kalkar. Şimdi bu koşullar içerisinde biz, satsa da satmasa da, *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek*'i yayınlamak durumundaydık. Diyelim ki 60 tane satsaydı, gene de biz bu kitabı yayınlamaktan mutlu olurduk; çünkü Türk kültür hayatına o kitabı armağan etmek isterdik. Benim söylediğim böyle anlaşılmalı.

PK: Bir nevi, tarihe not düşmek kaygısı da olduğunu söyleyebilir miyiz?

İK: Tabii...

PK: Yani şu anda satmıyor; ama belki ilerde, koşullar değiştiğinde, sonuçta o kitabın orda bulunması önemli bir şey olacak.

İK: Yani şöyle düşünmek lazım (biz öyle düşünüyoruz en azından); herkes lisan bilmiyor Türkiye'de (biz daha çok çeviri kitaplar yayınlıyoruz). Bizim kitaplarımızı bir, akademik çevreden okuyanlar var; ikincisi, entelektüel çevreden okuyanlar var. Akademik çevreden okuyanların aşağı yukarı bir dili var; ama herkes İngilizce bilmiyor. Bu kitaplar da, birkaç dile birden çevrilmiş değil. Mesela bu *Lenin'i Yeniden Keşfetmek*, İngilizce dışında başka bir dile henüz çevrilmedi; ikinci dil biziz. Dolayısıyla, Almanca bilen bir akademisyen, İngilizce bilmeyen bir akademisyen buna ulaşmak istediğinde, biz ona yardımcı olmak istiyoruz. Ya da entelektüel çevrede İngilizce bilmeyen, Fransızca bilen bir akademisyen

ya da entelektüel bunu okumak istediğinde, biz ona da ulaşmak istiyoruz. Birinci kaygımız bu. İkinci kaygımız, bunlar başvuru kitapları. Yani, bunu alır, kütüphanene koyarsın, 10 yıl sonra gerektiğinde bakarsın, 5 yıl sonra gerektiğinde bakarsın ya da gerek duyarsın baştan sona okursun. Bu tür kitaplar olduğu için, bunun kültürel bir gereklilik olduğunu düşünüyoruz ve o anlamda yayınlıyoruz.

PK: İyi ki de yapıyorsunuz.

İK: Teşekkür ederiz.

PK: Peki, ikinci ve son sorum. Bu Ağır Kitaplar dizisi içinde hiç yeniden çeviri var mı? Bu yeniden çeviriden bahsettiğim, daha önce başka yayınevlerinden yayınlanmış olabilir ya da siz kendiniz çevirmişsinizdir; ama memnun olunmadığı için tekrar çeviri ihtiyacı duymuşsunuzdur.

İK: Şimdi, biz genelde şunu yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Bu dizide yer alan kitapların, tekrar baskı olmamasına çaba sarfediyoruz; ama bu, olmayacak anlamını da taşıyor. Ne bileyim, 50 yıl önce çevrilmiştir, piyasada yoktur, insanlar artık o kitaba ulaşamıyordu; ama bizim açımızdan da çok önemlidir o kitap ya da Türkiye kültür tarihi açısından çok önemlidir. Bunu yayınlatabiliriz; yani, baştan bir reddiye ile karşı çıkmayayım diye söylüyorum bunu. Yani olabilir; ama bugüne kadar öyle bir şey olmadı. Sadece şöyle bir şey var: Foucault'un cinsellik üzerine kitabını makaleler halinde Türkçede yayınlamışlardı, toplu olarak ilk defa biz yayınlıyoruz. Yani bu yeniden yayınlama sayılabilir mi, bilemiyorum, ama öyle. Başka dizilerde yayınladığımız kitaplarımız var; onları ya da Ağır Kitaplar'da yayınladığımız kitapların bazılarını, mesela Yasemin Giritlioğlu'nun kitaplarını Skola'ya aldık. Bunları yapabiliyoruz, yani bu tür atraksiyonlar yapıyoruz; ama esas olarak, Ağır Kitaplar'da yayınladığımız şey, İnceleme'de yayınlayacağımız, ama daha kapsamlı, daha külliyatlı kitaplar olduğu için, ayrı bir dizi olarak göstermek istediğimiz kitaplardır bunlar. Sonuçta burdaki felsefemiz ile İnceleme'deki felsefemiz birbirinden çok farklı değil. Sadece, Ağır Kitaplar'da daha kapsamlı, daha çok sayfalı, daha geniş kitapları burada yayınlamayı düşünüyoruz. Şeye gelince, yani çeviri anlamında yeniden çevirteceğimiz kitaplara gelince, bazı kitapların çevirileri konusunda okurlarımızdan bazı eleştiriler aldık. Yani, bu kitapların çevirilerini

yeniden çevirseniz, anlamda kayma yok ama Türkçesinde sorunlar var, kitap çok akıcı değil vs. gibi eleştiriler aldık. Biz okuyucuların eleştirilerini dikkate alan bir yayıneviyiz. Bu eleştiriler yoğun olarak geldiği için, bazı kitaplar yeni baskılarda yeni çevirmenler tarafından çevrilebilir.

PK: Şu anda, bu da bu zamana kadar olmadı, ama düşündüğünüz şeyler...

İK: Şu ana kadar olmadı; ama düşündüğümüz, yeniden incelediğimiz kitaplar var. O kitaplar incelemeden, evet bunları yeniden çevirtelim, raporu çıkarsa, evet, yeniden çevirteceğiz.

PK: İncelemede dediğiniz şey, yayın kurulu mu?

İK: Evet, yayın kurulu inceliyor.

PK: Peki bu okurlardan gelen eleştirileri hangi kanallardan alıyorsunuz?

İK: Bir, internet aracılığıyla alıyoruz. Sitemizde bu tür bir eleştiri kanalı var. Yani, bize yazın dediğimiz şeyler var. İkincisi, biz yazın demesek bile, okurlarımız (bizim okurlarımız çok duyarlı) bir şekilde, bizim internet adresimize bol miktarda eleştiri gönderiyorlar. Bunlar bir kısmı haklı, bir kısmı haksız. Kimi kendi bakış açısından değerlendiriyor, kimi gerçekten haklı, kimi gerçekten haklı, belki manipülatif... Bunları bilemiyoruz; ama okurlardan gelen her eleştiriye kesinlikle dikkate alıyoruz, inceliyoruz. Eğer gerçekten haklılık nedenleri varsa, gerçekten o kitap bütünsel olarak okunmayacak durumdaysa, çeviride sıkıntılar varsa, bunları değiştiriyoruz. Piyasadan toplattığımız kitaplar da var bu anlamda.

PK: Ama Ağır Kitaplar'da böyle bir şey yok?

İK: Ağır Kitaplar'da yok.

PK: Evet, daha önce ben de hatırlıyorum böyle bir şeyi gazetelerden okuduğumu; ama Ağır Kitaplar'da yok... Şimdi siz okur eleştirilerinden bahsettiğinizde, aklıma bir şey

geldi. İdefix'teki yorumları dikkate alıyor musunuz? Yani, onları özel olarak değerlendiriyor musunuz? İdefix'te de, biliyorsunuz, bazen kitaplar için yorum yapıyor okuyucular tarafından.

İK: Yani, bütün internet kanallarında bizim hakkımızda çıkan eleştirileri alıyoruz.

PK: Hepsini...

İK: Mesela ekşisözlük'ten hep böyle bir şey gelir: Harika bir yayınevi, olmazsa olmaz bir yayınevi; ama kitapları çok pahalı. Bu doğru bir eleştiri değil. Bizim kitaplarımız, kendi rakiplerimize göre daha ucuz; ama okuyucular şunu bilmiyor: Yani, bir yılda bir gazeteye kaç kere zam yapılıyor, bunu bilmiyor; çünkü kâğıt paraları dolar ve euro'yla. Dolar arttıkça kâğıt fiyatları artıyor. Artı, bunu fırsat bilen kâğıtçılar, peşin parayla çalışıyorlar; peşin para vermediğiniz vakit, aylık vade farkı kouruyorlar. Bunlar yayıncılar için çok büyük tuzak ve tehlike. İki, biz telifsiz kitap yayınlamıyoruz; hepsinin telifini ödüyoruz. İki, korsan baskı yapmıyoruz; korsan yayına karşıyız. Üç, her kita redaktör ve son okumacıdan geçer; yani, o konuda titiziz. Dolayısıyla, bizim ödemelerimiz biraz daha, diğer yayınevlerine göre farklı olmasına rağmen (tabii ki bizim gibi yayınevleri de var), yani bazı "ucuz" kitap satan yayınevlerini kastederek bunu söylüyorum, bizim gibi yayınevleri buna dikkat eder. Biz de onlardan birisiyiz; ama buna rağmen, bizimle aynı paragrafta anılan yayıncılardan bir nebze daha aşağıda kitap fiyatlandırmaya çalışıyoruz.

PK: Ulaşılabilir olması açısından biraz daha, değil mi?

İK: (Kafa sallar)

PK: Yeniden çeviri ile ilgili, başka yayınevlerinin yayınladığı kitapları yayınlamayı pek tercih etmediğinizi söylemiştiniz, neden? Biraz açabilir misiniz onu?

İK: Yani şöyle bir şey... Şimdi, yakın zamanda bir başka yayınevi tarafından yayınlanmış ve yayınlamayı düşünüyor ya da piyasada fazla bulunmuyor. Özellikle küçük yayınevlerinin piyasaya çıkma koşulları uygun olmayabilir. Kitap elinde vardır, ama piyasada görünür değildir. Şimdi, elinde stokları vardır, ona yatırım yapmıştır. Biz

şimdi o kitabı yeniden yayınlamakla, biz o küçük yayınevini abluka altına almış oluyoruz; yaşam hakkını tehdit etmiş oluyoruz. Onun için, biz prensip olarak böyle bir karar alınca, A yayınevi, B yayınevi, C yayınevi gibi bir şey, bir standardize, daha doğrusu, sınıflandırma yapma durumunda kalmıyoruz. Biz prensip olarak basmıyoruz deyince, gerekçelendirmek zorunda kalmıyoruz.

PK: Evet, anladım. Benim bu kadardı aslında ek sorularım. Sizin söylemek istediğiniz, bu kanal vesilesiyle aktarmak istediğiniz bir şey varsa...

İK: Yani, aşağı yukarı her şeyi konuştuk diye düşünüyorum. Sizin aklınıza gelen bir şey olursa... Ha, şunu söyleyebilirim: Ya, biz bu tür akademik çalışmalara destek olmaya çalışıyoruz. Akademiyle ilişkimizi güçlü tutmaya çalışıyoruz; çünkü akademinin, bu işin bir parçası olduğunu, yayıncılığın bir parçası olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Siz bir ucundan tutacaksınız, biz bir ucundan tutacağız. Bazen siz öne çıkacaksınız, biz size destek olacağız; bazen biz öne çıkacağız, siz bize destek olacaksınız ve bu ülkenin ekin hayatında, bir yer tutmaya çalışacağız. Bu anlamda, sadece biz değil, bu bize ait bir özellik değil, birçok yayıncının bu anlamda size yardımcı olacağını, yani akademiye yardımcı olacağını düşünüyorum. Ha düşünmeyenler, yapmak istemeyenler olabilecektir, onları da bu konunun dışında tutun.

PK: Çok teşekkür ederim, gerçekten. Bu konudaki duyarlılığınız için ben kendi adıma ayrıca teşekkür ederim, tez danışmanım Yrd. Doç. Dr. Elif Ersözlü adına da özel olarak tekrar teşekkür ederim.

İK: Ben de Elif hanıma teşekkür ederim.

PK: İyi ki varsınız.

İK: Siz de iyi ki varsınız. Sizin varlığınız, bizim varlığımız; bizim varlığımız, sizin varlığınız, ortak bir varlık bu.

PK: Çok sağolun.

BURHAN SÖNMEZ (20.09.2017, THROUGH E-MAIL)

PK: Bir kitabın Ağır Kitaplar dizisine göre olup olmadığına nasıl karar veriyorsunuz?

BS: Herhangi bir kitabın Ağır Kitaplar dizimize uygun olup olmadığı, öncelikle kitabın içeriği, tarihsel olarak taşıdığı önem, alanındaki konumu gibi kıstaslar gözetilerek belirleniyor; buradan bakınca, inceleme-araştırma alanında bir tür “klasik” statüsü kazanmış eserler gözetilmektedir. Söz gelimi Elias Canetti’nin *Kitle ve İktidar* yahut Michel Foucault’nun *Cinselliğin Tarihi* gibi çalışmaları...

PK: Kitap seçimlerinde özgür olduğunuzu söyleyebilir misiniz? Önerdiğiniz kitapların kurulda profesyonelce değerlendirildiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

BS: Kitap seçimleri özgürce yapılır. Önerilen bütün kitaplar yayın kurulunda profesyonelce değerlendirilir.

PK: Çevirmen seçimi sürecinde sizin rolünüz ne ve bu süreci nasıl yönetiyorsunuz?

BS: Kitapların uygun çevirmenlere gitmesi için azami çaba sarf etmekteyiz, bahis konusu olan çeviri olunca sadece dil bilmek yeterli bir ölçüt değildir, çevirmenin eserin *bağlamına, içeriğine ve retoriğine* vakıf olması gerekmektedir, mesela mevzu bahis kitap bir hukuk kitabıysa hukuk terminolojisine aşina bir çevirmene gitmeli, felsefe ve sosyoloji için de aynı ölçüt geçerli. Uygun çevirmen kadar uygun editör de kritik bir öneme sahip, editörün de eserin söz konusu bağlamına vakıf olması gözetilmekte, ayrıca çevirmen ve editör arasında koordinasyon sağlanmakta.

PK: En başta Ayrıntı Yayınları’nda çalışmak istemenizin, profesyonel ve mümkünse kişisel sebeplerini anlatabilir misiniz?

BS: Ayrıntı Yayınları’nda profesyonel manada çalışmak istememin öncelikli nedeni, uzun yılları bulan yayın çizgisi, bu yaratıcı çizgi doğrultusunda ortaya çıkan entelektüel ve kültürel birikim, ve bu birikime karınca kararınca katkıda bulunmak isteği...

PK: Bir editör olarak yayınevlerinde çalışabilmek için yayıneviyle ideolojik bir yakınlık olması sizce bir zorunluluk mu?

BS: Bizim açımızdan belirleyici olan unsur, editörün kitap dünyasına ilgisi, merakı, okuma etkinlikleri, temiz iş çıkarması gibi parametrelerdir. Negatif referanslardan sakınıyoruz. Örneğin kadın düşmanı, ırkçı, ayrımcı vb. fikirde olanlarla yayınlarımızın bünyesi uyuşmaz.

APPENDIX 2. MESAI ARKADAŞLARIMA MEKTUP

Sevgili Mesai Arkadaşlarım,

Deneyimlerimize dayanarak, çeviri, redaksiyon ve düzelti/son okuma faaliyetleri çerçevesinde, dikkat etmemiz gereken bazı çalışma ve yazım kurallarını kaleme almayı uygun bulduk. Bunlar bir metinde gözetilmesi gereken kurallardır. Bunları hazırlarken tek bir kaynağa bağlı kalmadık, tamamen deneyimlere dayandık. Bazılarını çeşitli gramer kitaplarında bulabilirsiniz. Ama hepsini tek bir kitapta bulamazsınız. Bu deneysel bir çalışmadır. Zenginleştirilmeye ve tartışılmaya muhtaçtır. Bu yüzden bu kurallar demetine katkıda bulunabilirsiniz; bunları eleştirebilirsiniz, tartışabilirsiniz. Ama ortak bir dil tutturma ve belli bir metin disiplini sağlama açısından, birbirimizi aksine ikna etmedikçe, bu kurallar geçerli kurallarımızdır.


Sevgili arkadaşlarım, çevirmenden başlayarak, bir metinde bırakılan, ihmal edilen, önemsenmeyen her şey yığılarak son okumaya kadar gelir. Üç aşamayı da (çeviri, redaksiyon, son okuma/düzeltilme) geçip elimize gelmiş bir metinde eksiklik, hata, ihmal ve özensizlik görülmesi halinde, kitabın basılmayacağı kesin olduğuna göre, süreç tersine işlemeye başlayacaktır.

Biliyorsunuz, metinlerle uğraşmak çok zor bir iş. Yapılan hatalar kalıcıdır; peşinizi bırakmaz. Ne olursanız olun ama bir metin söz konusu olduğunda, kendinize aşırı güvenmeyin. Sözcüklerin birleşik ya da ayrı yazılması, “tüm ‘şey’ kelimeleri ayrı yazılır” gibi birkaç istisna dışında, belli bir mantık kuralına göre işlemez. Dolayısıyla, kuşku duyulan her durumda kılavuza başvurmak gerekir.


Şimdi bir takım kuralları, belli bir önem sırası gözetmeksizin, alt alta yazacağım.

...

APPENDIX 3. ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORKS

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING IN ENGLISH TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY	
Date: 03 / 07 / 2018	
Thesis Title / Topic: THE EFFECT OF TRANSLATION ON GAINING SYMBOLIC CAPITAL FOR PUBLISHING HOUSES: A CASE STUDY ONAYRINTI YAYINLARI'S PUBLISHING STRATEGY IN <i>AĞIR KİTAPLAR</i> SERIES	
My thesis work related to the title/topic above:	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 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 based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development). 	
I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.	
I respectfully submit this for approval.	
Date and Signature	
Name Surname:	Pelin KORKMAZ
Student No:	N14227541
Department:	Translation and Interpreting in English
Program:	Translation and Interpreting in English, Master of Art Program with Thesis
Status:	<input type="checkbox"/> Masters <input type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.
<u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u>	
(Assoc. Prof. Dr., Elif ERSÖZLÜ, Signature)	

APPENDIX 4. ORIGINALITY REPORT

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING IN ENGLISH DEPARTMENT	
Date: 04/07/2018	
<p>Thesis Title : THE EFFECT OF TRANSLATION ON GAINING SYMBOLIC CAPITAL FOR PUBLISHING HOUSES: A CASE STUDY ON AYRINTI YAYINLARI'S PUBLISHING STRATEGY IN <i>AĞIR KİTAPLAR</i> SERIES</p> <p>According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 04/07/2018 for the total of 149 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 12 %.</p> <p>Filtering options applied:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Approval and Declaration sections excluded 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Bibliography/Works Cited excluded 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Quotes excluded 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Quotes included 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Match size up to 5 words excluded <p>I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.</p> <p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>	
	Date and Signature
Name Surname: Pelin KORKMAZ Student No: N14227541 Department: Translation and Interpreting in English Program: Translation and Interpreting in English, Master of Art Program with Thesis	
<u>ADVISOR APPROVAL</u>	
APPROVED.	
(Assoc. Prof. Dr., Elif ERSÖZLÜ, Signature)	