

SELF-CENSORSHIP IN TRANSLATED TITLES IN TURKISH PUBLISHING

MA Dissertation

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Abstract

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Self-Censorship in Translated Titles in Turkish Publishing

This study discusses the practice of self-censorship in Turkish publishers after 1985, with special reference to translated titles. It analyses the ideological, political and social attitudes of publishers by examining the kind of editorial control they exercise. The study has a holistic approach; rather than focusing on the practices of selected publishing houses, it gives general information about the various segments in the publishing industry in Turkey.

The research combines secondary and primary research in the areas of Translation Studies and Culture of Publishing. The literature review discusses translation as a purposeful and norm governed activity and provides arguments about ideology in translation and the translator's visibility. As to the Culture of Publishing in Turkey, the dissertation makes use of articles about the role of publishing in the society and the translator's position in the industry. Interviews with publishers and translators have been referred to, in an effort to provide insights to the culture of publishing and the editorial processes of translated titles. Data gathered online has been presented in tables. Special attention has been paid to illustrate the study with recent examples and comments from key persons in the industry.

As will be demonstrated in the dissertation, different types of censorship are an integral part of the Turkish publishing industry. The profession of publishing is open to ideological influences and a publisher's stance against censorship is part of their identity. Challenging state censorship is a means to realise the initial aims of some politically engaged publishing houses. Self-censorship, on the other hand, is practised by others as a consequence of the gatekeeping function attributed to publishing in Turkey, especially in translated children's literature.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Freedom of expression has been championed in the media of many countries in the second half of the twentieth century, and for some, it still is an ideal to struggle for. Although censorship that has been under the spotlight is that observed in periodicals and broadcasting, the issue has important implications in publishing too. Today, especially after the widespread use of the Internet, censorship is seen in a wider context, taking into account the various fields it applies to.

Censorship is defined as “the curtailment, usually by or on behalf of those in authority, of the major freedoms – of belief, expression, movement, assembly and access to information” (Watson and Hill, 2000). *The Dictionary of Media and Communication Studies* differentiates between pre-emptive and punitive censorship; the former taking place before the event, and the latter after the event; in our case, the publishing of books. It is important to note that the most common form of censorship is that applied by the self. This is explained as not expressing something “because of the risk of external censorship – from the law, from organisations and institutions, from pressure groups” (Watson and Hill, 2000). Throughout the dissertation, this situation will be referred to as self-censorship.

This study is mainly concerned with the self-censorship practices in Turkish publishing. It analyses the topic vis-à-vis censorship and in the context of the culture of publishing in Turkey. The question it aims to answer is: How does a publisher’s ideological stance manifest itself in their attitude towards censorship and self-censorship? The dissertation does not set out to categorise individual publishing houses in Turkey; it aims to shed light on the certain tendencies and patterns in terms of editorial practices in translated titles.

It may be useful to clarify some points about the Turkish publishing industry in this section. In terms of ownership, there are independent publishers and conglomerates in Turkey. Publishing houses that are part of a conglomerate are referred to as *sermaye yayıncılığı* [capitalist publishing houses]. These capitalist publishers are known to be mainstream in their political stance, following the official ideology of the State. Moreover, there are publishing houses with political or religious agendas, usually among the independents. In terms of political tendencies, publishers may roughly be grouped as right-wing and left-wing, the former more conservative and following the principles of Islam, while the latter remain secular and usually support socialism and/or Marxism. The tendencies of publishing houses are normally visible in their lists.

Most publishers publish translations in Turkey, and translated titles are indispensable for the publishing industry. The network of freelance translators has close ties with the industry and writers, editors, translators and translation scholars take part in the discussion about translated books. However, self-censorship has not received much coverage in the media or in the academia from the point of view of publishing.

Some terms have been used interchangeably throughout the text. The terms publisher/owner of a publishing house/editor-in-chief, editor/proofreader, editing/proofreading, editor/translator-editor are not easy to distinguish in the Turkish literary market, as will be explained. Therefore, although attention has been paid not to confuse readers, some terms have been used in a wider sense.

The dissertation has been divided into chapters to present discussions in a systematic way. First of all, the methods used for research will be explained in the Methodology section. Then, the Literature Review will summarise theories relevant to the study. The results of research, analysis and evaluation will be presented in the chapters about the Turkish publishing industry. An overview of the industry will be given, followed by arguments regarding the culture of publishing in Turkey and the discourse of Turkish publishers. These will provide a transition to the chapter titled Editorial Intervention in Turkish Publishing, which will discuss the issues of censorship and self-censorship, with an emphasis on translated titles. Later, obscenity and nationalism cases will be explained with examples, followed by practices observed in translated children's literature.

II. METHODOLOGY

Research methods used in the dissertation include primary and secondary research. The main printed resources used for the secondary research are articles from books on Translation Studies, from Turkish literary magazines and chapters of dissertations previously written on a similar subject. Articles from literary supplements of Turkish newspapers have generally been retrieved online. For primary research, books referred to elsewhere have been scanned and if necessary, excerpts have been analysed.

The Turkish Publishers' Association has been an important source of information. The 2005 Turkish Publishers Catalogue and the Association's reports have been referred to several times. Other factual data, including legislation and details of books, have been drawn from the Internet in an effort to present the most up-to-date version. Tables have been prepared to give statistical information in the body of the text and in the Appendices. The data contained in the tables has been extracted from the reports of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation. The missing information in the Reports, which have been written as a narrative, has been filled by searching online booksellers.

Several publishers have been contacted for interviews; however, only a few interviews have been realised, and the answers given by some of the interviewees have not been found objective enough to use in an academic work. This situation is attributable to the sensitivity of the subject. One publisher who agreed to make sincere comments did not agree to his words being recorded. Coupled with time restrictions, the idea of interviews have been abandoned. The present researcher has chosen to gather facts and opinions from secondary sources instead. Online and printed interviews with publishers and translators have been cited. A number of interviews have been carried out via e-mail, and the answers may be found in the Appendices, translated into English by the present author.

Moreover, a questionnaire has been sent to the members of an e-mail group, in order to get answers reflecting translators' experiences with publishers (see Appendix I for a blank copy). Nevertheless, this method also failed, because the number of returned questionnaires was not sufficient to draw healthy conclusions. Instead, a collective interview with four freelance translators has been conducted, and a very broad conclusion reached at the end of the interview has been used in the dissertation, again because of the objectivity of the information given was questionable.

After the primary and secondary research, the results have been analysed and arranged to follow a system. As mentioned before, the information is presented in a way to provide an overview of the censorship and self-censorship issues in the Turkish publishing industry. As a result, the comments made and the conclusions drawn by the author have not been directed to particular publishers.

The majority of primary and secondary resources referred to in the IV and V chapters are originally in Turkish. The relevant parts have been translated by the author, and in cases where the translation of another translator has been used; their name has been given in footnotes. The author has refrained from translating legislation because it requires legal expertise. Instead, translations published on the Internet have been used and in one case a British translator has been consulted.

In cases where translations into Turkish have been quoted, back-translations into English have been made to make it possible for non-Turkish readers to compare the original and the translation. All back-translations belong to the present author. However, in examples drawn from French and Russian books, an established English translation has been used with the translators' name in footnotes.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will form the theoretical basis of the study, focusing on Translation Studies. Discussions about the nature of translation will be presented, the role of the translator's socio-cultural context will be highlighted and the concept of ideology will be explained. This framework in TS will help adopt a conscious approach to the translation practices in Turkey. Literature in the History and Culture of Publishing in Turkey will be reviewed in the following chapters.

a. Translation as a Purposeful Activity

The functionalist approach in TS sees translation as a purposeful activity, based on the assumption of action theory. According to this theory, all actions have a purpose, and translation is no exception. Here, action is defined as "a process of acting, which means 'intentionally (at will) bringing about or preventing a change in the world'" (Nord, 1997). Functionalist theoreticians take translation as a form of translational interaction. Christiane Nord emphasises the concept of communication in translation and explains that communicative situations can be defined as settings in which people interact. Translation, doubtlessly being a form of communication, is seen as interpersonal interaction (Nord, 1997). In short, translational action is an activity whose primary purpose is to establish communication between people.

Translation, in the narrower meaning, is the type of translational action that involves a source text. Other types of translational action may involve giving advice on culture and language related issues. According to Nord, translation is "an intentional, interpersonal, partly verbal intercultural interaction based on a source text" (Nord, 1997). This definition puts translation in a wider cultural communication context that involves linguistic transfer between – oral or written – texts.

Translation cannot be studied separately from the conditions surrounding the process. Communicative interactions have historical and cultural dimensions that shape the agents' behaviours and their attitude towards each other. In other words, communication takes place in circumstances that influence the individuals communicating. Culture is a key factor that determines people's perspectives in communication. Translation is a process that involves members of different cultures. Since language is an integral part of culture, translation is also considered a cultural activity (Nord, 1997). Thus, we may conclude that interaction and culture are key concepts in translation.

Skopos Theorie, put forward by Hans J. Vermeer in the 1980's, is one of the most prominent theories in the functionalist approach. Here, *skopos* refers to the aim or purpose of a translation, which is negotiated between the commissioner and the translator. Commissioner, as the term suggests, is the individual or institution who asks the translator to undertake a certain task and specifies it. Each text has a function; the commissioner's brief may require it to be changed or kept the same. The translator performs the task according to the chosen function of the text, and produces a *translatum* (Vermeer, 2002). Here, we see that the translation process usually is not based on the personal preferences of the translator only.

Vermeer acknowledges the fact that translation is not simply a process of transcoding between languages. The translator may make necessary changes to the text in order to meet the requirements in their translation brief. The function that the translator intends to attribute to their target text may require it to be translated, paraphrased or completely re-edited (Vermeer, 2002). Here the translator, conscious of the consequences of their acts, is seen in an active decision-making capacity. Thus, we may assume that the translator's task is to find the style that best fits the desired result.

The concept of culture is very much emphasised in Skopos Theory. Hans Vermeer argues that the source text is part of the source culture, and the target text is expected to conform to the norms of the target culture. Therefore, the translator should be an expert in not only the two languages, but also in the two cultures. However, since the translator will compose the text in the conditions of the target culture, the adequacy of the translation will be determined by the extent to which it conforms to the norms thereof (Vermeer, 2002). To put it differently, the translator has to take into account the culture into which the translation is to be introduced. Moreover, the success or the failure of the translation depends on how well the translated text fits into the conventions in the target culture.

To sum up, translation is a multi-faceted process involving the translator, the commissioner and the target culture. The translator plays a key role in the production of the translated text, but they cannot ignore the considerations of the other agents involved. The translator must be aware of the norms in the various segments of the target culture, which has important implications in the publishing industry.

b. Translation as a Norm Governed Activity

As a socio-cultural phenomenon, translation has its norms and conventions. Seeing translation as a norm governed activity will help analyse the practices related to publishing translated literature.

Translation scholars Theo Hermans, Lawrence Venuti, Gideon Toury and Ian Mason have discussed the importance of norms in translation.

According to Lawrence Venuti, translations are not produced for their own sake, but for a purpose, and with reference to existent translated texts. The normal code of existence of a translation is not “a translation” or “a translated text” *per se*, but as a translated legal document, a translated article on philosophy or a translated work of literature. Rather than occurring in a self-contained universe, translations are inserted into existing forms and practices (Venuti, 1996). So, Venuti argues that translated texts must fit into the context of the relevant genre.

Texts that are translated to be published go through a process that involves authors, translators, editors and publishers. Theo Hermans calls these “social agents”, and they each have their preconceptions and interests. From this point of view, translation is a matter of transactions between social agents that have an interest in those transactions. The agents in question determine their own choices, alternatives, decisions, strategies and goals (Hermans 1996a). This reminds us of the fact that translations cannot be seen in a vacuum, but as a result of mutual relations between the individuals and institutions taking part in the process.

The agent who initiates the translation process makes an assessment of what is physically possible, and what is socially, politically, culturally and ideologically permitted, encouraged or demanded in the target culture. According to Hermans, evaluation is made by the individuals or institutions that control the channels of communication (Hermans 1996a). In effect, it may be observed that the conditions surrounding the publication of a translation are shaped by the realities of the relevant publishing industry.

For Hermans, translation is a highly norm governed activity. He defines norms as prescriptive rules: “they have a normative semantic load and are used to guide, control or change the behaviour of agents with decision-making capacities” (Hermans, 1996a). Norms tell individuals in a community how everyone expects them to behave in a given situation; they point to a particular course of action which is more or less strongly preferred because it is considered to be proper, correct or appropriate. They differ from conventions in that they have a binding character and carry some form of sanction (Hermans 1996a). Hermans’s concept of norms in translation is important in the editorial processes of translated titles. Norms as prescriptive rules are certainly binding for those in the publishing industry.

Norms can be broken, however, and which norm will be broken by whom depends on the nature and strength of the norm and the individual's motivation. Rules, on the other hand, are institutionalised norms. If the pressure exerted by the rule is the only reason for behaving in one way rather than the other, then it is a decree. Decrees are statutory, and they are issued by an identifiable authority, which has the power to impose sanctions in the case of non-compliance (Hermans, 1996a). Laws prescribing censorship may be interpreted as decrees in this context.

Lawrence Venuti stresses the social context in which norms operate. Norms are social realities, involving not only individuals, groups and communities but also the power relations within these communities, whether they are of an economic, legal and political or "symbolic" nature. It is also the stratified social context, and the power relations in it, which accounts for the prominence as well as the greater binding force of some norms compared to others (Venuti 1996). The relevance of non-compliance to norms and decrees in the publishing industry will be discussed in the chapter about censorship and self-censorship.

The content of a norm is a notion of what is "proper" or "correct", which are subjective notions, "conceptualisations of patterns of behaviour – including speaking, writing, translating – regarded as correct or at least legitimate, and therefore valued positively". The individuals or institutions who exercise normative control occupy positions of relative power and dominance in each field, or indeed in higher-level fields, i.e., fields closer to the centres of power in a community (Venuti, 1996). In other words, norms are shaped by the personal opinions of individuals with high statuses in the literary field.

Gideon Toury identifies two sources for translational norms: textual and extratextual. Textual sources are texts that have been already translated; telling translators what their translations should be like, while extra-textual norms are prescriptive "theories" of translation, such as statements made by translators, editors, publishers and other agents involved in translational activity (Toury, 2002). Venuti also states that the discourse about translation, whether by translators themselves or by publishers, critics, readers, will point up notions of correctness, operational aspects of norms and positive and negative models and prototypes (Venuti, 1996). Thus we can understand that while norms guide the translation activity, the practices in a certain culture also shape norms.

It is important to note that all translations are subject to norms beginning from their commission to their reception by the readers. Therefore, these norms should be taken into consideration when assessing a translation. Ian Mason explains that translation criticism is known to

concentrate on the written text too much without paying enough attention to the circumstances of its production and reception (Mason, 1994). Thus, it may be concluded that norms regarding genres or the particular segments of the publishing industry should be taken into account when criticising a translation.

According to Mason, the translator's strategy is affected by the constraints imposed by genre, discourse and text. Sometimes, these requirements may take precedence over equivalences at the level of the referential meanings of words (Mason, 1994). Thus, focusing on the end result of any translation process and seeing a translated text as the sum total of sentences it contains may be misleading, if that approach ignores the existence of norms dictating the translator's choices.

In short, translated texts are expected to meet the requirements of their genres and translation is governed by various norms, negotiated by the individuals and institutions involved in the translation process, such as editors and publishing houses. These norms guide translators and others engaging in translational activity, including proofreaders. It is understood that norms are defined by the more powerful of the interested parties and those who break norms face sanctions. The socio-cultural realities of the particular literary field play an important role throughout the translation process; from the commission stage to publication. For example, if there are certain patterns of behaviour in a particular segment of the publishing industry, the translators, editors and proofreaders are expected to conform to them for both ideological and practical reasons, like to secure their jobs.

There is no doubt that there are norms regarding publishing translations in any publishing industry. In Turkey too, norms governing translated titles in fiction and non-fiction, adults and children's literature have been defined by the culture of publishing and requirements of the translation market in Turkey. Having discussed the importance of norms in translation, now we may proceed to the implications of ideology in the translation process.

c. Ideology and Translation

The word ideology has negative connotations today; however, it literally means the study of ideas (Eagleton, 1994). The term was coined by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, in late eighteenth century. De Tracy intended the term as "the science of ideas". Today, the accepted meaning of ideology in the social sciences is that of American sociologist Seliger. Martin Seliger's definition of ideology is "a set of action-oriented beliefs, whose truth or falsehood, conservatism or radicalism, is irrelevant" (Seliger, 1977). Translation scholar Ian Mason has a similar definition: "the set

of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc" (Mason, 1994). As a result, ideology may be seen as the sum of interrelated beliefs that guide groups of people adhering to them.

According to Terry Eagleton, all ideas are socially conditioned. However, ideologies are seen as "rationalisations of a set of normally unjust social interests". For Eagleton, ideology is a matter of discourse – of practical communication between historically situated subjects – rather than of language (of the kind of prepositions we utter). Moreover, ideologies do not reflect upon themselves. In other words; they do not produce statements acknowledging that they are ideological (Eagleton, 1994). Therefore, an ideology does not have to be factual and objective.

Turkish political scientist Şerif Mardin defines ideology as a set of symbolisations that operate in the context of social communication (Mardin, 1995)¹. According to Mardin, ideologies are important in that they have the power to guide people's behaviours (Mardin, 2003).

Now let us turn to the implications of ideology in translational action. According to TS scholar André Lefevere, translation, criticism and editing are all forms of rewriting and are determined by patronage, poetics and ideology (Lefevere, 2002). Writer and translator Necmiye Alpay compares one's use of language to an outer crust where one expresses their ideological, political, religious and cultural beliefs (Çağdaş, 2002). Therefore, all language use, including translation, is considered to be ideological and this leads to the proposition that translation is always "a site for ideological encounters" (Pérez, 2003).

In the introduction to her book *Apropos of Ideology*, translation theoretician Maria Calzada Pérez defines ideology as "the set of ideas, values and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm". Pérez argues that the ideological setting in which a translator learns and performs their task is influential in their translation strategies (Pérez, 2003). Translator Cem Soydemir confirms that translators cannot be totally objective towards the text that they are translating; their interpretation of the source text and the production of the target text are guided by their world view (Soydemir, 2005). As seen in the examples, people dealing with areas of expertise that involve the use of language do not deny that individuals are bound by what they think and believe when they are doing their jobs.

¹ Translations have been done by the present author, unless otherwise stated.

Peter Fawcett points out that throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation (Fawcett, 2005). David Katan and Francesco Straniero-Sergio describe translation as a gatekeeping activity (Katan and Straniero-Sergio, 2003). Translations editors and proofreaders in publishing houses also perform this function by not only choosing what to translate, but also deciding on how it should be translated.

To recapitulate, ideology is about what an individual believes and it shapes one's behaviours, including self-expression and the use of language. Ideology is certainly important in the translation process and is usually visible in the end result. Ayşe Banu Karadağ argues that ideology is the primary factor that renders the translator visible and guides the translation process (Karadağ, 2003). It will be useful to discuss translator's visibility in terms of a manifestation of ideology for the purposes of this study.

d. The Translator's Visibility

Visibility is a subject much discussed by TS scholars. Early theoreticians like Neubert, Nida and Newmark have postulated that a translation cannot have the same value as the original, and translators should not attempt to alter the original in any way. However, later scholars have taken a more flexible approach. In this section, we will look at Theo Hermans's, Rosemary Arrojo's, Lawrence Venuti's and Gillian Lane-Mercier's arguments.

When we read translated fiction, we only have the translated text in front of us and we are supposed to forget that what we are reading is a translation; the translator withdraws behind the narrative voice. Hermans suggests that it is the ideology of translation, the illusion of transparency, the illusion of the one voice that blinds the reader to the presence of the voice of the translator. He argues that translation is a cultural and ideological construct and criticises the view that translation must reproduce the original and be totally transparent (Hermans, 1996b). That is to say, translators do not necessarily have to erase their own voice from the translated text. Hermans argues that they can choose the degree of visibility they would like to have in the text:

The [translator's] voice may be more or less overtly present. It may remain entirely hidden behind that of the Narrator, rendering it impossible to detect in the translated text. It is most directly and forcefully present when it breaks through the surface of the text, speaking for itself, in its own name, for example in

a paratextual Translator's Note employing an autoreferential first person identifying the speaking subject. And then there are shades and degrees in between (Hermans, 1996b).

This quotation also shows that Hermans, like Vermeer, takes the translator as a conscious decision-maker. A translator can make themselves visible to the readers throughout the text or paratextually, for example in footnotes, endnotes or in a Translator's Foreword or Note. Moreover, it is the translator who decides to what degree they want to impose their style to the text.

Lawrence Venuti also argues for the translator's choice for visibility, and explains that translators have been very visible starting from the 90's (Venuti, 1995). Venuti points out to ideology as the factor that leads to visibility in translations. According to him, translation has been one of the most representative paradigms of the clash between two cultures. He defines translation as "a cultural political practice, constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or transgressing discursive values and institutional limits in the target-language culture" (Venuti, 1996). Thus, we infer that the translator's personal and professional preferences, value judgments are influential in their decision to move away from word for word loyalty to the source text. Here, how the translator sees the source culture definitely plays an important role in how they decide to reflect it in the target culture. Venuti stresses the translator's volition in the cultural phenomenon of translation:

If we are aware that translating is not merely passing from one text to another, transferring words from one container to another, but rather transposing one entire culture to another with all this entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation. It is essential to know what the translator has added, what they have left out, the words they have chosen, and how they have placed them. Because behind every one of his selections there is a voluntary act that reveals his history and the socio-political milieu that surrounds him; in other words, his own culture (Venuti, 1996).

Rosemary Arrojo questions the concepts of "the original" and "reproduction". She claims that if the presence of the author is to be found in their writing, and if the original is seen as the true recipient of its creator's intentions and expression, then any translation is, by definition, devalued since it necessarily represents a form of falsification, always removed from the original and its author. Therefore, she claims that if the idea of the original is taken to the extreme, then translation should be

seen as “false” by definition. In her article “the ‘Death’ of the Author and Limits of the Translator’s Visibility”, she explains that a text can be read without the author’s present or absent approval, hence in her opinion “the author is dead”. She argues that perfect repetition is impossible and any translation is always, also a form of abuse, or transgression. No matter how good or bad a translation is, it is inevitably unfaithful, since it is sure to take the place of another text, in a different language and culture (Arrojo, 1997). This discussion helps liberate the translator from the obsession with textual loyalty.

Translators have been idealised by the tradition in translation history as torn between their authorial interests and the proper respect owed to the author. Arrojo, however, maintains that visibility is not a conscious option of the translator, who has an inescapable authorial task (Arrojo, 1997). Furthermore, the translator’s interpretations are not objectively recoverable by its readers and critics. In other words, there is the double interpretation process which involves the translator and the reader. As a result, it is impossible for a translated text to be read the same way as what the author intended in the first place.

However, Arrojo makes a distinction between the inevitably visible and the consciously visible translator. She explains that the latter should make their strategy clear:

The consciously visible translator should start to build a name, a “proper” name for him or herself that would make their readers aware of the “translator-function” as another key factor in the necessary repression of meaning proliferation that takes place in any act of interpretation. [...] It is the recognition of the translator’s name as proper and rightful that will free the translator’s visibility from the stigma of impropriety or abuse (Arrojo, 1997).

Here, we understand that translators who choose to be visible rather than being so because they cannot avoid it, should let the readers know that the book they are reading does not attempt to be the same as the original book. Varying degrees of transparency on the translator’s part will be illustrated in the chapters about self-censorship.

Gillian Lane-Mercier agrees that translators are inevitably visible because of the social and cultural context in which they perform the task. The aesthetic, ideological and political meaning produced during the translation process is shaped by the translators’ position within the socio-ideological stratifications of their cultural context, of the translators’ interpretation of the source text as

well as of their aesthetic, ideological and political agendas (Lane-Mercier, 1997). The end result of the translation process reflects the social and cultural priorities of the individual translator. As a result, translators have not only a semantic, but also an aesthetic, ideological and political responsibility. Lane-Mercier concludes that translation is “a ‘violent’, decision-oriented, culturally determined discursive activity that compels the translator to take a position with respect to the source text and author, and above socially determined norms and values, the translator’s agency together with their responsibility in the production of meaning” (Lane-Mercier, 1997). So, Lane-Mercier argues that translators produce meaning in their works in accordance with the conditions around themselves and in the literary market.

The arguments of these scholars prove very relevant in terms of the individual translator’s stance against the opinions and beliefs prevalent in their home country. If we are to apply this context to the TS theoreticians’ ideas, we may conclude that when confronted with a text not in line with the official ideology of a nation, the translator may add or leave out items depending on their idea of appropriateness. Similarly, a translator may intervene in a text that they found obscene. On the other hand, it requires a conscious decision not to intervene in some cases.

Now, let us turn to the situation in Turkey in particular. Writer Tanıl Bora reminds us that an average reader in Turkey sees the book in their hand as the author’s work, they do not think of another process before it reaches the readers (Bora, 2004c). According to translator Ülker İnce, readers *a priori* perceive translations to be faithful to the original. However, they demand faithfulness in translation with the aim of having an easy and pleasant reading experience. Readers do not complain about unfaithfulness unless they detect “a problem” in the translation. She points out that the original text is seen as sacred in Turkey and the demands of mainstream publishers and editors – and of translation critics – are that the translation should be a reproduction of the original (Bengi-Öner et al, 2004). However, as will be discussed later, some marginal publishers interpret this “sacredness” differently.

Translator and translation scholar Dilek Dizdar points out that translators are not merely machines that transfer words from one language to another, but they are individuals who think, feel, perceive and interpret (Dizdar, 2004). The translator’s political and ideological stance is influential on their reading and interpreting the source text, and translators show varying degrees of visibility in line with their understanding of faithfulness (Karadağ, 2006). According to Dizdar, if readers forget that

there is a translation process behind the texts they read and hear every day, they are overlooking the fact that their tastes, their political views are coming from another source and that there is another process of reading and interpreting in between (Dizdar, 2006). Therefore, readers should be aware that the translation process involves the translator's own selection of possibilities, which is influenced by their ideology of course.

Şerif Mardin says that the book trade as a whole is inevitably linked to ideology. He points out to the fact that as the tools for mass communication get more advanced, the influence of intellectuals on the society grows and education becomes a tool for ideology. Mardin identifies two ways in which books are associated with ideology. Firstly, if a world view widely accepted by the society is disseminated through a book, then the book is always open to criticism, because the text is available to all. Secondly, a book is a very effective tool to replace a criticised ideology with a new one (Mardin, 1995). Publishers also confirm that in Turkey, publishing is an industry with great potential for ideological influences (*Soruşturma*, 2002).

IV. THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

Before moving to the main topic of the dissertation, it will be useful to take a closer look at the publishing industry in Turkey. In this part, an overview of the industry will be given, the history of publishing will be summarised and the culture of publishing will be studied in detail, with special reference to translations. This examination is aimed at laying the groundwork for the norms regarding translations in the different segments of the publishing business, which will explain some of the motives behind publishers' editorial processes.

a. Overview

According to the Ministry of Culture, there are 6000 institutions in Turkey today that have published at least one book (Onaran, 2005). However, not all of these are full fledged publishing houses, there are an estimated 1700 publishers and only 260 of them are members of the Turkish Publishers Association (Turkish Publishers Association, 2005). Publishing houses are concentrated in the big cities, namely, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir.

According to Çetin Tüzüner, the president of the Association, approximately 26000 titles were published in 2005.

Year	Number of Publishing Houses	Titles
2000	844	9100
2001	879	9900
2002	1132	12460
2003	1331	14900
2004	1511	19850
2005	1700 (estimated)	26000 (estimated)

(İnternet Haber, 2006)

As the figures show, the market has been growing steadily over the years and 80 million copies are believed to be sold in the year 2005 (Hızlan, 2006). An important percentage of those books are translated titles; Hasan Anamur, the president of the Translation Society, states that every

year, the number of published translations reach thousands (Translation Society, 2006). As mentioned in the Introduction, almost all publishers publish translated titles; however the translation/original ratio differs from publisher to publisher.

Now let us look at the people working in the publishing industry. Many people at the top levels of publishing houses are university graduates; with degrees in the social sciences or literature related courses. Translator Yurdanur Salman makes a distinction between the terms *yayıncı* [publisher] and *yayımcı* [editor] in Turkish. According to Salman, many publishing houses in Turkey are managed by publishers and not editors; that is, not many of the publishing houses are lead by qualified professionals (Salman, 2000). A small number of houses employ full time professional editors (Ezber, 2004). According to Turkish Publishers Association, this number is 20 out of the 260 members (Dirik, 2006). Thus, publishing in Turkey is called the “professional job done by amateurs” (Kahraman, 2002).

Moreover, job titles are not clear and separate in editorial positions. The definitions of editing and proofreading are not established yet (Ezber, 2004). Writer and editor Tanıl Bora claims that an editor in Turkey is the average of a *lektör*, [reader/commissioning editor] *editör* [copy-editor] and *redaktör* [proofreader]. Some conglomerate publishing houses, where the commissioning editor and copy-editor are separate, are exceptions to this. Other than that, it is very natural to encounter one person who acts as two, three or all of the abovementioned functions.

Interestingly, a look in the Turkish Publishers Catalogue reveals that in 40 publishing houses, there is only one person who acts as owner, director and editor. In 54 publishers, on the other hand, there are at least two people sharing the same surname in the owner, director and editor columns, which shows that those publishing houses are managed like family businesses (Turkish Publishers Association, 2005). Bora emphasises that editorship in Turkey is not an institutionalised position (Bora, 2004a). This situation has several consequences for the editorial process of translated titles, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

For the translation of selected titles, many publishing houses rely on freelance translators. After the translation, an in-house proofreader is expected to revise the text; however, in most cases, they need to get the approval of the editor-in-chief, especially if there is anything in the text that is likely to cause a problem. Editor of Can Publishing, Celâl Üster argues that there are even publishing houses whose editors do not speak a foreign language; nevertheless, they have the final say in editorial decisions in translated titles (Ezber, 2004). Sometimes the line between an editor and a

translator is blurred; an in-house editor may translate a book or a freelance translator may edit and proofread one (Ezber 2004).

One of the results of the uninstitutionalised nature of the industry is that editors tend to see a translated text as the raw material to play with. According to Tanıl Bora, editors in Turkey enjoy more freedom for textual intervention in translated titles than in original books (Bora, 2004c). It can be argued that editors/proofreaders have a personal connection with the titles that they edit or proofread, they feel that it is “their book” once they decide to release it from their own publishing house (Faruk, 2006). Some publishers do the job for the mere love of books or because they are committed to a cause, who are more likely to perform the gatekeeping role in the pre-press process (Bora, 2004b). Bora warns that editors from time to time need to remind themselves that they are using their editorial power not for their own sake, but “on behalf of the public” (Bora, 2004c). According to Bora, the degree of editorial intervention depends on the relationship that an editor manages between the text and the public opinion; he calls it “a kind of diplomacy” (Bora, 2004b).

Yurdanur Salman points out to the fact that the biggest problem of publishing houses in Turkey is proofreading translations. According to Mehmet Moralı, the president of the Book Translators Society, many publishers in Turkey want to have the translation done as cheaply as possible to reduce the cost (Moralı, 2005). Translator Ülker İnce jokes that there is a competition among publishers to find the least qualified people to do the cheapest job (Ezber, 2004). The people expected to complete the translation are the in-house proofreaders (Biçen, 2002).

As demonstrated above, the Turkish publishing industry has been expanding; however, there are not enough qualified people to meet the growing demand. In publishing houses, titles and responsibilities are not clearly separated and some editors/proofreaders like to see themselves as half authors.

A number of publishers employ university students – who are not necessarily studying a related subject – as freelance translators (Moralı, 2005). However, cheap and hasty translations are very difficult to proofread. The difficulty is coupled by the fact that some proofreaders intentionally “correct” translations “in a wrong way” (Salman, 2000). Salman emphasises that even the biggest publishing houses in Turkey do not employ full-time translators and full-time professional proofreaders. Most of them have proofreaders trained on the job, who not always have systematical strategies to deal with language problems. She implies that people in editorial positions do not have faith in

translators' work and do not respect the text they have produced, so they want to decide for themselves if the translation has been done accurately and adequately. After the proofreading process, translators are only informed about the result, if they are informed at all (Salman, 2000). Conversely, there are some publishers where translated books are sent to press without a proofreading process (Birkan, 2002).

Translation fees are not a very high percentage of the book price; according to a research done by journalist Mahmut Hamsici, out of 10 YTL paid for a book, only 50-75 Ykr² goes to the translator (Hamsici, 2005). Mehmet Moralı calculates that the average income of a freelance literary translator is 600 YTL [£ 222,2] per month (Moralı, 2005). Many translators agree that one cannot earn a respectable income by working merely as a literary translator. Translators Ülker İnce and Yurdanur Salman admit that literary translation is not a profitable profession. Salman claims that she does the job more for the "intellectual reward" than money (Ezber, 2004).

Translator Aslı Biçen argues that some "enthusiasts" who translate books not to earn money but to improve their public profile do little more than enhance the "cultural service" label attached to the profession of translation (Biçen, 2002). Translator Gürol Koca complains that publishers belittle translators and the job they do, and there is a lack of communication between freelance translators and proofreaders and editors in publishing houses (Koca, 2002). This situation causes friction among translators and publishers.

As we can see, the major deficiency of the book trade in Turkey is that it has not been institutionalised; there are not established conventions and the industry is far from being homogenous in terms of publishers' approach to their work. This situation affects the way translated titles are handled; it can be said that each publishing house sets their own principles regarding the publication of translations, which are constrained by concerns over cost and the lack of professional staff. The next section is dedicated to the culture of publishing in Turkey, which is aimed at better explaining the dynamics and the socio-cultural realities of the industry.

b. The Culture of Publishing in Turkey

In this section the reasons for the publishing industry in Turkey being open to ideological influences will be discussed. Among these reasons the fact that publishing is still seen as a cultural service rather than a profession plays an important role in how publishing books is seen as a way of

² Ykrş is 1/100 of 1 YTL. 1 YTL equals £0.37 (August 2006).

expressing cultural, political and ideological beliefs. By exploring issues such as these this study aims to give some insight to the norms regarding publishing translations and why translators and translator-editors choose to be visible in the translation and editorial processes in Turkey.

Writer Erendiz Atasü claims that while it has been a natural necessity for the Western bourgeoisie to engage in cultural activities, for the Turkish bourgeoisie, born in the twentieth century, cultural activities, including publishing, took the form of imitation. Lacking the support of the intelligentsia, the publishing industry was not backed by the government either. She acknowledges that in the second half of the twentieth century, the interest of the governments of the Republic of Turkey in literature were limited to banning books and arresting writers and publishers (Atasü, 2002).

In 1950's, publishing was a very fragile and volatile business. The publishing houses that were able to survive the economic crisis caused by the II World War were in operation not to earn money, but to contribute to the cultural life of the young Republic of Turkey (Kabacalı, 2000). The comparatively few publishers, like İnkılap-Aka, Remzi, Varlık, Yeditepe, E, May, Yankı, MEB, De and Gerçek tended to be located in İstanbul and Ankara, and their editors worked with a real amateur spirit (*Soruşturma*, 2002). This amateur spirit still continues in some publishing houses.

Translations have played a central role in publishing since the Turkish modernisation in the second half of the nineteenth century; however, there have been fluctuations in the translation policies of publishers since the 1950's. Although the titles selected for translation have changed according to the political inclination of the period, there has been a constant increase in the number of translated titles (Berk, 2006). Since the mid 1980's, Turkish publishers have kept up with the world market by publishing translations in the fields of social sciences, adult and children's fiction and the arts (Paker, 2005).

According to Özlem Berk, the publishing industry in Turkey has been affected by the changing cultural and political atmosphere and has positioned itself accordingly, especially in the age of globalisation (Berk, 2006). Translator and editor Cevat Çapan believes that in the 1960's the dominant reason behind publishers' wanting to publish translations was political whereas today, selection of titles is shaped more by popular culture (Ezber, 2004).

According to translator Işık Ergüden, a fetishist atmosphere has been created around "the book" by publishers. Ergüden argues that the book is shown as a "spiritual" entity, the owners of publishing houses and their staff as "idealist intellectuals". Translators are not seen as professionals

who earn their living by translating books, but as volunteers to enlighten and inform the society (Ergüden, 2002). For that reason, the editors of some publishers see themselves as “the authority” in editorial decisions.

Translator and translation scholar Hasan Anamur also believes that literary translation has not reached a professional and institutionalised status (Hamsici, 2005). Yurdanur Salman points out that literary translation is done almost as a hobby and that a literary translator has to keep their amateur spirit to keep doing the job (Ezber, 2004). Translators can be said to contribute to this idealist spirit too. Since they do not earn much, there is not financial motive for freelance literary translators who choose to stay in the business. It can be argued that some translators also see themselves as idealist intellectuals, as Işık Ergüden explains. As a result, they sometimes decide on behalf of the readers, when editorial decisions are in question.

Turkish intellectual Hasan Bülent Kahraman argues that publishing is not only a commercial business, but has political, social and ideological dimensions (Kahraman, 2002). Especially “cultural publishing”, which includes translated fiction and non-fiction, has extra-textual concerns (*Soruşturma*, 2002). In order to better understand publishers’ approach to the profession, it will be useful to discuss how they see their own role in the cultural life of Turkey.

c. The Discourse of Turkish Publishers

This sub-chapter will give a glimpse of some publishing houses in Turkey, illustrated with their own statements to describe themselves. This part of the research is far from being exhaustive; however, it is aimed at presenting the publishing houses’ discourse about their ideological, political and in some cases religious agendas and the role of publishing in the society. Independent publishers will be discussed before mentioning the conglomerates or “capitalist publishers” as they are called in Turkey.

Arzu Eker, in her MA dissertation titled *Publishing translations in the social sciences since the 1980s: An alternative view of culture planning in Turkey*, explores the initial aims of the founders of nine publishing houses: Ayrıntı, Metis, Sarmal, İletişim, Alan, İnter, İz, İnsan and Pınar. Among these, the first six publishing houses are described as left-wing and the latter three are as right-wing for the

purposes of organisation³. All of the nine publishing companies publish fiction as well as non-fiction and an important percentage of their list – in most of the cases more than half – is translation. From Eker's analysis, it can be understood that all of these publishers entered the market for "cultural" and "ideological" reasons. They have "a claim for a certain position in the cultural life of Turkey and see publishing translations as a means of realising their aims" (Eker, 2001).

The owner of Ayrıntı Publications explains that they founded the publishing house in an effort to express their political opinions in the anti-libertarian atmosphere after the 12 September (1980) coup d'état, when forming political parties was extremely difficult (Eker, 2001). One of the owners and the editor-in-chief of Metis says that they founded it as an amateur venture and that they wanted to make their favourite books in world literature available in Turkish and include them in the current political discussion (Eker, 2001). So, we see that the individuals setting out to publish books have pre-determined aims, which definitely affect their publishing policies.

Sarmal Publications was also established after the 12 September military coup. The owner of the publishing house compares publishing to "a revolt, an uprising, something to tear the status quo or common sense apart" (Eker, 2001)⁴. It is apparent that he sees publishing as a responsibility incumbent on intellectuals.

Similarly, when asked about the motives behind the establishment of their publishing houses, the editors of İletişim and Alan point to the extremely politicised post-12 September ethos and their desire as intellectuals not to be left out of the ideological debate. Veysel Atayman, the editor of Alan, claims that his publishing house is very close to the line of ÖDP, [Freedom and Solidarity Party] a socialist political party in Turkey (Eker, 2001).

The editor of İnter Publications, on the other hand, grounds the establishment of the publishing house on a slightly different basis. Editor Yavuz Çengeloğlu argues that the publications with socialist content in the 1980's were creating a wrong impression of the intellectual movement because of translation mistakes and irresponsible translation policies. As a result, Çengeloğlu felt it was necessary to enter the business to explain the "correct" socialism to the people who "wanted to join the struggle" (Eker, 2001). As a result, it may be inferred that some people go into the publishing industry

³ The terms "right-wing" and "left-wing" have ideological connotations rather than economic in Turkey. That is to say, right-wing roughly refers to inclined towards conservatism and religion, while left-wing refers to secular and liberal.

⁴ Translations from Turkish belongs to Arzu Eker.

in Turkey out of a sense of responsibility. Some of those educated people with intellectual concerns tend to perform the gatekeeping function as editors.

The 12 September 1980 coup was influential in the founding of İnsan, İz and Pınar publishing houses, which follow an Islamic path according to Arzu Eker. In the 1980's, there was a gap in the market for high quality literary products targeting the conservative segments of the society. The founders of these publishing houses, therefore, assumed the same intellectual role for the right-wing readers and published translations from the West as well as the East that could contribute "to the conceptual formation of the new generation Islamist youth" (Eker, 2001). They claimed to be different from White House publishers, a group of publishing houses in the conservative neighbourhood of Beyazıt, whose products do not go beyond Qur'an commentaries and "quasi-religious books with a superstitious dimension" (Eker, 2001).

The editors of İnsan and İz Publishing explain that the publishing houses have been established "in order to say the things that needed to be said in Turkey," while Pınar Publishing declare themselves as having a Muslim identity. A number of books praising the Islamist Revolution in Iran published by İnsan and İz were banned in Turkey (Eker, 2001). Therefore, in Turkey publishing houses may have political tendencies and agendas in line with their ideologies and may face consequences thereof.

As to the approach of the publishing houses to translation, Eker concludes that these nine publishers engage in culture planning – and to a certain extent, language planning – by way of publishing translations. After interviews held with the editors, she explains that the relations between publishers and translations are of a personal nature, and the management of the publishing companies are not based on professional relationships. Some publishers acknowledge that the publishing industry in Turkey is not institutionalised (Eker, 2001). It is apparent in Eker's dissertation that Turkish publishers have been reflecting their ideology in their publishing policies, especially in translated titles.

Evrensel Basım Yayın is another publisher with a pronounced mission in the cultural industry. Editor Hayri Erdoğan explains that they started a publishing house because they believed the proletariat, who contribute to the creation of social values the most but benefit from them the least, should be defended in literature as well as in theory. As a result, they are a publisher which represents the socialist line in the industry; the Russian socialist classics have a major place in their list. Erdoğan

argues that they are publisher “walking against the wind” among the capitalist forces in the market (Aydemir, 2003). In other words, both economically and politically, they have to fight with the more powerful and dominant forces. However, this is part of how Evrensel define themselves, which of course has implications in the titles they publish.

When we look at the Turkish Publishers Catalogue, where each member has been described in one or two paragraphs, we can observe that some publishers explain their *raison d’être* as fulfilling a certain “mission”. Some others put forward their ideological stance as an essential criterion for their list. The following are fragments taken from publisher’s self-description:

opponent (Agora)
help people find their divine potential (Akaşa)
support the enlightenment of the country [...] with a progressive line of action (Anı)
introduce Armenian culture and literature to readers (Aras)
principle of opposing all kinds of taboos (Belge)
advocate of socialism and enlightenment (Berfin)
present the Marxist classics to Turkish readers (Bilim ve Sosyalizm),
translate and publish classical and contemporary Islamic works (Çağrı and Dergah)
publishing policy different from the mainstream norms (Güncel)
present the universal dimension of tolerance and love of people (Günüşiği Kitapları)
targeting the principles of M.K. Atatürk (İnkılap)
deals with publishing books on enlightenment [...] the Kurdish issue (Pencere)
publications in the light of Marxist opinion (Sorun)

Here, we see that some publishers have emphasised their distinctive characteristics, also hinting at their ideologies. Although “publishing high quality books” is a general aim most publishers in the Catalogue seem to pursue, some assume more specific functions in the market. The Turkish publishing industry is thus very diverse and marginal publishers play an important role against the homogenising forces of mainstream publishers. Although not overtly stated, whether a publisher follows the official ideology and the public opinion is the major criterion for separation.

Now, let us turn to the conglomerates. These publishing houses are called “capitalist” in Turkey because they are the extensions of financially strong institutions, usually conglomerates, and take their initial capital from those companies. In many cases, the company backing the publisher is a

bank or a media company. These publishers usually bear the name of the conglomerate and are known to have abundant cash flow. They usually have a different discourse from that of independent publishers and are involved in the business as a “cultural service” of the conglomerate to the society.

Conglomerates have entered the publishing business in the last few decades in Turkey, but according to Hasan Bülent Kahraman, the practice of publishing did not undergo a radical change, traditional publishing is being done simply with more capital (Kahraman, 2002). Ömer Faruk argues that the reason behind capitalist companies to enter the publishing business may be that they wanted to become “bourgeoisie”; because “they had realised that there are other things in life beyond money”. This explains their activity in an industry where the profit margin is very low (*Soruşturma*, 2002). In short, the motives of capitalist publishers to go into the market may be very different from those who are committed to a cause.

Hayri Erdoğan, from Evrensel, explains that conglomerates see their publishing branch as a cultural investment; they invest money, and buy prestige in return. However, it is argued that although they have the means to employ the best editors, translators and proofreaders, their books are not of the highest possible editorial quality. Erdoğan cites some translators as examples, who have had problems with the proofreading process of their translated books (*Soruşturma*, 2002).

The editor of Everest Publishing, Osman Akınhay, who claims that his publishing house is concerned about “being in the cultural debate”, argues that the existence of conglomerate publishing houses are urging others to go mainstream, to publish books that will not disturb this or that group in the society, in other words, books that sit on the fence. Akınhay maintains that institutionalisation is killing the amateur spirit in publishing (*Soruşturma*, 2002). So, he actually sees institutionalisation as a threat to the development of Turkish publishing.

Doğan Publishing, a branch of Doğan Media Group, also known as the media monopoly in Turkey, boast of their professional and institutionalised structure. Editor Nuri Ekiç claims that all their efforts are directed towards doing high profile publishing. Likewise, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, owned by Isbank, imply that they are in the business in order to make a contribution to cultural life (*Soruşturma*, 2002).

Writer and publisher Cem Akaş, who has worked for Yapı Kredi Publications – an extension of Yapı Kredi Bank – believes that all publishing houses have a mission in the market. If we take the word mission as a broad term; it may be political, ideological, economical or cultural. Publishers’ lists

show variety in accordance with their mission. Basically, all publishers have to aim not to go bankrupt (Akaş, 2006). Thus, Akaş justifies the financial motive of the publishers and implies that all other “missions” a publisher may adopt have to come after the basic one.

Some capitalist publishing houses have been censured for having a “too mainstream” publishing policy because of their concern about losing readers. Hayri Erdoğan from Evrensel criticises the homogenising influence of those publishing houses. According to him the free opinion of the readers is overwhelmed by massive promotion campaigns. As a result, readers end up buying some books just to keep with the trend (Aydemir, 2003). However, independent publishers show their ideological, social and political attitudes in their lists as well as their editorial practices. In Eker’s study, for example, two publishing houses, Metis and İletişim, claim not to be “mainstream” but marginal, and they do not want to be seen as influenced by the official ideology (Eker, 2001). Thus, the ideological attitude of some publishers is an indispensable component of their self-image.

Mehmet Moralı claims that publishers in Turkey have varying degrees of transparency, however, for someone who knows the market well, it is not difficult to ascertain what line of thought each publisher belongs to. He claims that “marginal” publishers, from the right and the left wing, are stricter about their publication policy and have more rigid principles not to commit self-censorship. Big, “mainstream” publishing houses on the other hand, may resort to “rounding up the sharp corners” (Moralı, 2006). For example, publishing a provocative book by censoring its “sharp corners” and not mentioning the omissions anywhere in the book is an example for a low degree of transparency, as will be discussed in the next section.

Therefore, the policies of publishers are not entirely visible for readers; however, how individual publishing houses position themselves in terms of sensitive issues is known by industry experts. Branding proves very important at this point. If one publisher has built a positive image in the minds of readers, customers tend to follow the brand not to be frustrated with low editorial standards.

To recapitulate, it is clear that there are certain ideological tendencies in the industry. There are publishers committed to an ideological cause – e.g. left-wing and Islamist publishers – and conglomerates who do not want to go against the official ideology, and finally specific publishers producing books with certain agendas, like fighting for the rights of the Armenian or Kurdish minority or refuting the theory of evolution.

It would be misleading to put publishers into clear-cut categories according to their ideologies, and of course there are many degrees between extremes. Some publishers are referred to as “marginal”, others just have inclinations. Unless a publisher makes an effort to appear totally neutral, their inclinations are not difficult to detect from their lists, websites or even their names and logos. However unique each publisher’s list is, one may argue that some bear resemblances in their line of thought and publication. These groups can be referred to as a segment.

We have observed that each segment in the Turkish publishing industry has its own discourse. The attitudes of an individual publisher towards social and political phenomena are determined by their segment. As a result, members of a segment follow the same norms and conventions in their editorial practices. These norms and conventions are shaped according to their ideological tendency, and apply in original titles as well as translated titles.

The attitudes of a particular segment may manifest themselves in various ways; in their selection of titles, use of language, even choice of translators, which may be broadly described as editorial decisions. However, their reaction to texts that go against the public opinion is a more concrete indicator of their ideology. Editorial intervention by publishing houses will be illustrated in the next chapter, which places special emphasis on self-censorship in translated titles.

V. EDITORIAL INTERVENTION IN TURKISH PUBLISHING

After studying the culture of publishing in Turkey, this chapter will discuss self-censorship in Turkish publishing industry. In order to understand self-censorship better, first an overview of the situation regarding censorship will be given. Later, the publishers' response to this situation will be examined in detail with examples and thematic case studies.

a. Censorship

Censorship, as explained above, is the curtailment of the freedom of expression by an authority. Watson and Hill see censorship as a tool to counter the ever-present threat of social and political destabilisation. Concepts like the State, the Regime or Nationality, whose dignities have been protected with censorship and self-censorship have been compared to "sacred cows" in that they are symbols in some way or other of law and order of control (Watson and Hill, 2000).

Censorship has been a matter of debate among Turkish intellectuals since the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The freedom of expression has been particularly limited by laws introduced to prevent criticism to the Sultan and his government. The feeble publishing industry of course had its share of censorship during the Ottoman times.

In the Republican era; censorship, intimidation policies, and the dictation of the official ideology by the government have been described as some of the biggest problems that the Turkish book trade has faced (Kahraman, 2002). Since the 1950's, there have been many cases of confiscated and banned books. After the 1961 Constitution, publishers enjoyed a greater freedom of expression for some time; however, certain subjects, for example Marxist/socialist literature, put publishers and translators at risk (Paker, 2005).

The 1980 military coup had implications on censorship too; the authoritarian 1982 Constitution was cited for many cases involving banning and burning large numbers of copies. The freedom of thought and expression was under such a pressure that not only writing or publishing books but also possessing "controversial" books could be considered a crime (Önderoğlu, 2006).

Today, publishers still face trial for the books they publish, because of the ambiguous articles of the Turkish Penal Code. They can be sentenced to imprisonment or may have to pay fines

according to the result of the case. The Turkish Penal Code is said to be interpreted differently by individual judges. It contains expressions such as “to incite groups of the population to breed enmity or hatred towards one another” or “to make propaganda [...] about the goals of an organization which has been established in order to commit crimes” (Haraszti, 2005). Articles containing such expressions are criticised for being too flexible; it is argued that some articles may be interpreted to cover various activities.

Members of the Turkish Publishers Association agree that the actions which are considered crime have not been defined very precisely in the Penal Code. They believe that if someone from the public informs the court of if a judge starts an investigation, anything can really be seen as an offence (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006). Moreover, translators have legal responsibility over their work and can undergo investigation because of the ideas, the language use, and the ideology in the book they have translated. If the author of the book in question lives abroad, the legal responsibility lies with the publisher and the translator (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006). As a result, publishers are more likely to be prosecuted personally for translated titles than for original titles, because in that case the legal responsibility is with the author.

According to the Turkish Human Rights Foundation’s annual and monthly human rights abuses reports, 22 titles have been prosecuted in the year 2001, 34 titles in 2002, 46 in 2003, 19 in 2004 and 39 in 2005 and the first half of 2006 (see Appendix II, III, IV and V).

Books prosecuted in 2005 and the first half of 2006⁵

Publisher	Author	Turkish Title	Translated from
Aram	Timur Şahan	<i>İtirafçı/ Bir Jitemci Anlattı</i>	
Aram	Menaf Osman	<i>Yiğitler Tepesi</i>	<i>Gire Şekan</i>
Aram	Mehmet Sabatli	<i>Kasırga Taburu</i>	
Aram	Kayhan Adnut	<i>Tufanda 33 Gün</i>	
Aram	Fatih Taş	<i>Kayıpsın Diyorlar</i>	
Aram	John Tirman	<i>Savaş Ganimetleri: Amerikan Silah Ticaretinin İnsan Bedeli</i>	<i>The Spoils of War: the Human Cost of America's Arms Trade</i>
Aykırı	Seyfi Öngider	<i>İki Şehrin Hikayesi/İstanbul-Ankara</i>	
Ayrıntı	Simon Reynolds	<i>Seks İsyanları -</i>	<i>The Sex Revolts</i>

⁵ The titles included in this table are the ones that have been the subject to lawsuits. Some of them have been acquitted, some of them banned, and some of their prosecution is still underway. In this and other tables, books originally published in Turkish are featured in the third column, where their titles are given. Books translated from another language, in contrast, occupy both the third and the fourth columns.

	and Joy Press	<i>Toplumsal Cinsiyet</i>	
Belge	George Jerjian	<i>Gerçek Bizi Özgür Kılacak</i>	<i>The Truth Will Set Us Free: Armenians and Turks Reconciled</i>
Belge	Dora Sakayan	<i>Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları: Garabet Haceryan'ın İzmir Güncesi</i>	<i>Experiences of an Armenian Doctor: Garabet Hacheryan's Izmir Journal</i>
Belge	Zülfü Kışanak	<i>Yitik Köyler</i>	
Bilge Karınca	Cemal Anadol	<i>İsrail ve Siyonizm Kışkacında Türkiye</i>	
Bilge Karınca	Murat Kürüz	<i>Kadın-Erkek Faaliyet Raporu</i>	
Evrensel	Ahmet Kahraman	<i>Kürt İsyanları</i>	
Güncel	Nedim Şener	<i>Uzanlar / Bir Korku İmparatorluğunun Çöküşü</i>	
Güncel	Ersin Kalkan	<i>Katille Buluşmak</i>	
Güncel	Alina Reyes	<i>Lilith</i>	<i>Lilith</i>
Kaynak	Muazzez İlmiye Çığ	<i>Vatandaşlık Tepkilerim</i>	
Literatür	Mara Meimaridi	<i>İzmir Büyücüleri</i>	<i>Oi Magisses tis Smirnis</i>
Mektup	Emine Şenlikoğlu	<i>Burası Cezaevi</i>	
Metis	Elif Şafak	<i>Baba ve Piç</i>	<i>The Bastard of Istanbul</i>
Ozan	Sinan Kara	<i>Sinan'ın Kara Kitabı: Bir Gazetecilik Öyküsü</i>	
Parantez	Pedro Almodovar	<i>Patty Dyphusa Öyküleri</i>	<i>Patty Diphusa</i>
Pencere	Fevzi Karadeniz	<i>Eski Zamanlar</i>	
Pencere	James Bryce and Arnold Toynbee	<i>Mavi Kitap</i>	<i>The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916 / "the Blue Book"</i>
Pêrî	Murat Erol Coşkun	<i>Acının Dili Kadın</i>	
Pêrî	Evin Çiçek	<i>Tutkular ve Tutsaklar</i>	
Pêrî	Hejare Şamil	<i>Diaspora Kürtleri</i>	
Pêrî	Munzur Cem	<i>Dersim'de Alevilik</i>	
Pêrî	Hejare Şamil	<i>Öcalan'ın Moskova Güleri</i>	
Say	Yalçın Pekşen	<i>The Türkler</i>	
Sol	Murat Pabuç	<i>Boyalı Bank Nöbetini Terk Etmek</i>	
Sorun	Osman Tiftikçi	<i>Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Ordunun Evrimi</i>	
Sorun	Talat Turan	<i>Mehmet Eymur, Bir MİT'cinin Portresi</i>	
Stüdyo/İmge	Irvine Welsh	<i>Porno</i>	<i>Porno</i>
Tohum	Mehmet Ali Varış	<i>Kuzey Batı Dersim: Kocgiri</i>	
Tohum	Mehmet Ali Varış	<i>Kemalizm-Oturan Adam</i>	
Tohum	Aytekin Yılmaz	<i>Çok Kültürlülüğten Tek Kültürlülüğe Anadolu</i>	

Yeni Gökyüzü	Hasan Baran	<i>Ayağında Kundura</i>	
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(Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2006)

These titles have been prosecuted for various reasons, most commonly for denigrating 'Turkishness', supporting a terrorist organisation, or corrupting public morals. The relevant legislation that has caused these books to be investigated will be dealt with in the following paragraphs. The person subject to prosecution differs; sometimes the author, sometimes the publisher and sometimes the translator.

According to the 2006 report of Turkish Publishers' Association's Freedom of Publishing Committee, there has been an increase in the lawsuits filed for ideological reasons in recent years. Many writers, publishers and translators have been sued on grounds of denigrating "Turkishness"⁶, the Turkish Armed Forces, the Republic or the memory of M.K. Atatürk (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006). There are also many books confiscated and banned because they were considered obscene between 2000-2006.

While the mechanism of filing lawsuits and prosecuting books is relatively visible, we can assume that selecting the kind of titles that would arouse suspicion and not censoring them before publication is a consciously made decision. In fact, when we look at the table of titles prosecuted in 2005 and the first half of 2006, we can see that there are certain publishers repeated several times; Aram six times, Belge three times, Güncel three times, Pencere twice, Pêrî five times, Sorun twice and Tohum three times. One and a half years is a short period to be prosecuted more than once as a publishing house. Moreover, the names of these publishers and some others occur frequently in the lists of books prosecuted between 2001-2004.

The publishers whose books have been found to breach the Turkish Penal Code repeatedly may be said to challenge the Code, and thus the official ideology. It can be assumed that at least they are not concerned about being prosecuted. For example, Fatih Taş, the editor of Aram Publishing, has been sued 27 times in the last six years and 30 books of his have been banned (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006). Similarly, Ahmet Önal, the owner of Pêrî Publishing, has been sued 27 times throughout his career and has received the Freedom of Thought and Expression Prize from Turkish

⁶ "Turkishness" may be described as the quality of being a Turk. The term, as used in the Turkish Penal Code, refers to the collective nationality of all Turks, without time and place specifications. Therefore, it is a vague expression.

Publishers Association in 2001 (Başlangıç, 2006). These two publishing houses are known to publish books about the Kurdish issue⁷ and are not very institutionalised publishers.

There is another book which has been removed from the market in 2006 without a trial. The sales of *Kavgam [Mein Kampf]* by Adolf Hitler has been stopped although it has not been officially banned. This book has been banned in many countries but has been free in Turkey for 70 years and entered the bestsellers list recently. The recent popularity of the book has been linked to the escalation of nationalism (Bekmen, 2006). This situation attracted the attention of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry has stopped issuing hologram stickers for new editions, which must be attached to all books to circulate them legally in the market, as part of efforts to fight piracy (Özyurt, 2005). Therefore, it may be said that the Ministry of Culture censored *Kavgam* indirectly. The publishing houses publishing *Kavgam* were Ütopya, Toker, Akvaryum, Emre, Gökçe, Ekol Basım Yayın, Kum Saati, Manifesto, Abaküs, İtalik, MDS and Bilge Karınca.

Members of the Turkish Publisher's Association are demanding that all restrictions on the freedom to write books, create works of art, express one's ideas and read others' ideas be removed. Turkish Publishers believe that the new Turkish Penal Code was passed without enough consideration and because of its ambiguous definitions is a potential threat on the freedom of expression (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006).

Some publishers' reaction to the frequent occurrence of censorship is to self-censor their own books. However, if a publisher thinks a book may cause them to be prosecuted; they always have the option of removing that particular title from their list. Moreover, as will be discussed in the next chapter, there are publishers who exercise varying degrees of self-censorship and, in some cases, the threat posed by the Penal Code is not very relevant.

b. Self-Censorship in Translated Titles

Self-censorship is believed to be a common practice among Turkish publishers (Altınçekiç et al, 2006). It is not a very measurable phenomenon; because the attitudes of Turkish publishers regarding the issue are not transparent. However, this section will try to outline the differing practices and indicate some cases involving translated titles.

⁷ Here, the Kurdish issue refers to the political conflict between the Kurdish minority in southeastern Anatolia and the Turkish government. Some nationalist Kurdish groups overtly fight for independence and the friction has brought about armed conflict.

Self-censorship is a more common practice in translated titles. Two factors seem to be influential in publishers' tendency to self-censor translated books. One of them is that publishers assume greater freedom to intervene in the text when it comes to translated titles, because of their lack of communication with the writer and their approach to publishing translations as a cultural and intellectual pursuit, as discussed in the previous chapter. The second one, on the other hand, is the Turkish Penal Code, and fact that publishers are more likely to be held responsible for translated titles, which was the subject of the previous-sub chapter.

Cem Akaş acknowledges that publishers resort to self-censorship in translated titles because the freedom of expression is a sensitive issue in Turkey and there are sensitivities in the society as well, for example about nationality and public morals. Akaş claims that translators also censor books. Publishing houses, according to the contract they make with translators, have the right to make any changes in the translated text. They do not have to inform the translator, but this also means that they can restore any parts omitted by the translator. Thus, in the case of self-censorship in translations, publishers are always responsible, translators, on the other hand, on some occasions (Akaş, 2006).

Translator Yurdanur Salman argues that a translator may have to negotiate their translation both with the Turkish Penal Code and with the editors at their publishing house (Salman, 2000). Writer and translator Sabri Gürses points out that self-censorship by translators and publishers is rendering the translator and the translation process visible (Gürses, 2006).

In one of the earliest studies of self-censorship in translations, translation scholar Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar shows how Varlık, one of the oldest publishing houses in Turkey, exercised self-censorship when publishing translations that supported communism, for example books by Russian writers in the 1950's. In the 'Questions from Readers' section of *Varlık* magazine, some readers complained about the omissions from texts in their translations. The publishing house defended itself claiming that these titles would not be available in Turkish otherwise. Tahir-Gürçağlar has detected incomplete and editorially guided omissions in children's literature too, and popular science books for children (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2005)

Even today, publishers are wary of translating the Russian classics. Writer and translator Acar Burak Bengi claims that *Günlükler [Tolstoy's Diaries]* published by Anka Publishing in October 2005 have been not only shortened but also contains some translation "mistakes". The original *Diaries* is 13 volumes in Russian, it has been translated into French in three volumes and into English in two

volumes. Anka's version, which has been translated from R.F. Christian's English translation by İbrahim Kapaklıkaya, is one-volume and 749 pages. It is only natural that a 13-volume book is published as one volume for the sake of brevity; however, Bengi argues that this situation should have been explained in the Introduction, which would ideally give information about the translation strategy (Bengi, 2005).

As to the translation "mistakes", Bengi is convinced that not all of them are innocent. For example, in the 13 December 1889 entry in the English version, Tolstoy says "There is fabrication in Mohammed and Paul", however, the translation reads "*Pavlus'ta uydurma var*"⁸ [There is fabrication in Paul]⁹. In the 3 August 1898 entry, Tolstoy notes "If only there were such a system whereby the government actually did express the will of the people, such a government would have no need of force, nor would there be any need for a government in the sense of an authority". This sentence's translation is "*Keşke hükümetin fiilen halkın iradesini dile getirdiği böyle bir sistem; güce ihtiyacı olmayan bir hükümet olsaydı ve bir otorite duygusu içinde bir hükümete ihtiyaç olmasaydı*" [If only there were such a system whereby the government did express the will of the people; a government that has no need of force, and only if there were no need for a government in the sense of an authority]. The translator (and/or the publisher) in a way is also expressing their opinion of Tolstoy; the sentences "If only I don't sin. And don't bear malice. I don't at present" have been translated as "*Keşke günah işlemeyen durabilsem! Ama kötülüğe dayanamıyorum. Şu anda dayanamıyorum.*" [If only I could do without sinning! But I can't help malice. I can't at present] (Bengi, 2005).

We see here that the negative reference to Mohammed has been omitted, and the sentence promoting socialism has been altered. Moreover, Tolstoy himself is shown as a person who cannot stop sinning. It may be argued that the publishing house has censored – or has agreed to the censoring of – ideas considered provocative. If the book was translated and published with a complete and correct translation, the publishing house would probably not face trial. However, the editor of Anka, one of the oldest publishing houses in Turkey, has apparently found it more appropriate to publish the book by removing the risky parts.

Self-censorship is not limited to translated books of Russian writers. Two issues, namely obscenity and the denigration of Turkishness, have emerged as topics causing hot debates recently.

⁸ Translation belongs to İbrahim Kapaklıkaya.

⁹ All back-translations belong to the present author. Excerpts from translations into Turkish have been translated into English in order to make them accessible to all readers. These have been translated with a source-oriented approach with the aim of a comparative textual analysis, ignoring the literary quality of the translations.

c. “Obscenity” Cases

Obscenity and indecent expression have been censored throughout the world. James Watson and Anne Hill describe “material considered likely to deprave and corrupt” as obscene and give an overview of obscenity cases in Britain and the United States (see Watson and Hill, 2000).

Obscenity has been a cause for censorship in Turkey too. Today, within the Prime Ministry, there is a Commission for the Protection of Minors from Obscene Publications, which was established in 1927 as part of the Ministry of National Education. This Commission has censored 28 books and 1673 magazines between the years 1994-2004 (Directorate of Government Archives, 2006). Examining some reports issued by the Commission, it may be concluded that any publication containing material which deliberately sets out to shock or upset the public in terms of its sexual content or which arouses feelings of a sexual nature and seeks to benefit from that is considered obscene.¹⁰ This definition is ambiguous and flexible and therefore publishers have to rely on their personal criteria as to what would fall under the mentioned definition.

However, not all publishers are so concerned about exposing inappropriate content to their readers to censor their books. There seems to be a common rhetoric among left-wing publishers as to the censorship of obscene material. Publishers defend that the censorship of explicitly sexual content without regards to the nature of publication is too protectionist for the publishing industry. The publication of Henry Miller’s *Oğlak Dönencesi* [*Tropic of Capricorn*] is an exemplary case to how some publishers are opposed to the idea of censorship on grounds of obscenity.

Oğlak Dönencesi was published in 1985 by Can Publishing and was taken to court and copies of the book were confiscated in the same year, because of its description of sex scenes. Publisher Erdal Öz and translator Fatma Sağıtürk were accused of breaching the 426. article of the Turkish Penal Code; by corrupting public morality by way of provoking and abusing sexual desires. The lawsuit lasted for two and a half years and the book was banned in 1988. Later, 39 publishing houses, committed to fight censorship, joined Can to publish the book again collectively. These publishing houses were: Ada, Adam, Afa, Amaç, Ayrıntı, Bds, Bfs, Birey ve Toplum, Boyut, Can, Çaba, Çınar, De, Dost, El, Eleştiri, Gür, Habora, Hil, Hüryüz, İletişim, İnter, Kalem, Kaynak, Kavram, Kıyı, Kuzey, Metis, Nisan, Oda, Öykü, Pan, Savaş, Söylem, Teori, Toros, V, Yaprak, Yazın and Yön (Öz, 1991).

¹⁰ Translation by Emma Foulger.

The book was published with the sentences deemed obscene blackened out with censorship lines (See Appendix VI). The sentences covered with lines in the body of the text were printed legibly in the Preface, as part of the verdict of the Prime Ministry Commission for the Protection of Minors from Obscene Publications, together with publisher Erdal Öz's defense. This edition too was prosecuted and the 40 publishers were sued. However, since it is not illegal to publish court decisions, even if they contain sentences found obscene, the publishers won the case (Öz, 1991).

The *Oğlak Dönencesi* case is famous in the history of Turkish publishing as an attempt to counter censorship. As described above, 40 publishers actively challenged the law to have the book published. The incident is also a good example of cooperation among Turkish publishers.

More recently, Elfriede Jelinek's book *Piyanist* [*Die Klavierspielerin* – *The Piano Teacher*] also had to be published with censorship lines. After the first edition was released in 2002, its sales were banned by the Commission for the Protection of Minors from Obscene Publications. The publishing house, Everest, published the second edition in 2004 with black lines on sentences that were considered obscene by the Commission. On the note published on the pertinent page of idéefixe.com, the publisher asks whether the ideas in the book, or the fact that they had to publish the book with blackened lines, is more embarrassing (Everest, 2006).

In an interview carried out in 2003 by the literary magazine *E*, four women writers and one woman editor were asked their opinions on the usage of women's sexuality in fiction. Müge İplikçi, Rana Gürtuna and Meltem Arıkan said that they opposed censorship in both original and translated books, while Seda Kaya Güler argues that public morals cannot be protected by laws. Neşe Cengiz points out that a publisher committed to high editorial standards like *Ayrıntı* does not deserve to be treated the way it has been. The books they have published have been confiscated and burned (*Dosya*, 2003). According to the Freedom of Publishing report, *Ayrıntı* was prosecuted most for publishing obscene books in 2005 and 2006 (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006).

In 2005, an amendment was made in the Turkish Penal Code to exclude literary works and works of art from the relevant "obscenity" article 426, however, the publisher of *Porno* [*Porno*], Stüdyo/İmge was sued after the amendment in question (Turkish Publishers Association, 2006). As a result of the unreliable legislation, publishers are currently choosing to censor their translated titles, if they contain paragraphs or sentences that could be found obscene. The translation strategies for

those parts of the text include omission, the summarising of paragraphs or replacing slang and colloquial expressions with 'appropriate' words.

Arzu Eker, in her study with the nine publishers, concludes that some of them prefer to euphemise obscene words (Eker, 2001). According to Ömer Faruk, it is sometimes translators who censor obscene descriptions, for example they tend to use the technical terms for the male and female sexual organs instead of the vulgar words in the original texts (Faruk, 2006).

A veteran translator, Nihal Yeğınobalı, explains that she herself censored a paragraph in a book for fear that the book would be altogether censored. While translating *El Beso de la Mujer Araña* [*Kiss of the Spider Woman/Örümcek Kadının Öpücüğü*], she admits that she had omitted a paragraph where the sex scene between two homosexual men was described in detail. Yeğınobalı explains that Puig is one of her favourite writers, it was she who introduced him to the Turkish reader and that she thought one paragraph in a book was not that important after all (Atmaca 2006). From this explanation, we can infer that Yeğınobalı as the translator has appropriated the book, which is a common attitude among editors and translators in the uninstitutionalised publishing industry in Turkey. Yeğınobalı's initial translation was published by Öykü Publishing. Later, in 1990, it was acquired by Can Publishing and the paragraph in question was added upon the request of the editor Erdal Öz (Atmaca, 2006).

There are, however, other cases where books have been censored, although the risk of prosecution is very low. According to Serhat Baysan, from İş Bankası Publications, Jane Austen's *Gurur ve Önyargı* [*Pride and Prejudice*] has been published with considerable omissions probably because the story of a mother trying to arrange husbands for her daughters has been found inappropriate (Baysan, 2006). Baysan argues that some publishers claim they print books shorter to produce them cheaply; however, he explains that publishers prefer to omit parts which, in their opinion could damage their image. *Gurur ve Önyargı* published in 2001 by Remzi Publication consists of 111 pages while major editions in the English language are over 300 pages and İş Bankası Publications's is 424 pages. Remzi is one of the oldest publishing houses in Turkey. In the "Hakkımızda" [About Us] page of their website, it says that the publishing house was founded in 1927 and "has pioneered culture and publishing" in Turkey (Remzi, 2006).

d. “Denigration of Turkishness” Cases

The degree of nationalism in the recent debate about freedom of expression in the media has been found “alarming” by many intellectuals. The 301. article of the Turkish Penal Code (formerly article no 159) has been cited to file the notorious “denigration of Turkishness” lawsuits.

The article, which was introduced in 2005 says:

1. A person who publicly denigrates Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years.
2. A person who publicly denigrates the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the judicial institutions of the State, the military or security organizations shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and two years.
3. In cases where denigration of Turkishness is committed by a Turkish citizen in another country the punishment shall be increased by one third.
4. Expressions of thought intended to criticize shall not constitute a crime (Amnesty International, 2006).

Article no 301 (hereinafter referred to as TPC 301) has been cited to prosecute famous Turkish writers and journalists. Orhan Pamuk, who, in an interview commented on the World War I killing of Armenians¹¹ and Turkey’s treatment of its Kurdish minority, has had to face trial (Mahoney, 2006). Elif Şafak, in the Turkish translation of her latest English novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* joined him for talking through an Armenian character who tells of the mass killing (*Flying Insults*, 2006). Perihan Mağden, Hrant Dink, Murat Belge, Haluk Şahin, Erol Katırcıoğlu, İsmet Berkan and Hasan Cemal are all journalists who have visited the courtrooms, which are often a scene for the protests of nationalist fervor. Among the protesters demanding the writers’ prosecution, the ultra-nationalist lawyer Kemal Keriñsiz is significant and has received extensive media coverage. Some even think that he is an agent for the “deep state” trying to undermine Turkey’s EU membership (*Flying Insults*, 2006).

¹¹ During WWI, the Armenian minority in eastern Anatolia was forced to move south on grounds that they cooperated with the invading forces. The official explanation in Turkey acknowledges that a number of Armenian people died; however, their deaths are attributed to natural causes and war conditions. Today, the Turkish government refers to the event as the Armenian Deportation, while some countries refer to it as the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian government especially demands that it is internationally recognised as Genocide.

Translators and publishers have been prosecuted for translating books with references to the Armenian and Kurdish issues. Ragıp Zarakolu, the editor of Belge, has been charged under TPC 301 for publishing Dora Sakayan's *Bir Ermeni Doktorun Yaşadıkları: Garabet Hacheryan'ın İzmir Guncesi* [*Experiences of an Armenian Doctor: Garabet Hacheryan's İzmir Journal*]. Fatih Taş, the owner of Aram, has also been tried for publishing John Tirman's *Savaş Ganimetleri: Amerikan Silah Ticaretinin İnsan Bedeli* [*The Spoils of War: the Human Cost of America's Arms Trade*] and *Rızanın İmalatı* [*Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*] by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman (Amnesty International, 2005). The original book was published in 1987 but Taş was tried in 2006 for publishing the revised 2001 edition (Book Trade Info, 2006).

Many writers, journalists and publishers are acquitted after trials. According to communication jurist Haluk İnancı, the real danger of TPC 301 is not the fact that it punishes writers, publishers and translators but that it is driving them to self-censorship with the fear of persecution (İnancı, 2006).

Prof Baskın Oran from the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ankara University points out two possible reasons for the wave of related nationalism lawsuits. One of them is the Turkish readers' reaction to globalisation and their effort to protect their identity; and the second one is their reaction to the armed Kurdish nationalist movement. Oran explains that "the society came to believe that its national identity was under threat. This in turn influenced justice. In these days where we are entering an election period, the government has retreated in the face of Turkish nationalism" (Bianet, 2006)¹². We may understand that the official ideology regarding nationalism is very effective in Turkey.

The so-called Anti-Terror Law, also cited to prosecute publishers, may be seen as an extension of nationalist concerns. Books that deal with the Kurdish issue have been the subject to trials because of the law, which has been found to be a potential threat to human rights and freedoms by Turkish and other intellectuals. The Law to Fight Terrorism places an emphasis on the "indivisible unity of the State with its territory and nation", and editors of periodicals and publishing houses are punishable if they are considered to be terrorist offenders (Turkish Penal Code, 2004). Terrorist offence here includes publishing books the content of which is seen as propaganda for a terrorist organisation. In the table above, there are numerous books by writers and editors who sympathise with the Kurdish nationalist movement that could serve as examples to prosecution because of this law.

¹² Translation belongs to Bianet.

Noam Chomsky's book, *Amerikan Müdahaleciliği* [*American Interventionism*] for example, was prosecuted under the Anti-Terror Law. Chomsky had come to Turkey and presented a petition to the court explaining that he wanted to be held accountable for the book, instead of the publisher, but his request was not accepted by the court, who insisted on charging the publisher (Kılıç, 2002). The publisher was acquitted afterwards.

Both TPC 301 and the Anti-Terror Law are found very ambiguous, and could be interpreted in a way to prosecute writers, translators, publishers and even printers if the individual judge presiding over the lawsuits wants to find a legal basis to punish them (Tosun, 2006). However, the president of Turkey, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, has recently demanded the cancellation of the the fifth article of the law, which is concerned with crimes committed through the media (Sezer, 2006). The proposed amendment of the law will exclude owners and editors-in-chief of publishing houses and periodicals from the law, provided that they have not taken part in the activity described as terrorist offence. This development was of course welcomed by key persons in the media.

There are also some developments to increase awareness for individual rights and freedoms; however, it may be said that nationalism is stronger than respect for social rights in Turkey. As a result of the nationalist sensitivity, publishers prefer to omit negative references to Turks in the translated titles they publish. However, as we will see in the following subchapter, they sometimes censor books where there is not an overt reference to Turks.

Earlier instances of nationalist self-censorship include the translation of *Brat'ja Karamazovy* [*Brothers Karamazov*] by Fyodor Dostoyevski. According to writer and translator Acar Burak Bengi, eight of the ten editions of *Karamazov Kardeşler* have been censored by the publishing houses. In the chapter titled Rebellion, there is a paragraph which describes the treatment of the locals by Turks:

"By the way, a Bulgarian I met lately in Moscow," Ivan went on, seeming not to hear his brother's words, "told me about the crimes committed by Turks and Circassians in all parts of Bulgaria through fear of a general rising of the Slavs. They burn villages, murder, outrage women and children, they nail their prisoners by the ears to the fences, leave them so till morning, and in the morning they hang them- all sorts of things you can't imagine. People talk sometimes of bestial cruelty, but that's a great injustice and insult to the beasts; a beast can never be so cruel as a man, so artistically cruel. The tiger only tears and gnaws, that's all he can do. He would never think of nailing people by the ears, even if he were able to do it. These Turks took a pleasure in torturing children, too; cutting the unborn child from the mothers' womb, and tossing babies up in the air and catching them on the points of their

bayonets before their mothers' eyes. Doing it before the mothers' eyes was what gave zest to the amusement. Here is another scene that I thought very interesting. Imagine a trembling mother with her baby in her arms, a circle of invading Turks around her. They've planned a diversion: they pet the baby, laugh to make it laugh. They succeed, the baby laughs. At that moment a Turk points a pistol four inches from the baby's face. The baby laughs with glee, holds out its little hands to the pistol, and he pulls the trigger in the baby's face and blows out its brains. Artistic, wasn't it? By the way, Turks are particularly fond of sweet things, they say" (Dostoyevski, 1912)¹³.

In the translations published between the years 1993 – 2005, the word “Turks” was usually omitted from the text. In the book published by İletişim, “*Türkler*” [Turks] is omitted; in the Social translation, it has been replaced by “*Bulgaristan’daki yöneticiler*” [authorities in Bulgaria], in Morpa’s edition, the first half of the paragraph has been omitted and there is the word “insanlar” [people] instead of Turks; in MEB, Oda, Timaş and Engin versions the paragraph is altogether censored. Only Öteki and Alfa Publications have published the paragraph as it is (*Dostoyevski Sansüre mi Uğradı?*, 2005).

References to the Republic which are against the official ideology are also self-censored. For example, in the translation of *Introducing Muhammad*, released from Milliyet Yayınları (later transformed into Doğan) in 1996, the paragraphs which argue that Islamic fundamentalism has arisen because of the excesses of modernist leaders have been omitted. The same page contains a picture of İsmet İnönü, the second president of the Republic of Turkey, on his horse during the War of Independence with two Turkish flags on both sides. This page has been altogether omitted from the book (see Sardar and Malik, 1996). As a result, we may conclude that mainstream publishers that do not want to seem ideologically guided prefer to stick to the official discourse.

e. Self-censorship in Translated Children’s Literature

Turkish publishers seem to have a more conservative approach in children’s books, which includes the omission of covert references to Turks. Recently there has been a debate about whether self-censorship is justifiable in translated children’s literature. Some translators and translation scholars have even considered it necessary because of the requirements of children’s publishing.

¹³ Translation by Contance Garnett. The English translation has been used here because the original Russian is inaccessible for the present author.

This discussion will be presented and illustrated with three case studies: self-censorship in *Küçük Prens* [*Le Petit Prince*] by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Noel Baba'dan Mektuplar* [*Letters from Father Christmas*] by J.R.R. Tolkien and the translation of the Western Classics by Islamist publishers.

Küçük Prens has been published by sixteen publishers in Turkey, and these have adopted different strategies for the paragraph where the protagonist tells of a Turkish astronomer:

Cet astéroïde n'a été aperçu qu'une fois au télescope, en 1909, par un astronome turc. Il avait fait alors une grande démonstration de sa découverte à un Congrès International d'Astronomie. Mais personne ne l'avait cru à cause de son costume. Les grandes personnes sont comme ça. Heureusement, pour la réputation de l'astéroïde B 612 un dictateur turc imposa à son peuple, sous peine de mort, de s'habiller à l'Européenne. L'astronome refit sa démonstration en 1920, dans un habit très élégant. Et cette fois-ci tout le monde fut de son avis (Saint-Exupéry, 1946).

[This asteroid has only once been seen through the telescope. That was by a Turkish astronomer, in 1909. On making his discovery, the astronomer had presented it to the International Astronomical Congress, in a great demonstration. But nobody would believe what he said because of his costume. Grown-ups are like that . . . Fortunately, however, for the reputation of Asteroid B-612, a Turkish dictator made a law that his subjects, under pain of death, should change to European costume. So in 1920 the astronomer gave his demonstration all over again, dressed with impressive style and elegance. And this time everybody accepted his report (Saint-Exupéry, 1989).]¹⁴

As may be observed, there is no direct denigration of Turkishness in this part of the text, except for the fact that a Turkish person has been called a dictator. However, since there are many fictitious characters throughout the book, there is not much reason to believe that this Turkish dictator refers to anyone in reality. Nevertheless, this paragraph of the book has been said to refer to introduction of the Dress Code 1924 as part of the Reforms that were planned and carried out by the founder and the first president of the Republic of Turkey, M.K. Atatürk. Still, since the actual Code was introduced in 1924 and the date in the book is 1920, there is no concrete evidence that the Turkish dictator in question is Atatürk.

According to a study conducted by translation scholar and children's publisher Necdet Neydim, many of the publishers have avoided using the word "diktatör" [dictator] in the translation.

¹⁴ Translation belongs to Katherine Woods.

Among the nine publishers whose translation has been compared in the study, Sim, Bilgi, Cem, Can and Engin Publishing have paraphrased the word as “dediği dedik”, “sınırsız yetkili”, and “buyurgan” which sound less negative than “diktatör”. In Mavibulut’s translation, the word has been omitted and the text reads “bir Türk lideri” [a Turkish leader]. İnkılap, which is named after Atatürk’s Reforms, has chosen to remove the whole sentence from the paragraph (Neydim 2005).

Necdet Neydim seems to approve of the cautious approach of the abovementioned publishing houses; he believes that those interventions have been made in order not to disturb the children. He argues that national values, the circumstances of children’s perception, and the socially and culturally vulnerable nature of children should be taken into account in translated children’s literature (Neydim, 2005).

Düşünen Adam and Nehir Publications, on the other hand, have made more visible translation decisions. In the former version, the sentence has been translated as “[...] *büyük ve değerli kumandan Atatürk bütün Türklerin Avrupalılar gibi giyinmelerini sağladı*” [great and esteemed commander Atatürk made sure that all Turks dressed like Europeans]. Nehir Publishing, however, has turned the whole paragraph to the opposite direction:

Astığı astık, kestiği kestik korkunç bir önder geçmiş Türklerin başına. Halkı yasa zoruyla Batılılar (Avrupalı ve Amerikalı) gibi giyinmeye mecbur etmiş. Buna karşı çıkanları öldürtmüş. Fötr şapka giymeyenlere işkece ettirmiş. Kravat takmayan öğrencileri okuldan, memurları dairelerden attırmış. Sokağa başını örterek çıkan kadınların örtülerini, genç ihtiyar demeden polis ve jandarma eliyle açtırmış. Bütün bunlardan sonra B-612’ciğin Türkler tarafından keşfedildiği kabul edilmiş. Türk gökbilimcinin 1920 yılında, ayağında pantolonu, sırtında smokini, sadece kulaklarının üstünde kalmış briyantınli saçları ve boynunda papyonla bir Batılı gibi giyinmiş olarak yaptığı aynı konuşma ve kendinin değil, Batılıların harfleriyle yazdığı belgeler, alkışlarla karşılanmış... İşte (Batılı ve onlara benzemeye çalışan) büyükler böyledir. (Saint-Exupéry, 1995).¹⁵

[A tyrannical leader came to rule the Turks. He forced the people to dress like Westerners (i.e. European and American) with legal sanctions. He made sure that the ones who didn’t obey were killed. Those who refused to wear felt hats were tortured. Students and civil servants who wouldn’t wear ties were expelled from schools and government offices. The headscarves of women young and old, who went out with their heads covered, were removed forcefully by gendarme and the police. After all this, it was accepted

¹⁵ Edited/translated by Muharrem Ekisçeli.

that B-612 was discovered by Turks. The same speech that the Turkish astronomer gave in 1920 dressed like a Westerner – with his trousers and tuxedo on, his brilliantined hair that was cut just above his ears, and with his bow tie around his neck – and the documents he wrote, not with his own but with Westerners' letters were applauded... You see grown-ups (that is to say, Westerners and those who strive to be like them) are like that.]

Neydim argues that these translations are guided by the ideology of the individual translators. The latter one, in particular, is criticised harshly for abusing the world classic and misleading the readers. The translator of Nehir's version is unknown; there is only the name of the editor in the book (Neydim, 2005). Although there is not an overt reference to Atatürk in this translation either, the publisher has been sued; copies have been confiscated and banned (Karadağ, 2006).

The translation of *Le Petit Prince* was debated for some time. The book used to be on the "100 Basic Works [of Literature]" of Ministry of National Education, recommended to school students in 2005. However, because of pressure from Islamist readers, it was removed from the list in the same year (Turkish Publishers Association 2006). Mehmet Moralı believes that the influence of the Turkish Penal Code on the self-censored translations of *Le Petit Prince* is limited. According to him, the word "diktatör" has been omitted by publishers in order to protect their images (Moralı, 2006). Therefore, we observe that ideology has rendered the translator/editors of these titles visible, because the norms regarding translated children's literature requires them to be so.

Another book self-censored for nationalist concerns is *Noel Baba'dan Mektuplar*, published by Okuyan Us in 2005. In this children's book, composed of fictitious letters to children from Father Christmas, Tolkien says that *orcs* – warlike monstrous creatures – arrived in Constantinople in 1453 and in Germany in 1933 (Tolkien, 2004). The reference to the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul) has been omitted from the translated text. In the Translator's Note at the back of the book, Leyla Roksan Çağlar writes:

[...] We have not included the parts where Tolkien tries to associate orcs with the conquest of Istanbul by giving the year 1453 in the two letters from Father Christmas dated 23 December 1932 and 21 December 1933, because it is a religious prejudice repeated thoughtlessly. However, Tolkien has reason to associate orcs to a disaster that assumed power in Germany by giving the year 1933 in the letter from Father Christmas dated 24 December 1935. [...] (Çağlar, 2005).

Apparently, the translator's worldview dominates the Translator's Note. Arif Çağlar, the translator's father and the editor of the book, argues that such a cultural prejudice has no place in the vulnerable world of children. The publishing house, who supports the translator, explains that it was a common decision of them to omit certain sentences from the text. They suggest that if the year 1453 was not omitted from the text, they then would be criticised for publishing an anti-Turkish book (Atmaca, 2006).

The Translator's Note published in the book and the statements made by the publisher attracted a lot of attention among translators and publishers. J.R.R. Tolkien's works have previously been found to bear resemblances to historical facts involving Turks, or rather the Ottoman Empire by some writers. However, translator and editor Celâl Üster believes that that the publishing house should not have published the book if they thought it involved a prejudice against Turkish people (Üster, 2006).

Writer and editor Yıldırım Türker stresses that it is not the duty of a publishing house to protect readers from prejudices (Türker, 2006). Moreover, the explanation in the Translator's Note brings to mind the following question: If the association of the conquest of Constantinople to orcs is dangerous for children, why is this fact emphasised at the end of the book? If it was not for the Translator's Note, the target readers, aged roughly between 7 and 12, may not have recognised 1453 as the year of the conquest of Constantinople.

Türker defends his view by stating that censorship is unacceptable for a publisher, which is supposed to be "a producer and disseminator of culture". In his column in *Radikal*, he rightfully asks:

Why don't you stop translating Tolkien, if you find him dangerous? Because his book would sell a lot and would earn you lots of money? And how does this relate to your poignant sense of morality? (Türker, 2006).

The publisher, Okuyan Us, on the other hand, defend themselves by claiming that their decision has been well-grounded and what they did is not considered censorship, because it has been explained with a translator's note (Okuyan Us, 2006). However, the incident has not been approved of by literary circles.

An extreme example of editorial control has been exercised by Islamist publishers in their translations of Western Classics for children. The publishers in question are known to translate these

books in line with their own worldview and present their young readers a Muslim version of the famous Classics.

Timaş Publications for example, known to have an overt Muslim identity, have a Western Classics Children's Series. The editor-in-chief, Emine Eroğlu defines the publishing house as "an institution with right-wing tendencies producing high quality publications" (Karadağ, 2003). From Eroğlu's other statements, it is clear that they have adopted a market-oriented approach and put their target readers' needs and interest in the first place. Moreover, one of their criteria for the selection of titles in Timaş is "not harmful to public morality" (Karadağ, 2003). Thus, Timaş may be said to engage in cultural gatekeeping to a certain extent.

The Western Classics Series composes of *Faust*, *Don Quixote*, *Heidi*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Crime and Punishment*. Eroğlu explains that they started such a series because they realised that children of religious families were not able to read these books. She claims that there are many translations of the Western classics in the market, but they are not appropriate for Muslim audiences. They decided to publish Western classics to meet this demand, because their target reader "also had the right to read these works" (Karadağ, 2003). From this explanation, it is clear that Timaş started this series as part of a culture service to their particular segment in the market.

All the titles in the Western Classics Children's Series have been translated by the same translator, Ali Çankırılı. The publishing house chose him because he shared the same world view; moreover, he had had pedagogy education (Karadağ, 2003). In these translations, Çankırılı is known to omit descriptions of the characters' Christian lifestyles and insert sentences that could serve to promote Islam. Moreover, the development of the plots have been arranged in a way that suggests that some events occur as determined by "Allah" and dialogues between characters are peppered with quotations from the Qur'an. Descriptions of nature have been reduced, and details about religion have been elaborated. Finally, in the blurbs and forewords of the translations, it is claimed that some of the writers, for example Cervantes, Goethe and Daniel Defoe actually supported Islam, but had to hide this fact throughout their lives (Ulus, 1996).

In an interview about the publisher's translation policy in the Series, Eroğlu argues that in some titles, there were a number of references that were abhorrent to both the publishing house's world view and children's psychology. According to her, publishing these books as they were could shake their specific target readers' confidence in them (Karadağ, 2003).

Therefore, translator Ali Çankırılı has made some adaptations in the books with the editors' approval. Eroğlu explains that he omitted some sentences considering the reading skills and the socio-cultural background of Muslim children, and added some sentences to "guide and educate" them. Eroğlu believes that their target readers are happy with the translations. She maintains that a translator should keep in mind the culture, and the world view of the target audience and publisher's function here is to inform and guide the translator (Karadağ, 2003). If we apply TS scholar Vermeer's terminology here, the translator has to take into account the specifications of the commissioner, who is influential in choosing the appropriate function of the target text.

Later, however, Timaş changed their line of publishing and extended their list to include a wider variety of books. In an interview conducted in 2004, Eroğlu says that they do not have any specification as to age, class, or world view in their target readers any more (Atılğan, 2004). It is interesting to note that the Western Classics Children's Series translated by Ali Çankırılı are no longer available in booksellers and the new editions from Timaş were translated by another translator. This situation explains how the publishing house sees their translations as an expression of their identity.

The same ideological adaptations have been observed in the so-called right-wing publishers' versions of the titles on the 100 Basic Works [of Literature] List. Some titles in the list, which was intended as a guide for young readers, have been re-translated and published recently to meet the growing demand.

Nilay Yılmaz, from the department of Turkish Language in İstanbul Bilgi University, claims that Islamist publishing houses have used those books as tools for their ideological aims, taking advantage of the acclaimed status of these titles. A Muslim rhetoric prevails in the books in question, proper names have been Turkified, and original expressions have been replaced by expressions featuring the name of Allah, used by conservative circles. Again, the names of the translators are not given in the books (Aktaş, 2006).

Damla Publications is one of the publishing houses with a right-wing bias to publish titles from the 100 Basic Works list. They have prepared a children's series of 50 titles, including the stories of Anton Chekov, Oscar Wilde's *The Happy Prince*, Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy Tales*, Carlo Corlodi's *Pinocchio* and Eleanor H Porter's *Pollyanna*. As in other cases previously mentioned, many characters speak of the greatness and the power of Allah, and use religious expressions.

As a result, we see that publishers share certain norms and conventions in children's publishing. Translated books for children are edited with a rather conservative approach. Here, the definition of conservative is dependent on which values individual publishers are trying to promote. Furthermore, not all publishing houses are transparent about their strategies. We have seen that most of them do not inform parents of their editorial strategies. It may be concluded that publishers are keen on performing the gatekeeping function in children's literature. Some translators and editors find this situation justifiable; however, it is certain that norms and conventions in children's translated fiction are binding for most translators and editors.



VI. CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated throughout the dissertation, the Turkish publishing industry does not operate in an institutionalised manner. Publishing is seen as a cultural activity done for the benefit of the society and editors, proofreaders and translators work for not the financial, but the intellectual gain. Editors are known to see themselves as gatekeepers, or half authors. Publishing in Turkey is associated to ideology and publishing houses, like other institutions, are expected to take a political stance. Their stance usually shows in their selection of titles and editorial decisions.

We have seen that State censorship in Turkey is inconsistent and ad-hoc, which leads to self-censorship. Censoring one's own books is a relatively common practice in Turkey, and editorial control is exercised as a manifestation of political inclination.

Publishers have different attitudes regarding censorship in line with their self-image. The world views of some of them require them not to censor the books they have selected for their list, no matter what the consequence. Others justify self-censorship with the legal context in Turkey. Still others choose to omit words and sentences that do not fit in with their assumed role in the cultural industry.

In all the books discussed in the case studies, it is the ideology of the publisher that guides their translation policy and makes their editorial practices visible. It may be concluded that editorial control is not a means but an end for the ideologically engaged publishers. Many publishers are aware of the limits to the freedom of expression and each position themselves taking the limit as a reference point.

Freedom of expression is a very important ideal to promote in Turkey, who is in the process of meeting EU accession criteria. Intellectuals agree that individual rights and freedoms should be improved, especially the freedom of thought and expression. To that end, necessary amendments should be done for a more functional and practical legal system. Besides, legislation should be revised to exclude publishers and translators from prosecution.

A further step to this study would be to compare the situation in other publishing industries. Censorship is not only a Turkish issue; other countries also have laws aimed at protecting national and moral values, or laws that could potentially pose a threat to the freedom of expression.

In Germany, for example, it is an offence to denigrate the State or the Army. Furthermore, propaganda on behalf of a forbidden political party is punishable according to the Penal Code (Criminal Code, 2006). There is also the *Jugendschutzgesetz* to discourage youth from improper behaviour, and the law covers sexually explicit printed material (Jugendschutzgesetz, 2006). Therefore, it may be argued that both Germany and Turkey have legislation applicable to offences committed through the media, including publications. It would be interesting to study the implications of these laws on the publishing industry in Germany, whether censorship or self-censorship are exercised in original or translated books.

Another example could be China, where freedom of expression has been argued to be limited. Information presented to citizens via the media has been said to be government controlled and filtered. The Communist Party emerges as the authority in the media and is not said to be open to political criticism. The Criminal Law contains articles aiming to protect national security and state secrets. Moreover, there is a licensing scheme whereby individuals wanting to engage in publishing activities must get a permit from the Chinese government. This way, the government is said to be exercising pre-emptive censorship. However, critics welcome the improvements made in the last 50 years. It would be useful to compare and contrast the developments in China and Turkey and see which measures could be taken in both countries. China has regulations specifically to regulate the publishing activities in the country (Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2006). An investigation into the practicality of these regulations could be an extension to a comparative study on censorship and self-censorship.

Finally, the best way to eliminate the limitations on the freedom of expression is to create consciousness among the public. This dissertation is as an attempt to bring the issue to the fore by discussing it from different aspects. In spite of time and space restrictions, the research has yielded important results and may be used as a reference in the discussions about self-censorship.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire for Translators

This questionnaire has been prepared by an MA in Publishing and Language student and the results will be used as **quantitative** data for a dissertation about self-censorship and ideological textual interventions carried out by Turkish publishing houses. The information given here is strictly confidential, unless full consent has been given. Please answer the questions and send the questionnaire to duygutekgul@brookes.ac.uk as an attachment.

A. About yourself

1. Please give a brief summary of your educational background. Do you hold any undergraduate/postgraduate degrees?
2. How long have you been working as a professional translator?
3. Throughout your career, how many titles have you translated into Turkish?
4. Which of the below statements do you agree with? Please underline.
 - a) I prefer to be “visible” as a translator, i.e. I develop my own style in Turkish and I may make necessary changes and adaptations in the text for reasons of clarity or to communicate concepts to the intended readers better.
 - b) I prefer to be “invisible” as a translator, i.e. I try to reflect the author’s style as much as I can and I translate the text as loyally as I can no matter how the readers respond to it.
5. Do you agree that publishing houses have the right to, or should make necessary changes in a translation so that it does not contain elements that conflict with the publishing house’s image, although it puts accuracy at stake?

B. About your experiences with publishers

1. Have you ever been **briefed/advised by your publishing house** to make any necessary changes to the text e.g. paraphrasing, adapting etc. or omit any material (text or illustration) in places where
 - a. The text contains obscene words and descriptions
 - b. “Turkishness” has been denigrated

- c. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has been denigrated
- d. The Republic of Turkey, the Grand National Assembly, or the Turkish Armed Forces has been denigrated
- e. Any other ethnic origin or State has been denigrated
- f. Prophet Muhammad has been denigrated
- g. The Muslim religion has been denigrated

Please underline the relevant statement(s).

2. Have you ever made any changes to the text because **you** thought it might offend readers on grounds that

- a. The text contains obscene words and descriptions
- b. "Turkishness" has been denigrated
- c. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has been denigrated
- d. The Republic of Turkey, the Grand National Assembly, or the Turkish Armed Forces has been denigrated
- e. Any other ethnic origin or State has been denigrated
- f. Prophet Muhammad has been denigrated
- g. The Muslim religion has been denigrated

Please underline the relevant statement(s) and indicate on how many occasions.

3. After you have translated a text, **has your publishing house made** any changes to the text because it might offend readers on grounds that

- a. The text contains obscene words and descriptions
- b. "Turkishness" has been denigrated
- c. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has been denigrated
- d. The Republic of Turkey, the Grand National Assembly, or the Turkish Armed Forces has been denigrated
- e. Any other ethnic origin or State has been denigrated
- f. Prophet Muhammad has been denigrated
- g. The Muslim religion has been denigrated

Please underline the relevant statement(s) and indicate on how many occasions.

4. Does your publisher usually consult you if they believe some changes need to be done in the text for the abovementioned reasons? If yes, how frequently? Do they justify their reasons and negotiate the problematic sentences/paragraphs with you?
- a. always b. frequently c. sometimes d. rarely e. never
5. For how many titles has your publisher asked you to write a “Translator’s Note”? On which occasions is such a note deemed necessary?
6. Do you agree that in Turkey publishing houses reflect their social, ideological, religious and political attitudes in the editorial processes of the translated books they publish? If yes, please explain briefly and illustrate with examples if appropriate.
7. How do you think adaptation and censorship as exercised by publishers could be justified?
- a. Because their world view requires them to do so?
- b. In an effort to maintain their image?
- c. Not to go against the official ideology?
- d. As part of their “cultural service” to the society?
- e. Other (please indicate)

Please underline the relevant statement(s) and feel free to elaborate on your opinions.

8. Do you have any further comments about self-censorship in translated titles?

7. Consent

Please underline as appropriate whether you agree/don’t agree to the following:

- a. I agree/disagree for the information that I have given in this questionnaire to be used only in the dissertation of Perihan Duygu Tekgül, and nowhere else without prior permission.
- b. I agree/disagree for any publishing houses mentioned in this questionnaire to be used in the dissertation of Perihan Duygu Tekgül, and nowhere else without prior permission.

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX II

Books prosecuted in 2004

Publisher	Author	Turkish Title	Translated From
Ceylan	Hasan Basri Aydın	<i>Tanrıya Metuplar</i>	
Çetin	Abdullah Öcalan	<i>Güney. Kürdistan'da Egemenlik</i>	
Çetin	Collected papers	<i>Öğrenci Gençlik Hareketi</i>	
Çetin	Gülseren Aksu	<i>Güneşin Sofrasındayız</i>	
Çetin	Abdullah Öcalan	<i>Sosyal Devrim ve Yeni Yaşam</i>	
Çetin	Mahsun Şafak	<i>PKK Kongre Belgeleri</i>	
Çiviyazıları	Marquis de Sade and Austryn Wainhouse	<i>Juliette</i>	<i>Juliette</i>
Deng	Kemal Burkay	<i>Seçme Yazılar</i>	
Deng	Ehmede Xani	<i>Mem u Zın [Kurdish]</i>	
Deng	Munzur Cem	<i>Alevilik, Zazaki ve Dersim</i>	
Deng	Ali Dicleli	<i>Kürt Sorunu Barış Demokrasi</i>	
Everest	Meltem Arıkan	<i>Yeter Tenimi Acıtmayın</i>	
Haziran	Collected papers	<i>Cezaevi Direnişi 3: Ulucanlar</i>	
Pêrî	Naci Kutlay	<i>21. Yüzyıla Girerken Kürtler</i>	
Stüdyo/İmge	Sabri Kalıç	<i>Eminem</i>	
Stüdyo/İmge	Sibel Torunoğlu	<i>Travesti Pinokyo</i>	
Stüdyo/İmge	Eminem	<i>Kızgın Sarışın</i>	<i>Angry Blonde</i>

Stüdyo/İmge	Suat Bilgi	Show	
Stüdyo/İmge	Irvine Welsh	<i>Olağanüstü Üç Kimyasal Roman</i>	<i>Ecstasy: Three Tales of Chemical Romance</i>



APPENDIX III

Books prosecuted in 2003

Publisher	Author	Turkish Title	Translated From
Aram	Mehmet Sebatlı	<i>Kasırga Taburu</i>	
Ayrıntı	Marquis de Sade	<i>Yatak Odasında Felsefe ya da Ahlaksız Eğitmenler</i>	<i>La Philosophie dans le Boudoir</i>
Ayrıntı	Chuck Palahniuk	<i>Tıkanma</i>	<i>Choke</i>
Belge	Gazi Çağlar (ed.)	<i>12 Eylül Yargılanıyor: Askeri Rejime Karşı Uluslararası Mahkeme</i>	
Çetin	Abdullah Öcalan	<i>Özgür İnsan Savunması</i>	
Doz	Mesut Barzani	<i>Barzani ve Kürt Ulusal Özgürlük Hareketi</i>	<i>Barzani u Tevgera Azadiye Neteviye Kurd</i>
Elma	Müslüm Yücel	<i>Kına ve Ayna: Kürtlerde Ölüm ve İntihar</i>	
Gün	Hüseyin Elçi	<i>Delal'a Mektuplar</i>	
İletişim	Herkül Milas (ed.)	<i>Göç, Rumların Anadolu'dan Mecburi Ayrılışı; 1919-1923</i>	
Maki	Fikret Başkaya	<i>Akıntıya Karşı Yazılar</i>	
Metis	Filiz Bingölçe	<i>Kadın Argosu Sözlüğü</i>	
Özgür Üniversite	Fikret Başkaya	<i>Paradigmanın İflası- Resmi İdeolojinin Eleştirisine Giriş</i>	
Piramit	Erje Ayden	<i>İkinci Caddenin Çılgın Yeşili</i>	

Si	Salihe Kevirbiri	<i>Bir Çiğliğin Yüzyılı Karapete Xaço</i>	
(s.n.)	Nurullah Aydın	<i>Her Şey Türkiye İçin Milli Stratejik Konsept</i>	
Tavır	(s.n.)	<i>Grup Yorum Bir Kar Makinası</i>	
Tohum Basım	A. Dursun Yıldız	<i>Özgürleşmeye Pedagojik Bakış</i>	
Toplumsal Dönüşüm	Mehmet Karıncakalesi	<i>Vekiller Nereye Koşuyor?</i>	
Toplumsal Dönüşüm	Mehmet Bölük	<i>El Tayyip: Rüzgardan Kasırgaya</i>	
Umut	Yıldız Göksu and Tuncay Deniz	<i>Parti ve Devrim Şehitleri Albümü 1972- 2002 Partizan</i>	
Umut	Nihat Behram et al	<i>Saklanmaya Çalışılan Bir Meşale İbrahim Kaypakkaya</i>	
Varyos	Tancay Kayacı	<i>Kitlesini Arayan Parti: Bir Tarih Böyle Yapıldı</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bilimsel Yöntem, Üniversite Özerkliği ve Demokratik Toplum İlkeleri Açısından Beşikçi Davası II- Savunma</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Danıştay Davaları, İddianame Esas Hakkındaki Mütalaa</i>	
		<i>Bilimsel Yöntem, Üniversite Özerkliği ve</i>	

Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Demokratik Toplum İlkeleri Açısından Beşikçi Davası I</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın Tüzüğü (1927) ve Kürt Sorunu</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Kürdistan Üzerine Emperyalist Bölüşüm Mücadelesi, 1915-1925</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Kürt Toplumu Üzerine</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni-Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller (1-2)</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Başkaldırının Koşulları</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>UNESCO'ya Mektup</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bilim-Resmi İdeoloji, Devlet-Demokrasi ve Kürt Sorunu</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Devletlerarası Sömürge Kürdistan</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Zihnimizdeki Karakolların Yıkılması-Yargılama Süreçleri ve Özgürleşme</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Türk Tarih Tezi, Güneş Dil Teorisi ve Kürt Sorunu</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Kürt Aydını Üzerine Düşünceler</i>	

Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Ortadoğu'da Devlet Terörü</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Kürtlerin Mecburi İskânı</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Koca Çınar: Kürt Bilgesi Musa Anter</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bilim Yöntemi</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>12 Eylül Faşizmi ve PKK Direnişi</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bir Aydın Bir Örgüt ve Kürt Sorunu</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bilincin Yükselişi</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Kürt Toplumu Üzerine</i>	
Yurt Kitap	İsmail Beşikçi	<i>Bilimsel Yöntem, Üniversite Özerkliği ve Demokratik Toplum İlkeleri Açısından İsmail Beşikçi Davası IV- Yargıtay'a Başvuru</i>	

APPENDIX IV

Books prosecuted in 2002

Publisher	Author	Turkish Title	Translated from
Aram	Gülçiçek Günel Tekin	<i>Dilimiz Varlığımız, Dilimiz Kimliğimiz</i>	
Aram	Halil Uysal	<i>Dağlarda Yaşamın Dili</i>	
Aram	Enver Polat	<i>Mavidir Avaşın'ın Suları</i>	
Aram	Hüseyin Kaytan	<i>Ammar İşaretleri</i>	
Aram	Gurbetelli Ersöz	<i>Gurbetin Güncesi</i>	
Aram	Anthology	<i>Bu Yürek Dağlar Aşar: Gerilla Şiirleri 1</i>	
Aram	Anthology	<i>Dağın Kalbinde Gizliyiz: Gerilla Şiirleri 2</i>	
Aram	Serdem Çiyayi (ed.)	<i>Sevdam Güneş Tadında (Gerilla Günlüğü)</i>	
Avesta	Malmîsanij	<i>İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği, Kürt Talabe- Hêvî Cemiyeti (1912- 1922)</i>	
Avesta	Margaret Kahn	<i>Cinlerin Çocukları Kürtler ve Ülkelerinin İzinde</i>	<i>Children of the Jinn: In Search of the Kurds and Their Country</i>
Avesta	Jonathan C. Randal	<i>Bunca Bilgiden Sonra Ne Bağışlaması- Kürdistan İzlenimlerim</i>	<i>After Such Knowledge, What Forgiveness? My Encounters With Kurdistan</i>
Ayrıntı	Dragan Babic	<i>Son Sürgün</i>	<i>Le Dernier Exil</i>
Belge	Hüseyin Turhallı	<i>Özgürlük Türküsü</i>	

Belge	Ömer Asan	<i>Pontos Kültürü</i>	
Doz	Mustafa Balbal	<i>Ararat'taki Esir General-Kan Çiçekleri</i>	
Everest	Serge Bramly	<i>Yatak Odasında Terör</i>	<i>Sade, la Terreur dans le Boudoir</i>
Gerçek Sanat	Güngör Gençay	<i>Günyüzleri</i>	
Gerçek Sanat	Güngör Gençay	<i>Öteleri</i>	
İletişim	Neşe Düzel	<i>Türkiye'nin Gizli Yüzü</i>	
Kütahya Municipality	Mustafa Gazal	<i>Evlilik Rehberi</i>	
Özge	Mehmet Bayrak	<i>Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını</i>	
Özge	Mehmet Bayrak (ed.)	<i>Kürt Müziği, Dansları ve Şarkıları</i>	
Pencere	Necdet buldan	<i>Savaş'a Mektuplar</i>	
Pınar	Cihan Aktaş	<i>Bacıdan Bayana İslamcı Kadının Kamusal Alan Tecrübesi</i>	
Piramit	Erje Ayden	<i>Hauptbahnhof'tan Bir Trene Bindim</i>	
Sel	Metin Üstündağ	<i>Pazar Sevişgenleri</i>	
Sel	Enis Batur	<i>Elma</i>	
(s.n.)	Salim Koçak	<i>Ben de Tayyipçiyim</i>	
(s.n.)	Salman Yüksel	<i>Ankara Çetesinin Vatan Kurtaran Operasyonları</i>	
(s.n.)	Salman Yüksel	<i>Çetenin Kimliği</i>	
Şubat	İbrahim Açıkan	<i>Burada Hukuk Geçmez</i>	
		<i>İki Kardeşin Hayatı-Canan ve Zehra</i>	

Tavır	Ahmet Kulaksız		
Tümzamanlar	Selma Koçiva	<i>Lazona-Laz Halk Gerçekliği”</i>	
Umut	İbrahim Cihan	<i>Abdullah Öcalan’la İmralı’ya Uzanan Yol, PKK’nin oturduğu Eksen ve Ulusal SorunaKısa Bir Bakış</i>	



APPENDIX V

Books prosecuted in 2001

Publisher	Author	Turkish Title	Translated from
Aram	Noam Chomsky	<i>Amerikan Mdahalecilięi</i>	<i>American Interventionism</i>
Avesta	M.S.Lazarev et al.	<i>Krdistan Tarihi</i>	<i>İstoriya Kurdistana</i>
Avesta	Celile Celil	<i>Krt Aydınlanması</i>	
Ayrıntı	Philip Roth	<i>Portnoy'un Feryadı</i>	<i>Portnoy's Complaint</i>
Çiviyazıları	Erdal Öz et al	<i>Dřnceye zgrlk 2000</i>	
Gendař	Mehmed Uzun	<i>Nar Çiçeęi-Çok Kltrllk zerine Denemeler</i>	
Gendař	Mehmed Uzun	<i>Ařk Gibi Aydınılık, lm Gibi Karanlık</i>	<i>Ronî Mîna Evînê, Tarî Mîna Mirinê</i>
Gendař	Mehmed Uzun	<i>Bir Dil Yaratmak</i>	<i>Afirandina Zimanekê</i>
Mektup	Emine řenlikoęlu and Recep zkan	<i>Ben Kimin Kurbanıyım?</i>	
İletiřim	Celal Bařlangıç	<i>Korku Tapınaęı</i>	
KTB (Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications)	Ali Rafet zkan	<i>Trkiye Çingeneleri</i>	
Mem	Eylem Tandoęan, Glcn Kaya	<i>Abdullah calan Nasıl Yařamalı?</i>	
Mem	Abdullah calan	<i>Smer Rahip Devleti'nden Demokratik Halk Cumhuriyeti'ne</i>	
Ozan	Turan Feyizoęlu	<i>İbo-İbrahim Kaypakkaya</i>	

Ozan	Faik Bulut and Mehmet Faraç	<i>Kod Adı Hizbullah- Türkiye Hizbullahı'nın Anatomisi</i>	
Parantez	Feyhan Güver	<i>Bayır Gülü 3</i>	
Piramit	Bedri Baykam	<i>Kemik</i>	
Pêrî	Mahmut Baksi	<i>Teyrebaz / Hüseyin Baybaşın</i>	
Pêrî	Mehmet Köse	<i>Yeni Nesil Yeni Toplum</i>	
Umut	Metin Akçiçek	<i>Rüzgar Bizden Yana Esiyor</i>	
Umut	Collected papers	<i>Ülkemiz Hapishaneleri ve Direnç Çiçekleri</i>	
Varyos	Hatice Güden	<i>Ses ve Cesaret: Gözaltında Cinsel Taciz ve Tecavüze Hayır Kurultayı Kitabı</i>	

APPENDIX VI

Sample pages from *Ođlak Dönencesi*, Henry Miller (1991) Istanbul:Can



APPENDIX VII

E-mail interview with Mehmet Morali, 20 May 2006.

- *In your opinion, what is the function of publishing in a society? Should a publisher's publishing policy be shaped by their responsibility to the society, or the supply-demand dynamics? In other words, should the publishing industry produce "what it thinks the society needs" or "what the society wants"?*

- This question concerns the publishing houses that engage in cultural publishing, I suppose; publishing houses that only publish books like Dan Brown, *Da Vinci Code*, should be seen as ordinary businesses. As to cultural publishing, for example let's consider François Bayart's *L'illusion Identitaire*, which I have translated for Metis. It is very difficult for the publishing house to earn any money on this title, it probably won't lose money but it can't make money either. This being so, they have to publish other books that will sell, in order to keep their business, and that's where the books "that the society wants" come into the scene. After all, we can't see life all black and white; we should see it as it is, that is to say, with the greys.

- *We know that some publishing houses alter translations in line with their ideologies. Taking this situation into account, how transparent do you think Turkish publishers are, in terms of their principles and publishing policies?*

- Publishing houses' transparency does not change their line of thought. In this context, everyone knows what line of publication each publishing house follows. For example, if you buy a book on atheism from an Islamist publishing house, you know what you'll find. The same goes for a book from an extreme left-wing publisher. But these publishing houses are seen nothing but marginal. I don't think the major prestigious publishing houses would resort to any manipulation, other than rounding up sharp corners, making little interventions that should perhaps not be welcomed but are understandable. After all, they can choose not to publish books that do not conform with their ideologies.

- *Do you think Turkish publishers are using censorship and adaptations for their ideological aims? If yes, could this situation be excused?*

- As I said above, we know that marginal publishing houses are doing this. Others, again as I mentioned, are producing books in line with their world view, which in a way can be considered a type of censorship. This reminds me of a quotation that I like a lot, from British historian E.H. Carr. "Study the historian before studying the facts" says Carr. Similarly, I find it useful to study the book publisher before studying the book. There is nothing excusable here of course, but it's partly the fault of the author and the rights agency; they should keep an eye on what becomes of their book, and should resort to legal measures if they encounter anything they don't approve of.

- *The Turkish Penal Code is leading publishers to censorship, do you think if it weren't for the articles of the TPC that limit the freedom of expression, would a libertarian atmosphere prevail in translated titles? Or would publishers who take into account the tastes and expectations of their readers continue to censor?*

- The reason behind censorship, or rather self-censorship, is not only laws, but also fears. For example, I reckon that the parts which refer to Atatürk as a dictator in Saint-Exupéry's book have been omitted for reasons beyond the fear of the law. Even if the laws permit, publishers behave cautiously, "just in case".

- *If we acknowledge that the average Turkish reader does not have much awareness about translated titles – that they are not familiar with the translation and the proofreading processes – can we argue that some publishers (the ones that convert the world classics to Islam, soften or erase the negative references to Turks in the Russian classics, censor the expressions about Atatürk, Kurdistan or the Armenian Genocide that contravene the common opinion in the Turkish public) are not fulfilling their responsibility towards the society? How are the readers to protect themselves from the publishing house that is not transparent about its publishing policy?*

- There are known ways to do that, and none of them are used in Turkey. One of them is consumer awareness, which does not exist at all. Another is forming professional unions, for example ÇEVİBİR [Translators' Union] has such intentions, but it seems difficult to realise them in the short term, the professional body has to establish itself. I feel that some things can be done in the medium and long term. Moreover, as I said above, the author or the copyright holder, or the rights agency has to track their book. Furthermore, translation criticism should be taken seriously and receive more coverage in culture magazines.

- *In terms of censorship and adaptations, do you agree that different strategies should be adopted for different text types? For example, could there be instances where censorship cannot be accepted in non-fiction, while censorship and adaptation could be justified in translated children's literature, taking into account the target readers?*

- My attitude regarding this matter is very clear, be it fiction or non-fiction, you don't publish the book you don't approve of, that's it. If the problem is just one sentence, and the book is too valuable (however that is going to be) then, upon the consent of the author, the publishing house ought to publish the book by adding a footnote, explaining that the publishing house does not agree with this view and even thinks that it's wrong. Otherwise, if publishers start chopping books because they disturb this or that [group], the situation will go out of control.

APPENDIX VIII

E-mail Interview with Cem Akaş, 14 April 2006.

- *Among the publishing houses in Turkey, are there some that have started the business with a certain (political, ideological or social) mission? Do they define themselves with that mission? How transparent are they about this? Is the original/ translation ratio in the publishing list of these publishing houses different from that of others?*

- Certainly. "Mission" as a word has a broad meaning; "to publish cheap books" could be a mission, "to spread Islam" could be another, "to protect our cultural heritage", "to carry out projects that other publishing houses would not dare do" could all be missions. These all exist in Turkey, and they [publishing houses] do not have a problem with transparency. Their lists of course show differences.

- *Do you think there are ideological influences in the translation policies of publishers in Turkey? Do they publish translated books not quite the same as the original, with overt or innocent translation mistakes? If yes, what could be the reason behind that?*

- Old examples to this were especially seen in "Islamist" publishing houses which publish the Russian classics. They used to omit some parts altogether, rewrite some and soften or accentuate some sentences. They used to do this with "Islamist" eyes. Today, because the freedom of expression is a very sensitive issue, publishing houses have to continue doing such translation tricks. In the recently discussed examples too, these sensitivities are taken into consideration, as well as the nationalist reaction that could develop in the public opinion.

- *How much discretion do publishing houses leave to the translators in the translation of controversial or "risky" parts? I suppose the editor says the last word. So if a translation is published with censorship, how much responsibility lies with the translator and how much with the editor?*

- Sometimes translators censor too! Publishing houses, according to the contract they make with translators, have the right to make changes they deem necessary in the translation. Therefore, they actually do not have to get the approval of the translator. But this means they can lift the censorship that a translator has exercised. So, publishing houses are always responsible; translators sometimes.

- *If we make a comparison between bigger and smaller publishing houses in terms of their publishing policies, can we say that the bigger ones publish [books] by playing down the parts that could disturb the sensitivities of the Turkish society, with a concern over pleasing a wider audience, while independent publishers, especially the politically engaged, are bolder? I have in my mind the publishers prosecuted because of the various articles of TPC, but I wonder, if there wasn't the threat of TPC, how many of these publishing houses would stop censorship and innocent translation mistakes ?*

- We can't say that. There is not much difference between the smaller and the bigger ones. As I said, the law is not the only factor here.

- *How do Turkish publishing houses see their duty to the reader? To make "high quality" local and foreign books accessible to the society, regarding publishing as a humanitarian service and their share of civilising the Turkish nation? To produce books that would appeal to the taste of the readers and avoid the ones that could offend their values or assault their dignities as Turkish, Muslim individuals or individuals committed to high morals? To create awareness, to enlighten the society and do whatever it takes to reach these ends? I don't think all publishing houses are homogeneous in this respect, but what kind of a variation can you observe in terms of the duties and responsibilities they assume?*

- All of these three are valid. Besides, don't forget that everyone is doing this business to earn money, at least not to go bankrupt. All publishers are after "books that sell"; the most idealist among them are trying to strike a balance between the books they see as a "service" and the ones "that will sell".



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