



ANKARA  
HACI BAYRAM VELİ UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL

**A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO FEMINIST  
TRANSLATION PRACTICES IN TURKEY: THE CASE  
OF FEMINIST WEBSITES**

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**PhD DISSERTATION  
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING  
TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL STUDIES (ENGLISH)  
PROGRAMME**

**JULY 2020**



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## ETİK BEYAN

Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Tez Yazım Kurallarına uygun olarak hazırladığım bu tez çalışmada; tez içinde sunduğum verileri, bilgileri ve dokümanları akademik ve etik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, tüm bilgi, belge, değerlendirme ve sonuçları bilimsel etik ve ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, tez çalışmada yararlandığım eserlerin tümüne uygun atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi, kullanılan verilerde herhangi bir değişiklik yapmadığımı, bu tezde sunduğum çalışmanın özgün olduğunu, bildirir, aksi bir durumda aleyhime doğabilecek tüm hak kayıplarını kabullendiğimi beyan ederim.



Ayşe SAKİ DEMİREL

10.07.2020



*To my beloved mom and daughter*

TÜRKİYE’DEKİ FEMİNİST ÇEVİRİ PRATİKLERİNE SOSYOLOJİK BİR YAKLAŞIM:  
FEMİNİST WEBSİTELERİ ÖRNEĞİ

Doktora Tezi

Ayşe SAKİ DEMİREL

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**ÖZET**

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve çeviri arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen feminist çeviribilim, feminizm ve çeviribilimin yaşadığı paradigma kırılmalarının da etkisiyle, 1970’li yılların sonu 1980’li yılların başında Kanada’nın iki dilli Quebec bölgesinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Çeviribilimde yaşanan kültürel dönüş ve feminizm bünyesinde filizlenen dilbilimsel yaklaşımlar, feminizm ve çeviribilimin bir araya gelebilmesine, neticesinde de feminist çeviribilimin ortaya çıkmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Feminist çeviribilim ilk ortaya çıktığı 1970’li yıllardan bu yana değişip gelişmiştir. Özellikle son yıllarda, üçüncü dalga feminizmin ve queer kuramın da etkisiyle, feminist çeviribilimdeki batı merkezli ve kadın odaklı bakış açısı eleştirilmekte, genellikle edebiyat eserlerinin çevirisine odaklanan kısıtlayıcı eğilim sorgulanmaktadır. Feminist çeviri alanında çalışan bilim insanları farklı coğrafyalardaki farklı feminist çeviri pratiklerini inceleyen daha fazla çalışma yapılması gerektiğini dile getirmektedir. Söz konusu bu gerekliliğin ve feminizmin yaşadığı dijital dönüşümün farkında olarak yola koyulan bu tez, iki Türk feminist internet sitesinde, 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin’de, yayınlanan çevirilere odaklanmakta ve Türkiye’deki feminist çeviri pratiklerine yeni bir ışık tutmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu tez, 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin’in hangi yollarla ve ne ölçüde feminist çeviri pratiği gerçekleştirdiğini, çeviri sürecine müdahil olan aktörlerinin sahip oldukları “habitus”, “sermaye” ve “illusio”ların söz konusu internet sitelerinde yayınlanan feminist çeviriler üzerinde nasıl bir etkiye sahip olduğunu ortaya çıkarmayı ve bu sayede feminist çeviribilime sosyolojik bir bakış kazandırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, öncelikle, 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin’de kuruldukları tarihlerden 2019 yılının Mayıs ayı sonunda kadar yayınlanan İngilizceden Türkçeye çevrilmiş makalelerin tematik ve yanmetinsel analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ardından, feminist çeviribilimin ve Bourdieu sosyolojisinin aktör vurgusu göz önünde bulundurularak, 5Harfliler veya Çatlak Zemin’de en az iki feminist temalı metin çevirmiş 11 çevirmen ve 5Harfliler’den 2, Çatlak Zemin’den 1 editörle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Yapılan analizlerin sonucunda gerek 5Harfliler’in gerekse Çatlak Zemin’in feminist temaları ele alan kaynak metinleri çevirerek ve çeviri ve/ya çevirmeni görünür kılan ya da hedef okurun kaynak metni ve yazarı anlamlandırmasını kolaylaştıran yanmetinsel unsurlardan yararlanarak farklı oranlarda da olsa feminist çeviri yaptıkları görülmüştür. Ayrıca yapılan görüşmeler sayesinde, 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin’deki feminist çeviri pratiklerinin söz konusu internet sitelerinin genel (yayın) politikaları ve aynı zamanda çeviri aktörlerinin habitusları, sermayeleri, zihin yapıları, kişisel tarihleri, ilgileri, zevkleri ve elbette feminist kimlikleri tarafından biçimlendirildiği ortaya konulmuştur.

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PhD Dissertation

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**ABSTRACT**

Feminist Translation Studies (FTS) which examines the relationship between gender and translation emerged in bilingual Quebec in Canada in the late 1970s and early 1980s in line with the paradigm shifts in both feminism and Translation Studies (TS). The cultural turn in TS and the linguistic approaches in feminism paved the way for fruitful interaction between feminism and TS and hence the emergence of FTS. Since then, FTS has expanded and evolved. Especially in recent years, with the emergence of third wave feminism and queer theory, feminist translation scholars have begun to criticize and challenge the Western- and woman-centred perspective in FTS and the limited analytical focus on literary translation. They argue that the scope of FTS should be expanded, and it should be “gender conscious” not simply “woman-centred”. They also call for more studies on the non-literary and non-western feminist translation practices. Paying attention to this call and keeping up with the digital transformation of feminism, this dissertation focuses on the translations on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, and attempts to shed new light on feminist translation practices in Turkey. This dissertation aims both to explore the ways and the extent to which 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin are engaged in feminist translation practices, and to reveal how the translational agents’ “habitus”, “capital” and “illusio” affect (and are affected by) the feminist translation practices on the websites and hence to offer a sociological insight into FTS. To this end, firstly, thematic and paratextual analyses were performed on the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of May 2019. Then, given the agency focus of both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology, semi-structured interviews were made with 11 translators who translated at least two feminist themed articles on either 5Harfliler or Çatlak Zemin and with 2 editors from 5Harfliler and 1 editor from Çatlak Zemin. The results of the thematic and paratextual analyses showed that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin performed feminist translation practices, albeit to varying degrees, by translating the source texts which address feminist themes and by making use of both the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible and the contextualizing paratexts that provide additional and contextual information about the source text and author. Additionally, the results of the interview analysis revealed that feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin were inevitably shaped and determined both by general (publishing) policies of the websites and by the agents’ (translators and editors) habitus, capitals, dispositions, mindsets, personal herstories, interests, tastes, needs and feminist identities.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this dissertation and their descriptions are as follows:

<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>5H T1</b>	5Harfliler Translator 1
<b>5H T2</b>	5Harfliler Translator 2
<b>5H T3</b>	5Harfliler Translator 3
<b>5H T4</b>	5Harfliler Translator 4
<b>5H T5</b>	5Harfliler Translator 5
<b>5H T6/E1</b>	5Harfliler Translator 6/Editor 1
<b>5H T7</b>	5Harfliler Translator 7
<b>5H E2</b>	5Harfliler Editor 2
<b>ÇZ T1</b>	Çatlak Zemin Translator 1
<b>ÇZ T2</b>	Çatlak Zemin Translator 2
<b>ÇZ T3</b>	Çatlak Zemin Translator 3
<b>ÇZ T4/E1</b>	Çatlak Zemin Translator 4/Editor 1
<b>DTS</b>	Descriptive Translation Studies
<b>FTS</b>	Feminist Translation Studies
<b>ST</b>	Source Text
<b>TN</b>	Translator's Note
<b>TS</b>	Tranlation Studies
<b>TT</b>	Target Text



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Disciplines, approaches, and ideologies, like everything else in the world, change and transform over time. Thomas Kuhn (1962) defines these changes and transformations in disciplines as a “paradigm shift”. Feminist Translation Studies (FTS) which examines the interaction between gender and translation emerged in bilingual Quebec in Canada in the late 1970s and 1980s thanks to the paradigm shifts in both feminism and Translation Studies (TS). The cultural turn in TS and the linguistic turn in feminism paved the way for fruitful interaction between feminism and TS and hence the emergence of FTS.

FTS that emerged during the translation of the interventionist and resistant feminist writing from French to English develops a new translation and translator conception. Canadian-based first paradigm of FTS radically challenges the concept of fidelity and claims that feminist translators should use every possible (subversive) translation strategy to make the feminine visible in translation and hence to subvert patriarchal language use. In other words, the first paradigm of FTS challenges the secondary status of both woman and translator and aim to make language speak for women. However, especially with the emergence of the third wave feminism and queer theory, the first paradigm of FTS has also begun to be criticised by some FTS scholars and this criticism has led to the emergence of the second paradigm in FTS. The second paradigm of FTS argues that the scope of feminist translation should be expanded, and feminist translation needs to be “gender conscious” not simply “woman-centred”. The second paradigm also emphasizes that the Western-centred perspective and the limited analytical focus on literary translation needs to be challenged and non-literary and non-western feminist translation practices should also be examined. Additionally, it is highlighted that feminist translation theory could (and should) not be a prescriptive theory and each feminist translation practice should be analysed and discussed within its own specific context. The second paradigm of FTS also points out the importance of translation for the feminist movement and asserts that the decisive role of translation in the transformation of feminism remains to be studied further. All these criticisms point out the gaps in the field, FTS. Meanwhile, both feminism and TS continue to change and transform. Feminism has been going through a digital transformation thanks to the internet while TS has undergone a sociological turn.

Paying attention to all these paradigm shifts in both TS and FTS and keeping up with the digital transformation of feminism, this dissertation focuses on the translations published on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin.

### *Purpose*

This dissertation aims both to widen the horizon for FTS by examining online feminist translation practices in Turkey and to offer a sociological insight into FTS by scrutinising the relationship between the online feminist translation practices and the translational agents who performed these practices.

### *Research Questions*

This dissertation seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. In what ways and to what extent are 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin engaged in feminist translation practices?
2. What positions do the translational agents occupy in the digital publishing field? How do the agents' habitus, capital and illusio affect (and are affected by) their feminist translation practices on the websites? How can this effect be explained within the framework of Bourdieusian translation sociology?
3. What are the translation policies of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin? What political and ideological motivations lie behind the production of the translation on the websites? How do the websites instrumentalise the translation for their feminist goals?

### *Significance of the dissertation*

This dissertation is supposed to contribute to challenging the western-centred perspective in FTS by examining the Turkish websites and to showing that not only the literary texts but also non-literary ones could, and should, be analysed within the scope of FTS. Considering the literature on feminist translation, especially in Turkey, no previous study has analysed an online feminist translation practice. Therefore, this dissertation is the first in the field of FTS to examine online feminist translation practices and is among the first ones to bring FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology together.

## *Hypothesis*

One of the leading figures of translation sociology, Michaela Wolf, explains the main argument of translation sociology in her impressive introduction to the collection titled *Constructing a Translation Sociology* as follows:

[a]ny translation, as both an enactment and a product, is necessarily embedded within social contexts. On the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; to the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and, as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself (Wolf, 2007, p. 1).

Drawing on this main argument of translation sociology, the agency focus in both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology and the theoretical and conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu, this dissertation hypothesizes that the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin are inevitably shaped and determined both by general (publishing) policies of the websites and by the translational agents' (translators' and editors') habitus, dispositions, mindsets, personal herstories, interests, tastes, needs and feminist concerns, and also by their capitals and *illusio*.

## *Scope and limitation*

When the historical development of women's movement in Turkey is analysed, many different feminist translation practices can be uncovered and discussed in detail. However, discussing all these feminist translation practices in Turkey in detail is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Within the scope of this study, after explaining the overall historical development of feminism both in the world and Turkey, the two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin and the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on these two feminist websites from their establishment<sup>1</sup> until the end of May 2019 are analysed in detail. Feminist websites in Turkey are certainly not limited to 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. However, these two websites were chosen because they publish translated texts more regularly compared to other feminist websites in Turkey. The reason why both of these two feminist websites were covered is to conduct research covering a wider field and hence to gain more holistic, comprehensive, comparative, and valid results. Additionally, some personal Turkish blogs publish translations that can be viewed as feminist translation. However, they were not included in this dissertation because they would disrupt the

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<sup>1</sup> 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin were established in July 2012 and October 2016, respectively.

structural and organisational similarity between the cases to be explored. It should also be noted that the temporal limitation of the research was determined by considering the time needed for data analysis. In addition, translations made from languages other than English, a total of 7 translations on 5Harfliler and 10 translations on Çatlak Zemin could not be included in this research because of the language barrier of the researcher. Finally, it should also be stated that a comparative textual analysis between the source texts (ST) and target texts (TT) could be conducted to see whether textual feminist translation strategies, i.e., supplementing and hijacking are used in the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. However, it goes beyond the scope of this thematic, paratextual and interview analysis-oriented dissertation.

#### *Research design, data collection and analysis*

This dissertation was designed as a qualitative case study. To answer the research questions, firstly, all articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of May 2019 were chronologically compiled for each website. After compiling the translated texts to be analysed within the scope of this thesis and determining the ones that are centred around the feminist themes, paratexts (prefaces, afterwords, and footnotes) accompanying feminist-themed translated texts were collated and classified to seek whether 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin utilize paratexts in line with the general goals of FTS. Then, given the agency focus of both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology, semi-structured interviews were made with 11 translators who translated at least two feminist themed articles on either 5Harfliler or Çatlak Zemin and with 2 editors from 5Harfliler and 1 editor from Çatlak Zemin so as to move the analyses conducted within the scope of the dissertation beyond the textual level and to scrutinize the relationship between the social and mental structures and hence to provide sociological insight into the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. That is to say, the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses were conducted on the collected data set to increase the overall validity of the research.

#### *Outline of the dissertation*

This dissertation consists of five chapters each one of which focuses on different aspects of the study. This very first chapter provides an introduction to the dissertation by explaining the aim, scope, and method of the research.

The second chapter examines the theoretical and conceptual framework of the dissertation in detail. It consists of two main sections. The first section focuses on feminism, its historical development and different feminisms and thus provides comprehensive background information for those willing to study feminist translation. The second section focuses on Feminist Translation Studies (FTS) and Bourdieusian translation sociology and discusses how they are brought together within the scope of this dissertation to analyse the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin.

The third chapter concentrates on the methodology of the study. It attempts to explain how the research was designed, how the data were collected and analysed.

The fourth chapter is the main chapter of the dissertation. This chapter introduces 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin at first. Then, it focuses on the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses conducted within the scope of the dissertation. It also presents and discusses the results of each analysis, respectively.

The last chapter concludes the dissertation. In this chapter, the research questions of the study are answered by drawing on the theoretical and conceptual discussions in the second chapter and the results of the analyses revealed in the fourth chapter.



## 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### 2.1. Feminism

#### 2.1.1. Feminism, a Controversial Term

**Feminism** is one of the most controversial terms of the last two centuries. There are still ongoing debates about what feminism is or is not, where its origin comes from and when and by whom it was first coined. Oxford Dictionary states that the origin of the word of feminism dates back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and comes from the French word *féminisme* which is derived from the Latin *fēmina* that means woman. “The term combined the French word for woman, **femme**, and **-isme**, which referred to a social movement or political ideology” (Freedman, 2003, p. 3). Some scholars and dictionaries assert that the word *féminisme* was first coined by the French philosopher and utopian socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837) (Notz, 2012, p. 10; Offen, 1988b, p. 46) who advocated that extension of women’s rights is the basic principle of all social progress. While Marya Chéliga-Loevy claimed that Fourier first coined feminism in 1808 in his work titled *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements et des destinées générales*, Paul Robert’s *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française* (1960) and Larousse’ *Nouveau dictionnaire etymologique et historique* (1964) attributed the first usage of feminism to Fourier with the date of 1837 (Offen, 1988b, 46). “Although the invention of the word “*féminisme*” has often erroneously been attributed to Charles Fourier in the 1830s, in fact, its origins are still uncertain” (Offen, 1988a, p. 126; Offen, 2000, p. 19). Offen justifies her claim by stating that there appears no trace of actual word of *féminisme* in Fourier’s works when they were examined (1988a, p. 126; 1988b, p. 46). She also emphasizes that in 1837, the year of his death, Fourier did not publish nearly anything, thereby it is incorrect to say the word of *féminisme* was first used in 1937 by Fourier (Offen, 1988b, p. 46). However, even if the exact date of its first usage is still unknown, it is explicit that the term of *féminisme* emerged in the 1880s in the aftermath of French Revolution, (Freedman, 2003, p. 3; Notz, 2012, p. 11) as a synonym for women’s emancipation (Offen, 1988a, p. 126; Hannam, 2007, p. 4) and it became widely used and discussed in the 1880s and 1890s, in fin-de-siècle, all through Europe. At the very beginning of the twentieth century, the term crossed the Atlantic and reached to Argentina and the United States (Offen, 1988a, p. 127; Offen, 2000, p. 19; Jaggar, 1983, p. 5; Cott, 1987, pp. 3-14-15;

Freedman, 2003, p. 3). As the word of *féminisme*, its derivate, *féministe*, was first used in the 1880s. The Robert Dictionary claims that the word of *féministe* was first coined by French playwright and essayist Alexandre Dumas in 1872, but his pejorative use shows that he did not coin the term, *feministe* (Offen, 1988b, p. 47). Hubertine Auclert (1848-1914) who is a French activist and advocate of women's suffrage is the first self-proclaimed feminist (Offen, 1988a, p. 126; 1988b, p. 47; Offen, 2000, p. 19; Hannam, 2007, p. 4). According to *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, the word of feminism derived from the French word "*feminisme*", was first used in English in April 1895 in a literary book review as an alternative to "womanism" to mean the efforts to advance women's position and rights, while the first reported use of feminist, "indicating support for women's equal legal and political rights with men" (Bryson, 2003, p. 1) can be traced to 12 October 1894 (Offen, 1988b, pp. 47-50; Walters, 2005, p. 1; Kayhan, 1999, p. 9; ). On 27 April 1895, *The Authenaum*, a book review, defined a feminist as a woman who "has in her the capacity of fighting her way back to independence" (*The Authenaum*, 1895, as cited in Jenainati & Groves, 2007, p. 170). In its 1933 supplement, *Oxford English Dictionary* first included the modern word, feminism, and it was defined as "the opinions and principles of the advocates of the extended recognition of the achievements and claims of women; advocacy of women's rights" (as cited in Cott, 1987, p. 4). As is seen in these first usages and definitions, "[f]eminism originates in the perception that there is something wrong with society's treatment of women" (Tuttle, 1987, p. 107). Over time, the word, feminism, and its derivatives gained currency, began to be used more frequently by different groups and individuals to convey different meanings and connotations and this situation laid the ground for the emergence of various feminism definitions reflecting the political stance from which they were derived. In other words, the more frequently the word of feminism has begun to be used, the more different answers have been given to the question of what feminism is. All answers and definitions have been "contingent upon the way the definer understands past, existing, and future relationships between women and men" (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 7).

However, this variety in the definitions of the term could not achieve to change the negative connotation of feminism in the public discourse. Since the 1890s which they first appeared in, the words "feminism" and "feminist" have carried negative meanings and connotations (Walters, 2005, p. 1). There still is confusion about and fear of



feminism in the public mind and the word “feminism” continues to provoke controversy, fear and dissent among a sizable portion of the general public (Offen, 1988a, p. 119, 122; Offen, 2000, p. 20). Portraying feminists as men-and-children-hater, dressing in masculine clothes, thinking nothing but their careers and being in constant conflict with other women, the patriarchal institutions like media play a big part in this confusion and fear (Notz, 2012, p. 13). This situation turns the words of feminism and feminist to “dirty” and “dangerous” words and people refrain from describing themselves feminist and they usually need to state “I’m not a feminist, but...” before explaining their support for the issues such as equal pay for equal work and abortion rights (Beck, 1998, p. 140; Offen, 1988a, pp. 119-120, Walters, 2005, p. 3). Therefore, defining the term of feminism in its historical path is essential to eradicate the negative connotation of feminism in public discourse and “to better analy[s]e and interpret thought and action concerning women’s status across cultures and across time” (Offen, 1988a, p. 122).

According to Ramazanoglu “[f]eminism does not have an agreed meaning or content around the world, and is in many ways so diverse that it cannot be easily characterized” (1989, p. 5). In other words, it is hard to define feminism in a single, true, simple, clear, and concise way. Therefore, “some feminists have simply accepted feminism as a loose term for a variety of conceptions of the relations between men and women in society, their origins and how they might be changed for the better” (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 7).

Although there is no single, true definition of feminism which encompasses all factions and divergences, defining feminism, trying to reach a compromise on the definition of feminism is important, because “[w]ithout agreed upon definition(s), we lack a sound foundation on which to construct theory or engage in overall meaningful praxis (Hooks, 1997, p. 22; 2015a, p. 18).

Emphasizing the significance of the agreed definition of feminism, Bell Hooks gives an all-covering definition of feminism as “a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression” (Hooks, 1997, p. 25; 2015a, p. 28; 2015b, p. 47). “Feminism is the name given to a comprehensive critical response to the deliberate and systematic subordination of women as a group by men as a group within a given cultural setting” (Offen, 2000, p. 20). The aim of feminism “is not to benefit solely

any specific group of women, any particular race or class of women. It does not privilege women over men. It has the power to transform in a meaningful way all our lives” (Hooks, 1997, p. 26; 2015a, p. 28). Feminism “seeks to eliminate the subordination, oppression, inequalities and injustices women suffer because of their sex” (Porter, 1991, p. 5). In other words, feminism which aims to achieve gender equality between sexes (Arat, 2017, p. 29; Marshall, 1999, p. 240; Offen, 2000, p. 23) opposes to “any form of social, personal or economic discrimination which women suffer because of their sex” (Randall 1991, p. 514). Therefore, feminism, in the broadest sense, can be described as a general critique of and political challenge to patriarchy, male dominance, male authority, sex hierarchy i.e. sexual domination and subordination (Arat, 2017, p. 29; Bouchier 1983, p. 2; Cott, 1987, p. 4; Offen, 1988a, p. 152). Accordingly, feminism intends to reach “a world free of male privilege and male hierarchy and authority over women” (Offen, 1988a, p. 157).

Hooks sees feminism as a political commitment (Hooks, 1997, p. 26). Feminism is a political movement which is committed to changing existing and settled power relations between women and men which affect and shape all aspects of life, the family, education, business life, politics, culture and leisure (Çaha, 1996, p. 41; Hannam, 2007, pp. 3-4; Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 8; Weedon, 1991, p. 1). Feminism looks at all these aspects of life that reflect the hierarchal power relations between women and men, from a critical point of view and tries to find solutions and suggests alternatives (Scholz, 2010, p. 10). Feminism suggests alternatives because it claims that all forms of oppression, subordination, and exploitation are socially constructed, and hence can and should be changed (Cott, 1987, pp. 4-5; Çakır, 2013, p. 416; Hannam, 2007, pp. 3-4; Bryson, 1993, p. 192; Stone, 2007, p. 8). Feminism, in other words, “follows the critical project with action to bring about social change” (Scholz, 2010, p. 11). For this reason, “feminism is usually defined as an active desire to change women’s position in society” (Delmar, 1986, p. 13). To put it more explicitly, “[f]eminist ideology is defined by two basic beliefs: that women are disadvantaged because of their sex; and that this disadvantage can and should be overthrown” (Heywood, 2017, p. 270). These two basic beliefs reflect the theoretical and practical dimensions of feminism. While discussing feminism, feminist scholars generally emphasize both theoretical and practical grounds of feminism and assert that the definition of feminism should comprise not only feminist theory and sets of ideas but

also the practices performed in line with the feminist theory (Michel, 1984, p. 17). That is to say, feminism is not only a theory which tries to better women's positions, roles and rights in society but it also includes a set of practices and movements performed to change the world in line with this theory (Arat, 2017, pp. 21-36; Güçlü, 2003, p. 553; Kayhan, 1999, p. 9; Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 9), because as Michel emphasizes it is impossible to separate thought from practice (1984, p. 17).

Feminism, one of the most influential political ideologies of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Arat, 2017, p. 36), is a wide-ranging and influential social, political, cultural movement and philosophical theory which has affected, transformed and revolutionised women's lives and has led to many social changes in nearly all societies (Bate, 2018, p. 1; Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2007, p. 1666; Öztürk, 2017, p. 20). Feminism "affects more people than any former reform movement, for it spreads over the whole world. It is more deep-seated, for it enters into the home and modifies the personal character" (Fawcett, 1913, p. xii). "Feminism is a cultural as well as a political movement. It changes the way women think and feel and affects how women and men live their lives and interpret the world" (Hannam, 2007, p. 2). Put another way, feminism challenges not only the public but also the private sphere of life (Collin & Kaufer, 2015, p. 21).

Offen's following extensive definition of feminism summarizes all the above-mentioned aspects of feminism and provides a basis for this study's feminism conception.

[...] [F]eminism emerges as a concept that can encompass both an ideology and a movement for socio-political change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society. [...] Feminism opposes women's subordination to men in the family and society, along with men's claims to define what is best for women without consulting them; it thereby offers a frontal challenge to patriarchal thought, social organization, and control mechanisms. It seeks to destroy masculinist hierarchy but not sexual dualism. Feminism is necessarily pro-woman. However, it does not follow that it must be anti-man; indeed, in the past, some of the most important advocates of women's cause have been men. Feminism makes claims for a rebalancing between women and men of the social, economic and political power within a given society, on behalf of both sexes in the name of their common humanity, but with respect for their differences (Offen, 1988a; pp. 151-152).

As already stated, the term, feminism, has been defined by different scholars in different ways reflecting the philosophies and politics which they come from. Even if there appear lots of different feminism definitions made by different scholars/feminists<sup>2</sup>, they all find a common ground of women's subordination.

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<sup>2</sup> The different approaches to feminism and their feminism conceptions will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Embracing all women in the world, feminism brings all women together in their shared subordination (Mitchell, 2006, p. 20). “[A]ll versions of feminism assert that the existing relations between the sexes, in which women are subordinated to men, are unsatisfactory and ought to be changed” (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 8). Nearly all feminists agree that women are oppressed and subordinated by men and something needs to be done about this; however, they clash over what causes to this oppression and subordination and how to end women’s subordination (Grimshaw, 1986, p. 20; Çakır, 2013, pp. 415-416; Stone, 2007 p. 192). In other words, “[f]eminists share at least some understanding of what women’s oppression might mean, but they differ enormously over what could constitute women’s liberation” (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 8). Therefore, it not possible to grasp feminism through a few simple and concise definitions. Simple and clear definitions generally overlook the diversities in feminism because as Delmar states, the meaning and the content of feminism are not obvious, self-evident and should not be taken for granted. It needs to be understood in its diversity and its differences (Delmar, 1986, p. 8). On the other hand, feminism, as a critical politics, is also inevitably bound up with particular contexts and historical periods (Beasley, 1999, p. 28). For this reason, how can it be possible to define such a contextually and timely bound concept, feminism, which does not have any single truth, any male or female founder, any authorized representatives, any party or any membership, in a few short sentences or how can it be possible to explain feminism generated as a consequence of long and exhaustive efforts in writing and practising, in a few simple formulas? (Collin & Kaufer, 2015, pp. 21-22).

These sensible questions make it clear that tracing feminism through its historical path and considering the cultural, social, political and economic contexts which led to the birth of feminism rather than focusing only on simple feminism definitions, will be more helpful for those trying to understand feminism properly. Due to this reason, in this study, feminism will be discussed along with its historical development. In the following sections, firstly, the historical processes leading to the birth of feminism and the waves of feminism will be reviewed in general terms. Then, different approaches to feminism, i.e. different feminisms and the main points on which they agree or disagree will be explained in detail.

### **2.1.2. Historical Development of Feminism (Waves)**

The world has all along belonged to men (De Beauvoir, 1993, p. 67). History is always written by men and the herstory of women has always been ignored in this androcentric historiography since ancient times (De Beauvoir, 1993, p. 138; Michel, 1984, p. 19). Therefore, women have become invisible as if they had never lived. The generic use of “man” to refer “human beings in general” during the discussion of historical events makes it more difficult to understand exactly the roles, positions, and the contributions of women in the historical events (Boulding, 1977, as cited in Michel, 1984, pp. 78-79). The women who had tried to challenge women’s subordinate position in society either failed or were oppressed and their names were wiped off the stage of history. Additionally, because these women used the names of their fathers, brothers or husbands, it becomes much more difficult to distinguish their works and contributions throughout history (Yörük, 2009, p. 64).

To discover the ignored role, position and importance of women, the “his”story needs to be revised from a gynocentric worldview instead of androcentric prejudices. Learning women’s history is important, because “[w]omen will remain trapped in age-old patterns of enslavement and they will lose hard-won freedoms unless they learn and transmit their history” (Donovan, 2006, p. 15). Being aware of women’s history will also facilitate the understanding of feminism in its historical path and how women have been oppressed and subordinated and how they have resisted against this oppression and subordination throughout history. Feminism is the name of this resistance (Tekeli, 1984, p. 13).

#### **2.1.2.1. Women’s status in society from the Palaeolithic period to the second Neolithic revolution<sup>3</sup>**

Women’s oppression and subordination likely dates back to the prehistoric periods. There is not sufficient information as regards the women’s position in society during the Palaeolithic period, thousands of years before the emergence of patriarchal societies. The Palaeolithic people were hunters and gatherers. They were obtaining their food by foraging, hunting, and fishing. They had not learned domesticating animals and growing plants yet, hence not settled life. Writing had not been invented

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<sup>3</sup> This section generally draws on the Turkish translation of Andre Michel’s *Feminisme* (1984).

yet, either (Michel, 1984, p. 25). Therefore, it is hard to make a strict generalization about the division of labour during the Palaeolithic period; however, it is estimated that women were generally engaged in gathering, cooking and child-rearing but sometimes they were hunting with men who were responsible for hunting (pp. 25-29). It is impossible to grasp power relations between the sexes during the Palaeolithic period (p. 27). However, it is known that maternal and child deaths were widespread due to the inadequacy of the sanitary conditions and these deaths reduced the women's population. And this situation may have caused women's status to be higher than or at least equal to that of men (Michel, 1984, p. 29). In addition, the role of women in reproduction was known while the role of men in the continuation of the lineage was unknown. This was another factor that may have led women to had higher, or at least equal, status in society compared to men (Michel, 1984, p. 30). Also, nomadic life with no distinction between public and private spheres protected women from being trapped in the private sphere and enabled women to be freer (p. 40). Therefore, it can be said that the women were in a strong position while husbands, in the Palaeolithic period, had to put up with the fate of women in the patriarchal society (p. 31).

#### **2.1.2.2. Women's status in society in the first Neolithic period**

The first Neolithic revolution took place about 10,000 years before Jesus when the climate conditions changed drastically. Nomadic groups started settling and the Neolithic people started farming with a hoe (Michel, 1984, p. 31). Women began to explore seeds and the reproduction cycle of cereals (Boulding, 1977, as cited in Michel, 1984, p. 32). Women also discovered how to grind grains, make pots to store seeds, spin, and weave. All these developments improved the role of women in society. At the same time, the first deities known at the time were goddesses. And these deities were called the "Mother Goddess." The fertile soil, on which lots of plants were grown thanks to agriculture, was associated with a fertile woman. All this made the women sanctified at that time (p. 32).

#### **2.1.2.3. Women's status in society in the middle Neolithic period**

In the Middle Neolithic period, between 6000 and 3000 B.C., the second technical revolution took place. New energy sources (ox, water, and wind power) were found and more advanced techniques were invented. As a result of these tools requiring the use of force, the man began to be engaged in agriculture and replaced the woman who

was much more active in farming during the first Neolithic period. This revolution and concomitant population explosion disrupt the social organization and changed the status of women in society. Plough began to replace the hoe, and small gardens were enlarged to become fields (Michel, 1984, p. 35). Food surpluses led to population explosion and eased the transition to the settled life (p. 36). The small nomadic communities of the Palaeolithic Age and the small village of the early Neolithic age were replaced by large towns, which led to the emergence of cities. The city life gave birth to the first-class conflict because the city means an agricultural surplus, the development, and accumulation of private property so that one class lives off the backs of another class. The accumulation of wealth in certain hands necessitated slavery-based society and social classes, as well as the deterioration of women's situation (p. 36).

According to Germanine Tillion, the proliferation of food sources and population growth led resident families to adopt new propagation ideals. This situation determined the structure of the group and the new form of relationship with the outside world. To survive in the Palaeolithic era, hunters had to acquire new hunting grounds through alliances. Therefore, the tribes had to be exogamic. However, with the transition to the settled life, exogamy was replaced by endogamy. The heads of the family began to keep all the daughters of the house for their cousins to use their fertility for the growth of the house. The beginning of women's seclusion is based on this change. As a result of this change, alliances established by the export of women to other tribes by marriage have been replaced by wars (Tillion 1977, as cited in Michel, 1984, pp. 36-37). Over time, the role of the women was reduced to fertile producer-servant in the family (p. 37). The Middle Neolithic era disrupted the ancient balance between the sexes that do not lead to the exploitation of one sex by another as well as the balance between man and nature (p. 37).

The era when even the deities were seen as females was over and the superior position of women in religion disappeared. Over time, the role of man in reproduction was understood during the domestication of animals, the hoe used by the woman was replaced by the plough that requires the man's muscular strength, the discovery of the iron and bronze and the inventions of the tools made of these metals that require the man's muscular strength disrupted the power relations between the sexes in favour of

man, the economic foundations of the matriarchal society were destroyed, which brought with it the weakening of the ideological foundations of matriarchy (Childe, 1958, as cited in Michel, 1984, p. 38; De Beauvoir, 1993, p. 84). Along with these changes, the male sovereignty to last through ages started. In fact, since the early ages, most societies have been male-dominated; political power has always been in the hands of men. The public or social authority has always been associated with males (De Beauvoir, 1993, p. 76). On the other hand, it is true that throughout the history, there have been the cases where women have been prominent like in the Palaeolithic and the first Neolithic period; but, as Simone de Beauvoir states, there has never been a golden age of women (1993, p. 76).

#### **2.1.2.4. Women's status in society in the middle ages**

Although it is not possible to talk about the golden age of women throughout history, it is possible to talk about dark ages<sup>4</sup> in which the oppression and violence against women highly increased. For instance, throughout the Middle Ages, women became the object of various injustices and violence. They had no value in public life. They were beaten, tortured, burned<sup>5</sup> (Arat, 2017, p. 32). The church removed women from the high positions they had previously held within the Church (Michel, 1984, p. 52). Girls were prevented from receiving the same education with boys and they were left uneducated. Women's working conditions were aggravated, they had to work for lower wages because they remained uneducated and earned less qualification. Professions such as surgery and hairdressing were banned for women. Women were removed from the public sphere. Women's right to control over their property was taken away. Their inheritance and economic rights were restricted (Michel, 1984, pp. 53-4-5). In the Middle Ages, a married woman was legally a very limited person. Any legal proceedings performed without the consent of the husband or the judge was

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<sup>4</sup> "The Dark Ages is a term often used synonymously with the Middle Ages. It refers to the period of time between the fall of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the Italian Renaissance and the Age of Discovery" (Retrieved from <https://study.com/academy/lesson/the-dark-ages-definition-history-timeline.html> 22.07.2019)

"The term 'The Dark Ages' refers to the period between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Renaissance: the 5th – 14th centuries. It has been suggested that this period saw little scientific and cultural advancement" (Hughes, 2019).

<sup>5</sup> In the Middle Ages, many women were accused of witchcraft and burned because of the inquisition carried out by the church (the Inquisition initiated by the Pope in 1258). Women were further suppressed by this means. This witch hunt turned into a terrible genocide and ended only at the end of the 18th century (Michel, 1984, p. 58; Ozturk, 2017, p. 28, 30).



deemed invalid. This situation increased the husband's powers so that he eventually established a kind of male-dominated domestic kingdom in the family (Petot 1975, as cited in Michel, 1984, p. 61). In other words, the woman became a slave imprisoned inside the house (p. 61).

It is true that in the Middle Ages, both the church and the monarchy intensified their pressure on women, but women began to raise their voices against this pressure. Despite the general belief that the feminist critique of women's subordinate status emerged with the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution, the resistances that began to emerge in the 14th and 15th centuries can be regarded as the first core of feminism<sup>6</sup>. One of the most prominent figures of the period is Christine de Pizan (1364-1430) who is considered the first woman author of Europe. Christine de Pizan, with her book titled *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) showed the courage to oppose the oppression of women in the Middle Ages. Christine de Pizan, who articulated women's oppression for the first time, fought against mentality which considers women to be second class citizens. She argued that women should be given proper training so that they can assume their responsibilities, especially when they are widows (Çakır, 2013, pp. 416-417; Michel, 1984, p. 60). These individual resistances, which began to emerge in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, were strengthened by the and Renaissance<sup>7</sup> and Reformation<sup>8</sup> movements that had a profound effect on Europe and continued to exist in the 17th and 18th centuries.

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<sup>6</sup> For more detailed information about the early history of feminism see Karen Offen's *European Feminism: A Political History*, and Joan Kelly's article titled Early Feminist Theory and the "Querelle des Femmes", 1400-1789,

<sup>7</sup> "[T]he Renaissance the period in Europe during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries when people became interested in the ideas and culture of ancient Greece and Rome and used these influences in their own art, literature, etc." <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/renaissance?q=Renaissance+> With the emergence of Renaissance thought in the 15th and 16th centuries, the movement of humanism developed, and the authority of the Catholic Church was rejected. Humanism has interpreted the value of everything according to human beings and placed the human, not God, at the centre of the universe. Classical studies inspired by Ancient Greek and Latin philosophies have begun in literature, architecture and philosophy. The roots of modern science and philosophy should also be sought in this age (Yörük, 2009, p. 64). It is also claimed that feminism emerged with Renaissance (Rowbotham, 1972, as cited in Michel, 1984, p. 67).

<sup>8</sup> Oxford Learner's Dictionary describes "Reformation" as /uses "Reformation" to mean "new ideas in religion in 16th century Europe that led to attempts to reform the Roman Catholic Church and to the forming of the Protestant Churches; the period of time when these changes were taking place" <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/reformation?q=reformation> The reform movement served as complementary to the Renaissance. Scepticism against scholasticism and reforming the Catholic Church are the starting points of the Reform movement. The emergence of a secular understanding of politics, secular world views, empirical and scientific ways of thinking are the

### **2.1.2.5. Women's status and the feminist resistances in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The 17<sup>th</sup> century marks a transitional period that links Renaissance ideas to the Age of Revolutions at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This century was an era in which enlightened women took part in the cultural world. Personal rights, individual responsibility, and critical thinking were given importance (Yörük, 2009, p. 65). The educated women of the period criticized the power relationship between sexes, as opposed to women's seclusion and engaged in political struggle (Michel, 1984, p. 72). They questioned why they were excluded from human abstraction (Çakır, 2013, p. 422). British feminist thinkers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century adopted the views of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of that period. They verbalized that the intellectual abilities of women are not different from men, but they could not deal with philosophy, science, and art, because the education they received, conditioned them to serve in the home and caused to their seclusion. Therefore, they demanded that women should receive the same secular and general education with men. This demand led to the birth of the idea of equality between the sexes in the public sphere in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Yörük, 2009, p. 64). Thus, Feminism was born as a middle-class ideal under the special conditions of England in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Arat, 2017, p. 37).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Renaissance and Reformation movements highly influenced people, and the ideas and theories related to the age of Enlightenment emerged between the years of the 1760s and 1790s (Hannam, 2007, p. 17; Yörük, 2009, p. 64). The Enlightenment that can be defined as a series of philosophical and political debates in the eighteenth century, criticized the established institutions such as the monarchy and church and emphasized the importance of a universal human nature and the ability to reason (Hannam, 2007, p. 18). The French Revolution with its cries of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" took place in 1789 in the light of Enlightenment. Despite the general belief of the Enlightenment in universal human nature, ability to reason, equal, natural, and inalienable human rights, and its revolutionary discourse, the Enlightenment philosophers continued to be sexist in their discourses, attitudes, and practices. Even though women played an active role in the

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gains of this movement. As a result, the Catholic Church's efforts to control thought, people and nations came to an end and Protestant Churches were established (Yörük, 2009, p. 64).

Revolution, they could not get what they expected from it. In other words, the French revolution did not create the expected change in women's life. The male-dominated mentality of enlightenment still took women as childish (living in childhood), mindless, not capable of education and management, created for household chores, not for public services, and expected to serve men, the property of the family and the man (De Beauvoir, 1993, p. 112). Hannam explains the contradiction between the revolutionary discourses and sexist attitudes and thoughts of the Enlightenment philosophers as follows:

Political thinkers and philosophers who took the lead in developing Enlightenment thought emphasized the importance of a universal human nature and the ability to reason. Universality, however, did not seem to encompass women since most writers claimed that there were physical and intellectual differences between the sexes. Medical and scientific opinion was used to support the view that social and cultural differences were natural, or biologically based, rather than socially constructed. Men were thought to be rational, objective and scientific in their thinking, whereas women were seen as emotional, sensual, lacking in innate reason and a barrier to social progress. These different characteristics were used as the basis for definitions of masculinity and femininity well into the nineteenth century and beyond (2007, pp. 18-19).

This male-dominated mentality of the Enlightenment did not, however, go unchallenged. "The ferment of new ideas, political upheavals and economic change in late eighteenth-century Europe provided the perfect conditions for feminist ideas to develop" (Hannam, 2007, pp. 17-18). Women soon realized that they were excluded from the ideals of universal equality, freedom, and justice of the new society and were deprived of the natural and inalienable human rights and they became aware that they belong to an oppressed group (Çakır, 2013, pp. 416-417). For the first time in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, women perceived the contradiction between the revolutionary discourse of politicians and their attitudes that refused to see women as equal citizens (Michel, 1984, p. 84). "The explicit exclusion of women from active citizenship during the French Revolution encouraged them to make demands on behalf of their sex. They established their organizations to call for government support for educational and social work and also for women's complete equality men" (Hannam, 2007, p. 22). From the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, women also wrote novels, articles, and pamphlets to challenge and change sexist thoughts and practices in marriage, education, and politics (p. 19).

As the first woman to resist during this period, the name of Olympe de Gouge is often cited. During the early phases of the French Revolution, in September 1791, by modelling on the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the [Male] Citizen*

(*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*) written in 1789 in line with the ideals of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, de Gouges issued a pamphlet entitled *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the [Female] Citizen* (*Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*) to challenge male authority and call for women to have equal rights with men in the public sphere. She was brave enough to write “woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum” (de Gouges, 1791, Article X). Her demand was not welcomed by the men together with whom she made the Revolution. As a result, she was executed by the guillotine in 1793, condemned as counterrevolutionary (Donovan, 2006, p. 17; Hannam, 2007, p. 20).

Mary Wollstonecraft, just like Olympe de Gouges, is another prominent pioneer in advocating women's rights during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1792, influenced by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the [Female] Citizen (1791) of Olympe de Gouges and the Bill of Rights (1791) in the USA, she wrote her feminist manifesto titled *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* which is seen as a founding text of British and American feminism (Bensadon, 1990, pp. 41-42; Donovan, 2006, p. 24; Hannam, 2007, p. xi; Sanders, 2006, p. 15; Whipps, 2017, p. 4). In her influential feminist manifesto which is considered one of the most significant turning points in the history of feminist thought (Vincent, 2010, pp. 169-170) Wollstonecraft claims that “women remain enslaved because of a corrupt process of socialization which stunts their intellect and teaches them that their proper purpose in life is to serve men” (Donovan, 2006, p. 24). She emphasizes that women's status could be improved through proper education and proper training in critical thinking (Donovan, 2006, p. 25). She defends the importance of the right to education for women and demanded recognition of women's civil and political rights. She sees women's subordination as a natural consequence of their ignorance. She believes in the necessity for women to have a job or profession that would allow them to stop being dependent on their husbands financially (Arat, 2017, p. 41; Bensadon, 1990, pp. 41-42). She also claims that women should not be confined to the private sphere, they should access the public sphere. According to Wollstonecraft, if women receive the same education as men, learn to think critically, reach the truth directly on their own without men's intervention, women can get rid of

their oppressed position in society and become enlightened citizens and rational mothers (Donovan, 2006, pp. 24-27; Hannam, 2007, p. 21; Sanders, 2006, p. 15).

These first individual conscious rebellions in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century against the power relations between the sexes and women's subordinate status in society paved the way to the birth of feminism as an organized social movement from the mid of 19<sup>th</sup> century. "It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that women began to organize themselves into groups with the purpose of challenging their subordinate position and achieving improvements in their lives" (Hannam, 2007, p. 17). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the belief that women's liberation could only be achieved by women began to flourish (Michel, 1984, p. 104).

The period from the mid-19th century, when the word of feminism began to be used and feminism became an organized resistance until today is generally portrayed and discussed as a series of waves. Each wave represents a specific period with a separate agenda, priority, goal, ideology, method, and achievement (Whipps, 2017, p. 4; Reger, 2007, p. 1672). Although the waves of feminism are often related to certain periods, it is not possible to say that there are certain boundaries between them. The successive waves criticize, contribute to and try to compensate for what has been missed in the previous wave. Therefore, each wave can be seen as an effort to push feminism forward. In other words, feminism grows with each wave and moves further away. On the other hand, a variety of debates have arisen around the wave metaphor and the controversy over how many waves of feminism have been gone through is still ongoing. "Not all feminist writers follow [the same] periodization precisely" (Vincent, 2010, p. 179). Some feminists discuss feminism in two waves, some suggest that a third wave exists, while others (Baumgardner, 2011; Cochrane, 2013; Munro, 2013) claim that today feminism surfs through the fourth wave. This study which focuses on the feminist translation practices on two Turkish feminist websites asserts that feminism has been going through the fourth wave, a digital transformation, thanks to the internet. Therefore, in this study, feminism will be discussed in four waves. This study also briefly summarizes what these four waves aim at, what they problematize, how and in what ways they fight against patriarchy, what they achieve, and what they fail to achieve.

#### **2.1.2.6. The first wave feminism**

The term, 'first wave feminism', which was not widely adopted until second wave feminism, began to be used in the late 1960s to refer to the feminist movement during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Baumgardner, 2011; McHugh, 2007, p. 45). First wave feminists, who did not describe themselves as a 'feminist', fought for the legal equality with men, and they sought "the right for women to vote, to higher education, to birth control, to employment rights, to married women's property rights and to equitable marriage laws" (McHugh, 2007, p. 45). In particular, the struggle of women for the right to vote is the most distinctive feature of the first wave. The organized struggle of feminists for the right to vote in Britain and the USA began during this period. Held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848, Women's Rights Convention known as Seneca Falls Convention, the first meeting to focus on the women's rights (Hannam, 2007, p. xv), can be considered as the starting point of the organized struggle, and hence that of the first wave feminism (Whipps, 2017, p. 6). The feminists of the period who advocate the classical liberal philosophy i.e. universal human rights, equality and freedom for all and the abolitionist movement could not find the support they expected from the liberal and abolitionist men on women's rights so they decided to fight for women's rights on their own. Thus, their organized struggle for women's rights began in 1848 with the Seneca Falls Convention (p. 6). Seneca Falls Convention, organized by abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott focused on a wide range of issues including women's right to vote, education and property rights, and women's oppression within a family (Reger, 2007, p. 1673). At the end of the convention, a Declaration of Sentiments modelled after the Declaration of Independence was signed and published by the attendees (Çakır, 2013, p. 418; Reger, 2007, p. 1673; Vincent, 2010, p. 170). The Declaration of Sentiments emphasizes the fact that women are created equal with men, therefore they should have equal rights with men. It declares that women will not bow to the male domination that violates the natural rights of women. Accordingly, it expresses the women's demand for the right to vote, education, work, equal pay for equal work, right to property and divorce (Bensadon, 1990, p. 42; Çakır, 2013, pp. 418-419; Hannam, 2007, p. 28; Vincent, 2010, p. 170). In the aftermath of Seneca Falls Convention, suffragettes, women, and men who advocate women's suffrage/right to vote, established suffrage unions in Britain and the USA to fight for the right to vote (Arat, 2017, p. 42). The suffrage

unions followed different tactics to achieve their goals. While some unions used peaceful methods, some unions like Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in Britain engaged in militant activities and did not hesitate to resort to violence (Bensadon, 1990, pp. 43-44). "Suffragette was first used as a pejorative term by the Daily Mail on 10 January 1906 to describe members of the WSPU [...] The WSPU then adopted the word to describe themselves" (Hannam, 2007, p. 66). Suffragettes "argued that women should have the vote as a natural right based on their common humanity with men and believed that they could not be fully human unless they had citizenship rights" (Hannam, 2007, p. 55). The first wave feminism resulted in the suffrage victory of women in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in different parts of the world (Bensadon, 1990, p. 42; Çakır, 2013, p. 418; Whipps, 2017, p. 11). Besides the right to vote, women also gained the right to pursue higher education; married women gained divorce and custody rights and they were allowed to have authority over their finance and property thanks to the efforts of the first wave feminists (Whipps, 2017, p. 8). Despite their important achievements, the first wave feminists were criticized by their successors on the grounds that they generally focused on the needs of western, middle-class, educated women and they by and large did not consider the needs of the white working class and poor women or the needs of women of colour (McHugh, 2007, pp. 45-46). The first wave of feminists struggling for gender equality in the public sphere has also been criticized for not tackling the inequalities rooted in the private sphere.

#### **2.1.2.7. The second wave feminism**

After gaining the right to vote in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the union among the feminists began to fall apart and there appeared some factions and divisions. Some feminists thought that it was enough, and no more feminist struggle was needed. Whipps explains the situation in the aftermath of the suffrage victory of the first wave feminism as follows:

The push for women's suffrage brought together a wide diversity of people and organizations around a single goal of voting rights for half of the population. After achieving the vote, this cohesiveness shattered as issues of race, class, and occupation came to the fore among the women who were involved in various activist organizations. There was a dramatic decrease in membership in women's organizations, perhaps because people began to think that voting equality would be enough to change women's lives (2017, p. 12).

This stagnation period in the feminist struggle began in the 1920s with women's suffrage victory and lasted until the 1960s when the second wave feminism arose.

Even if this four-decades period is conceived as stagnation for the feminist movement, the women who got much more opportunity to enter the public sphere during this period paved the way to the second wave feminism (Reger, 2007, p. 1674).

By the 1960s, more and more women gained experience in higher education and workplace and they began to realize that they did still not have equal social, economic and professional opportunities with men despite the political and legal achievements of the first wave feminism (Reger, 2007, p. 1674; Whipps, 2017, p. 14). The second wave feminists who were intimately connected with the activist networks and left, civil rights and peace movements (Baumgardner, 2011; Reger, 2007, p. 1674; Whipps, 2017, p. 14) claimed that there are lots of different social and cultural factors leading women's oppression and therefore voting, by itself, is not sufficient to eliminate women's oppression (Whipps, 2017, p. 14). For the second wave feminists, the struggle for equality carried out by the first wave feminists and the legal rights gained during this period were necessary; however, these "[l]egal rights alone [were] not sufficient to end the cultural, economic, and political oppression women face. Legal rights changed some of the rules of the game, but they did not change the game itself" (Whipps, 2017, p. 18). The second wave feminists who gathered under the shocking, striking and ground-breaking slogan of the period "Personal is Political" stated that gender-related problems that women face in their daily lives are not personal or specific. They asserted that all these problems are the outcomes of the system and patriarchal order; so these hidden and ignored causes and consequences should be deciphered, uncovered, the systematic pressure of the man on the woman should be explained and the ways of fighting against patriarchy should be found (Çakır, 2013, p. 436). The slogan of "Personal is Political" summarizes the feminist struggle of the period in the most comprehensive way possible. "Personal is Political" broke the mould by stating that the restriction of women to the private sphere, gender roles and the inequalities rooted in the private sphere are political. Accordingly, the second wave feminism focused on the private sphere, the inequalities women are subjected to because of the gender roles in the private sphere, women's reproductive and sexual freedoms. All the demands were related to women's desire to take their bodies and their daily activities out of the control of the patriarchal society and take them under their control. "Women's bodies became sites of political contest as the right to bodily integrity and self-determination became focal points of second wave feminism"



(McHugh, 2007, p. 120). The feminist struggle during the second wave “was characterized by protest rallies, demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing, takeovers of magazines and administrative offices, and consciousness-raising groups” (Whipps, 2017, p. 19). In the consciousness-raising groups, women came together and shared and assessed their personal experiences and beliefs illustrating patriarchal control and oppression (McHugh, 2007, p. 121; Reger, 2007, p. 1675). They also produced alternative publications where they could speak their own words; campaigned on a wide range of issues such as abortion, women’s sexuality, sexual abuse, sexism, violence against women, pay equality and housework (Çakır, 2013, p. 437; McHugh, 2007, p. 120; Reger, 2007, p. 1675).

Besides these important issues, the second wave feminism highlighted a distinction between sex and gender; while sex is conceived as a biological distinction, gender is seen as a psychological, cultural, and social construct (Whipps, 2017, p. 20). Some second wave feminists also emphasized that gender equality does not mean sameness between men and women. They “argued that women’s bodies and women’s perspectives are by nature different from men’s and that the values associated with women’s roles, such as empathy and caring for others, should be supported and celebrated” (Whipps, 2017, p. 18). Hannam summarizes the achievements of the second wave feminism as follows:

In the most countries the movement contributed towards legislation that aimed to enhance women’s position, including equal pays, sex discrimination laws and, most important of all, the legislation of abortion. A key feature of ‘second wave’ feminism, however, was women’s attempt to set up their own support networks outside mainstream political and social institutions. Women’s health centres encouraged self-awareness about female body and sexuality, while rape crisis centres provided practical help for women (2007, p. 155).

Despite their important achievements, the second wave feminists were generally criticized because of their largely heterosexual, middle-class and white focus not paying attention to differences among women (McHugh, 2007, p. 121; Munro, 2013, p. 23) and these critiques led to the birth of the third wave feminism in the 1990s.

#### **2.1.2.8. The third wave feminism**

In the 1990s, there was a belief that feminism was now dead, and some young women were identifying themselves as “postfeminist” and they were disavowing even the term feminism—the “f-word.” (Whipps, 2017, p. 23). On the other hand, some young and stalwart feminists, who highlighted the restrictions and inadequacies of the second

wave, claimed that feminism was not dead and feminist fight is far from over but a new, third wave is needed (Bate, 2018, p. 55; Snyder-Hall, 2010, p. 258; Walker, 1992, p. 41; Walker, 1995, Whipps, 2017, p. 23). In 1992, Rebecca Walker, the daughter of the Second waver Alice Walker, announced the arousal of the third wave by saying that “I am not a postfeminist. I am the third wave” in her essay titled ‘Becoming the Third Wave’ published in *Ms. Magazine*. There are various explanations for the origin of the third wave (Reger, 2007, p. 1677), but it can be said that the signals of the new wave began to be felt during the 1990s.

The origins of the third wave are rooted in the challenges made by lesbians, working-class and women of colour to the second wave for its lack of interest in their issues, identities, and differences (Reger, 2007). “[A] new generation of critical insurgent feminists—primarily women of colour—with multiple ethnicities, cultural, and class experiences [...], in the early 1990s, began to describe their work as third wave” (Hammer and Kellner, 2009, p. 223). The third wave feminists criticized the second wavers on the grounds of their rigid, divisive, judgmental, monolithic, heterosexual, middle-class and white –oriented point of view (McHugh, 2007, p. 121). For the third wavers, women are not only different from men, but women are also different from each other. There are power relations among women themselves. Different women face different types of oppression and discrimination because of their different races, classes, and sexualities (Whipps, 2017, p. 22). “In other words, a middle-class straight white woman would have very different concerns than a poor trans woman of colour, and it’s unfair to assume that both would have the same priorities just because they’re women” (Alter, 2016, para. 6). According to the third wave feminists, these differences and hierarchical power relations among women should not be ignored and feminist politics and strategies should be produced in line with these differences and power relations (Kolay, 2015, p. 10). Therefore, the second wave feminism’s assumption of being universal and claim of speaking for all women are unacceptable for the third wavers (p. 24). Snyder-Hall explains the third wave’s focus on the difference among women as follows:

Third-wave feminism is pluralistic and begins with the assumptions that women do not share a common gender identity or set of experiences and that they often interpret similar experiences differently. It seeks to avoid exclusions based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity and so forth. It recognizes that women in different subject positions often have very different perspectives. For example, as feminists of colour pointed out during the second wave, while white women fought for the right to work outside the home, Black women had

almost always worked outside the home by necessity. Consequently, many Black women would prefer to stay home and care for their own families, rather than caring for the children of white women, newly entering the workforce. The right to work looks different, depending on where you stand (2010, p. 259.)

Criticizing the understanding of “women” as unifying and inclusive concept and highlighting the differences and power relations among women themselves, the third wavers explain “how racist and sexist oppression interconnect and build on each other” (Whipps, 2017, p. 22). The emphasis on these overlapping oppressions led to the birth of the term “intersectionality” (Whipps, 2017). The term “intersectionality” was first coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her essay titled “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics” published in 1989. Intersectionality clarifies how different ways of oppression intersect with each other and how especially women of colour experience multiple and overlapping discriminations due to their race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). Because social identities like race, gender and class are closely interconnected and sexist oppression shares an ideological foundation with racism and other forms of oppression, it is impossible to eradicate patriarchal domination without combating against other forms of oppression (Hooks, 1989, p. 22).

“Third Wave feminists are often concerned with a wide range of social justice issues alongside gender and sexuality, particularly issues related to the environment, food, global poverty, and economic inequality. Gender is not always their top priority [...]” (Whipps, 2017, p. 28). The third wavers identifying themselves with multiple, mixed, and shifting identities also challenge the gender binary opposition, resist categorization and hold a more fluid understanding of gender (pp. 25-26). “Increased understanding of bisexual and trans identities characterise the third wave [...]” (Munro, 2013, p. 23). As Judith Butler states in her *Gender Trouble* (1990) gender is a performance for the third wavers. Therefore, they focus on the problems of not only women but also individuals with different sexual identities (Whipps, 2017, p. 23).

The third wave feminism which rejects grand narratives and neat categorization also challenges the monolithic and judgmental understanding of what feminism should do and how it should look (Bate, 2018, p. 55). For the third wavers, “[...] multiple definitions of feminism exist simultaneously. [...] With no common identity, experiences, or definition of feminism, each feminist must take a conscious decision

about how to determine her own path through the contradictory discourses that constitute contemporary society [...]” (Snyder-Hall, 2010, p. 259). In other words, the third wavers “debunk the stereotype that there is one lifestyle or manifestation of feminist empowerment, and instead offer self-possession, self-determination, and an endless array of non-dichotomous possibilities” (Walker, 1995, p. xxxiv). “[...] [T]hird-wave feminists speak in the first person about their own struggles” (Snyder-Hall, 2010, p. 259). As Baumgardner emphasizes that

Third Wave feminism was portable—you didn’t have to go to a meeting to be feminist; you could bring feminism into any room you entered. Where the Second Wave radicals believed in mass movement and the liberal feminists believed in creating women’s institutions to influence men’s, a Third Waver might say, “Every time I move, I make a women’s movement,” indicating a feminism that is more individually driven (Baumgardner, 2011).

The third wavers’ overemphasis on individual experiences and efforts has sometimes been criticized on the grounds that it may make making far-reaching feminist politics difficult (Munro, 2013, p. 23).

Benefitting from art, music, pop culture and media to create a feminist movement (Baumgardner, 2011; Whipps, 2017, p. 27), third wave feminists focus on a multiplicity of issues which affect women and other oppressed groups and provide critical analyses of whiteness, body image, media, sexuality, prostitution, job outsourcing, gender categories and cultural imperialism (McHugh, 2007, p. 145). Analysis of popular culture and mass media through a critical feminist lens plays a crucial role in the third wave (Baumgardner and Richards, 2000; Whipps, 2017, p. 27).

Bate summarizes the above-mentioned basic points of the third wave clearly and concisely:

The Third Wavers looked for an intersectional approach to women’s struggles, focusing on issues of race and sexual orientation. The Third Wave wanted a loud chatter of different, conflicting voices; not the unified chorus of the Second Wave. They explored and expressed feminism through popular culture, not the academia of the 1960s and 70s, believing feminism should be accessible, creative and every day, not only found in dense tomes on dusty library shelves. They embraced a way of being, and even dressing and wearing make-up, that stood at odds with their foremothers. They fully embraced the idea that feminism could be defined on each individual’s terms, that feminism was personal, that feminism could be whatever made women feel empowered [...]. The Third Wavers celebrated the idea that women can be many, often contradictory, things (2018, p. 55).

#### **2.1.2.9. The fourth wave feminism**

Even the controversies over the existence of the third wave are still ongoing, some feminists argue that the fourth wave has already come up (Baumgardner, 2011; Cochrane, 2013; Fortini, 2008; Munro, 2013; Rivers, 2017). The year 2008, especially

the online activities and efforts of the tech-savvy and gender-sophisticated young women during Hilary Rodham Clinton's presidential nomination process, is considered the starting point of a new wave (Baumgardner, 2011; Fortini, 2008). In an interview, Deborah Solomon asked Jessica Valenti, the founder, and editor of the feminist blog, *feministing.com*, whether we are onto the fourth wave now and Valenti replied "Maybe the fourth wave is online" (Solomon, 2009). Similarly, Kira Cochrane claims that the fourth wave, based on the internet, "defined by technology: tools that are allowing women to build a strong, popular, reactive movement online"<sup>9</sup> (Cochrane, 2013, para. 3). "Many commentators argue that the internet itself has enabled a shift from 'third-wave' to 'fourth-wave' feminism. What is certain is that the internet has created a 'call-out' culture, in which sexism or misogyny can be 'called out' and challenged" (Munro, 2013, p. 23).

Like the Third Wave drawing on the Second Wave, the Fourth Wave has used and taken forward the agenda of the third wave feminism thanks to the internet. "[...] [W]hile zines and songs were innovations of the third wave, the fourth wavers introduced the use of blogs, Twitter campaigns and online media with names like *Racialicious* and *Feministing* or wrote for *Jezebel* and *Salon's Broadsheet*" (Baumgardner, 2011). On the other hand, some feminists articulate that "the contemporary goals of the Third Wave have not radically changed, and that using different means or different tools for the same goals does not constitute a new movement" (Whipps, 2017, p. 29) and the increased use of the internet is not enough to describe a new wave (Munro, 2013, p. 23). Whether the newness and changes in feminism in this day and age are called the fourth wave or not, it is undeniable that the internet has drastically changed ways of feminist discussion and activism.

"Contemporary feminism is characterised by its diversity of purpose, but the reliance on the internet is a constant" (Munro, 2013, p. 22). And with the increased use of internet, "social media such as Twitter, Facebook, [Youtube] or blogs have become battlegrounds between feminists and other" (Phillips and Cree, 2014, p. 14). Social media has served as a tool for conscious-raising and the contemporary feminists use social media particularly to counter sexism, sexual abuse, harassment and violence,

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<sup>9</sup> "The notion that the internet and online feminism are synonymous with the fourth wave [...]" (Rivers, 2017, p. 127)". Therefore, in this study, the terms of the fourth wave feminism, online feminism, digital feminism, hashtag feminism are used interchangeably.

rape culture (Jackson, 2018, p. 33). Social media enable marginalized and abused women to cross national, cultural, class and religious boundaries, build bonds among themselves, share their own stories online, make their voices to be heard and thereby garner worldwide support quickly (Rivers, 2017, p. 122; Whipps, 2017, p. 29). In other words, social media has served both as a space for feminist discussion and as a route for feminist activism (Munro, 2013, p. 24).

Twitter is one of the most effective online spheres for feminist activism. Some Twitter hashtags like #MeToo and #NiUnaMenos have caught extensive attention, attracted thousands of supporters and raised awareness about sexual abuse, harassment, and femicide. #MeToo movement has encouraged women to share their experiences of assault and harassment, showed how commonly women experienced sexual abuse and thereby led many powerful men to face their crimes. NiUnaMenos is another successful hashtag opened by feminists who want to take attention to femicide, to show how brutally women are murdered by men and to stop this violence.

Facebook is also used by feminists and other activists to promote their goals. Anti-Trump women marches in America organized through Facebook posts in the aftermath of Donald Trump's election for presidency illustrate the effective use of Facebook for feminist goals.

Feminist blogs and websites are other online platforms which signal the arrival of the fourth wave feminism by contributing a lot to contemporary feminism and making feminist activism more accessible for women. Feminists use blogs and websites to raise their voice, to share their experiences and to combat against sexism and patriarchy (Keller 2016, p. 261; Rivers, 2017, p. 108). The website Everyday Sexism opened by Laura Bates in 2012 "to record stories of sexism faced on a daily basis, by ordinary women, in ordinary places" ("the everyday sexism," n.d.) is one of the best examples. Kira Cochrane explains the achievements of Everyday Sexism which currently has more than 287.000 followers on Twitter as follows:

[...] Everyday Sexism Project has proved so successful that it was rolled out to 17 countries on its first anniversary this year, tens of thousands of women worldwide writing about the street harassment, sexual harassment, workplace discrimination and body-shaming they encounter. The project embodies that feminist phrase "the personal is political", a consciousness-raising exercise that encourages women to see how inequality affects them, proves these problems aren't individual but collective, and might therefore have political solutions (2013, para. 2).

Certain groups like women of colour, LGBTIQ which are left out of, marginalised or untouched by, particular feminist analysis or activism get a chance to make their voice heard thanks to the internet. Therefore, diversity and intersectionality have become the main focuses of the fourth wave. “Intersectionality is today a well-known and often-discussed theory of practice within the online feminist World” (Martin and Valenti 2013, p. 17). Retallack et al. (2016, p. 86) characterise the “fourth wave” as “a sharing of voices, engagement with global politics, focus on intersectionality”.

Despite its achievements, there is still a concern whether online feminism has offline consequences and can bring desired social change and justice in the ‘real’ World (Christensen, 2011; Harris, 2008). On the other hand, it is argued that “the distinction between online activism and feminism operating ‘in the real world’ is blurred, with online campaigns frequently influencing offline activity and events” (Rivers, 2017, p. 109). Online feminism’s impact may go beyond the online community, but it should not be forgotten that this impact is neither certain nor straightforward (Rivers, 2017, p. 113).

Online spheres indeed make important contributions to the feminist struggle; however, “it is vital not to forget that social networks also promulgate sexually violent discourse and expand the opportunities to shame and humiliate women” (Horeck, 2014, p. 1106). “[T]he internet, and forums such as Twitter and Facebook especially, have also proved themselves to be a hotbed of misogyny. Women frequently report receiving death threats and threats of sexual violence across a range of social media” (Rivers, 2017, p. 113). In other words, “[t]he advent of online communities has [also] enabled new forms of virulent sexism” (Mantilla 2013, p. 563). Research focusing on the online harassment of feminists shows that “[e]ighty-eight percent of those who use Twitter regularly for feminist debate had been abused on it, compared with 60% of Facebook regular users, 46% of blogs regular users and 29% of news sites users’ (Lewis et al. 2016, p. 7). Due to the threatening and abusive posts, tweets and messages, some feminists may have to hide their identities (to be anonymous) or leave the social media where they conduct their feminist struggle (Rivers, 2017, p. 115). By contrast, some other feminists do not want to retreat because they think these threats and abuses will be an effective tool for silencing feminists. Feminists, committed to resisting online sexism, are also struggling against online sexism through online feminist activism.

Therefore, it can be said that, despite its dangerous potential of being sexist, the internet continues to be an effective tool of feminist consciousness raising by enabling women to think critically. Thanks to the internet, women, especially those sidelined or ignored by previous western-oriented heterosexual feminisms, get a chance to move away, even if not physically, from the private sphere. By this means, “build[ing] feminist communities across social, cultural, and global boundaries, and creat[ing] feminisms that are nuanced, representative, and effective in establishing political and cultural change” (Rivers, 2017, pp. 127-128) become easier. All these opportunities lead to the birth of a new digital sisterhood.

While feminism is discussed above in the historical context, different feminisms and different feminist approaches are not mentioned in detail in order not to break with the historical process. For a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of feminism, the different feminist approaches that emerged in the historical process mentioned above will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

### **2.1.3. Different Theoretical Approaches to Feminism**

As is stated before, all feminists claim that women are oppressed and subordinated by men in almost all societies (Stone, 2007, p. 8). Feminists also emphasize that the oppressed and subordinate position of women is not natural, not an innate consequence of biological difference. On the contrary, it is changeable, therefore it must be changed and rebelled against (Çakır, 2013, p. 416). Feminists who agree on the fact that almost all societies oppress women systematically and this oppression must be changed differ among themselves as to which factors lead to this oppression, how this oppression could be challenged and how desired social change could be achieved (p. 416). In other words, feminists “may share a description of women oppression and the ideal of emancipation, but they do not necessarily agree on how to analyze that oppression or how to resist it” (Herrmann & Stewart, 2001, p. 1). Therefore, “[I]t is a mistake to think of feminism as a single philosophical doctrine, or as implying an agreed political program” (James, 2005, p. 268) As Rogers states:

Regardless of which wave of feminism is under consideration, feminism consistently manifests itself as a multitextured set of ideas and practices. Commonly observable in liberal, radical, cultural, and postmodernist varieties, feminism comprises multiple strands of thought and multiple strategies for achieving social change and cultural transformation (2005, p. 269).



To provide a relevant and adequate background information for the analyses and discussions in this thesis, this section discussing different theoretical approaches to feminism draws on a synthesis of the categorizations studied by Donovan (2006), Jaggar (1983), Tong (2014) and Beasley (1999). Within this scope, liberal, radical, Marxist, socialist, cultural, essentialist, linguistic, postmodern/poststructuralist feminisms and women of colour feminisms will be briefly examined. Before discussing the different feminist approaches, it needs to be stated that there are not clear cuts among these approaches and it is generally not possible to fit feminists neatly into only one approach (Beasley, 1999, p. 44).

### **2.1.3.1. Liberal feminism**

Liberal feminism drawing on liberal philosophy of Enlightenment which glorifies reason and science and emphasizes that all men are created equal and they have certain unalienable rights, arose in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Donovan, 2006, p. 18; Stone, 2007, p. 11). Unlike the male theorists of Enlightenment ignoring women on the grounds that they are not rational beings and claiming that “rational beings [male] are the lords of creation and have the right to impose their “reason” on all who lack it—women, nonhuman creatures, and the earth itself” (Donovan, 2006, p. 19), liberal feminism asserts that women are created equal with men and they are endowed by their creators with the same unalienable and natural rights with men (Declaration of Sentiments). “The basic liberal feminist idea, then, is that women are naturally equal to men in reason, and therefore deserve equal access education and to the public sphere [...]” (Stone, 2007, p. 12). In other words, “[f]eminist theorists in the natural rights tradition sought to argue [...] that women were citizens, were “persons” entitled to the same basic rights as men” (Donovan, 2006, p. 21). “Liberal feminists believe that justice requires equal opportunities and equal consideration for every individual regardless of sex” (Jaggar, 1983, p. 176). Vincent explains the social changes which the liberal feminists desire as follows:

The primary objective of liberal feminists is to bring women into the full rights of democratic citizenship. They envisage a future where legal, political, social and economic rights will have been achieved for all women. They will be on an equal footing with men in all spheres. This will be brought about by reason, persuasion and constitutional reform. The reformed family will remain, but men will have an equal role in domestic duties, and women’s careers and lives will in no way be artificially hampered by the rearing of children. The institution of the family is thus seen to have a continuing and important role but it will be supported financially and socially in order to prevent inequalities occurring (1992, p. 204).

Liberal feminists indeed envisage a world in which women have full equality with men especially in the public sphere; however, they do not want to transform radically existing social and political systems (Weedon, 1991, p. 4). In other words, “liberal feminism involves an emphasis upon reform of society rather than revolutionary change” (Beasley, 1999, p. 52). According to liberal feminism, reasoned argument is required to reform society. Therefore, people, as rational beings, should be informed about the irrationality and injustice of discrimination against women (Jaggar, 1983, p. 181). For liberal feminists, education plays a crucial role in raising people’s awareness and in enabling people to think critically. Accordingly, they try to eliminate barriers that prevent women’s access to education, and thereby to help women to improve themselves. To increase public awareness about the injustices and inequalities that women suffer from just because they are women and to challenge and change all these injustices and inequalities, liberal feminists write books, try to make their voices heard through media and public demonstrations (pp. 181-184). As is stated before, throughout their struggle, liberal feminists follow a reformist line, not a revolutionary one.

Donovan sorts the basic tenets shared by liberal feminist as follows:

(1) A faith in rationality. With some thinkers, such as Wollstonecraft, Reason and God are nearly synonymous. The individual’s reason is the divine spark within; it is one’s conscience. With feminists such as Frances Wright and Sarah Grimke the individual conscience is regarded as a more reliable source of truth than any established institution or tradition. [...] (2) A belief that women’s and men’s souls and rational faculties are the same; in other words, that women and men are ontologically identical. (3) A belief in education—especially training in critical thinking—as the most effective means to effect social change and transform society. (4) A view of the individual as an isolated being, who seeks the truth apart from others, who operates as a rational, independent agent, and whose dignity depends on such independence. (5) Finally, Enlightenment theorists subscribed to the natural rights doctrine, and while the most important theorists did not limit themselves to demanding political rights, the mainstream of the nineteenth-century women’s movement settled upon these demands, in particular the demand for the vote (2006, pp. 23-24).

Struggling for the right to vote is generally considered the most prominent feature of liberal feminism, because “[p]ublic citizenship and the attainment of equality with men in the public arena is central to liberal feminism” (Beasley, 1999, p. 52). However, besides getting right to vote, which is not a negligible success, the efforts of liberal feminists also contribute to improve married women’s legal, social and economic status and to eliminate the barriers preventing women from higher education and many professions (Donovan, 2006, p. 42).

Despite its important achievements, liberal feminism is severely criticized for several reasons. Firstly, it is claimed that liberal feminism, focusing mostly on the public sphere, leave the questions related to the private sphere unanswered (p. 42). In other words, “[l]iberal feminists have no overt objection to women’s choosing a so-called private life of family and friends [...]” (Jaggar, 1983, p. 181). However, it is recognized that although the legal gains of liberal feminism are too important to be ignored, they alone are not enough to eliminate the oppression and discrimination women face in daily life. Therefore, the private sphere should not be left untouched. Secondly, liberal feminists’ presumption of sameness between men and women and sexually undifferentiated human nature (Beasley, 1999, p. 52) is criticized and it is argued that liberal feminism did not consider differences between men and women and ignore the fact that women are different from men (Donovan, 2006, pp. 42-43). However, despite these criticisms, the efforts of liberal feminists have improved the legal status of women in many countries (Jaggar, 1983, p. 185).

### **2.1.3.2. Marxist feminism**

Marxist feminism is primarily based on Marxism’s critique of capitalism. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the basic tenets of Marxism before discussing Marxist feminism. Historical materialism which puts forward a base-superstructure model of society in which superstructures like social relations are crucially shaped by the economic base of society (Beasley, 1999, p. 61) forms the basis of Marxist theory. For Marxism, economics, means of production, labour, and division of labour are key determinants of society and class system. Therefore, Marxism asserts that desired social change could only be achieved through overthrowing the existing economic system, capitalism. Capitalism and class system which it creates are the main enemies of Marxism. Capitalism has an alienating potential and people, especially workers, in capitalist societies become alienated from the act of labour, the products of their labour and from other human beings in time. This estrangement leads to a false consciousness in the proletariat and they could not perceive their real position in society and could not recognize inequality, oppression, and exploitation which capitalism causes. For this reason, getting rid of false consciousness and raising class consciousness of the proletariat are the main goals of Marxism.

Drawing on Marxism, especially Friedrich Engels's focus on women's oppression in class society, Marxist feminism tries to reveal the connection between women's oppressed position in society and capitalism and production relations which capitalism creates. "In Marxist feminism, [...] hierarchical class relations (built on unequally distributed or owned sources of wealth, [...]) are seen as the source of coercive power and oppression, of all inequalities ultimately. Sexual oppression is seen as a dimension of class power" (Beasley, 1999, p. 60). Marxist feminism argues that capitalism is at the heart of women's oppression, and in this respect, it is based on Marxism's critique of capitalism. Marxist feminists underline that women's labour at home is left unpaid and thereby exploited by men, eventually by capitalism. They emphasize that women's labour at home should not be ignored because women contribute to the accumulation of capital by doing house works for free. However, since women repeat the same works every day in a vicious circle and work without any wage, they become alienated from their own labour over time like the proletariat (Öztürk, 2017, p. 126). Marxist feminism, in this regard, assumes similarity between women and the proletariat. Both women and proletariat are oppressed and exploited in a capitalist system and only a socialist revolution against capitalism could eliminate their common oppression and exploitation. In other words, Marxist feminists claim that "women's oppression is a product of class society that will only be ended when proletarian revolution brings about a socialist society in which women will have full economic independence, and domestic work and childcare will be collectivised" (Bryson, 2003, p. 106). McHugh summarizes the main points of Marxist feminism as follows:

Due to the focus on class, most Marxist feminists focus on the problems women face in the workforce and class-based access to goods [...]. For example, they point to the gender division of labour and women's underpayment for their work and they highlight the lack a payment for household work, the second-shift of childcare and household work that most women perform after they come home from their 'real' work, the sexual division of labour, the commodification of women's bodies for sexual, reproductive and entertainment purposes, and the classed nature of access to reproductive technology and healthcare technology (2007, p. 79).

"The Marxist feminist approach tends, like liberal feminism, to be oriented towards the public sphere and, given its concern with the organisation of labour, generally pays particular attention to women's position in relation to waged labour. [...]" (Beasley, 1999, p. 61). However, as is stated above, unlike the liberal feminism which envisages a social reform rather than a revolutionary change, Marxist feminism advocates a socialist revolution.

In a similar vein with liberal feminism's egalitarian understanding which emphasizes the sameness between women and men, Marxist feminism claims that the interests of men and women are not essentially different because women exploited by the men around them are eventually exploited by capitalism like men (pp. 61-62). On the other hand, Marxist feminists, contrary to liberal and radical feminists, also point to the differences between women and they claim that the proletarian women are subjected to more oppression and exploitation than bourgeois women because of the class to which they belong (Berkday, 2011, p. 10; Bryson, 2003, p. 108; Ramazanoglu, 1989, p. 100).

Like Marxism which aims to raise the class consciousness of the proletariat, Marxist feminism strives for raising the consciousness of women and making women aware of their oppressed position and how they can fight against this oppression, because it is argued that only through developing class consciousness women can be freed from the burdens of capitalism (Donovan, 2006, pp. 81-82, 98). In this respect, it can be said that Marxism introducing the notion of conscious-raising to feminism made important contributions to the development of the feminist theory (p. 79).

Despite their contributions to feminist theory, Marxist feminists have been criticized for being an abstract analysis based on economic reductionism and failing to give sufficient attention to the patriarchal structure underlying the gender inequality in society (Ecevit, 2011, p. 16).

### **2.1.3.3. Radical feminism**

Radical feminism which claims that women's oppression is the oldest and the most fundamental, profound and widespread of all forms of oppression in the world, arose in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a reaction against the male-dominated theories, politics and structures of the radical left which either ignored sexual inequalities or considered them of secondary importance (Beasley, 1999, p. 55; Donovan, 2006, p. 155, 156; Stone, 2007, p. 12; Tong, 2014, p. 51). "Radical feminism, unlike liberal and Marxist/socialist feminisms, is not drawn directly from previous bodies of 'malestream' thought. It offers a real challenge to and rejection of the liberal orientation towards the public world of men" (Beasley, 1999, pp. 53-54). Radical feminists, in this respect, have criticized liberal and Marxist feminists on the grounds that they have internalized the values of the male culture (Jaggar, 1983, p. 251).

Radical feminists oppose cooperation with other anti-imperialist revolutionary movements because of their male-dominated, sexist structures. Instead, radical feminists argue that women should be organized among themselves to fight against oppression and this organisation in which no hierarchy exists should be entirely democratic (Donovan, 2006, pp. 157-158). “Because radical feminists think that men dominate women as a group, they argue that women have a shared interest in opposing patriarchy and that women need an independent, women-led and perhaps women-only, feminist movement” (Stone, 2007, p. 12). “Radical feminists state the most strongly of all feminist traditions that men as a group are the ‘main enemy’. In radical feminism, all men are unambiguously viewed as having power over at least some women” (Beasley, 1999, p. 55). “[F]or radical feminists the only way in which women can assert their autonomy from men and recover their true and natural femininity is in separation from men and the patriarchal structures of society” (Weedon, 1991, p. 4).

According to radical feminism, patriarchy (social systems of male domination, the rule of men) – not capitalism – lies at the root of women’s oppression, therefore women should collectively fight against their oppressor, men (Donovan, 2006, p. 156). Unlike liberal and Marxist feminisms, radical feminism which marked the first years of second wave feminism focuses essentially on the private sphere and asserts that personal is political. Jaggar states that:

Unlike other feminists, radical feminists do not define women’s oppression primarily in relation to the world outside the home. For radical feminists, women’s oppression does not consist primarily in the lack of equal job opportunities or in exclusion from full participation in the public world. Instead, radical feminists see women as oppressed primarily in so-called intimate relations: in sexual and procreative relations, in the home, in the sphere of life that male culture defines as personal rather than as political (1983, p. 271).

As Jaggar emphasizes, radical feminism argues that it is the private sphere, home and intimate relations in which women are oppressed, therefore they should be discussed, challenged, and changed. Radical feminists consider that men and women are fundamentally different, and women are oppressed and subjugated just because of their sex (Beasley, 1999, pp. 53-54; Donovan, 2006, p. 156). Shulamith Firestone, a leading figure of radical feminism, claims in her influential book, *Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970), that biology, not economics constructs the material base of women’s oppression. For Firestone (1970), women’s body, especially female reproduction function, leads to the gender division of labour providing a basis for patriarchy and its ruling ideology, sexism. In other words, Firestone (1970) argues that

it is a material biological base that causes female subjugation in society. Radical feminists Kate Millet (1971) and Shulamith Firestone (1970) assert that family is a primate site for the construction and reproduction of patriarchy, therefore they pose a direct challenge to and call for the elimination of family, marriage, love and heterosexual relations. In other words, for radical feminism “marriage and the family [...] are unjust institutions. They constitute the pivot of a societal system of gender that renders women vulnerable to dependency, exploitation, and abuse” (Okin, 2014, p. 64). The main concern of radical feminism is about women’s body (Beasley, 1999, p. 57) because “[a]ccording to radical feminism, the oppression of women is rooted in male control of women’s fertility and women’s sexuality. The accepted shortland way of referring to this situation is as the male control of women’s bodies” (Jaggar, 1983, p. 266). So, it can be said that gaining control over their own bodies is the primary goal of radical feminists (Beasley, 1999, p. 58; Jaggar, 1983, p. 270). Accordingly, radical feminist focus primarily on women’s sexuality, sexual violence and abuse, maternal reproductive body, fertility, birth control, right to abortion and childrearing, etc. (Beasley, 1999, p. 58; Berkta, 2011, p. 9). Focusing on women’s body and striving for saving women from the cages of forced motherhood and sexual slavery, radical feminism desires a revolutionary change which could only be achieved through separating from men, fostering lesbian relations, seizing the means of reproduction, and creating new ways of reproduction (Beasley, 1999, pp. 54-56; Donovan, 2006, p. 161; Jaggar, 1983, pp. 271-273).

Breaking the mould by articulating that personal is political, radical feminism also points to the common oppression of different women. The practice of conscious-raising helps women to discover that their daily experiences of oppression are not unique or personal, but rather widely shared by many women and hence political (Tong, 2014, p. 51). For radical feminism which does not deny the differences between women, all women, regardless of their racial, ethnic, class, etc. differences, are subjected to male oppression and suppression and this understanding of women’s shared oppression helps to construct the notion of sisterhood among women (Berkta, 2011, p. 9). In other words, “[t]hat notion of shared oppression is intimately connected with a strong emphasis on the sisterhood of women” (Beasley, 1999, p. 54). These conceptions of shared oppression and sisterhood are crucial for providing a ground

that may bring different feminist struggles together and thereby constructing a common feminist politics.

#### **2.1.3.4. Socialist feminism**

Socialist feminism which arose in the late 1960s and 1970s draws on Marxist and radical feminisms (Cronin, 2007, p. 4562; Stone, 2007, p. 13). The primary goal of socialist feminism is to “develop a theory powerful enough to explain the complex ways in which capitalism and patriarchy allied to oppress women” (Tong, 2014, p. 108). In fact, “[t]he central project of socialist feminism is the development of political theory and practice that will synthesize the best insights of radical feminism and of the Marxist tradition and that simultaneously will escape the problems associated with each” (Jaggar, 1983, p. 123).

“Socialist feminists attempt to maintain some elements of Marxism regarding the significance of class distinctions and labour while incorporating the radical feminist view that sexual oppression is not historically a consequence of class division” (Beasley, 1999, p. 62). They assert that women’s oppression does not stem from capitalism alone, as Marxist feminism claims, nor from patriarchy alone, as radical feminism argues. Thus, for socialist feminism, the abolition of only one of capitalism or patriarchy does not eliminate the oppression of women (Jaggar, 1983, p. 317). Socialist feminism considers that both capitalism and patriarchy play a key role in women’s oppression by supporting each other and both men and capitalists are beneficiaries of women’s subjugation (Berkday, 2011, p. 11; Donovan, 2006, p. 95). “Therefore, the way to end women’s oppression, in socialist feminists’ estimation, is to kill the two-headed beast of capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism (Tong, 2014, p. 4).

In this respect, socialist feminists desire to develop a comprehensive feminist theory which could explain the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, and they put forward two-system explanation of women’s oppression. According to the dual system approach not only the structures of production but also the structures of reproduction and sexuality lead to women’s oppression, and therefore both capitalist and patriarchal power relations should be examined and challenged during the discussion of women’s oppressed position in society (Jaggar, 1983; Tong, 2014, pp. 4-5; Ecevit, 2011, p. 17).



In line with the dual system approach, socialist feminists offer a full transformation of the whole social system which could end both capitalism and patriarchy.

In brief, it can be said that “[a] defining feature of socialist feminism is that it attempts to interpret the historical materialist method of traditional Marxism so that it applies to the issues made visible by radical feminists” (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). To be more precise, socialist feminism, like radical feminism, does not ignore the private sphere and issues like sexuality, childbearing, childrearing, and motherhood, etc.; however, it benefits from the concepts and methods of traditional Marxism for explanation and elimination of women’s oppression. For example, Jaggar (1983), an important figure of socialist feminism, tries to examine women’s oppression through the concept of alienation developed by Marxism. Jaggar argues that the only way to understand women’s oppression is to understand how women become alienated from their own bodies and thoughts. According to this approach, women’s alienation from their sexuality, motherhood, and intellectuality is the essence of the woman’s problem. Like wagedworkers exploited through their alienation from their own labour and product; women, for Jaggar, are oppressed through their alienation from their body, i.e. their sexuality, motherhood, and intellectuality (1983, pp. 309-310). According to Jaggar elimination of women’s alienation is crucial to end women’s oppression (p. 315).

#### **2.1.3.5. Cultural feminism**

Cultural feminism first arose during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It goes beyond the claims of liberal feminist thought of Enlightenment and rather than solely focusing on political changes, it calls for a larger cultural transformation to end women’s oppression (Donovan, 2006, p. 47), because cultural feminism implies that “political rights would not be enough to change women’s status; a revolution in social and religious attitudes was necessary” (p. 52). Cultural feminism also considers that the revolution could only be accomplished by redefining femininity and constructing women-centred, matriarchal culture and society.

According to cultural feminists, women and men are essentially different (Donovan, 2006, pp. 47, 49; Wolff, 2007, p. 903). While “[t]he basic feminine impulse is to gather, to put together, to construct; the basic masculine impulse to scatter, to disseminate, to destroy” (Gilman, 1911, p. 114). Concentrating on the essential differences between women and men, cultural feminism places “woman” at the centre

and seeks “to reclaim and redefine definitions of femininity and masculinity through recognizing and celebrating women’s unique characteristics” (Wolff, 2007, p. 902). The redefinition of femininity is important because only in this way could women get rid of their inferior position socially constructed by men. For cultural feminism, instead of maleness and its inherently violent, aggressive, competitive, and destructive nature, femaleness and its innate nurturing, kind, loving, non-violent, gentle cooperative and egalitarian attributes should be honoured (p. 903).

Along with the reclaim and redefinition of femininity, establishing a women-centred, especially mother-centred, matriarchal social structure is the primary goal of cultural feminism. Cultural feminists assert that “[a] woman-centred, or better a mother-centred, world would be very different, because it would express the positive, benign character of women’s sensitivities” (Donovan, 2006, p. 61). “Government by women . . . would be influenced by motherhood; and that would mean care, nurture, provision, education” (Gilman, 1911, p. 190). In her famous utopia, *Herland*, Gilman portrays how a matriarchal society would look like. Donovan summarizes the utopia which Gilman creates in her *Herland* as follows:

The women in Herland live collectively, are peaceful and harmonic, vegetarian, physically strong, and competent. There are no “homes” as we know them; child rearing is a profession, wastes are recycled, and the country is dotted with “help” temples where people may drop in for loving care and attention when in need. Herland reflects the matriarchal value system [...] embodying a reverence for peace and harmony and an ecological concern for all forms of life (2006, p. 63).

As is seen, cultural feminism lays claim to the universality of femininity by stressing similarities rather than the differences among women. In line with this thought, cultural feminism also argues that different feminist groups should be unified, and the feminist movement should fight as one body (Ecevit, 2011, p. 21).

Relying on women to change their behaviours, cultural feminism is criticized for its essentialist conception of femininity and leaving the general system of patriarchy unchallenged (Wolff, 2007, p. 905).

#### **2.1.3.6. Essentialist feminism**

Existentialism does not attract much attention from feminists. But there is one important exception: Simone de Beauvoir. Therefore, when it comes to existentialist feminism, the name and thoughts of de Beauvoir come to mind first. De Beauvoir’s most notable work is *The Second Sex*, written in 1949. De Beauvoir’s thoughts and

claims are largely influenced by the existentialist thoughts of French thinker Jean-Paul Sartre, her lifelong on-and-off lover (Tong, 2014, p. 174). Thus, a brief overview of Existentialism, especially the thoughts of Sartre, is required to understand existentialist feminism better.

**Existentialism** asserts that “there is no such thing as human nature, an essence common to all human persons, determining what a person ought to be. Rather, there is only a human condition, into which all persons are thrown equally and without self-definition” (Tong, 2014, p. 175). For Sartre, existence precedes essence and separate and essential identities can only be created through self’s conscious actions, making choices and decisions (p. 175). Accordingly, it can be said that existentialism places emphasis mostly on subjective existence and its conscious actions.

“Like Hegel and Heidegger, Sartre saw the self as existing in two dimensions: the *pour-soi* (for-itself) is the transcending, creative, future-oriented self; the *en-soi* (in-itself) is the reified contingent object self that is immanent and ultimately inauthentic” (Donovan, 2006, p. 133). In other words, “[b]eing-in-itself refers to the repetitive, material existence humans share with animals, vegetables, and minerals; being-for-itself refers to the moving, conscious existence human beings share with one another” (Tong, 2014, p. 174). According to Sartre, the *en-soi*, as an object, is constantly constituted under the reflective eye of the *pour-soi* or by other consciousnesses (Donovan, 2006, p. 133). “In establishing its self as a self, each self describes and prescribes roles for the other.” (Tong, 2014, p. 175). To put it more clearly “[i]n order to constitute itself as a subject, *pour-soi* must cast the Other as object” (Donovan, 2006, p. 134). So, it can be inferred that there exists a constant tension between self and other and this tension constitutes both.

Drawing on these existentialist thoughts and concepts, Simone de Beauvoir “focuses largely on the way women have been made into man’s other and so robbed of their own ability to define themselves” (Weil, 2006, p. 155). De Beauvoir tries to explain how women have gradually become man’s other and how they can get rid of their otherness.

“[I]n a patriarchal culture the male or masculine is set up as the positive or the norm, where the female or the feminine is set up as the negative, the unessential, the

abnormal, as in short, the Other” (Donovan, 2006, p. 136). De Beauvoir explains women’s otherness as follows:

She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other (1956, p. 16).

As seen in the above excerpt, de Beauvoir claims that “[i]n the struggle described by Sartre as that between *pour-soi* and *en-soi*, women are cast in the role of *en-soi*, while men take the independent transcending position of the *pour-soi*” (Donovan, 2006, p. 136). After articulating women’s “Other” position in society, de Beauvoir strives for finding the reasons behind this otherness.

In *The Second Sex*, De Beauvoir articulates that the female body, especially her reproductive capacity, and the gendered division of labour resulting from physical and biological differences between men and women play a crucial role in the definition of woman as the other (1956, pp. 33-64). She emphasizes that because of their feminine body functions, i.e. childbearing, childbirth, and menstruation, women are confined to the *en-soi*, to the domestic/maternal duties and prevented from transcending *en-soi* and becoming *pour-soi* (de Beauvoir, 1956, pp. 33-158; Donovan, 2006, p. 137; Weil, 2006, p. 155). Even though de Beauvoir repeatedly highlights how woman’s biological and physiological features, her fertility, physical weakness and her passive role in heterosexual intercourse play an important role in woman’s otherness, she also asserts that female body alone cannot determine woman’s “Other” position in society:

The enslavement of the female to the species and the limitations of her various powers are extremely important facts; the body of woman is one of the essential elements in her situations in the world. But that body is not enough to define her as woman; there is no true living reality except as manifested by the conscious individual through activities and in the bosom of a society. Biology is not enough to give an answer to the question that is before us: why is woman the Other? (de Beauvoir, 1956, pp. 63-64).

Searching for the answer of “Why is woman the Other?”, de Beauvoir also finds the explanations of psychoanalysis, Freud, and historical materialism, Engel, for woman’s otherness as incomplete and unsatisfying (1956, pp. 65-86). For de Beauvoir, a woman’s otherness can be explained neither through woman’s lack of the penis as Freud asserts, nor through the gendered division of labour, the means of production and capitalist society as Engels claims (*ibid.*). Unlike Freud, de Beauvoir suggests that “[w]omen are the other not because they lack penises but because they lack power” (Tong, 2014, p. 181). Similarly, unlike Engels, de Beauvoir does not believe that the transition from capitalist to socialist society will end the woman’s otherness, because

she believes that the causes of woman's otherness are ontological rather than economic (de Beauvoir, 1956, pp. 79-86).

Analysing history, myths and literary works, de Beauvoir asserts that it is a long socialization process that creates women's otherness. In this long socialization process, girls and women accept and internalize the position of "Other" imposed by men and their otherness passes from generation to generation and the institutions of marriage and motherhood cement woman's otherness (Tong, 2014, p. 183). For de Beauvoir, womanhood is not an essence, but rather is a social construction. As she states, "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (de Beauvoir, 1956, p. 273). This conception is also crucial in terms of revealing the difference between "sex" and "gender".

Accordingly, "de Beauvoir insist[s] woman can create her own self because there is no essence of eternal femininity prescribing a ready-made identity for her" (Tong, 2014, p. 186). She "urges that women's liberation or fulfilment can only come in the choice to exist as a *pour-soi*, as a transcending subject who constitutes her own future by means of creative projects" (Donovan, 2006, p. 139). She emphasizes that "if woman wants to cease being the second sex, the other, she must overcome the forces of circumstances; she must have her say and her way as much as man does" (Tong, 2014, p. 186).

Simone de Beauvoir is sometimes criticized for "her focus on myths and images and her lack of practical strategies for liberation; for its ethnocentrism and androcentric view—her tendency to generalize from the experience of European bourgeois women, with a resulting emphasis on women's historic ineffectiveness" (Tong, 2014, p. 173). However, despite all the criticisms raised against her, she is still one of the leading figures of feminism.

#### **2.1.3.7. French feminism / *écriture féminine* / linguistic feminism**

French Feminism, *écriture féminine* or linguistic feminism are the labels that could be used interchangeably to refer to the works of a group of women writers in France in the 1970s and 1980s. Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva are the most prominent figures of French feminism. Drawing on psychoanalytic analysis of Jacques Lacan and deconstructionist approach of Jacques Derrida, French feminists point to the fact how closely language and gendered body interact with each other (Demir,

2014, Sands & Nuccio, 1992, pp. 491-492; Tong, 2014). They put special “emphasis on language as both the ultimate tool of women’s oppression and a potential means for subverting [...]” (Weil, 2006, p. 153). French Feminist thinkers, especially Kristeva, Irigaray, and Cixous argue that women’s subordinate status is not rooted in concrete economic, political, and social structures, but in the language itself. Accordingly, the semantic system subordinates women’s position by assigning a certain logical meaning to the femininity in linguistic and logical patterns. What is considered true is produced by male-dominant values. For this reason, according to French feminists, the way of fundamentally changing the woman’s secondary position is to re-analyse and eliminate the phallogentrism<sup>10</sup> (Çaha, 1996, pp. 55-56, as cited in Demir, 2014, p. 107).

For better understanding the French feminism, some further remarks on the concepts and approaches of Lacan and Derrida are required because the writings of Lacan and Derrida provide a ground for French feminists’ methods of inquiry into and critique of patriarchal bias in society (Weil, 2006, p. 158). “For Lacan each person becomes a person, enters human culture, by internalising society’s communicative rules or Symbolic Order<sup>11</sup>. This occurs through the formation of a separate and sexually specific (unconscious) self in the process of learning language” (Beasley, 1999, p. 72). In other words, Lacan asserts that “[f]or a child to function adequately within society, s/he must be incorporated into the symbolic order by undergoing three stages of psychosexual development” (Tong, 2014, p. 143). These are, respectively, Imaginary, Mirror, and Oedipal phases. In Imaginary phase, an infant cannot realize that s/he has a body separate from her/his mother. During this first phase of development, the infant sees herself or himself as one with the mother. Because the infant has not yet acquired language, it is hard to say whether the infant is feminine or masculine (ibid.). The mirror phase is the second phase of development. In the mirror phase, “the infant thinks the image of herself or himself, as reflected through the “mirror” of the mother’s gaze, is her or his real self” (Tong, 2014, p. 143). In the Oedipal phase, the third, there appears a growing estrangement between the mother and maturing child (p. 144). “Unlike the infant, the child does not view herself or himself as a unity; rather, the

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<sup>10</sup> Phallogentrism can be defined as “cultural centrality of male experience and the primacy of the male phallus/penis” (McHugh, 2007, p. 95).

<sup>11</sup> For Lacan, symbolic order, “part of language that makes signs and meanings” (McHugh, 2007, p. 143), is phallogentric.

child regards the mother as the other [...]” (Tong, 2014, p. 144). This separation between the child and the mother grows further with the intervention of the father. This is where the differentiation between a girl and a boy begins. According to Lacan, the process of splitting from the mother develops differently for boys and girls. In the Oedipal phase, boys identify themselves with their anatomically similar fathers representing the symbolic order. While internalizing this phallogocentric symbolic order, boys become a subject and individual. Girls, on the contrary, cannot sufficiently bond with their fathers and hence cannot fully internalize the symbolic order. According to Lacan,

[...] because women cannot totally internalize the “law of the father,” this law must be imposed on them from the outside. Women are given the same words men are given: masculine words. These words cannot express what women feel, however; masculine words can express only what men think women feel. Lacking feminine words, women must either babble outside the Symbolic order or remain silent within it (Tong, 2014, p. 144).

For Lacan, language is not an instrument that the subject uses to express thoughts within the mind and has the freedom to use, but rather an external force that plays a fundamental role in the establishment of the subject. To become a member of society depends on the internalization of social relations through the mediation of language (Demir, 2014, p. 106). In other words, “subjectivity is formed in and through language. [...] We are not only the active users of language, [...] we are also subjected to its terms and limitations – language writes us, too” (Weil, 2006, p. 158). The subject is not the owner and master of language, but the result of it (Mutman & Yeğenoğlu, 1992, as cited in Demir, 2014, p. 107). To put it more clearly, for Lacan “anatomy is not destiny; rather, language is destiny” (Tong, 2014, p. 143).

French feminists agree with Lacan’s focus on language and his thesis highlighting femininity’s outsider status within the symbolic order, but at the same time they assert that the status or destiny of women could be changed by challenging and changing phallogocentric symbolic order, therefore they offer developing an alternative feminine language and *écriture féminine* (Beasley, 1999, p. 72; Tong, 2014, p. 144; Vincent, 1992, p. 206). Thus, “they [try to] reconstruct the missing female voice in psychoanalytic theory” (Sands and Nuccio, 1992, p. 492).

French feminists’ stress on the positive benefits and indeterminacy of the feminine and their belief that the symbolic order can be changed draws on the deconstructive thinking of Jacques Derrida. “Derrida proposes that meaning in the Symbolic Order is

not inevitable or intrinsic but is constantly being culturally and linguistically produced through a process of hierarchical differentiation, a setting up of differences characteristically organised in oppositional pairs [...]" (Beasley, 1999, p. 73). Derrida's claim that the hierarchies of meaning and symbolic order are not fixed, natural or eternal provides a critical viewpoint for French feminists' *écriture féminine* (p. 74).

**Écriture féminine**, "literally translated from French as the 'writings of women' or 'women's writing'" (McHugh, 2007, p. 34) is first used by Hélène Cixous in her *The Laugh of Medusa* (1983). Cixous argues that "[w]omen must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently from their own bodies [...]" (Cixous, 1983, p. 279). In this respect, *écriture féminine* can be defined "as attempting embodied feminine writing, or writing from the position of a woman (from the position of the female body) in a manner that challenges the way in which woman is construed in language/culture" (Beasley, 1999, p. 71). For French feminists, there is a close interaction between women's body/sexuality and writing. They assert that women must create a female language based on female sexuality, and hence create feminine and must write to establish an uncensored relationship with their body (Timuroğlu-Bozkurt, 2011, pp. 23-24; Tong, 2014, pp. 146-147). For *écriture féminine* "[w]omen must write their bodies, write their desires, and so unleash their power" (Weil, 2006, p. 162). Writing will lead her to become a woman, reach her own pleasures and organs without feeling guilt created by men (Timuroğlu-Bozkurt, 2011, pp. 23-24). Leading French feminist, Luce Irigaray (1985) claim that "[woman's] sexuality is at least double, goes even further; it is plural" (p. 32). Therefore, unlike the phallogocentric order modelled on the unitary male penis, feminine language and social order need to be multiple and pluralistic (McHugh, 2007, p. 66).

As is seen, for French feminists, writing is a revolutionary force that will change the phallogocentric world order (Timuroğlu-Bozkurt, 2011, p. 23). In this sense, Weil's remarks on the ultimate goal of French feminists are worthy of note:

these writers want to go beyond the playful deconstruction of the male tradition, and strive to write in such a way as to open up another space for female imagining and action. French feminists used *écriture* as a weapon not to represent the feminine but to create it through experimental poetics. By creating the feminine in their own work, they hoped to provoke women to participate in reimagining their lives and their world (2006, pp. 168-169).



This resistant standpoint of the French feminists and their revolutionary use of language and writing makes them crucial for the feminist movement.

### **2.1.3.8. Postmodern feminism**

“Postmodern feminism is rooted in poststructuralism, postmodern philosophy, and French feminist theory, all of which emerged spontaneously around the same time” (Sands and Nuccio, 1992, p. 490). Therefore, further information about postmodernism and poststructuralism which can be used interchangeably (Beasley, 1999, p. 84), is required to have a grasp of postmodern feminism. In the meantime, it needs to be stated that existentialist feminism and French (Linguistic) feminism discussed above can be evaluated within the framework of postmodern feminism.

The basic arguments of postmodernism which can generally be considered as a denial of modernist (Enlightenment) beliefs are summarized by Tong (2014) as follows:

[For postmodernism], [t]here neither a stable self nor rational powers capable of yielding universal knowledge. Truth is whatever power proclaims it to be. Freedom is the power to do as one pleases, however irrational or non-beneficial one's actions may be judged. Science is no more objective than politics or ethics, both of which are subjective, contextual, historical, contingent, and almost always deployed to serve self-interest. And language does not represent reality, because there is no reality for it to signify. On the contrary, language constructs reality—a reality that depends on words for its existence (p. 194).

As is understood from the above excerpt, postmodernism is opposed to the notion of foundational truth or essence. Postmodernists assert that meaning or truth is not eternal but socially and culturally constructed (Beasley, 1999, p. 85). In other words, “[p]oststructuralists are, at minimum, inclined to destabilise [the] perception of a static structure and place more emphasis on the contextual fluidity and ongoing production of meaning, whether referring to language, communicative systems or other aspects of cultural and social life” (p. 91). “In short, postmodernism rejects all theory and all generalization indiscriminately. [...] Any theory or generic statement is suspect and rejected because it elides particular differences” (Donovan, 2006, p. 214). Postmodernism, instead, focuses on the constructed fragility and diversity of subjectivity (Beasley, 1999, p. 87).

In line with postmodernism, postmodern feminism is opposed to dualism, binary oppositions, the fixity of meaning and essentialist thoughts regarding women's identity (Demir, 2014, pp. 111-118). “Accordingly, postmodern feminists have deconstructed the category “woman” recognizing that woman is a cultural construct

with which only some women identify” (Sands and Nuccio, 1992, p. 492). Postmodern feminism insists that women are different from each other in terms of their race, class, ethnic background, and sexuality (Donovan, 2006, p. 199) and therefore they are oppressed in different ways and to different extents. So, for postmodern feminists, any universalist and grand narrative, including universalist feminism itself, which ignores women’s diversity, particularity and multicapitality can neither explain nor eliminate women’s subordination (Beasley, 1999, pp. 81-82; Donovan, 2006, p. 200). “[P]ostmodern feminists assert that universalist assumptions could ironically produce in feminism a repetition of the very procedures of oppression feminism hopes to undermine” (Beasley, 1999, p. 86). Accordingly, they defend that “one can speak about particular “women” rather than of a universal “woman” (Sands and Nuccio, 1992, p. 492).

As well as emphasizing differences among women, postmodern feminists also challenge established categories describing power relations and identities. This means that they are “associated with a more fluid account of differences” (Beasley, 1999, p. 83). In fact, “Queer theory” which “espouses the elasticity of sexual identities” (p. 100) was born out of this focus on fluidity.

Emerged in the 1990s, **Queer theory** is a basis for the critique of feminism and provides a critical perspective on sexuality and gender studies. It rejects any stable sexual identity or idea about sexuality (p. 99) and strives to overcome dichotomies and to relieve people of any label regarding their sexual and gender identities. Judith Butler (1990, 1993), one of the leading figures of queer theory, insists that gender should be considered as performativity. She claims that:

[...] gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence. [...] gender is always a doing. [...] There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results (Butler, 1990, p. 33).

Given all these facts, basic claims of postmodern feminists could be summarized in 8 points: Denial of essentialism; opposition to totalitarianism and universalism; believing in pragmatism and fallibility; defending pluralism, locality, specificity, and relativity; denial of meta-narratives; denial of dualism; considering gender as a social construct; and drawing attention to unequal power relations between men and women (Demir, 2014, pp. 111-118). As Tong (2014) emphasizes:

Like postmodernists in general, postmodern feminists reject phallogocentric thought; that is, thought ordered around an absolute word (logos) that is “male” in style (hence the reference to the phallus). In addition, postmodern feminists reject any mode of thought, including feminist thought that aims to provide a single explanation for why women are oppressed or the steps all women must take to achieve liberation. To be sure, postmodern feminists’ refusal to develop an overarching explanation and solution for women’s oppression poses major problems for feminist theory. Yet this refusal also adds needed fuel to the feminist fires of plurality, multiplicity, and difference. Postmodern feminists invite women to become the kind of “feminists” they want to be. There is, in their estimation, no single formula for being a true feminist, but there are, nonetheless, ways that women can come together to effect social change (p. 192).

To conclude, postmodern feminism respecting and encouraging all kinds of differences suggests that women, despite their differences, can meet on a common ground for social change.

### **2.1.3.9. Women of colour feminisms**

Like postmodern feminism, women of colour feminisms pay attention to the differences among women, criticize homogenising accounts of women as a unified single category and pose a great challenge to mainstream Western feminism which ignores women’s differences (Beasley, 1999; Hooks, 1981; Tong, 2014). However, they do not stress fluid plurality or the elastic character of differences as much as postmodern feminism does (Beasley, 1999, pp. 101-104). “Women of colour feminisms take seriously the differences among women, particularly their differing experiences of oppression. For women of colour, [...], not only is the female experience constituted by encounter with patriarchy but also by encounter with racial oppression” (Tong & Botts, 2014, p. 214). In other words, women of colour feminisms argue that women of colour experience multiple and intersecting oppressions both because of their gender and because of racial and/or ethnic identities and hence “many women of colour belong to not one but multiple historically oppressed subgroups” (p. 213). The concept of “intersectionality” was born out of this argument. As stated before, it was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1991 to highlight the multiple forms of oppression women of colour live and mainstream feminism’s failure to adequately acknowledge and address this multiplicity and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1995, pp. 357-383). According to Patricia Hill Collins:

Intersectionality refers to particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example, intersections of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation. Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice (2000, p. 18).

It can be said black feminism and black feminists like Bell hooks, focusing on the multiple and intersecting oppressions of black women, play a leading role in the

development of women of colour feminisms. Black feminism challenges the representation of white middle-class women as the norm and “alert[s] feminists to the potential dangers of speaking on behalf of others, of speaking for women as if for all women” (Beasley, 1999, p. 110). Combahee River Collective, a black feminist group, emphasizes “the need to develop a politics that was antiracist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of Black and white men” (1982, p. 14). In a similar vein, Hooks (1981) states that due to the lack of such a politics “black women felt they were asked to choose between a black movement that primarily served the interests of black male patriarchs and a women’s movement which primarily served the interests of racist white women” (p. 9). Therefore, it is required to develop a perspective, politics or a theory that does not ignore diverse and multiple forms of oppression black women face.

Women of colour feminisms criticize mainstream feminism not only for its inability to consider the differences among women, but also for its tendency to “gloss over the unique experiences and viewpoints of different groups of feminists of colour, such as African American/Black feminists, Latina feminists, Asian feminists, and Indigenous feminists” (Tong & Botts, 2014, p. 215). Botts who stresses the differences among the women of colour feminisms indicates that:

If there is any concept unifying women of colour feminisms, it is the concept that particular women’s experiences differ and that to accurately and respectfully treat these differing experiences, it is necessary to describe them on the terms of the women themselves (2014, p. 211).

Therefore, each women of colour feminism needs to be discussed within its own particularity. However, due to time and space limits, the differences among women of colour feminisms will not be examined in this section.

To summarize, this section discusses the historical origins of women’s subordination in patriarchal societies, how women have challenged this subordination, what feminism does mean, how it arose, the four waves it has gone through, different feminisms and the issues that these feminisms focus on, in detail. The detailed theoretical discussion on feminism in this section is essential for this thesis because it provides a sound ground for the thematic analysis to be conducted on the translated articles published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, to determine the feminist-themed ones. The concept of “feminist-themed translated articles” will be defined by considering the theoretical discussions in this section.

In the following section, the historical pathway of feminism in Turkey will be examined to provide a broad contextual standpoint for the analysis of the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin.

#### **2.1.4. Feminism in Turkey: A Historical Overview**

The emergence of feminist thought in Turkey, as in many parts of the world, dates back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, feminism in Turkey has undergone important changes and developments. Given these changes and developments, the nearly 200-years history of feminism in Turkey can be discussed under four basic headings.

##### **2.1.4.1. Feminism in the Ottoman Empire**

Although it has generally been unknown, overlooked or ignored until the late 1980s, the history of feminism in Turkey dates back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the last century of the Ottoman Empire (Çakır, 2013, p. 431). This first period of feminism in Turkey which is later called “Ottoman Feminism” (Çakır, 2007, p. 61) and considered the first wave of feminism in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998) began with the Tanzimat era (1839-1876), gained momentum with the proclamation of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy (1908-1914) and lasted until the foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed not only the collapse and dissolution of the Ottoman Empire but also the winds of modernization in the Empire. “At the turn of the nineteenth century, concern regarding the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire led to the formulation of various projects that hoped to reverse what seemed to be an inevitable process. One of these projects [was] of ‘modernisation’ [...]” (Sirman, 1989, p. 4). During the period from 1839 to 1876, known collectively as the Tanzimat era, Ottoman bureaucrats undertook far-reaching reforms in the fields of administration, legislation, and education. They discussed over the new ideas of freedom, equality and the notion of citizenship, set forth by the French Revolution (Akkent, 1994, p. 15; Sirman, 1989, p. 4).

The reformist Ottomans, the progressivists, also addressed women’s position in society and claimed that women’s emancipation was required for social progress because they considered women as mothers and wives “responsible for the well-being of the Ottoman man and for the creation of future enlightened generations” (Sirman, 1989, p. 5). Accordingly, “[t]o create responsible citizens, it was necessary to educate

and enlighten the women who were the mothers of the modern citizens of the Ottoman Empire” (p. 5).

Thanks to the educational reforms of Tanzimat, the number of educated women increased and through the skills gained during their educations, women began to work and participate in the labour force and public sphere more than before. In parallel with these developments, women began to make their voices heard in the newspapers and journals of the period. They emphasized the importance of education and liberation of women and challenged the traditional arranged marriages, polygamy, unilateral repudiation of wives easily by their husbands and the segregation of the sexes (Armutçu, 2019, p. 13; Sirman, 1989, pp. 5-8).

The Tanzimat was followed by the 2nd Constitutional era (1908-1914) and with the proclamation of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, radical changes took place in the fields of the political, economic, social and intellectual spheres and an unprecedented atmosphere of freedom bloomed in the Empire (Çakır, 2016, p. 412). Taking advantage of this atmosphere of freedom, women began to join the public sphere much more than before. In addition, like in many parts of the world, the wars (i.e. the Balkan wars, the first world war and the Turkish war of independence) triggered Turkish women’s entry into the public sphere (Berktaş, 1994, p. 19). The participation of women in the public sphere was not surprisingly accompanied by discussions on women’s rights and women’s status (p. 20).

During this period, Ottoman women continued the debates they initiated in the Tanzimat era. They actively participated in the debates concerning their lives and status, demanded more freedom and did not hesitate to fight for their rights (Berktaş, 1994, p. 21). “‘To wake up, to see, and to demand’ [were] three verbs that Ottoman women used to describe their movement” (Çakır, 2007, p. 68). They strongly objected to the social roles imposed on them. They especially questioned the status of women both in family and society. They advocated and demanded women’s right to education, the right to work and the right to a respectable place in the family and society. They were organized and founded associations. They published newspapers and magazines. They created their own rooms, wrote novels under their own names, sent readers’ letters to newspapers, printed and distributed leaflets. In other words, they used all communication possibilities of the period (Armutçu, 2019, pp. 12-13).

Women's journals and associations were the most effective tools of Ottoman women struggling for their rights. Women's journals enabled women to express themselves as individuals, to express their needs and problems, to convey their demands and to make their voices heard. The associations Ottoman women established helped to turn these individual demands into organized movement and to implement the suggestions they put forward in the women's journals (Çakır, 2007, p. 68; 2013, p. 431; 2016, pp. 87-406-407).

The Ottoman women's movement, which emerged during a period of modernization and nationalism, was undoubtedly backed up by some reformist and nationalist Ottoman men. For example, "it was intellectual men of the time who started women's journals, as participation of women in the social and political spheres was limited" (Çakır, 2007, p. 68). *Terakki-i Muhaderat* (The progress of Muslim women), the first journal dedicated to women's issue, was published by the reformist men in 1869. "However, women soon began to fully enjoy the benefits of this new area and to publish their own journals. Many more followed, with nearly forty journals having been published before 1923" (Çakır, 2007, p. 68). *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The ladies' journal), *Kadın* (Women), *Şüküfizar* (Garden of flowers) *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's world) are only a few of the women's journals published during this period (Çakır, 2007, pp. 68-73, 2013; p. 431, 2016). Although "[a] common trend during this period was the emphasis on women's domestic roles as mothers and wives" (Çakır, 2007, p. 67) in line with the thoughts of reformist men, Ottoman women also wrote articles criticizing gender discrimination, women's subordination, patriarchy and male domination (Sirman, 1989, p. 7). For example, Fatma Aliye in her article published on *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* in 1895 argued that "it is men who prevent women's access to education and enlightened thought, faculties that have been bestowed on all humanity by God" (Sirman, 1989, p. 7). Similarly, another woman writer, Naciye, stressed that "in reality, men are nothing but little dictators" (p. 7) in her article on *Kadınlar Dünyası* in 1913.

Accordingly, they also expressed their disappointment with the new era of reform and freedom and reformist men. As Sirman states:

Freedom, they argued, turned out to be only freedom for men, and reformists had forgotten their pledge to emancipate women once they obtained state power. This assessment led some of these articulate women to argue that it would only be women who could liberate the women of the Ottoman Empire (1989, pp. 6-7).

Some Ottoman women, with a feminist spirit, drew attention to patriarchy and argued that women's movement could be led only by women and women should fight for their rights on their own. The following two excerpts taken and translated from *Kadınlar Dünyası* by Serpil Çakır are noteworthy because they reflect Ottoman women's feminist thoughts:

Yes, some of the Ottoman men defend us Ottoman women. We see that and we thank them. However, we Ottoman women have our own ways and manners, and male writers can understand neither this, nor our psychology. Let them please leave us alone and not make toys for their dreams out of us. We can defend our rights by our own efforts (Kadınlar Dünyası, 1913, as cited in Çakır, 2007, p. 71).

On 10 July, our men got their rights of rulership, their civil and human rights. They fully realised that they were human beings. ... Ooh womanhood! Will you still remain in that benighted state? You, too, have a light, a right, and humanity; will it not be acknowledged? Womanhood! When will you see and realise that you are you? When will you, too, live freely? When will your rights have been accepted among public rights? You are the mother of this people [*millet*] that blesses and honours liberty. Will you continue to be the slave of customs, bigotry, and ignorance? You, too, are human beings; you, too, have rights! Women, women! Liberty was not given to our men, they took it by force. It is said that rights are not given but taken. ... We, women, also demand our own natural and civil rights. If they do not give them to us, then we, too, shall take them by force! *Vive la Liberté!*" (Kadınlar Dünyası, 1913, as cited in Çakır, 2007, p. 71).

These lines contain a radical spirit that Turkish women could only rediscover after 1980. Meanwhile, it needs to be stated that *Şüküfezar* and *Kadınlar Dünyası* were two journals published by Ottoman women in line with this radical spirit. Especially, "Kadınlar Dünyası was the voice of an independent women's movement and the most radical of the Ottoman women's journals, in that it did not allow male writers to write in its columns [...]" (Çakır, 2007, p. 69). According to Armutçu (2019), *Kadınlar Dünyası* published between the years of 1913-1921 is the first feminist journal in Turkey (p. 13).

Besides the journals, as stated before, Ottoman women also founded nearly thirty women's associations which helped to turn women's individual demands into organized social movement (Çakır, 2007; 2013; 2016). Considering their goals, the women's associations can be grouped as benevolent associations, associations employing women through education, associations seeking for solutions to the problems of the country, associations focusing on the defence of the country, associations focusing on women's problems of different ethnic groups; political associations, feminist associations, and associations of political parties (Çakır, 2013, p. 432; 2016, p. 87). One of these associations, *Osmanlı Mudafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Association for the Defence of the Rights of Ottoman Women) publishing



*Kadınlar Dünyası*, played a crucial role for the development of feminist thought in the Ottoman Empire (Çakır, 2007, p. 72).

“Considering the ideological currents of the time, the women’s movement cannot claim to be purely feminist. Women, too, were affected by the winds of political nationalist ideology, which, in turn, legitimised women’s struggle for their rights” (p. 73). Accordingly, Ottoman women generally focused on women’s rights and status in most cultural and social spheres. Undoubtedly, Ottoman women were aware of how important it was for them to gain political rights. However, they were also aware that their active participation in social life is a prerequisite for gaining political rights. Therefore, they primarily demanded their rights in the family, social life and working life and had to postpone their political demands until the 1920s because of the socio-cultural and socio-political context in which they lived (Çakır, 2016, p. 410).

As Çakır emphasizes in her book’s last chapter that there was a very activist and rich women’s movement in Ottoman society. Ottoman women questioned their status in society, challenged patriarchy and tried to create a new social structure and a new consciousness of femininity and hence a new Ottoman womanhood (Çakır, 2016, pp. 405-413). However, this dynamic and organized women’s movement in the Ottoman Empire was unknown, overlooked or ignored until quite recently, the late 1980s. The cultural and historical rupture that emerged with the proclamation of the Republic, the alphabet revolution in 1928 and incorrect information in the secondary sources caused the Ottoman women’s movement to be unknown in Turkey for a long time (Akkent, 1994, pp. 14-15; Çakır, 2016, p. 412).

#### **2.1.4.2. Feminism in the early period of the Republic of Turkey**

After the War of Independence, the Republic of Turkey was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Kemalism and the transition to the Republic represented an important rupture with the past (Berktay, 1994, p. 22). As Çakır states:

The founders of the Turkish Republic, led by Kemal Atatürk, went far beyond the Young Turk dreams of Empire with their reforms that abolished and transformed the Islamic Ottoman institutions. The legal and institutional reforms of the Kemalist period aimed to establish a secular, national political order in a Muslim society (2007, p. 62).

Firstly, in line with the ideal of secularism of the young Republic, the Caliphate and *tarikats* (religious sects) (1924) were eliminated. Then, the Gregorian calendar (1925), the Swiss civil code (1926) and Latin alphabet (1928) were adopted, the Law of the

unity of education (1924) entered into force (Berktaş, 1994, p. 22; Çakır, 2007, pp. 75-76; Sirman, 1989, p. 10). All these reforms “made it difficult to continue daily life according to the old standards and regulations” (Sirman, 1989, p. 10). That was the purpose of the reforms.

These reforms, especially the adoption of the Swiss civil code, resulted in important changes and transformations in women’s lives and status and made it easier for women to enter the public sphere (Çakır, 2007, p. 62). “The Swiss civil code accorded women many of the rights that they had demanded during the Ottoman Era” (Sirman, 1989, p. 10). It abolished man’s polygamy, obliged civil marriage, gave both parties the right to divorce, the right to custody and equal inheritance and hence increased the social status of women (Berktaş, 1994, p. 23; Çakır, 2007, pp. 75-76). In addition, Turkish women were granted the right to vote and to be elected in the municipal election as early as in 1930 and the general voting in 1934<sup>12</sup> and thus Turkish women gained equality with men before the law. Çakır explains the changes in women’s life to which the republican reforms led as follows:

The Republic had abolished the religious segregation practices and granted women new civil and political rights, thereby transforming the accepted practices of female-male interaction and providing women with the opportunity to realise their own potential, and increasing their awareness of their own contributions to the social realm. All of this served to imbue women with a new sense of self-confidence and self-awareness, especially educated and/or professional women (2007, p. 63).

Given that women in many Western democracies could not gain many of the aforementioned rights at that time, what the republican reforms provided to women are very important and striking (Berktaş, 1994, p. 23).

Whether the republican reforms raising the status of women was a goal in itself or just a means to an end is interpreted differently by different groups. The first generation of republican women writers who personally benefited from the republican reforms argued that Atatürk was interested in women’s rights as an end in itself. Şirin Tekeli, leading figure of feminism in the 1980s, defended the opposite view and claimed that

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<sup>12</sup> “Historical studies that revealed the existence of Ottoman feminism changed the official approach concerning the role of women in the history of Turkish modernisation, which had previously argued that women were granted their rights by the Republican Regime without having fought for these rights themselves. [...] The uncovering of women’s struggles during the Ottoman past, however, showed that women were not only granted rights from above but also actively fought for them” (Çakır, 2007, p. 62). “[A] handful of women, especially between 1926 and 1934 did fight to obtain the right [to vote]” (Sirman, 1989, p. 13).

the reforms on women's rights were tools, not goals. According to Tekeli, all reforms aimed at women were used as a means to symbolize the rupture with the past and the advanced democracy of the young Republic (Tekeli, 1982, as cited in Berktaý, 1994, p. 23)

As Berktaý states in her article, both views are right to a certain extent (1994, pp. 23-24). The Republican woman, who gained new rights and gained a new appearance, indeed represented a rupture with the past and this was an important rupture. In the Ottoman Empire, under Islamic law, women's clothing and their presence and appearance in the public sphere were strictly controlled and restricted. With the Republic's ideal of secularism, Sharia's strict limitations on women were removed. This was the most important rupture between the Republican society and the Ottoman society. However, there was still something that remained vigorously active in the new Republic: patriarchy. Secularism abolished the religious institutions that reinforce patriarchy, but not patriarchy. Religious patriarchy was replaced by nation-state patriarchy (Berktaý, 1994, p. 22). It was the republican men who determine under which circumstances women would be granted social and political rights (ibid.).

Despite the rights accorded to women, republicans, like Ottoman reformists, still saw women as mother-wives firstly (Sirman, 1989, p. 9). Women were still expected to fulfil their traditional roles, especially in the private sphere. The male-dominated structure was still preserved. The new republican men were regarded as the heads of the family (p. 12). "The 'new woman', meanwhile, was expected to devote her entire being to others and to faithfully observe her duties within the family and society" (Çakır, 2007, p. 64). The expectations of the republic from women and the position of women in that period can be articulated as follows:

The new woman was to take her place in the public life of republic as an educated social woman. There would be no difference between men and women, both of whom would have to endorse without hesitation the values of the nation [...] But women were above all conceived as mothers and wives and any accomplishment obtained through education would be only an addition to her defined essential nature. [...] [That is to say], the new Turkish woman would continue to have children and to be a wife as a duty to her nation. The new woman was a thrifty, enlightened, professionally trained housewife who, cognizant of the needs of the Republic only consumed goods produced in Turkey and experienced heterosexual friendship only with her husband (Sirman, 1989, pp. 11-12).

As is understood, the republican reforms facilitated women's access to the public sphere, while establishing strict control over them. It was the republican men who set the rules. This control also suppressed women's autonomous struggles and political

initiatives (Berktaş, 1994, p. 25). For example, women's attempt to establish a political party called *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (The Women's People Party) immediately after the proclamation of the Republic prevented by the Republican men because the Constitution did not grant women right to vote and such an initiative might adversely affect the Republican People's Party which Atatürk was the founder of. Instead, the women were advised to found an association. Accordingly, the women established *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Association) in 1924. However, in 1935, after granting women the right to vote, the Association was closed on the grounds that it fulfilled its mission<sup>13</sup> (Armutçu, 2019, p. 13; Berktaş, 1994, p. 25; Çakır, 2007, p. 65; 2013, p. 435; 2016, pp. 125-130; Sirman, 1989, p. 13; Tekeli, 2017, p. 267). As is seen from the example, the republican regime opened up a space for state-supported feminism, but it also defined and limited its parameters (Berktaş, 1994, p. 25). Zihnioğlu (2016) claiming the women were not allowed to play enough role in the republican reforms and they were suppressed by the republican men called this situation *Kadınsız İnkılap* (Revolution without Women). Feminism which emerged during the republican period is interpreted and criticized as "male feminism" or "state feminism" on the grounds of the strict state control over women's movement (Tekeli, 1998; Tekeli, 2017, p. 267).

Despite the above mentioned strict state control over them, the women, because of their rights and gains which the Republic provided, adopted and internalized the patriarchal ideologies of the Republic so much that they did not need an independent women's movement (Berktaş, 1994, p. 26). They "saw no point in a women's movement since [for them] its aims had already been accomplished by Kemalism" (Sirman, 1989, p. 14). Kandiyoti (1991) summarizes this point of view as "Emancipated but Unliberated".

In the meantime, women did not realize that they gradually forgot their feminist struggle dating back to the 1870s. They could only begin questioning their situation and organizing in the late 1970s (Armutçu, 2019, p. 14). But only in the 1980s, they would reach the level of consciousness that argued for the necessity of an independent women's movement. After gaining this consciousness, women would pursue an organized struggle for their rights on their own (Çakır, 2007, p. 61).

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<sup>13</sup> The association reopened in 1951 and is still active today (Armutçu, 2019, p. 13).

### 2.1.4.3. Feminism in the 1980s

As implied above, the real feminist awakening in Turkey emerged from the 1980s onwards (Çakır, 2007, p. 66; Özman, 2008; Sirman, 1989, p. 27; Tekeli, 2015, pp. 15-46; 2017, pp. 265-280). In the 1980s, for the first time, the feminist movement in Turkey took on an autonomous and radical character. Women strove for their feminist goals on their own. During this period, feminists managed to fight against women's oppression and subordination in the broadest terms through consciousness-raising groups, publications, public meetings and marches (Armutçu, 2019, pp. 14-20; Özman, 2008; Sirman, 1989; Tekeli, 2015, pp. 15-47; 2017, pp. 265-280; Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, pp. 13-39).

The 1960s and 1970s during which the leftist ideologies began to flourish in Turkey, just like in many parts of the world, set the basis for the feminist awakening in the 1980s and after. The leftist organisations in the 1970s tried to explain 'women's question' by relying on the antifeminist analysis of Marxism. They argued that the labour of women, especially of worker women, are subject to double exploitation both at home and at work. Accordingly, they claimed that women's emancipation could only be achieved through the establishment of socialism, therefore women must fight hand in hand with men for revolution and socialism (Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, p. 269). In other words, they were analysing "'the woman question' within the framework of oppression of the working class, perceiving socialism as the solution for women's problems" (Çakır, 2007, p. 66). "[T]he fight was strictly against the class system and any other ideology such as women's rights had to be subordinated to the main goal" (Sirman, 1989, p. 16). This socialist perspective prevented the in-depth discussion of women's oppression (Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, p. 269). "Nevertheless these [leftist] movements did provide women with the experience of active participation in political mobilisation" (Sirman, 1989, p. 16).

It was only after the 1980 coup d'état, the women, generally adopting the leftist ideologies of the 1960s and 1970s, began to realize that they cannot discuss the oppression that women experience in their daily lives for only being a woman because any effort to focus on women's movement separately is conceived by male-dominated leftist groups as a betrayal to the proletariat (Özman, 2008; Tekeli, 2015, p. 31). The 1980 coup which put an end to the political life in Turkey by disbanding and closing

political parties and groups, especially the extremist left politics, arresting their leaders, allowed, paradoxically, women to speak for themselves for the first time in a long time (Tekeli, 2017, p. 270) because the military coup dealt a death blow to the leftist movements, hence male hegemony in these movements. Women could only hear and realize their voices and oppression when the leftist male hegemony weakened (Tekeli, 2015, p. 31). Çakır explains the first feminist awakening of the leftist women in the 1980s as follows:

It was only after the coup d'état that women who were active in the leftist movement felt the need to criticise their comrades, realising that the left, which was supposed to be egalitarian towards women, nevertheless excluded them from decision-making positions and therefore, failed to break with the existing patriarchal gender codes and relations (2007, p. 66).

Despite the official ideology, Kemalism, claiming that women's problems were solved by the republican reforms; the dominant social ideology, Islam, defending that women are not oppressed in Islam and the leftist ideology arguing that women are exploited only by capitalism, women, in the 1980s, realized that they are still oppressed and subordinated just because of their sex and an independent feminist movement could only eliminate women's oppression (Tekeli, 2017, p. 269).

Firstly, educated upper-middle-class women (academicians, journalists, etc.) who were aware of the feminist movement in the West and had the chance to access the western feminist literature came together. The first feminist consciousness-raising groups began to appear in 1982 (Tekeli, 2015, p. 31). In April 1982, YAZKO<sup>14</sup> held a symposium on women's problems to which French Feminist Gisèle Halimi was invited as a speaker. In this symposium Gisèle Halimi, on behalf of the Turkish feminists, used the word "feminism", which they did not dare to express. In this symposium, for the first time in many years after the first wave of feminism in the early 20th century in the Ottoman Empire, Turkish women had the opportunity to look at their problems from their own perspective (Tekeli, 2017, p. 271).

There were two very important developments in this period. Firstly, in early 1983, one-page space was given to feminist women in *Somut* (Concrete), weekly magazine, published by YAZKO. Secondly, the feminist women established Kadın Çevresi

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<sup>14</sup> YAZKO which was founded by Mustafa Kemal Ağaoğlu in 1980 is the first Turkish cooperation of writers and translators. It published more than 200 books, two literary and translation magazines. YAZKO played an important role in the intellectual environment of the 1980s.

(Women's Circle) in 1984 (Armutçu, 2019, p. 14; Özman, 2008; Tekeli, 2015, p. 32; 2017, p. 272; Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 15).

The page in *Somut* was based on the newly discovered feminist principles of women (Tekeli, 2017, p. 272). On this page, women encouraged their fellow to write and questioned issues such as abortion, women and advertising, women in folk culture, women's traditional position (Çaha, 1996, as cited in Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 15). *Somut* page lasted only for six months for various reasons (Tekeli, 2017, p. 272). In the aftermath of *Somut* experience, women realized that they would not be successful in forming and communicating their ideas without an independent, autonomous publication whose policy is determined by women (Tekeli, 2017, p. 273). Therefore, they decided to constitute a free organization that may facilitate feminist awakening in Turkey. Kadın Çevresi Yayıncılık, Hizmet ve Danışmanlık Şirketi (Women's Circle Publishing, Service and Consulting Company) was founded by 13 feminists in 1983 in such a context (Armutçu, 2019, p. 14; Özman, 2008; Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, p. 273) "to raise women's consciousness, to form the concepts concerning sexism and to discover these in society and to decipher them" (Çakır, 1996b, as cited in Yüksel, 2003, p. 40). The Women's Circle's utopia was great, but the facilities were limited. It could not expand the number of members and partners and could not find solutions to financial problems. Therefore, it failed to establish the coffee of the women who were considered to be a meeting place for women and could not provide legal and health counselling services. But it was quite successful in two areas. These areas were publishing and book club activities. As of 1984, Women's Circle published the feminist works namely, *Feminism* of Andree Michel, *Wedlocked Women* of Lee Comer, *Women's Estate* of Juliet Mitchell, Simone de Beauvoir's interview with Alice Schwarzer titled *I am a Feminist*, translated into Turkish by the women translation group formed within YAZKO to translate women series. As of 1985, with the participation of young women, the structure changed and gradually radicalized and began to publish a radical journal called *Feminist* on March 8, 1987. Besides *Feminist*, in 1988, the socialist feminist journal *Kaktüs* (Cactus) began to be published. Moreover, Women's Circle published a booklet entitled *Bağır Herkes Duysun* (Shout and Be Heard) in 1988 to show the prevalence of wife battering (Armutçu, 2019, p. 16; Sirman, 1989, p. 19; Tekeli, 2017, p. 273). The booklet aimed to "indicate that women in Turkey suffer from systematic physical abuse primarily at the hands of men

who are their husbands, their fathers and brothers” (Sirman, 1989, p. 19). “In addition to such publication activities and consciousness-raising groups, one can see important campaigns and protest marches that aimed to bring the issue of the oppression of women in contemporary Turkish society to the attention of the public” (Yüksel, 2003, p. 40). In 1986, there was a petition campaign organized by Istanbul and Ankara groups. (Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, pp. 274-275). The petition “signed by 7000 women demand[ed] the implementation of the United Nations Declaration of Women’s Rights which Turkey had officially signed and which legally bound its signatories to accord citizens equal rights regardless of sex” (Sirman, 1989, pp. 16-17). Support for the feminist movement was increasing day by day (Tekeli, 2017, pp. 274-275).

On May 17, 1987, in Istanbul, women held a solidarity march against beating. Almost 3000 women attended the march (Armutçu, 2019, p. 18; Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, pp. 275-276). This march is important because it is the first mass-action of women’s movement in Turkey (Armutçu, 2019, p. 18). Sirman explains the importance of the march as follows:

In May 1987, about 3000 women marched through the streets of Istanbul to protest against the battering of women in the home. This was not the first time that women in Turkey had taken to the streets, but it certainly was the first time that they had voiced demands specific to their conditions of existence as women in Turkish society. As stated by one of the speakers at the rally marking the end of the march, women were not marching for their nation, their class, nor their husbands, brothers, sons, but for themselves (1989, p. 1).

In 1989, *The First Women’s Assembly* was convened in Istanbul. Additionally, *The First Feminist Weekend Forum* was organized in Ankara in the same year. In this meeting, one of the most important meetings of the ‘80s, for the first time, feminists from Istanbul and Ankara came together to get to know each (Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 29). At the end of the meeting *Women’s Liberation Manifesto* was published (Armutçu, 2019, p. 17; Özman, 2008; Tekeli, 2015, p. 31; 2017, p. 276). In this manifesto, Turkish feminists “locate[d] their “bodies, labor, and identity” as the site of their struggle” (Sirman, 1989, p. 21) and drew attention to the facts that women are oppressed just because of their sex; women are confined to the private sphere; women are abused psychologically and physically by men and they are subjected to the physical violence of men. In the manifesto, feminists also expressed their desire to end all this oppression and subjugation and to emancipate and liberate women from their patriarchal burdens (Armutçu, 2019, p. 17). As is seen in this manifesto, in the 1980s,



women's oppression and subordination were feminists' main focus, the main area of struggle (Sirman, 1989, p. 18).

As Çakır underlines that

Within this new feminist movement [in the 1980s], themes such as women's bodies, violence against women, and sexuality emerged and activists began to look at women's issues with a special focus on the common experience of oppression under the patriarchal system. The emergence of an independent women's movement also kindled a new outlook for women in the areas of history, religion, state, and politics (2007, p. 63).

The post-1980s feminist movement in Turkey tried "to intervene at the level of everyday beliefs and practices" (Sirman, 1989, p. 20). In other words, there was an insistence on the political nature of the personal (Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 14; Sirman, 1989, p. 20). In this respect, the post-1980s feminist movement in Turkey was very similar to the second wave feminist movement in the west. Therefore, the feminist movement in the 1980s in Turkey can be considered as the second wave of feminism in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998).

According to the Tekeli, the feminist movement in the 1980s in Turkey is crucial because it is the most decentralized, participatory and pluralist social movement which Turkey had ever known and it played a leading role in the process of democratisation after the 1980 coup (Tekeli, 2015, pp. 31-32).

#### **2.1.4.4. Feminism in the 1990s and onwards**

As stated above, the 1980s had witnessed an exciting and enthusiastic feminist struggle conducted through book clubs, conscious-raising groups, publishing activities, public demonstrations, marches, and meetings. However, the 1990s was a period when this enthusiasm and excitement decreased. In the 1990s, the enthusiasm and excitement in the 1980s were replaced by institutionalisation (Bora & Günal, 2016, p. 8; Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 38). *Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation* (1990), *Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation* (1990), *Women's Solidarity Foundation* (1993), *Women's Human Rights: New- Solutions Association* (1993), *Başkent Women's Platform* (1995), *Uçan Süpürge Foundation (Flying Broom Foundation)* (1996), *The Association for Supporting Women Candidates (KADER)* (1997), and *Women's Center (KAMER)* (1997) are the examples of the institutionalisation of women's movement in the 1990s in Turkey (Berber, 2017a, the second paragraph). In this period, the agenda and institutionalisation created by the

feminist movement at the social level had reflections on the state politics, and accordingly, the *Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women (KSSGM)* was founded in 1990 (Acuner, 2016, p. 128; Berber, 2017a, para. 4).

In fact, within the process of institutionalisation in the 1990s, *Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation* deserves special mention. *Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation*, which was founded in 1990 to recover women's works lost in patriarchy, to reassess history from a gynocentric world view, and to write herstory, sets a perfect example of the institutionalisation of women's movement in the 1990s in Turkey. As Aslı Davaz-Mardin, one of the founding mothers of the Library states that the Library sets its main goal as getting to know women's past well, presenting this information to today's researchers neatly and keeping today's written documents for future generations (Davaz-Mardin, 2016, p. 187). The Library emphasizing that women's herstory should be saved for saving women's achievements in the past and making them visible (Çaylı-Rahte, 2015, pp. 242-248; Tekeli, 2017, p. 283) collect and analyse the documents with a feminist consciousness to show women's oppression and women's resistance against this oppression throughout the herstory (Davaz-Mardin, 2016, pp. 187-198). For instance, its vigorous efforts to translate women's journals written in the Ottoman alphabet to the Latin alphabet and to publish them as bibliographies to enable Turkish women to construct feminist memory for themselves is one of the most prominent activities of the Women's Library.

As of the 1990s, with the support of the translations made throughout the 1980s, important feminist literature began to form in Turkey (Timisi & Ağduk-Gevrek, 2016, p. 38). Additionally, as a continuum of the institutionalisation process, women studies departments and programs and research and implementation centres began to be established at universities during the 1990s (Armutçu, 2019, p. 20; Bora & Günal, 2016, p. 10; Yüksel, 2003, pp. 42-43). Thanks to these developments in the 1990s, feminist discourse gained strength in Turkey. As Çakır articulates that “the significance of the 1990s was the growing volume of feminist academic research and feminist historical studies in which different ways of silencing and avoiding acknowledgement of women's presence in history were revealed” (Çakır, 2007, p. 67).

Besides the institutionalisation of women's movement, differences between feminists became more visible in the 1990s (Bora & Günal, 2016, p. 8). Especially Kurdish feminists and "Muslim Feminists" who did not participate in the feminist movement in the 1980s made their voices heard during the 1990s. While the Kurdish feminists criticized the patriarchy within the nationalist movement and the "Turkishness" of the feminist movement in Turkey, the Muslim feminists questioned the elitist and oppressive attitude of the feminist movement and they tried to show that there is no contradiction between the beliefs of Muslim women and their refusal to be oppressed as a woman (Bora & Günal, 2016, p. 8).

Despite the differences among themselves, at the very beginning of the 1990s feminists achieved important legal gains such as the abolition of Article 438 of the Turkish Penal Code, which reduces the penalty if a raped woman is prostitute, the amendment of Article 159 of the Civil Code, which states that women can work only with the consent of her husband, and removal of the phrase "husband is the head of the family union" (Özkan Kerestecioğlu, 2004; Uçan Çubukçu, 2004, as cited in Berber, 2017a, para. 3).

The achievements of the 1980s and 1990s paved the way for the developments in the 2000s and some legal changes in the Civil Code and the Penal Code took place. They were as follows: the adoption of the law-making marital rape a crime, the abolition of the postponement of punishment of the rapist in case of marrying rape victim, the criminalisation of harassment in the workplace, the prohibition of gender discrimination in working life, the increase of maternity leave to sixteen weeks (Berber, 2017b, para. 2). In this period, when both feminist discourse/literature and institutionalisation became widespread and enriched, new steps were taken in terms of feminist organization and publishing. The feminist movement gained strength with the establishment of Amargi Women's Cooperative (2001), Filmmor Women's Cooperative (2003), Socialist Feminist Collective (2008). In the 2000s, feminism became more evident in Turkey and feminist discourse was able to reach large audiences (Berber, 2017b, para. 6).

In the 2010s, feminist organisation in Turkey continued to grow. In addition to the existing organisations, Istanbul Feminist Collective (2010), Ankara Feminist Collective (2013) and Izmir Feminist Collective (2014) were founded. During the 2010s, feminist publishing in Turkey gained momentum too. A wide range of Turkish

publishing houses, especially those which have a separate women library such as İletişim, Metis, Ayrıntı, and Sel, and the Turkish feminist publishing houses, namely Ayizi (2010) and Güldünya (2014) continue to contribute to the feminist discourse and movement in Turkey. The 2010s have also witnessed to the feminist awakening on the online platforms. Turkish feminist websites and blogs such as *5Harfliler* (2012), *Reçel Blog* (2014), *Çatlak Zemin* (2016) creating their own languages and agendas, fight against patriarchy and sexism in Turkey.

Today, in Turkey, feminists, taking full advantage of all communication opportunities, continue to seek their rights, to oppose oppression, violence, and abuse against women and to make their voices heard. And there still is more to be done.

## **2.2. Translation Studies**

The practice of translation has played a crucial role throughout history. However, “the study of translation as an academic subject only really began in the second half of the twentieth century” (Munday, 2016, p. 11). In 1972, in his seminal paper titled “The Name and the Nature of Translation Studies”, James S. Holmes, called the newly born academic discipline “**Translation Studies**”. Since that time, thanks to its interdisciplinary nature embodying various approaches, theories, frameworks and methodologies of different disciplines such as linguistics, cultural studies, psychology, philosophy and sociology, Translation Studies (TS), “[an] established academic discipline related to the study of the theory, practice and phenomena of translation” (Munday, 2016, p. 1), has made great progress and has undergone critical “paradigm shifts” (turns).

The concept of “**paradigm shift**” was first introduced by Thomas Samuel Kuhn, an American physicist and a historian and philosopher of science, in his influential book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). According to Kuhn (1962), the process of a paradigm shift takes place in three phases: normal science, crisis, and scientific revolution respectively. The phase of normal science “is predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like. [...] [Accordingly] normal science often suppresses fundamental novelties because they are necessarily subversive of its basic commitments” (Kuhn, 1962, p. 5). As Ian Hacking states in his preface to the 50<sup>th</sup>-anniversary edition of *Structure* that “[n]ormal science does not aim at novelty but at clearing up the status quo. It tends to discover what it expects to

discover” (Hacking, 2012, p. xxvi). Therefore, in the phase of normal science, the community of scientists who share common intellectual frameworks and assumptions, a **paradigm**, try to solve puzzles that emerge because of the anomalies between what a dominant paradigm expects and what is found through observation or experiment (Kuhn, 1962). The phases of crisis arise when the anomalies which “subverts the existing tradition of scientific practice” (p. 6) accumulate and some members of the scientific community begin to question the paradigm itself. As the crisis grows, a shift in the shared intellectual frameworks and assumptions, the paradigm, takes places, and in this way the crisis is resolved through a paradigm shift described by Kuhn as a scientific revolution, “the tradition-shattering complements to the tradition-bound activity of normal science” (p. 6). When a paradigm shift is complete, the scientific community changes its view of the field, its methods, and its goals. In other words, after a scientific revolution occurs, the discipline returns to the phase of normal science again and the development of the discipline continues through discontinuities between these three phases.

“The discipline of translation studies seems ... particularly inclined towards paradigmatic shifts, or “turns” [because of its interdisciplinary nature]” (Wolf, 2014, p. 9). The first paradigm shift in the discipline of TS began to appear in the early 1970s during which the anomalies and crisis challenging the linguistic approaches became evident. The first “paradigm shift”, generally called as a “**turn**”<sup>15</sup> by TS scholars (Baumgarten, 2012, p. 62), in TS is the “**cultural turn**”.

### **2.2.1. The Cultural Turn**

The term, “cultural turn” was first used by Snell-Hornby (1990) in the collection titled *Translation, History and Culture* jointly edited by Bassnett and Lefevere to imply this paradigm shift in TS. “[W]hile many scholars were inching toward the cultural turn in the early 1990s, Bassnett and Lefevere were the first to articulate the position” (Gentzler, 1998, p. xi).

In fact, “[t]he cultural turn in translation studies, [...], can be seen as part of a cultural turn that was taking place in the humanities generally in the late 1980s and early 1990s

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<sup>15</sup> As Mary Snell-Hornby states “[t]he concept of the “turn” as understood here is ideally a paradigmatic change, a marked “bend in the road” involving a distinct change in direction” (Snell-Hornby, 2010, p. 366).

and has altered the shape of many traditional subjects” (Bassnett, 2007, p. 16). During the cultural turn in TS, pure linguistic analysis of texts is replaced by the analysis of “text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs” (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990, p. 12). In other words, linguistic theories and approaches in TS which are generally linguistic, prescriptive, source-oriented and text-based have started to be questioned and replaced by the cultural theories and approaches which are generally descriptive, target-text oriented, corpus-based, functional and systemic (Snell Hornby, 2006, p. 49). The theories and approaches in the cultural turn are more inclined to define translation as recontextualising the SL-text rather than transcoding linguistic signs (Schäffner, 1999, p. 3), and thus they move TS beyond the text level by figuring out the relationship between the translation and culture. With the cultural turn, TS has changed its focus from reproducing meanings to reproducing texts in a particular socio-cultural / political context. Accordingly, it is asserted that translation needs to be discussed within its specific cultural context. That is to say, the orientation towards cultural rather than linguistic transfer has become prominent during the cultural turn (Snell-Hornby, 1990, p. 82). The cultural turn “enabled the inclusion of historical perspectives and contextual information in the discussion of translation procedures and translation as cultural products, thus foregrounding the macro-context of translation” (Wolf, 2014, p. 9). Therefore, with the cultural turn, values, ideas, ideologies, traditions, conventions, norms, etc. of the target culture and their influences on the translation come into prominence (Chesterman, 2006, p. 11). This target-text oriented perspective provides a deeper insight into the phenomenon of translation and helps translation, i.e. target text (TT) get rid of its secondary position in the pre-cultural turn linguistic approaches.

Gentzler (2001) summarizes the paradigm shift in TS in the 1980s and 1990s as follows:

The two most important shifts in theoretical developments in translation theory over the past two decades have been (1) the shift from source-oriented theories to target-text-oriented theories and (2) the shift to include cultural factors as well as linguistic elements in the translation training models (p. 70).

Even though the abovementioned paradigmatic shifts began to be discussed and labelled as “cultural turn” only in the 1990s, the first theories and approaches paving the way for the cultural turn emerged during the late 1970s and the 1980s. Snell-Hornby (2006, p. 63; 2010, p. 367) states that these theories and approaches can be

explained in two groups. The functionalist and communicative approaches mainly centred in Germany (i.e. the Skopos Theory (Vermeer, 1978) and the Model of Translational Action (Holz-Mänttari, 1984)) construct the first group. The second one is centred in the Netherlands and Israel and largely focused on literary translation with writing in English (i.e. Polysystem theory (Even-Zohar, 1978), Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury, 1978, 1995), and Manipulation School (Hermans, 1985; Lefevere, 1992)). Both of these two groups of scholars “presented insights which had a striking amount in common, including the emphasis on the cultural context of the translation rather than the linguistic items of the source text” (Snell-Hornby, 2010, p. 367).

More detailed information about these two groups of scholars, their theories, and approaches will be useful for a better understanding of their ground-breaking contributions to the cultural turn.

The skopos theory of Hans J. Vermeer and the model of translational action of Justa Holz-Mänttari are the most prominent figures of the functionalist and communicative approaches in TS. The word of **Skopos**, the Greek word which means “aim”, “purpose”, and “goal”, was first introduced into translation theory by Vermeer in his seminal paper “Ein Rahmen für eine Allgemeine Translationstheorie” (A framework for a general theory of translation) (1978), to refer to the purpose of a translation and of the act of translating (Munday, 2016, p. 126). Kussmaul explains the main focus of this paper laying the foundations for the skopos theory, as follows:

A central idea of the essay was that the aim and purpose of a translation is determined by the needs and expectations of the reader in his culture. Vermeer called this the “skopos”, and the so-called “faithfulness to the original”, equivalence in fact, was subordinated to this skopos. [...] (Kussmaul, 2004, as cited in Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 51)

As understood from the excerpt above, in his target-oriented approach dethroning the source text (ST), Vermeer emphasizes the importance of the skopos, i.e. the purpose or function of translation in the target culture. In their book titled *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie (Foundations of a General Theory of Translation)*<sup>16</sup> which became the “manifesto” of the skopos theory (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 52), Reiss and Vermeer once again highlight that “a translational action is governed by its purpose” (p. 85). Given the great importance it attaches to the purpose and function of

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<sup>16</sup> As understood from the title of the book, it claims to put forward general translation theory encompassing all types of text.

translation in the target culture, it can be claimed that the skopos theory brings about a radical change of paradigm in TS. This paradigmatic change can also be observed in the translation definition of Vermeer:

[...] a translation is not the transcoding of words or sentences from one language into another, but a complex form of action in which someone gives information about a text (source language material) under new functional, cultural and linguistic conditions and in a new situation, while preserving formal aspects as far as possible (Vermeer, 1986, as cited in Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 53).

Like Vermeer, Holz-Mänttari (1984) emphasizes that the translatorial action is determined by its function in the recipient culture. Accordingly, in her model of translatorial action, in a similar way with Vermeer, Holz-Mänttari views translation as an intercultural transfer and communicative transaction taking place in a social context rather than just linguistic transcoding in a vacuum, and hence dethrones the ST. For her, “[it] is not about translating words, sentences or texts but is in every case about guiding the intended co-operation over cultural barriers enabling functionally oriented communication” (Holz-Mänttari, 1984, as cited in Munday, 2016, p. 124). Considering translation as a communicative process and focusing on the players (the initiator, commissioner, ST producer, TT producer, TT user, and TT receiver) and their roles in this process, Holz-Mänttari makes a great contribution to the development of not only the cultural turn but also the sociological turn in TS.

As stated above, polysystem theory, descriptive translation studies (DTS), and Manipulation School, generally focusing on the literary translation, construct the second group of theories paving the way for the cultural turn in the 1990s.

Polysystem theory developed by Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar in the 1970s “sees translated literature as part of the cultural, literary and historical system of the [target language] TL” (Munday, 2016, p. 169). According to Even-Zohar (1978), the translated literature is already a system in itself and there is a close interaction between the system of translated literature and other systems operating in the TL. Even-Zohar explains the close interaction between the systems through the concept of “**polysystem**”. Even-Zohar defines (2005) polysystem as “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent” (p. 3). Holmes explains the basic tenets of polysystem theory in the following way:



Making use of insights from the field of general systemics, the study of how systems work, Even-Zohar and his colleagues have posited that “literature” in a given society is a collection of various systems, a system-of-systems or polysystem, in which diverse genres, schools, tendencies, and what have you are constantly jockeying for position, competing with each other for readership, but also for prestige and power. Seen in this light, “literature” is no longer the stately and fairly static thing it tends to be for the canonists, but a highly kinetic situation in which things are constantly changing (Holmes, 1988, as cited in Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 48).

Focusing on the dynamic hierarchy undergoing constant change between the systems within the literary polysystem, Even-Zohar also emphasizes that the position of translated literature undergoes a constant change, too, and it can occupy a primary position in the polysystem if literature is young and newly established, or peripheral and weak, or there is a vacuum in the literature (1978). Polysystem theory carrying the studies of translation beyond a purely linguistic analysis of shifts, plays a pioneering role for the successor theories and approaches in literary translation, especially for Manipulation School.

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), especially Gideon Toury’s focus on the translational norms, is another study that leads to paradigm shift resulting in the cultural turn in TS. According to Toury, “translations are facts of one system only: the target system” (1985, p. 19). To put it more clearly “translations are the facts of target cultures” (Toury, 1995, p. 29). “With “culture” Toury is implying the entire social context involved in the translation, along with the norms, conventions, ideology, and values of that society or “receptor system” (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 49). Therefore, for Toury, all these factors constructing the target culture need to be paid attention during the analysis of the translation phenomenon. Toury puts a special emphasis on the concept of “norm” which can be defined as “generally agreed form of behaviour” or as “sociocultural constraints and specific to a culture, society and time” (Munday, 2016, p. 177) because he sees translation as a norm-governed act (Toury, 1995). Thanks to his conceptual and methodological framework “combin[ing] linguistic comparison of ST and TT and consideration of the cultural framework of the TT” (Munday, 2016, p. 194), Toury plays a crucial role in the cultural turn.

Both polysystem theory of Even-Zohar and the norm concept of Toury that emerged during the late 1970s paved the way for the studies of a group of scholars which became known as Manipulation School. The basic tenets of Manipulation School drawing on the polysystem theory and DTS became apparent in Theo Hermans’ famous anthology entitled *The Manipulation of Literature* published in 1985.

According to Hermans (1985), “[f]rom the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a certain degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (p. 11) and Hermans’ this statement constructs the core of the Manipulation School. For Hermans, the scholars whose essays were brought together in *The Manipulation of Literature* do not constitute a school, but they share some basic assumptions (1985, p. 10). He summarizes these basic assumptions which led to paradigmatic changes in TS in a clear way:

What they have in common is, briefly, a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures (Hermans, 1985, p. 10–11).

At this point, Andre Lefevere who contributed to *The Manipulation of Literature* with his essay entitled “Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm” (Lefevere, 1985) deserves a special mention because his emphasis on the concepts of **rewriting**, **poetics** and **ideology** brought a new perspective leading to the cultural turn.

First of all, Lefevere sees translation as rewriting. He claims that

[...] translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, [...] it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or a (series of) work(s) beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin [...] (1992, p. 9).

Lefevere also states that the literary system in which translation functions is controlled and restricted by professionals within the literary system (i.e. critics, reviewers, teachers, academics, translators) who determine the dominant poetics<sup>17</sup> and patronage<sup>18</sup> outside the literary system (i.e. powerful individuals, groups, institutions, publishers, media) which determine the dominant ideology<sup>19</sup> in the target culture (Lefevere, 1985, pp. 217-226; 1992, pp. 14-15). In other words, for Lefevere, both the translators’ and patrons’ ideology and dominant poetics of target culture have a determining effect on the target text (1992). “Patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than its poetics, or it could be said that the patron ‘delegates’

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<sup>17</sup> Lefevere defines poetics as “the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be” (1985, p. 226).

<sup>18</sup> Lefevere defines patronage as “the powers (persons, institutions) which help or hinder the writing, reading and rewriting of literature” (1985, p. 227).

<sup>19</sup> Lefevere defines ideology as “the dominant concept of what society should (be allowed to) be, the world view- of a certain society at a certain moment” (1985, p. 226).

authority to the professional where poetics is concerned” (Lefevere, 1985, p. 227; 1992, p. 15). In Lefevere’s writings, the poetological and ideological motivations behind the rewriting (translation as rewriting of the ST) process come to the fore. Emphasizing the importance of poetological and ideological motivations in shaping a translational act and the ways translators interpret and represent the world, Lefevere states that “[o]n every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tends to win out” (Lefevere, 1992, p. 39). In brief, according to Lefevere,

Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation. These two factors are, in order of importance, the translator’s ideology (whether he/she willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made. The ideology dictates the basic strategy the translator is going to use and therefore also dictates solutions to problems concerned with both the “universe of discourse” expressed in the original (objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original) and the language the original itself is expressed in (1992, p. 41).

“Scholars from the late André Lefevere onwards [...] began to consider more closely the role of ideology and patronage in the system of translated literature” (Munday, 2016, p. 190). That is to say, the concepts of “ideology” and “power” gained great importance in TS during the cultural turn and attracted the attention of many translation scholars (Munday, 2007, p. 197; 2016, p. 214). In the aftermath of the writings of Lefevere who defines ideology as “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts” (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1998, p. 48), the number of the scholars and studies focusing on the ideological nature of translation phenomenon, increased enormously. “As a consequence, the years that followed saw an enormous increase and refinement in publications on feminist translation, postcolonial or ethnographic approaches” (Wolf, 2014, p. 10).

Within these newly appeared studies shedding light on ideology and power relations underlying translation practice, firstly, it is asserted that translation and translators are not free from ideology. As “[a]ll language use is [...] ideological, translation [which] is an operation carried out on language use [...] is always a site of ideological encounters” (Calzada Pérez, 2014, p. 2). In other words, “translation, like any linguistic activity, shapes and is shaped by power relations and the individual and collective ideologies involved” (Baumgarten, 2012, p. 59). Ideology has a determinant

effect on the whole translation process from the selection of the text to be translated, to the reception of TT by the target audience. Accordingly, translation is not an innocent act but rather it is constructed by social, political, and ideological facts of its time. Thus, “objectivity and neutrality in translation are biased fallacies” (Castro, 2009, p. 3).

Thanks to the emphasis put on its ideological nature, translation also begins to be seen as a means of ideological resistance (Leung, 2006). Gentzler and Tymoczko underline in their introduction to their collection entitled *Translation and Power* that:

translation is not simply associated with the “possession of control or command over others” and, hence, with colonization or oppression, but also with “the ability to act upon” structures of command, such that translation becomes a means to resist that very colonization or exploitation (2002, p. xvii).

In line with this understanding, translation has begun to be used as a means to resist by different ideologies like postcolonialism and feminism (Leung, 2006, p. 133). Therefore, it is not a coincidence that feminist and postcolonial approaches to translation emerge during the cultural turn. According to Sherry Simon, one of the most influential scholars of Feminist Translation Studies, (1996) cultural turn in TS paves the way for a fruitful encounter with feminist thought, because it “defines translation as a process of mediation which does not stand above ideology but works through it” (p. 7).

### **2.2.2. Feminist Translation Studies**

As Simon emphasizes that the cultural turn paves the way for fruitful interactions between TS and feminism/feminist thought (Simon, 1996, p. 7). Therefore, the first studies (Godard, 1989; Simon 1996; von Flotow, 1991, 1997) bringing together translation and feminism emerged during the cultural turn. It goes without saying that cultural turn in TS plays a crucial role for the development of Feminist Translation Studies (FTS), but, on the other hand, contributions of the linguistic approaches to feminism (i.e. linguistic feminism, French feminism, *écriture féminine*) which puts special “emphasis on language as both the ultimate tool of women’s oppression and a potential means for subverting [it][...]” (Weil, 2006, p. 153) should not be ignored. Accordingly, it can be said that two important turns, i.e. cultural turn in TS and linguistic turn in feminism facilitated the emergence of FTS in the late 1970s and 1980s. To put it more clearly, the interdisciplinary natures of both feminism and TS,

their mutual emphasis on the socio-culturally, and ideologically constructed language use laid the ground for the works of the first feminist translators and paved the way for feminist translation theory. As von Flotow (1997) states, the era of feminism, undoubtedly, triggered the flourishing of feminist translation practices and theory.

The discussions over how closely language and gender interact with each other began in the 1970s and 1980s in France and became one of the hottest issues of the second wave feminism. French feminist thinkers, especially Kristeva, Irigaray and Cixious, stress that women's subordinate position is not rooted in concrete economic, political, and social structures, but in the language itself. Drawing on Lacan's thoughts about language and symbolic order, French feminists claim that "subjectivity is formed in and through language" (Weil, 2006, p. 158). According to French feminists, "[l]anguage institutes and maintains social inequalities, and acts as a legitimating tool of patriarchal authority" (Simon, 1996, p. 16). In other words, gender hierarchies between women and men are constructed and sustained in and through patriarchal language use (Ergün, 2013a, p. 16). Therefore, they emphasize that the reasons behind the oppression of women should be sought in language. On the other hand, for French feminists drawing on the deconstructive thinking of Derrida, language is not only a means of women's oppression, but it may also serve as a resistance tool that can subvert or eliminate this oppression. The slogan of the 1970s, '*La libération des femmes passe par le langage*' (women's liberation passes through language) illustrates the understanding of language as a subversive power (Ergün, 2013a, p. 15). In line with this slogan, implying that the status or destiny of women could be changed by challenging and changing phallogocentric symbolic order, French feminists offer developing an alternative feminine language and writing which can subvert the patriarchal language and thereby deconstructing patriarchy and freeing oppressed women from their patriarchal burden. (Beasley, 1999, p. 72; Tong, 2014, p. 144; Vincent, 1992, p. 206). Accordingly, feminists begin to coin new words, to write the existing words in different ways and hence to put to new meanings to them, to reveal and reuse the positive words lost in patriarchal language, in short, to politicize the use of language (Ergun, 2010a, p. 11). Their aim is to resex language by creating an alternative feminine language and writing. Highlighting the urgency of resexing language, Irigaray states that "if we continue to speak the same language, we will

reproduce the same (his)story. Repeat the same (his)stories”. (Irigaray 1977, as cited in von Flotow, 1997, p. 10).

The radical feminist writing of Canadian writers such as Nicole Brossard, Madeleine Gagnon, and Louky Bersianik emerged in such a context in the late 1970s and the early 1980s to “critique and dismantle ‘patriarchal language’, make women linguistically visible, and create an alternative ‘women’s language’” (Ergun, 2010b, p. 309). von Flotow summarizes the basic tenets of radical feminist writing as follows:

The radical feminist writing of the 1970s was experimental. It was radical insofar as it sought to undermine, subvert, even destroy the conventional everyday language maintained by institutions such as schools and universities, publishing houses and the media, dictionaries, writing manuals, and the ‘great works’ of literature. Feminists viewed this language as an instrument of women’s oppression and subjugation which needed to be reformed, if not replaced by a new women’s language. They thus took on the radical position of attacking language itself, rather than just the messages carried by the language (1997, p. 14).

Experimental feminist writers who desire to attack, deconstruct, or simply bypass the misogynistic conventions of patriarchal language benefit from unconventional spellings, subversions of grammatical and semantic gender systems, neologisms and puns (von Flotow, 1991, p. 72; Ergün, 2013a, p. 17).

Feminist Translation Studies (FTS), which focuses on the interaction between gender and translation emerged in bilingual Quebec in Canada in the late 1970s and early 1980s during the translation of this interventionist and resistant feminist writing from French to English (von Flotow, 1997, p. 24, Ergun, 2010a, p. 12). The translation of experimental feminist writing required similar subversive translation strategies and highly political and creative use of language, thereby laying the groundwork for FTS. Von Flotow (1997) explains that

When confronted with the texts full of wordplay and fragmented syntax, translators have had to develop creative methods similar to those of the source-text writers; they have had to go beyond translation to supplement their work, making up for differences between various patriarchal languages by employing wordplay, grammatical dislocations and syntactic subversions in other places in their texts [...] The practical work of translating experimental feminist writing has thus politicized numerous translators. Much of the theoretical discussion on gender and translations has been initiated by women translators first faced with these texts (p. 24).

The theoretical discussion over the interaction between gender and translation was indeed initiated by women translators of the experimental feminist writings in the late 1970 and early 1980s within the specialized context of Quebec. However, the interaction between women and translation goes far back. “Translators and women have historically been the weaker figures in their respective hierarchies: translators are

handmaidens to authors, women inferior to men” (Simon, 1996, p. 1). In other words, “translation is secondary to writing and the translator is in the same position with respect to the author, in the same way that feminisms are peripheral with regard to patriarchy and women with respect to men” (Castro, 2009, p. 6). As Martin highlights:

[...] translation, like women, has been perceived to have been historically neglected and devalued, the ‘weak’ term in a hierarchical and somehow gendered cultural system privileging a ‘strong’ and ‘active’ (masculine) conception of authorship translators, for their part, have also been seen to have been invisible, merely expected to perform a reproductive function or, in any event, an activity denigrated as ‘inferior’, ‘secondary’ or simply ‘feminine’ (2005, pp. 27-28).

As is understood from the excerpt above, the patriarchal tradition has claimed that “[t]he original is the natural, the truth and the paternal authority, whereas the translation, the woman, is secondary, and imitation” (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 143). Therefore, it can be said that women and translation/translators share a common destiny in terms of their secondary, derivative, reproductive and peripheral positions in society throughout history. This shared subordination of woman and translation could be easily observed in the sexist metaphors used to describe the translation phenomenon. Translation has been described metaphorically as feminine for centuries and many translators and scholars use sexist metaphors to explain their translation process and translation phenomenon (Chamberlain, 1988). That is to say, “translation has historically been described in gendered terms, closely and negatively associated with women” (von Flotow, 1997, p. 75). For example, John Florio, an author-translator translating from Italian to English in Tudor England, claims that all translations are “defective” and “reputed females” (Simon, 1996, p. 1; von Flotow, 1997, p. 75). “Les belles infidèles”, used to imply that translation, just like women, is either beautiful or faithful, but never both simultaneously is one of the most prominent sexist metaphors (Castro, 2009, p. 5).

The female and secondary position of translation continues even in cases where a translator is a man and he assumes the role of the author (Chamberlain, 1988). Steiner’s sexist approach to translation is a good example of these cases. Steiner’s hermeneutical model which depicts metaphorically the translator as a man and translation as a woman indicates the feminine position of translation in the patriarchal society (Chamberlain, 1988; von Flotow, 1997; Castro, 2009).

On the other hand, the description and perception of translation as a feminine, reproductive and hence secondary, and less important intellectual activity inevitably

have brought the woman and translation closer. That is to say, their twofold “inferiority” inevitably leads to the close interaction between women and translation. Women, conventionally excluded and discouraged from education, the literary world, and the public sphere throughout history, turn to translation which is coded as a reproductive, secondary and “humble” feminine act by patriarchal institutions, to participate in the literary world and hence the public sphere, and to make their voice heard through their translations (Hannay, 1985; von Flotow, 1997, p. 76; Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 137). The patriarchal authority has not prevented women from translating both because it considers translation as a secondary feminine activity and because it believes that the passive, silenced and transparent women translators could not pose a threat to male domination (Hannay, 1985). However, women translators “stayed within accepted parameters and formally acknowledged their inferiority only to challenge the norm and make their voice heard” (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 135). Thus, “[t]ranslation allowed women to take part in literary culture without openly challenging either tradition or male domination of that culture. It provided an opportunity to be involved in text production and to manifest some degree of creativity” (p. 136). In other words, translation help women to break their imposed silence (p. 137). Oana-Helena explains how women translators could achieve to break their silence through their translation as follows:

In the sixteenth century, women started using translation to serve their own purpose. And they did so by playing with the choice of subject matter, by bringing new interpretations to historical figures and fables depicting women, by introducing new genres into the dominant poetics of their culture, by asserting that their right to literary creation as openly as possible and by finding in translation a pretext for educating themselves (2002, p. 137).

Despite the inferior status of both women and translators, women translators have tried to turn their disadvantage to advantage and to use the translation, considered as a feminine and reproductive act by patriarchy, for their own feminist purposes. FTS trying to investigate this close interaction between woman and translation primarily aims to “identify and critique the tangle of concepts which relegates both women and translation to the bottom of the social and literary ladder” (Simon, 1996, p. 1).

The first feminist translators who consider their translation practices as a continuum of experimental feminist writing defend their right to intervene in the source text as a translator to deconstruct and/or reconstruct gender clichés and make the feminine visible in language while translating a text from a feminist perspective (Godard, 1989;



de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1989; Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1997; Federici, 2017). They claim that “[t]he work of the feminist translator seeks to undermine the power invested in patriarchal language and describe and tries to develop ideals beyond the influence of patriarchal structures” (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 144). That is to say, drawing on the post-structuralist and deconstructionist approaches in TS and experimental feminist writing in Quebec, the feminist translators develop a new understanding of translation and translator. Ideologically motivated feminist translators such as Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Linda Gaboriau firstly assert that translation, like language, is not a natural, innocent, or apolitical act. On the contrary, according to them, translation is a selective, deliberate, intentional and political act playing an effective role in legitimizing or subverting existing gender hierarchies/inequalities (Simon, 1996, p. 1; Ergun, 2010a, p. 11; 2010b, p. 315; Castro, 2013, p. 6; von Flotow, 2011, p. 9). Similarly, von Flotow stresses that:

[t]ranslation makes deliberate choices about which writer to translate, which foreign ideas and materials to disseminate. These choices are premeditated, planned and carefully evaluated, and the meticulous word-by-word labour of translation is often equally self-aware. In other words, translation, it can be argued, is as intentional, as activist, as deliberate as any feminist or otherwise socially-activist activity (2011, p. 4).

Therefore, the feminist translators claim that translation can be used for “making visible women and resident in language and society” (de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1991, as cited in von Flotow, 1997, p. 27). “[T]ranslation in the feminine is political act and an act of women’s solidarity” (de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1991, as cited in Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 146). In her preface ‘About the her in other’, de Lotbinière-Harwood, one of the leading feminist translators of the period, expresses how she used translation for her feminist goals and states that “[m]y translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature in a translation means: this translation has used every possible feminist translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language” (1989, p. 9). In line with her statements, in a novel she translated from French to English, de Lotbinière-Harwood preferred to use feminine pronouns rather than the generic use of masculine pronouns to increase the textual visibility of the woman (Ergun, 2010a, p. 12).

Inspired by Derrida’s conception of translation which rejects the binary opposition between the source and target text, and “radically change[s] the traditional conceptions of fidelity and of the relationships that can be established between translations and

originals” (Arrojo, 1994, p. 158), feminist translators also claim that translation is a creative production and a kind of original writing, rather than merely a simple reproduction (Chamberlain, 1988, p. 466; Godard, 1989, p. 47; Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 135). Accordingly, they challenge and redefine the notions of equivalence and fidelity and overvalued status of the source text in TS (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 135, 144). It is asserted that “fidelity is to be directed toward neither the author nor the reader, but toward the writing project—a project in which both writer and translator participate” (Simon, 1996, p. 2). This perception of fidelity which is rooted in the erosion of the authority of the Author/Original in poststructuralist and deconstructionist discourses provides feminist translator much more freedom within the text which she translates (von Flotow, 1991, p. 80). Thus, “translation becomes a political and counter-ideological act where the translator is fully aware of historical, social and political implications of gendered contexts, texts and languages [...]” (Federici and Fortunati, 2011, p. 3) Within FTS, the active and interventionist role of the translator comes to fore and traditional approaches arguing for translator’s invisibility are challenged and feminist translators who see themselves working for the feminist cause, overstep the bounds of their traditional invisibility (von Flotow, 1997, pp. 21-22; Federici and Fortunati, 2011). They dare to ‘correct’ and feminize the ST in the name of their feminist cause while translating from a gynocentric i.e., women-centred world view (Massardier-Kenney, 1997, p. 56; von Flotow, 1997, p. 24; Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 144). They “assume the right to query their source texts from a feminist perspective, to intervene and make changes when the texts depart from this perspective” (von Flotow, 1997, p. 24). For this reason, feminist translators argue for an anti-traditional, interventionist, reformist, subversive, and aggressive approach to translation (von Flotow, 1991, p. 70). They defend that “a feminist translator has to include her ideological convictions and rewrite the source text in her translation” (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 148). In line with this interventionist approach, Barbara Godard states that

[t]he feminist translator, affirming her critical difference, her delight in interminable re-reading and rewriting, flaunts the signs of her manipulation of the text. Womanhandling the text in translation would involve the replacement of the modest, self-effacing translator. Taking her place would be an active participant in the creation of meaning, who advances a conditional analysis. Hers is a continuing provisionality, aware of process, giving self-reflexive attention to practices. The feminist translator immodestly flaunts her signature in italics, in footnotes - even in a preface (Godard, 1989, p. 50).

Politically engaged feminist translators womanhandling the text by flaunting her signature create a shock-effect (Godard, 1984, as cited in von Flotow, 1991, p. 70) and

“constantly disrupt the fluent reading process and remind readers that they are reading a translation” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 25). In other words, feminist translators “develop a resistant and non-fluent translation style designed to reveal rather than conceal the presence of the translator as the intermediary between two cultures and languages” (Oana-Helena, 2002, p. 147). They prefer intervention to fluency, and complexity to transparency, and argue that the foreignness of the source text should be preserved in the target text like Venuti (1995) and Berman (2000). Owing to their interventions, women translators draw attention to their action and translation process and make their feminist politics and subjectivity and hence women visible in their translation. In this way, feminist translators also draw attention to the fact that the translator cannot be objective or neutral. Additionally, they point out what a crucial role female identity and feminist subjectivity of the translator can play during the whole translation process from the selection of the texts to be translated to the reception of translation by a new readership. Therefore, within FTS “[t]he translators’ intentionality and agency bec[o]me more and more evident and a discussion of their choices more and more necessary” (Federici & Fortunati, 2011, p. 3).

To put it more clearly, feminist translators challenging the secondary status of woman and translation aim to make language speak for women (de Lotbiniere-Harwood, 1989, p. 9; Castro, 2009, p. 4), to make both women and translation/translator visible and, hence, to save them from their patriarchal burdens. In so doing, they make use of various translation practices and strategies to reach these goals (Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1991, 1997).

A wide range of translation practices can be considered as a feminist translation practice (Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1991, 1997; Castro, 2009; Ergun, 2010b; Federici, 2017). Recovering woman writers’ works, especially those lost in patriarchy, through translation is one of the most prominent feminist translation practices. It goes without saying that, thanks to the translation of their works, woman writers become more visible. Translation contributes to making available, accessible, and credible the knowledge, experiences and creative works of woman writers, who ignored and denigrated for a long time in the patriarchal tradition (von Flotow, 1995, p. 30). As von Flotow emphasizes “a lineage of intellectual women who resisted the norms and values of the societies in which they lived needs to be unearthed and established

[through translation], [...] since women of later eras will otherwise lose sight of the achievements of their forerunner” (1997, p. 31). The analogy entitled *Translating Slavery. Gender and Race in French Women’s Writing, 1783-1823* (Kadish & Massardier-Kenney, 1994) constitutes a good example of recovering women’s work through translation. The *Translating Slavery* anthology consisting of the discussions and translations of French women’s works reveals what a crucial role these women played in abolitionist activism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through their writings and translations (von Flotow, 1997, p. 31). Therefore, the translations within the anthology can be considered as feminist translation practices. As is seen, translating women’s work lost in patriarchy facilitate recovering the past through women’s voice.

Unearthing the woman translators and their works ignored by patriarchy for a long time is another feminist translation practice. As stated before, “[t]ranslators and women have historically been weak figures, translation in relation to writers and women in relation to men. When it comes to woman translators, there is a double heritage of inferiority” (Oana-Helana, 2002, p. 142). Therefore, saving woman translators from their double inferiority by unearthing their subjectivity, their translations and contributions ignored and lost by patriarchy throughout history is one of the most important goals of feminist translation scholars. Federici (2017) explains the importance of focusing on woman translators as follow:

The main results are in the retracing of women translators’ works, a central issue in the field of translation and gender because this kind of archival work has produced a lively discussion on the practice of translation both through a thoughtful analysis of translations of key texts by women authors in different historical periods and through a discovery of women translators in the cultural milieu of their time (p. 135).

Accordingly, it is possible to say that feminist translators do not only produce new translations, but they also bring the female translators ignored by the male-dominated history for a long time, to the surface (Ergun, 2010a, p. 11). The book titled *Portraits de traductrices*<sup>20</sup> consisting of the biographies of eleven woman translators working within the French and Canadian culture is a good example of making woman translators visible. The researches, *Writing Women in Korea*, examining the role of woman translators in Korea between the years of 1900 and 1930, *Oppositional Voices:*

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<sup>20</sup> Written by Jean Delisle in 2002 and translated into Turkish with the title *Batı’da Kadın Çevirmenler ve Çeviri Süreçleri* by Nazik Göktaş in 2015 (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2019, p. 12).

*Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (1992); *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900* (2007); *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: Women, Translation, and Travel Writing, 1739–1797* (2002) are other studies revealing the importance of the woman translators (Federici, 2017, p. 135). The studies focusing on the woman translators also help to reassess translation history from a gynocentric world view and to write translation herstory because as Federici states that

These works emphasised the importance of women translators in historical periods where the notion of female authorship was not even taken into account. They demonstrated that because translation was considered as a secondary activity women could enter it step by step and become cultural agents of their time (2017, p. 135).

Besides recovering the lost voice of woman writers and translators, selecting feminist texts or the texts breaking the patriarchal taboos about women, making the female body and sexuality visible, translating or rejecting to translate misogynist texts can also be considered as a feminist translation practice. Ideologically motivated feminist translators generally prefer to translate feminist or at least non-misogynist texts rather than the misogynist ones, because they see translating a misogynistic text as a waste of time that serves the purposes of patriarchy. More radical feminist translators may even refuse to translate a male writer on the ground that the masculine voice of the author distorts the translating voice of the woman translator. For instance, de Lotbiniere-Harwood, a feminist translator who translated the work of a male poet Lucien Francoeur, explains her decision not to translate a work of man as follows:

Francoeur was the first and last male poet I translated. During the three years I spent on his poetry, I realized with must distress that my translating voice was being distorted into speaking in the masculine. Forced by the poems' stance, by language, by my profession, to play the role of male voyeur. As if the only speaking place available, and the only audience possible, were male-bodied. I became very depressed around meaning (1995, as cited in von Flotow, 1997, p. 28).

Criticizing 'patriarchal/phallogocentric' translations of women's texts and rewriting existing translations from a feminist point of view is another feminist translation practice. The first English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* is one of the most discussed phallogocentric translation in translation history (Ergun, 2010a, p. 13). Many feminists have discussed how *Le Deuxième Sexe* was slaughtered by a zoology professor H.M. Parsley, the translator. In these discussions, it has been released that "more than 10% of the original text had been deleted in the English translation and that the translator, H. M. Parsley, had mistranslated much of Beauvoir's

philosophical terminology” (Lidström Brock, 2016, p. 161). “Large sections of text recounting the names and achievements of women in history [had] been cut from the English version [...]. [The Patriarchal translation also omitted] references to cultural taboos such as lesbian relationships, and to unwelcome realities such as the tedium of women’s everyday lives” (von Flotow, 1997, pp. 49-50). As a result of this patriarchal translation, Beauvoir was frequently criticized as an inconsistent and essentialist thinker in English-dominated countries, especially in feminist circles in the USA for many years (Ergun, 2010a, p. 13). Considering this patriarchal translation and the consequences it caused, it becomes clear that feminist texts need to be translated by translators who have political and feminist consciousness. Given the fact that feminist texts migrate from culture to culture, often through translation, the importance of translating feminist texts with a political and feminist consciousness becomes much clearer (p. 13). de Beauvoir’s *Le Deuxième Sexe* could only be retranslated into English with such a feminist consciousness in 2009, sixty years after its first publication. Thanks to this retranslation, misunderstandings about de Beauvoir and her notable *Le Deuxième Sexe* resulting from the patriarchal translation could be prevented. One of the best examples of the retranslations made with a feminist consciousness is the feminist retranslations of the Bible. “Feminist revisions of the Bible do not seek to change the content of the text; they are concerned with the language in which this content is expressed” (von Flotow, 1997, p. 53). They question male-biased language, generic use of ‘man’, male imaginary and metaphors depicting God as a man. Instead, they use neutral and plural pronouns and offer a more inclusive language reflecting the perspective of women as well as men (pp. 52-54). These retranslations of the Bible attracted a lot of attention, and they were found threatening and dangerous enough to cause the male-dominated Vatican to issue a decree that bans such translations (Ergun, 2010a, p. 11). All these reveal the staggering potential and subversive power of criticizing phallogocentric translations and producing feminist retranslations (p. 11).

All these feminist translation practices discussed above are macro devices that serve the purpose of feminist translators. There are also micro feminist translation strategies that feminist translators often use within a text in line with their feminist goals.

As emphasized throughout this section, FTS, born out of the translation of experimental feminist writing from French to English, argues for an aggressive and

interventionist translation approach and tries to make woman and translation/translator visible within the translated text. Accordingly, feminist translators who “assume the right to query their source texts from a feminist perspective, to intervene and make changes when the texts depart from this perspective” (von Flotow, 1997, p. 24) do not hesitate to use various feminist translation strategies womanhandling the text and making translation and translator visible to the reader. von Flotow (1991) discusses three feminist translation strategies namely prefacing and footnoting, supplementing, and ‘hijacking’ (p. 74). Thanks to these strategies “[f]eminist translators have made clear their role as interpreters of texts and have explained their translation choices and strategies” (Federici, 2017, p. 139).

Paratextual elements, especially prefacing and footnoting, are the most frequently used feminist translation strategies. They become almost routine for feminist translators. Feminist translators make use of prefaces and footnotes to stress their active presence in the text as a translator (von Flotow, 1991, p. 76). Translators’ prefaces and footnotes make translators’ femininity and feminist subjectivity, translation motivations, processes, and choices visible, thereby challenging the traditional invisibility of translators. Prefacing and footnoting also enable feminist translators to contextualize, explain and interpret the source text and author from their own feminist point of view (p. 77). In other words, “[w]ith their use of paratextual elements (prefaces, footnotes, glossaries) feminist translators have unveiled a dialogic relationship between source text (ST) and target text (TT) and claimed a new authority over the ST” (Federici, 2017, p. 139). Along with prefacing and footnoting, different paratextual items such as translator/author photographs and translator/author bio-bibliographies can also be used to make translation and translator visible and to subvert the hierarchal relationship between author and translator by reinforcing the feminist translator’s sense of self (von Flotow, 1997, p. 36).

Another feminist translation strategy frequently used by feminist translators, supplementing, “compensates for the difference between languages or constitutes ‘voluntarist action’ on the text. [...] [F]eminist translator thus recoups certain losses by intervening in, and supplementing another part of the text” (von Flotow, 1991, p. 75). For example, the first feminist translators translating experimental feminist writing in Quebec from French to English made use of this strategy to supplement the

losses arising from the untranslatable puns and grammatical differences between French and English. Especially while translating from a language such as French and English whose grammatical and pronominal system communicate gender into another language such as Turkish whose grammatical and pronominal system does not communicate gender, a feminist translator may resort to the supplementing strategy to create the same effect with the source text and hence to make woman visible in language use (Ergun, 2010b). As Pas and Zaborowska state that “[f]eminist translation strategies of supplementing and [prefacing] footnoting are particularly helpful in showcasing the complexities of translation, the creative labour and ideological work of translators, as well as linguistic, cultural and political diversities and conflicts played in and through translation (Pas & Zaborowska, 2017, p. 139).

The third feminist translation strategy on which von Flotow focuses is hijacking. The term of hijacking taken from a critique of the feminist translation undertaken by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood is used by von Flotow to mean the feminist translator’s excessive interference during the translation process. Within the scope of translation and translator conception of FTS, feminist translators feminize and ‘correct’ the source text deliberately, hijack it, and use every possible translation strategy to reflect their own political and ideological intention, to criticize patriarchal language use and eventually to make the feminine visible in the language (von Flotow, 1991, p. 79).

Although von Flotow discusses only the three most frequently used feminist translation strategies, she emphasizes that numerous strategies may serve the purpose of feminist translators (von Flotow, 1991, p. 74). Additionally, different scholars categorize feminist translation strategies in different ways, under different headings. For example, Massardier-Kenney criticizes the use of the metaphors like “hijacking” on the grounds that “such borrowing of terms contributes to the view that feminism is an unnatural act of violence, that making the feminine visible can only mean distortion and extortion, surely not what those who call themselves feminist translators actually mean” (Massardier-Kenney, 1997, p. 58) She argues that feminist translators adapt existing translation strategies rather than inventing new ones and categorizes feminist translation strategies as author-centred and translator-centred (p. 58). Author-centred strategies are recovery, commentary, and resistancy; translator-centred strategies are



commentary, use of parallel texts and collaboration. “[These] categories [...] are particularly useful within a feminist framework because they highlight the importance of women as producers of texts (be it as authors or translators)” (p. 58).

Widening and reshaping of canon through the translation of the works of woman authors is the first author-centred strategy, recovery. Recovery can be defined as “archaeological task of finding, publishing and translating texts by women authors who were previously excluded from the canon” (p. 59). The anthologies consisting of the translations of the works Hispanic women writers who have been ignored, unread and untranslated for a long time, can be given as an example to recovery (p. 59).

The second author-centred strategy, commentary, means using the metadiscourse (i.e. prefaces, and afterwords) accompanying the translation to introduce the author to the target reader and to make her significance visible (p. 60). “This type of metadiscourse reminds the reader that translating is an activity which creates authority for the writer translated, that the translator is a critic responsible for introducing and marketing a specific ‘image’ of that writer” (p. 60).

The third author-centred strategy, resistancy means “making the labour of translation visible through linguistic means that have a defamiliarizing effect and that work against easy fluency”. It implies the importance of saving the foreignness within the text and of exploring the other, “whether that other be woman, indigenous culture, language, silence, or writing itself” (Ahern, 1988, as cited in Massardier-Kenney, 1997, p. 62). Considering the basic tenets of FTS, it can be claimed that resistancy is generally used to reflect the otherness of different women.

The first translator-centred strategy, commentary, “is essentially the same as that discussed under the author-centred strategies, but it serves a different purpose here” (Massardier-Kenney, 1997, p. 63). While commentary in the author-centred strategies tries to explore the source text and author and to bring them closer to the target reader; commentary in the translator-centred strategies aims to explain the desire, motivations, and choices of the translator. In other words, the first translator-centred strategy, commentary, “describe the factors that affect the performance of the translator as well as the stakes that the translator has in the making the translation” (p. 63). In this respect, commentary both in the author and translator-centred strategies can be considered as equivalent to von Flotow’s prefacing and footnoting strategy.

The use of parallel texts is the second translator-centred strategy (p. 64). Massardier-Kenney restricts “the definition of ‘parallel texts’ to texts in the target language that were produced in a similar situation or that belong to the same genre as that of the source text” (1997, p. 64). She defends that by using parallel texts, the translator grasps feminist intertextuality which is indispensable for translating feminist and/or women writers (p. 64).

“The last strategy that can be used by the translator to achieve a feminist translation is **collaboration**; this involves working with one or more translators and/or with the author on a given text” (pp. 64-65). Translator’s collaboration with the author and/or other translators reinforces the idea of translation as a process that is constantly negotiated (p. 65). Massardier-Kenney explains what collaboration does mean for feminist translation as follows:

Collaboration in the context of feminist translation means that while the translator claims her agency in the metadiscourse surrounding the translation and awareness of creating a tradition, she can also avoid the traditional dichotomy between two subjectivities (author/translator) which seek control of meaning (1997, p. 65).

Massardier-Kenney’s focus on the collaboration strategy deconstructing the single authority of a translator and her criticism of the concept of “hijacking” reflect the core of the criticism of feminist translation born in the context of Quebec in the 1980s. Aggressive and interventionist translation conception of feminist translation, especially the hijacking strategy which pushes the limits of translation ethics has been severely criticized by different scholars. Rosemary Arrojo, “a critic who views all translation as a grab for power” (von Flotow, 1999, p. 277) claims that feminist translators like Lori Chamberlain, Barbara Godard and Susane de Lotbinière-Harwood and their deliberate manipulations repeat paradoxically the same violent, aggressive and interventionist strategies of patriarchy which they wish to deconstruct (Arrojo, 1995). In other words, according to Arrojo, feminist translators’ “open subversive interference in the texts they translate serves goals that are quite similar to the ones they so vehemently attack in what they call male, colonialist modes of translating” (Arrojo, 1994, p. 160). Therefore, feminist translation trying to possess meaning like other translation and feminist translators trying to take over the author’s role cannot be considered as absolutely more legitimate and more noble or less violent than patriarchal translations and notions (p. 156). In response to this criticism, von Flotow states that “[w]hat Arrojo does not know, however, is the complex apparatus of

prefaces, footnotes, and accompanying materials in which those claiming to be feminist translators explain and justify their work, contrary to the approaches of many other types of ‘power-grabbing translators’ (1999, p. 277).

The mainstream<sup>21</sup> feminist translation practices and theories, defined as the first paradigm<sup>22</sup> of FTS by von Flotow (1999, 2011), are also criticized on the grounds that they “are not free from essentialist temptations and/or bias” (Martin, 2005, p. 35). The first paradigm’s essentialist account of gender which draws on the neat binary opposition between femininity and masculinity and almost exclusively focuses on femininity (von Flotow, 2011, p. 2), and its essentialist conception of womanhood which ignores the differences among women are often criticized, questioned and problematized by “new feminist translation agendas which aim to circumvent the risk of essentialism” (Martin, 2005, p. 27; Ergun, 2010a, p. 13). This criticism of the first paradigm of FTS constitutes the core of the shift to the second paradigm (von Flotow, 1999, 2011). von Flotow states that the theories and practices in the first paradigm are based on “the ‘conventional’ feminist view of the female gender as a category that can in some respects be applied to all women [...] (von Flotow, 1999, p. 281). In other words, the first paradigm “is on the whole grounded in a universalized definition of ‘women’ as generically oppressed by and opposed to males and their patriarchal language and system; it is mainly devoted to the (re)construction of a genuinely distinctive female culture [...]” (Martin, 2005, p. 35). This essentialist woman conception drawing on the binary opposition between women and men and almost exclusive focus on femininity can easily be observed in the translation strategies applied and proposed by the feminist translators of the first paradigm (p. 36). “As their aim is to reverse the existing order and to resex language, their main method is complete feminization” (Martin, 2005, p. 36). However, with the emergence of the third wave feminism and the poststructuralist feminist theories and with the advent of queer theories, this complete feminization and the neat and conventional binary

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<sup>21</sup> The notion of “mainstream feminist translation theories” was used by Martin (2005) to refer feminist translation practices and theories that emerged in Quebec in the 1980s during the translation of *écriture féminine* from French to English.

<sup>22</sup> The first paradigm of FTS “produced theoretical work engaging directly with power differential that rule relations between the sexes, within society and between cultures, and that are often revealed in the detailed study of translated literatures. These issues include censorship through translation, the silencing of women’s contributions to society as translators and writers and, more generally, the non-recognition of women as influential actors in culture and writing” (von Flotow, 2011, p. 2).

categories expressed through the terms “women” and “men” (von Flotow, 1999, p. 285; 2011, p. 3) are set aside, and the second paradigm of FTS which desires to be ““gender-conscious” rather than simply ‘woman-centred’” (Martin, 2005, p. 36) begins to flourish. The second paradigm “depart[s] from prior monolithic visions of gender, either by questioning the oppositional character of femininity vs. masculinity [...] or by challenging the uniformity of all women, for instance as far as sexual orientation” (Martin, 2005, p. 36). To put it more clearly, contrary to the essentialist gender and woman conception of the first paradigm, the second paradigm of FTS based on the gender conception of Judith Butler (1990) views gender as discursive performance (von Flotow, 1999, p. 281). Maier and Massardier-Kenney whose works reflect the basic tenets of the second paradigm (p. 281) claim that “gender definitions are neither universal nor absolute manifestations of inherent differences by relatively local, constantly changing constructions contingent on multiple historical and cultural factors” (Maier & Massardier-Kenney 1996, p. 230).

Not surprisingly, this gender conception of the second paradigm has brought a new understanding of feminist translation which goes beyond making feminine visible in and through language and translation. Martin (2005) explains the new feminist translation politics and poetics that the second paradigm brings about, as follows:

The acknowledgment of differences among women goes hand in hand with the recognition of a plural meaning in ‘translating in the feminine’, or at least with a sceptical attitude about the universal validity of ‘canonical’ or ‘established’ feminist practices - that is to say, those used and supported by the first paradigm - , including the emblematic claim for feminizing language whenever possible. [...] In brief, these practices represent a move from an ultimately prescriptive project (‘making the feminine visible in language’) to new feminist translation politics and poetics based on a flexible ethics of location and on an awareness of the importance of positionality (p. 37).

As can be inferred from the excerpt above, the second paradigm of FTS has expanded the scope of feminist translation performed by the feminist translators supporting the first paradigm. According to the second paradigm, the feminist translation needs to be “gender-conscious” rather than simply “woman-centred” (Martin, 2005, p. 36). In so doing, feminist translation should pay attention to the other gendered identities besides femininity and should also consider the differences among women and their diverse positionality resulting from their sex, gender, sexual orientation, colour, race, class, religion and nationality, social and cultural context, etc. (Maier & Massardier-Kenney, 1996). Additionally, feminist translation should recognize the context-bounded, constantly changing and constructed nature of “gender” and carefully contextualize

each text, translator or author and should set aside globalising prescriptive comments (von Flotow, 1999) and acknowledge “the impossibility of attaining atemporal conclusions (Martin, 2005, p. 37). Given these main concerns of the second paradigm, feminist translators should be conscious of not only gender policies, but also the power relations in general, and should fight against not only sexism but also against racism, homophobia and any other form of discrimination through their translation practices (Ergun, 2010a, p. 13).

All criticisms levelled at the first paradigm of FTS and the abovementioned paradigm shift that FTS has experienced and the new feminist translation conception of the second paradigm contributes to feminist translation’s development, expansion, and transformation. Especially with the contributions of different scholars from different geographies, who draw attention to its shortcomings, FTS has expanded its scope and continued to undergo certain transformations in recent years.

Two books within the series, Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies, namely *Feminist Translation Studies Local and Transnational Perspectives* (Castro & Ergun, 2017) and *Translating Women Different Voices and New Horizons* (von Flotow & Farahzad, 2017) which take into account the criticism of the first paradigm (i.e. mainstream feminist translation) and also reflect the achievements of the second paradigm, are significant in terms of displaying the expansion and transformation of FTS in recent years.

Castro and Ergun (2017) revealing that how FTS that emerged as a Western-dominated praxis in Francophone Canada and North America, expands to different geographies such as Latin America, East Asia, and the Middle East, claim, in line with the second paradigm, that definition of feminist translation should be expanded too. Accordingly, they define feminist translation as “a more intersectional and heterogeneous model of cross-border meaning-making” rather than “an exclusively gender-conscious approach” (2017, p. 2). Castro and Ergun (2017) draw attention to the deficiencies of previous studies within FTS and clarify the certain gaps that their collection aims to fill. Firstly, they state that previous studies have generally focused on the interaction between gender and translation and “the critical role of translation in the trans/formation of feminist politics remains to be studied thoroughly” (p. 2). Their collection intends to close this gap by focusing on the feminist politics of translation

and emphasizing the role of translation in the development and trans/formation of feminisms locally and transnationally, diachronically, and synchronically (pp. 2-3). They insist that translation plays a crucial role in the reinforcement of international feminist solidarities and the translational making of feminist dialogues could only be achieved through translators and translations (p. 6). Accordingly, they claim that “[t]he future of feminisms is in the transnational and the transnational is made through translation” (p. 1). Therefore, it is possible to say that their collection “discusses the manifold manifestations of feminism in translation and the equally multifaceted manifestations of translations in feminisms” (p. 11). Secondly, Castro and Ergun assert that Western-dominated perspective in FTS needs to be challenged because, according to them, such a kind of “cultural imperialism not only perpetuates the false impression that feminist translation is exclusively on and of the west but also discourages further knowledge production on and of non-western realities by keeping new scholarship deterred or invisible” (p. 3). To break this cultural imperialism and Western-dominated perspective in FTS, they compile essays examining feminist translation practices in different geographical contexts of China, France, Galicia, Germany, India, Iraq, Italy, Morocco, Poland, Spain, Turkey, the UK, and the US in their collection (p. 3). According to Castro and Ergun, the limited analytical focus on literary translation is the third gap of FTS which needs to be filled. “Not only does this narrow focus confine the theoretical, practical and political reach of the field, but it also wrongly implies that non-literary translation is neither creative nor political” (2017, p. 4). The gap in focusing solely or mostly on the translation of literary texts is also expressed in different studies. For example, Susam-Sarajeva emphasizes the “need to carry out more research on non-literary translation, such as media translation, translation of legal texts and medical texts, of school textbooks, and especially of texts in the social sciences” (2005, p. 174). Similarly, the editors of the collection titled *Translation Ideology and Gender* (2017) highlight, as Castro and Ergun do, “the need to broaden the perspective of the implications of gender and ideology beyond the literary domain in Translation Studies” (2017, p. 2) and hence their collection includes the studies examining the relationship between gender and translation in the health sciences. For Castro and Ergun, the fourth gap of FTS is “a lack of exploration of the links between feminist translation and other inter/disciplines” (p. 4). To fill this gap and to show interdisciplinary nature of FTS, they bring together essays which form and reinforce

the connection between “translation studies, feminist theories, queer theory, linguistics, anthropology, postcolonial studies, history, philosophy, cultural studies, globalisation studies, comparative literature and critical pedagogies” (p. 4).

The collection entitled *Translating Women Different Voices and New Horizons* (von Flotow & Farahzad, 2017) is another study which reflects the paradigm shift that FTS has undergone. This collection, prepared as a sequel to *Translating Women* (von Flotow, 2011) that was criticized for being Eurocentric, “brings in a series of different voices and new horizons – social, cultural and political- for the purpose of internationalizing translation studies, which, by definition, must be international, but which has long been dominated by Anglo-American and European perspectives” (von Flotow & Farahzad, 2017, p. xiii). This collection, which aims to break this hegemony and to go beyond European and Anglo-American narratives on feminist translation, includes the researches from countries such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Colombia, Morocco, Sri Lanka, China, Japan and even Eastern Europe. Thus, it challenges the Western-dominated perspective in FTS and contributes to filling the gap that is emphasized by Castro and Ergun (2017), too. In so doing, this collection shows that “[t]he instrumentalization of translation for political purposes is not restricted to the West” (p. xv.). Additionally, this collection, like *Feminist Translation Studies Local and Transnational Perspectives* (Castro & Ergun, 2017) does, highlights “the communicative power of translation –specifically for projects involving women and feminism” (von Flotow & Farahzad 2017, p. xv).

Apart from these two important up-to-date collections (Castro & Ergun, 2017; von Flotow & Farahzad, 2017), Susam-Sarajeva’s essay (2005) deserves special mention for indicating the certain gaps of FTS. In her essay, based on the insights she derived from teaching a course on ‘gender and translation’ (2005, p. 174), Susam-Sarajeva makes some suggestions to fill the gaps of FTS. She lists what FTS scholars should carry out as follows:

More research on non-literary translation, such as media translation, translation of legal texts and medical texts, of school textbooks, and especially of texts in the social sciences.

More research into interpreting situations, where the contexts and requirements are very different from those of translation.

More research on other languages and systems apart from the dominant ones, e.g. on translations from and into languages with no grammatical genders, such as Finnish or Turkish; on the ‘lost’ works of female writers/translators in strongly patriarchal societies, etc.

More research into other gender-related approaches apart from the ‘feminist’ ones. With a focus shifted slightly from the feminist/woman-oriented angle to wider forms of gender construction, which specifically include men, the findings can be much more convincing and appealing for a wider audience (Susam-Sarajeva, 2005, p. 175).

These suggestions offered by Susam-Sarajeva also reflect the paradigm shift in FTS and the expanded scope of feminist translation discussed throughout the section. The researcher selected the cases (i.e. two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin) analysed within the scope of this dissertation by considering abovementioned gaps and resultant paradigm shift in FTS. Accordingly, the analyses were conducted by taking into account the criticism and arguments of the second paradigm of FTS.

Meanwhile, it should also be stated that FTS continues to expand its scope. Especially in recent years, the number of studies trying to bring a gender perspective into audiovisual translation (Baumgarten 2005; De Marco 2006, 2012, 2013, 2016; von Flotow & Josephy-Hernández, 2019) and the studies focusing on queer translation (Harvey, 2000; Epstein & Gillett, 2017; Baer & Kaindl, 2018; Baer, 2020) is growing rapidly<sup>23</sup>. Due to time and space constraints, however, they could not be discussed in detail in this section.

The following section will provide general information about feminist translation studies and practices in Turkey. Thus, it will enable to evaluate the feminist translation practices on the websites within the specific context of Turkey.

### **2.2.2.1. Feminist translation studies in Turkey**

There has always been a close relationship between translation and the Turkish feminist movement. Ergun (2017) emphasizes that

[t]ranslation, as a form of cross-cultural contact, has always played a major role in the configuring, rejuvenating and expanding of the feminist movements in Turkey by providing feminists with ideational tools and resources that have been productive and proven politically effective in different geographical localities (p. 59).

Throughout history, translation has enabled Turkish women to access different feminist concepts, knowledge, and theories in the world, especially to the western ones, and hence to construct feminist language, feminist discourse and feminist consciousness in Turkey. When the historical development of feminism in Turkey is

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<sup>23</sup> For the most recent studies please see the collection entitled *The Routledge Handbook of Translation, Feminism and Gender* edited by Luise von Flotow and Hala Kamal (2020).



viewed from this perspective, the crucial role that translation has played for the feminist movement becomes more salient.

As stated under the heading 2.1.4.1., the first feminist movement in Turkey which is later called “Ottoman Feminism” (Çakır, 2007, p. 61), emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the last century of Ottoman Empire (Çakır, 2013, p. 431). Ottoman Feminism, which can be also considered as the first wave of feminism in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998), generally conducted associational and journalistic activities (Çakır, 2016). In the journals issued by educated, polyglot, middle-class Ottoman women who tried to define a new “Ottoman womanhood”, emerged many translated articles that served feminist purposes (Sirman, 1989, p. 8). These translations made important contributions to the growth of the Ottoman feminism. Along with the translations made from different languages into Ottoman Turkish, Ottoman feminists and *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women’s World), “the voice of an independent women’s movement and the most radical of the Ottoman women’s journals [...]” (Çakır, 2007, p. 69), did not ignore French, the international language of the time, and released French supplement of the Journal to communicate with women in different cultural groups of the Empire whose mother tongue is not Turkish and with other women living in different parts of the world (Akkent, 2013). Additionally, as their Western counterparts did, Ottoman feminists instrumentalised translation to get access into the male-dominated world of letters and hence the public sphere, and to make their voice heard. To illustrate, Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) known as the first Ottoman Turkish women translator and novelist, appeared in Turkish literary scene with her Turkish translation *Meram* (1891) of Georges Ohnet’s *Volonté* (1888) (Paker, 1991, pp. 279-280; Taneri-Uluköse, 2013; Karadağ, 2013a; 2013b). *Meram* is her first published translation (Karadağ, 2013a, p. 7). In her preface and epilogue accompanying her translation, Fatma Aliye makes herself visible as woman translator of the text (Karadağ, 2013a, 2013b) To highlight her female identity, she signed her translation as “Bir Kadın” (a woman) and “Mütercime-i Meram”<sup>24</sup> (translatress (lady translator) of Meram) (Karadağ, 2013a, p. 12; 2013b) and her translation surprised the people how a woman could understand French so well (Paker, 1991, p. 280). Although Fatma Aliye did not explicitly declare

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<sup>24</sup> In fact, Turkish language does not communicate gender grammatically; however, the suffix (-i) borrowed from Arabic may be used to indicate femaleness. Therefore, the word “mütercime-i” means (woman translator or translatress).

her real name in line with the publishing practices of the period, she refused to be completely invisible as a female translator (Karadağ, 2013a, p. 7; 2013b, 110). Writing a preface and epilogue accompanying the translation and signing her translation as “a woman”, Fatma Aliye performed a resistant and revolutionary act in a context in which male-dominated publication system oppressed women. However, ironically enough, as may be inferred from her preface, Fatma Aliye could perform this act only with the permission of her father and husband (Karadağ, 2013a, p. 6). In other words, the source of her boldness as an intellectual woman was paradoxically based on the men’s authority and protection (p. 8). Despite her resistant act and character, Fatma Aliye’s perception of woman and translation still reflected the patriarchal assumptions of the Ottoman literary world. Her preface revealed that she identified the original work with a dominant male figure, considered translation as a secondary and automatically feminine act (Karadağ, 2013a, 10; 2013b, p. 110). However, again ironically, this sexist translation conception enabled her to make translations and paved the way for her writing career. Thanks to her translation, Fatma Aliye became so famous in the literary and cultural system of the time (Karadağ, 2013a, p. 8) that although her real identity was revealed after a while, she continued to be known as “Mütercime-i Meram” for a long time. Like Fatma Aliye, different woman translators in the Ottoman Empire instrumentalised translation for entering into the literary canon (Karadağ, 2013b). They tried to leave their marks and make their voice heard through their prefaces and epilogues accompanying their translations (ibid.).

The 1980s may be the most critical period which shows how important translation is for the Turkish feminist movement. As stated under the heading 2.1.4.3., the real feminist awakening in Turkey emerged from the 1980s onwards (Çakır, 2007, p. 66; Özman, 2008; Sirman, 1989, p. 27; Tekeli, 2015, pp. 15-46; 2017, pp. 265-280). In the 1980s, for the first time, the feminist movement in Turkey took on an autonomous and radical character. Women strove for their feminist goals on their own. It should be noted that translation played a crucial role in the emergence of this feminist consciousness in the 1980s. Firstly, some feminist classics such as *Le Deuxième Sexe* of Simone de Beauvoir, *Sexual Politics* of Kate Millett and *The Dialectic of Sex* of Shulamith Firestone were translated into Turkish during the 1970s. These translations made it possible for Turkish women who did not know English and French, to meet

Western feminism. These first encounters provided a fruitful ground for the feminist awakening and translation in the 1980s.

When it came to the 1980s, the women who noticed that feminist consciousness can only be raised if women's movement takes on an autonomous character founded Kadın Çevresi Yayıncılık, Hizmet ve Danışmanlık Şirketi (Women's Circle Publishing, Service and Consulting Company) to facilitate feminist awakening in Turkey (Özman, 2008). Women's Circle, considered as the first feminist publishing house in Turkey, "played a central role in the post-1980s feminist movement by translating feminist classics into Turkish and facilitating the growth of a local epistemological and theoretical repertoire of feminism" (Ergun, 2017, p. 43). The translations published by Women's Circle enabled Turkish women to contact with western feminism and played a crucial and trans/formative role in the blossoming of feminist consciousness and politics in Turkey (Ergun, 2017). Turkish feminists imported foreign feminist terminology through these translations (p. 45), and hence constructed feminist language and discourse in Turkey (p. 44). The concepts introduced into Turkish through these translations "should not be underrated since these naming practices have paved the way for the creation and legitimation of new critical discourses and alternative political spaces to deconstruct and reconstruct women's lives in Turkey" (p. 45). Additionally, it can be said that the translations published by Women's Circle set the good examples of feminist translation because they include long translators' prefaces that reveal translation processes, translators' choices and motivations and thereby increasing the translators' visibility (Göl, 2015). As well as the books translated throughout the 1970s and 1980s, translated articles published in feminist journals such as *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs* issued during the 1980s contributed to the rise of feminist politics in Turkey.

Turkish women thus became acquainted with feminist politics and discourse in different parts of the World through translations they made. Interestingly enough, Turkish women also became aware of their own feminist history through translation. Owing to the intralingual translations and/or transliterations made from Ottoman into contemporary Turkish, Turkish feminists have learned about Ottoman Feminism and discovered that the history of the feminist movement in Turkey dates back to the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this respect, Women's Library and Information Centre

Foundation's vigorous efforts to translate and/or transliterate women's journals written in the Ottoman alphabet to the Latin alphabet and to publish them as bibliographies deserve special mentions. These intralingual translations and/or transliterations have provided contemporary Turkish feminists with a chance to discover the inspiring feminist struggles of their grand grand grandmothers.

Translation still plays an active role in the feminist movement in Turkey. A wide range of Turkish publishing houses, especially those with a separate women library including İletişim, Metis, Ayrıntı and Sel, and the Turkish feminist publishing houses, namely Ayizi and Güldünya publish the Turkish translations of feminist and/or women writers' works and contribute to the enlargement and growth of related canons in Turkey. In the same way, the works of Turkish women writers have continued to be translated into different languages thanks to the initiatives of different translational agents, thereby increasing their visibility through translation.

As stated in the first section of this chapter, feminism has been going through a digital transformation thanks to the internet, and the effects of this transformation can be easily observed in the Turkish feminist movement, too. Turkish feminists use the internet extensively in line with their feminist causes. Accordingly, especially in recent years, translations published on digital platforms have also highly contributed to the growth of feminist politics and consciousness in Turkey. Given the fact that translations on digital platforms can reach many more women in a shorter period of time, it can be claimed that they have the potential to create a greater impact than printed translations.

Despite the fundamental role it has played in the Turkish feminist movement, “translation [has been] disregarded or disparaged in the feminist historiographies, even in narratives [of feminists]” (Ergun, 2017, p. 46). Turkish feminists have not problematized “translation” sufficiently. In other words, translation “has not received the affirmative attention it deserves” (p. 46). Accordingly, “the topic of feminist translation has drawn little attention from [feminists, translators and translation studies scholars], although the longstanding translation studies departments are academically prolific and the vibrant feminist movements in the country have been nourished greatly by translation” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 17). There are different reasons behind the lack of interest in feminist translation in Turkey (Braun, 2001; Ergun, 2010a, 2017):

grammatically genderless structure of the Turkish language and consequently, the lack of feminist linguistic activism in Turkey can be considered as the first reason behind the disinterest in feminist translation in the country (Braun, 2001, p. 303; Ergun, 2010a; p. 11; Ergün, 2013a, p. 17). Although the Turkish language includes some sexist and homophobic uses stemming from male-dominated proverbs, slang and generic use of “man” (Braun, 2001; Ergun, 2010a, pp. 11-12), “gender does not appear to figure prominently in the Turkish language, [and] Turkish lacks grammatical gender distinctions and only rarely demands any overt indication of the gender of persons referred to” (Braun, 2001, p. 284). That is why Turkish feminist movement “ha[s] not engaged in large-scale interrogation of meaning-making processes and language as a major institution of systematic gender oppression” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 17) and thus the political power of language has not yet been sufficiently recognized in the Turkish feminist movement (Ergun, 2010a, p. 11). Accordingly, in Turkey, “the links between translation and gender politics have not been fully recognized as a significant area of scholarly research and political action” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 17).

The second reason lies in the translation and translator perception in Turkey. Within Turkey’s dominant cultural ethos, translation is considered as secondary, derivative and uncreative copy against the overvalued precedence source text (Ergun, 2017, p. 48). In other words, “translation is discredited as second-hand reproduction as opposed to the celebrated creativity and assumed singularity of the original” (pp. 47-48). As Ergun’s analysis (2017) of the documentary, *İsyani Nisvan* (2008), explicitly shows that even the most prominent Turkish feminists of the 1980s do not acknowledge translation’s activist power and its contributive and collaborative effects on the Turkish feminist movement, on the contrary, “portray translation as some sort of distraction from [real] feminist politics” (p. 47). Because of the abovementioned translation perception, translation’s crucial effects on the Turkish feminist movement “not only remained understudied in both translation studies and feminist studies in Turkey but are denied or left unrecognized in the dominant origin story of the feminist movement” (Ergun, 2017, p. 50). As Ergün (2013a) emphasizes that

[i]nterestingly enough, many of the writings on the history of feminism in Turkey do mention Turkish translations of key feminist texts, such as Simone de Beauvoir’s and Kate Millett’s works, yet solely as a sidenote. Neither the textual translation processes of these works as crucial political projects of the feminist movement, nor their enhancing, interventionist and transformative effects are brought under close historical scrutiny. Thus, the translational

reinforcement of the feminist consciousness and movement remains undertheorized in the feminist historiography literature of Turkey (p. 17).

Given the fact that Turkish feminist movement “begins (and continues) in and through translation” (p. 51), this derivative position of translation in the minds of the Turkish feminists becomes more interesting.

In brief, despite the crucial and trans/formative role translation has played throughout the history of the Turkish feminist movement, feminist translation, neither as a theory nor as a practice, has a chance to flourish within the specialized contexts of Turkish language and culture. In other words, compared to the Canadian, American or many European countries’ contexts, Turkey’s specialized context (i.e. grammatically genderless structure of the Turkish language, the lack of feminist linguistic activism, the perception of translation as a derivative action and the overvalued notion of fidelity to be directed towards source text and author) does not provide a suitable environment for feminist translation (Bora, 2009, p. 84). Therefore, in Turkey, as in the countries like Italy (Federici, 2017)<sup>25</sup>, the number of translators who actively use mainstream/Canadian feminist translation strategies and clearly identify themselves as feminist translators are almost non-existent. In this regard, Emek Ergun and her translations of *Virgin: The Untouched History* (Blank, 2017) and *Kindred* (Butler, 2019) are the most important exceptions in Turkey. Ergun who earned B.A. in Translation Studies and M.A. in Gender Studies (Bora, 2009, p. 84) and wrote an interdisciplinary PhD dissertation focusing on “the geo/political role of translation in connecting (and separating) feminist activists, discourses and movements across borders” (Castro & Ergun, 2017, p. 236) is an activist-translator (ibid.). She is also an Assistant Professor who teaches feminist translation and has academic studies on the subject. In her 24-page long preface accompanying her translation of *Virgin: The Untouched History* of Hanne Blank, Ergun defines herself as a feminist translator and

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<sup>25</sup> “It is very hard to find cases of declared feminist translators working in Italy and one of the biggest difficulties is probably to establish clear principles which allow us to define a translation as “feminist” taking into account acknowledged feminist strategies such as supplementing, prefacing, footnoting and hijacking” (Federici, 2017, p. 140). In Italy “[e]ven translators who know about feminist translation practices and who are feminist (because of their writing, political activity, social visibility) do not dare to publish a feminist translation” (p. 150). “The first reason is economic and it is linked to the publishing market; the second reason is related to the idea of translation itself and to the importance of the notion of fidelity in the translating process; the third reason is more personal and connected to the translator’s division between public and private role, that is to say, translators are sometimes feminist thinkers known for their participation in feminist causes, but they seem convinced that their work as translators is something different and completely detached from the political position” (pp. 141-2).

her translation as a feminist translation (Bora, 2009, p. 84). This is, as far as is known, the first and only time a translator in Turkey explicitly defines herself/himself as a feminist translator in her/his translation (ibid.). Throughout her translation, Ergun benefited from both textual and paratextual mainstream feminist translation strategies. Firstly, she wrote a 24-page preface “to situate the political narratives of Virgin in the historical context of Turkey” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 21). In her preface, she “questioned the heteropatriarchal concept of virginity, criticized the mainstream politics of virginity in the country and highlighted feminist activism on the issue, but also defined [her] translation strategies as ‘feminist’ [...]” (p. 21). Ergun who argues that translation made by a feminist translator bears traces of her feminist identity and her commitment to the feminist movement (Bora, 2009, p. 84), revealed her own feminist identity through her translation of the term ‘hymen’ (Ergün, 2013a, pp. 19-20-21; Bora, 2009, p. 84). She explains why she translated the term ‘hymen’ as a ‘himen’ (a term borrowed from English and mostly used in medical discourse) rather than as ‘kızlık zarı’ (membrane of girlhood) as follows:

In Turkish, the most widely known terms for virginity are bekâret (‘virginity’) and kızlık (‘girlhood’), with ‘virgin’ (presumably unmarried) women referred to as bakire (‘virgin’) or more often as kız (‘girl’). Similarly, hymen is referred to as kızlık zarı (‘membrane of girlhood’). [...] Given this heteropatriarchal sociolinguistic background, the question I had to answer in my translation was how to translate ‘hymen’ into a phallogocentric language that defined womanhood on the bases of the vagina and its penile penetration. In order to refrain from creating a text that would play into the discursive configuration of women’s bodies on the basis of the male norm, I decided to translate ‘hymen’ as himen, a word borrowed from English and used almost exclusively in medical contexts in Turkish. I chose to use himen, rather than kızlık zarı, because the term sounded more neutral, in part because it is a medical term with associations of ‘objectivity’, but more importantly because it is an ‘alien’ word lacking a history of sociolinguistic interactions with other sexist discourses circulating in the cultural sphere and thus, at least on the surface, does not have the immediate sexist connotations that ‘the membrane of girlhood’ brings into mind (Ergün, 2013a, pp. 19-20).

Besides translating ‘hymen’ as ‘himen’ rather than ‘kızlık zarı’ and writing a long preface, Ergun also benefitted from translator’s notes to reveal her political and feminist identity, and how her feminist identity affects her translation, and to make her presence as a translator visible to readers (Ergün, 2013a, p. 21; Bora, 2009, p. 84). Additionally, in an interview published in the feminist journal, *Amargi*, (Bora, 2009), Ergun states that selection of the text to be translated is one of the foremost phases of the translation process and hence she prefers translating texts that will contribute to the women’s movement or increase the visibility of women, trigger positive dialogue and changes in the social sphere, and enable feminist ideas, discourses and theories to

travel within intercultural context (p. 84). She also emphasizes that she never wants to spend her energy and time translating sexist, racist, homophobic works (ibid.).

Although Ergun explicitly identifies herself as a feminist translator and uses mainstream feminist translation strategies in her translations of *Virgin: The Untouched History* and *Kindred*, she recognizes that the specific context of Turkey does not provide a suitable ground for feminist translation for the reasons discussed above. She highlights that she did not face an obstacle while performing feminist translation because *Virgin: The Untouched History* is a feminist work and she received the support of the publishing house (İletişim Yayınları is one of the few publishing houses in Turkey which have separate women library) and the feminist editor, Aksu Bora who is one of the leading figures of Turkish feminist movement and of the founders of Turkish feminist publishing house, Ayizi (Bora, 2009, p. 84). However, she thinks that any feminist intervention applied during the translation of a sexist text will be opposed in Turkey (ibid.). Additionally, Ergun claims that compared to the languages which have semantic gender, it is much more difficult to mark the feminine and to perform textual feminist translation strategies in the Turkish language which does not communicate gender grammatically and therefore Turkish translators need to find out innovative ways in compliance with their feminist objectives (Ergun, 2010b).

Despite the abovementioned difficulties and obstacles encountered during practice, there is an increasing academic interest in the field of feminist translation in Turkey in recent years which is worth considering. The master's and doctoral theses on feminist translation theory and/or practice (Özçelik, 2003, 2009; Göl, 2015; Ak, 2017; Akçasoy, 2017; Pirpir, 2018; Dağabak, 2018) and scholarly articles written by Turkish authors (Koş, 2007; Bozkurt, 2014; Gülal, 2015a, 2015b; Ergun, 2010a, 2010b, 2013a, 2013b, 2017; Öztürk, 2017; Taş, 2018; Öner, 2018; Sancaktaroğlu Bozkurt, 2018; Saki-Demirel & Tarakcıoğlu, 2019; Sancaktaroğlu Bozkurt & Okyayuz, 2020) are strongly indicative of the recently growing academic interest in feminist translation in Turkey. Moreover, there have recently emerged some archival works (Akbatır, 2011; Karadağ, 2013a; 2013b; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2019) focusing on the relationship between women and translation, the Turkish women writers translated into different languages and the Turkish women translators playing a prominent role in the construction of Turkish culture repertoire.



This study claims that the recently growing academic interest in feminist translation and theoretical knowledge that these academic studies provide will raise awareness regarding feminist translation practices in Turkey. The fact that the first and foremost mainstream feminist translation practice, the Turkish translation of *Virgin: The Untouched History*, was performed by Emek Ergun who has theoretical knowledge and academic studies on feminist translation confirm the claim defending feminist translation theory and practice trigger each other. Accordingly, this study which examines the feminist translation practices on two Turkish feminist websites *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* is also expected to contribute to raise awareness of feminist translation in Turkey and demonstrate the importance of translation for the Turkish feminist movement.

### **2.2.3. Sociological Turn and/or Sociology of Translation**

As discussed in detail under the heading 2.2.2., FTS which questions secondary and inferior positions of translation and woman in society opposes the invisibility of (especially the woman) translator and emphasizes that translation is greatly influenced by translator's ideology, and hence a feminist translation bears traces of a feminist translator womanhandling her translation. From that point of view, in an academic study examining feminist translation practices by drawing on FTS, it is not possible to ignore the translators performing these practices. Accordingly, this study will put special attention to translators and editors to reveal their role and position in these feminist translation practices. In so doing, this study will also benefit from translation sociology and the conceptual and methodological frameworks it provides.

Translation sociology which claims that translation is a social practice (Wolf & Fukari, 2007; Wolf, 2007; 2010; 2014) and mainly focuses on people and their observable behaviour and actions (Chesterman, 2006, p. 9; 2007, pp. 173-174) and hence “foreground[s] the role of agents<sup>26</sup> involved in the translation process” (Wolf, 2014, p. 10) has emerged at the turn of the new millennium as a consequence of the “sociological turn” that TS has undergone (Angelelli, 2014). With the sociological turn, “increasing attention has been paid to the agency of translators and interpreters,

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<sup>26</sup> “These agents may be text producers, mediators who modify the text such as those who produce abstracts, editors, revisers, and translators, commissioners and publishers” (Milton & Bandia, 2009, p. 1).

as well as to the social factors that permeate acts of translation and interpreting” (Angelelli, 2014, p. 1). In other words, with the sociological turn, “the study of translators and the social nature of translation have become centre stage in translation studies research” (Munday, 2016, p. 236).

In fact, cultural turn’s target-oriented systemic approaches and theories (i.e. Functional Approaches, Polysystem Theory, Descriptive Translation Studies, Manipulation School) stress the social nature of translation and reinforce the idea of translation as a social practice too and thereby paving the way for translation sociology (Buzelin, 2013, p. 186; Wolf, 2007; 2010). However, they either fail to integrate actual translational agents and institutions into their framework and to explain close interaction between agents and society, or fail to link their theories and approaches to socially driven methodologies and to discuss them within a coherent theoretical framework (Wolf, 2007, pp. 7-10). To put it more simply, they lack “methodological instruments to help give detailed insight into the social conditions of the translator’s and other agents’ labour and into the social forces that drive the translation process” (Wolf, 2007, p. 10). Toury who is aware of this deficiency states that “I believe it is about time [to supply] better, more comprehensive and more flexible explanations of translational behaviour of individuals within a social context” (Toury, 1999, as cited in Wolf, 2007, p. 9).

Translation sociology has emerged at the turn of the new millennium as an attempt to address the abovementioned lack of conceptual and methodological framework in TS. Sociological approaches to translation which view translation as a social practice and foregrounds the role of the agents involved in the translation process mainly argue that

[a]ny translation, as both an enactment and a product, is necessarily embedded within social contexts. On the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; to the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and, as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself (Wolf, 2007, 1; 2014, p. 10).

That is to say, according to translation sociology “translation [is] social activity involving agents (such as authors, translators, editors, critics, literary agents, and government officials) and institutions (such as translation schools, literary and academic journals, publishing houses, translation prizes, and professional associations” (Sapiro, 2014, p. 82). In brief, translation sociology is based on two basic

arguments: first, translation is an inherently social activity that is deeply affected by social configurations and hence reflects and shapes social interactions (Buzelin, 2013, p. 187; Wolf, 2010, p. 337); and second, “translators and interpreters are indeed social agents” (Angelelli, 2014, p. 5) as a constructing and constructed subject in society (Wolf, 2007, p. 1).

In fact, “translation sociology” is an umbrella term that covers “sociology of agents” focusing on translators and other translational agents, “sociology of the translation process” scrutinizing the act of translating and translation process, and “sociology of the cultural product” dealing with the flow, role, and importance, of translation as a cultural product in and for society (Chesterman, 2006, p. 12; Wolf, 2007, p. 13). In this respect, it is possible to say that translation sociology covers a wide range of research areas, because as Heilbron and Sapiro state that

a proper sociological analysis embraces the whole set of social relations within which translations are produced and circulated. [...] A sociological approach to translation must therefore take into account several aspects of the conditions of transnational circulation of cultural goods: firstly, the structure of the field of international cultural exchanges; secondly, the type of constraints – political and economic – that influence these exchanges; and thirdly, the agents of intermediation and the processes of importing and receiving in the recipient country (2007, pp. 94-95).

As may be inferred from the excerpt above, translation sociology tries to shed new light upon translation phenomenon, focus on a broad subject area and hence provide a more holistic point of view. Moira Inghilleri summarizes this wide subject area of translation sociology as follows:

Research in this area has focused on a diverse array of actual and potential sites and activities. These include: the educational institutions where training is provided; training pedagogies; the relationship between training and professional work conditions; the relationship between research and training; the social constitution of professional organizations; and the social and biological trajectories of translators and interpreters. In addition, the sociology of translation takes as its object of investigation questions concerning: the function of translation in the global distribution and reception of cultural goods; the influence of market forces on translation practices; the role of translation and interpreting in articulating socio political and symbolic claims of the nation state; translation and globalization; translation and activism; and translators’ agency (2009, p. 279).

Focusing on such “various research fields which so far have been under-researched and/or under-theorized” (Wolf, 2010, p. 337), translation sociology expands the focus and insights of TS (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 282; Wolf, 2014, p. 11). The insights gained from translation sociology are manifold. First and foremost, translation sociology provides a sociological eye and insight into translation studies and delivers significant results in terms of methodology (Wolf & Fukari, 2007; Wolf, 2007; 2010, p. 341;

2014, p. 11). Bibliographical research and questionnaires, interviews and observation are the methods frequently used within translation sociology (Buzelin, 2013, pp. 190-191). The concepts and methodological tools borrowed from sociology, “enable the conceptualization of the social settings underlying the translation procedure” (Wolf, 2014, p. 11) and thus deepening understanding of translation phenomenon (Wolf, 2010, p. 341; 2014, p. 11). As Wolf emphasizes,

drawing mostly on analytical tools from social sciences, [translation sociology] has deepened both our understanding of the mechanisms that underlie the manifestations of translatorial invisibility and of the interactional relations that exist between the external conditions of a text’s creation and the adoption of the various translation strategies (2010, p. 341).

Within this perspective, translation sociology also foregrounds the central positions of translations and translators in the de/re/construction of society. It attempts to explain power relations underlying the translation process by associating them with translation’s and the translator’s situatedness in society (Wolf, 2010, p. 341; 2014, p. 11). Accordingly, the studies focusing on the translator’s agency and her/his professional, social and political positions in society, inevitably come to the fore. Foregrounding translators’ agency is crucial because it provides a cognitive perspective that TS needs to bridge between textual and cultural perspectives (Chesterman, 2007). Additionally, translation sociology enables translation studies to discuss agency and society in more interdisciplinary terms (Angelelli, 2014, p. 1). “Therefore, the inter-disciplinarity of Translation and Interpreting Studies, one could say, is more evident now than ever before” (p. 2).

Drawing on this interdisciplinary nature of TS, translation sociology has benefitted from various sociological perspectives of the sociologists. “Major reflections on social perspectives of translation up to now have been largely inspired by the work of some sociologists, in particular by Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, Niklas Luhmann, Anthony Giddens, Joachim Renn and Martin Fuchs [...]” (Wolf, 2010, p. 338). Due to time and space constraints, however, the following section will focus only on Pierre Bourdieu and his sociology and conceptual tools that will contribute to this study conceptually and theoretically.

### **2.2.3.1. Pierre Bourdieu and his sociology and conceptual framework**

Translation sociology benefits from the theories and conceptual frameworks of many different sociologists. However, it can be claimed that Pierre Bourdieu has so far been

the most prominent name among these sociologists. Focusing on feminist translation practices on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, and scrutinizing the interrelations between translational agents (translators and editors) and these feminist translation practices, this study will draw on Pierre Bourdieu's sociology and conceptual tools. Before discussing how Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical and conceptual framework has so far been utilized by translation studies scholars, and most importantly, how and why this study will benefit from his conceptual tools, there is a need to review his theoretical and conceptual framework, albeit briefly.

Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most influential and distinctive French sociologists, is both a prominent theorist and empirical researcher who mined extraordinarily wide array of topics ranging from religion to science, from literature and publishing to painting, from social suffering and male domination to journalism and television (Calhoun, 2011, p. 361; Wacquant, 1998, pp. 216-217; 2016, p. 55). As Calhoun summarizes:

[Bourdieu] analyzed labor markets in Algeria, symbolism in the calendar and the house of Kabyle peasants, marriage patterns in his native Béarn region of France, photography as an art form and hobby, museum goers and patterns of taste, modern universities, the rise of literature as a distinct field of endeavor, the reproduction of masculine domination, and the sources of misery and poverty amid the wealth of modern societies (Calhoun, 2011, p. 361).

This extraordinary empirical variety and his original conceptual world that resist easy summary make it difficult to pin down Bourdieu's sociology at first sight (Swartz, 1998, p. 4; Wacquant, 1998, p. 217; 2016, p. 56). Additionally, "Bourdieu never wrote a synthesis of his own theory or an introduction to it. This makes starting to learn it a challenge." (Calhoun, 2011, p. 388). However, it does not mean that there is not any coherence and continuity among his writings that can ease readers' understanding. In other words, as Wacquant highlights:

[w]ith over thirty books and nearly four hundred articles oft couched in a difficult technical idiom, Bourdieu's thought might seem on first sight daunting if not intractable. But beneath the bewildering variety of empirical objects he has tackled lie a small set of theoretical principles, conceptual devices, and scientific-cum-political intentions that give his writings remarkable coherence and continuity (Wacquant, 1998, p. 217).

In his writings, Bourdieu emphasizes that there is "an organic relation, indeed a veritable fusion, between theory and method" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 219). According to Bourdieu, "theory and research are inseparable parts of one sociological enterprise" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 361). That is why, Bourdieu tries to bring theory and empirical research together in his studies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu's "conception of social action, structure and knowledge is resolutely antidualistic" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 217). That is to say, he strives to dissolve the inherited categories and oppositions in social science (ibid.). Accordingly, he tries to overcome the antinomy of Objectivism and Subjectivism (Swartz, 1998, pp. 52-60; Wacquant, 1998, p. 220). "[Structuralist] Objectivism holds that social reality consists of sets of relations and forces [social structures] that impose themselves upon agents, 'irrespective of their consciousness and will'" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 220). On the other hand, "[Constructivist] Subjectivism [...] takes individual representations [mental structures] as its basis [and] asserts that social reality is but the sum total of the innumerable acts of interpretation whereby people jointly construct meaningful lines of (inter)action" (ibid.). Bourdieu's sociology criticizes both structuralist objectivism and constructivist subjectivism for neglecting a part of social reality (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 280). Moreover, Bourdieu insists that the opposition between these two approaches artificial because "social structures and mental structures are interlinked by a twofold relationship of mutual constitution and correspondence" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 220). Therefore, Bourdieu advocates relational constructivist or 'genetic structuralism' (*structuralisme génétique*) which synthesizes constructivist and structuralist approaches and bridges the divide between these two extremes by emphasizing their relational natures (Swartz, 1998, pp. 61-62; Wacquant, 1998, p. 222).

[T]he analysis of objective structures - those of the various fields - is inseparable from the analysis of the genesis within biological individuals of their mental structures which are in part the product of the internalization of these very social structures, and from the analysis of the genesis of these structures themselves (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19).

Besides bridging the gap between structuralist and constructivist theories, Bourdieu also "urge[s] sociologists to be "reflexive,"<sup>27</sup> to study and analyse the conditions of their own work and how these might shape their perception and even their theories" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 362). Bourdieu "defend[s] reflexivity as an instrument for increasing scientific autonomy" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 183) because "[...] reflexivity offers the opportunity to see how the organization of the intellectual or academic field as a whole influences the knowledge that is produced within it"

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<sup>27</sup> "Reflexivity refers to the need continually to turn the instruments of social science back upon the sociologist [...]" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 225). "Reflexivity is achieving the capacity to look analytically at oneself, to take an external view of one's own action. This starts with seeing oneself from the point of view of others, but it also includes seeing how objective conditions and cultural influences shape one's own actions" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 375).

(Calhoun, 2011, p. 376). “Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology has as its central aim a critique of power as constituted in cultural, social and historical practices” (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 138). Bourdieu’s influential book “*Homo Academicus* [1984/1988] is the concrete implementation of the imperative of Reflexivity” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 226).

The imperative of reflexivity mirrors Bourdieu’s critical and activist point of view and his “scientific-cum-political intentions”. In his writings, Bourdieu tries to unveil the mechanisms underlying power relations and domination in various social contexts such as the educational system, media, academia, arts and literature (Bourdieu 1977, 1988, 1996, as cited in Buzelin, 2013, p. 187). Thus, “[...] Bourdieu has doggedly pursued a single aim: to forestall or prevent abuses of power in the name of reason and to disseminate instruments of resistance to symbolic domination” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 229). In other words, Bourdieu, politically opposes to domination and social inequality, tries both to explore hidden and invisible hierarchal power relations in society and “[to] point to the social conditions under which these hierarchies can be challenged, transformed, nay overturned” (p. 217). That is to say, Bourdieu uses his scientific authority to question power relations, domination and social inequality (ibid).

Bourdieu builds his social theory on his original key concepts of field, habitus, practice, capital, *illusio*, and *doxa* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). “The concepts of habitus, capital, and field are [...] internally linked to one another as each achieves its full analytical potency only in tandem with the others” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 223).

As emphasized before, Bourdieu advocates relational constructivist or ‘genetic structuralism’ emphasizing mutual interrelation between social and mental structures. In fact, all central concepts of Bourdieu draw on this dialectical relationality. “Bourdieu’s conceptual formulation does not oppose individual and society as two separate sorts of being – one external to the other – but constructs them “relationally” as if they are two dimensions of the same social reality” (Swartz, 1998, p. 96). Bourdieu, especially through his concept of habitus, tries to grasp and reveal this relationality between social and mental structures. In one of his early works, *Algeria 1960 The disenchantment of the world, the sense of honour, the Kabyle house or the world reversed* (1979), Bourdieu defines **habitus** briefly as “a system durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured,

objectively unified practices” (p. vii). The following two similar definitions make it possible to better understand the concept of habitus. According to Bourdieu, habitus is

[...] a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems (Bourdieu, 1971 (1966), p. 183).

and

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

Actually, both of these definitions emphasize the structured and structuring nature of habitus. For Bourdieu habitus is “structured and structuring structure” (1984, p. 171). Habitus is “structuring” because it shapes our present and future practices unconsciously (Maton, 2008, p. 51) and through habitus “we perceive, judge and act in the world” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 220). In other words, “Habitus generates perceptions, aspirations, and practices that correspond to the structuring properties of earlier socialization” (Swartz, 1998, p. 103). On the other hand, Habitus “is “structured” by one’s past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences” (Maton, 2008, p. 51). That is to say, habitus, unconscious schemata, is “acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities” (Wacquant, 1998, pp. 220-221). Therefore “[t]o speak of habitus is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, collective. Habitus is a socialized subjectivity. [...] [That means] human mind is socially bounded, socially structured” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126). Habitus “is the product of an individual history, but also, through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class” (Bourdieu, 1990, as cited in Gouanvic, 2005, pp. 158-159). Additionally, habitus “is a “structure” in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned” (Maton, 2008, p. 51). It is acquired through repetition and it becomes something that agents know in their bodies not just in their minds (Calhoun, 2011, p. 362). Emphasizing its “structured” and “structuring” nature, Bourdieu defines his concept of habitus in different ways in his



different writings. Wacquant compiles Bourdieu's various short definitions of habitus as follows:

Bourdieu defines [habitus] variously as the 'the product of structure, producer of practice, and reproducer of structure', the 'unchosen principle of all choices', or 'the practice-unifying and practice-generating principle' that permits 'regulated improvisation' and the 'conductorless orchestration' of conduct (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221).

Meanwhile, it needs to be stated that for Bourdieu, "Habitus is not the fate [...]. It is durable but not eternal" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133), because it "is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures" (ibid.).

**Field** is another central concept of Bourdieu. He defines field as:

a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 40–41).

Based on this definition, it can be said that field refers to the social space in which social interactions and struggles take place (Calhoun, 2011, p. 380). "The field refers to a relatively autonomous (though not closed) sphere of interaction where the agents inhabiting the field share a common set of rules and agenda" (Buzelin, 2013, p. 187). In Bourdieu's agonistic vision of a society, field "is the site of endless and pitiless competition [among different people]" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 218). In other words, "[f]ields are sites for the confrontation of various forces, individual and institutional, and for the production, dissemination, and authorization of different forms of [...] capital" (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 280). All the individuals take a position in the field in line with their habitus and capitals and in a dialectical relation with other people's positions in the field. That is to say, "[i]t is within the context of particular fields and through the habitus – embodied dispositions acquired through individuals' social and biological trajectories and continually shaped and negotiated vis-a-vis fields – that social agents establish and consolidate their positions in social space" (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 280). "A field is a structured system of social positions occupied by individuals and institutions, the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants" (Bourdieu 1984, as cited in Wolf, 2010, p. 339). "Each field demands a distinctive habitus from its members, sets of skills and predispositions that enable them to work effectively in it but also commit them to its values" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 380). However, it does not

mean that there is a constant agreement between field (social structures) and habitus (mental structure). There is an interdependent and mutual conditioning relationship between field and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127) and cases of reproduction arise when field and habitus are in agreement and reinforce each other (Wacquant, 1998, p. 223). But it needs to be taken into consideration that “[s]truggle, not ‘reproduction’, is master metaphor at the core of [Bourdieu’s] thought” (p. 218) and transformation, innovation, crises or structural change can emerge when discordances arise between field and habitus (Wacquant, 1998, p. 223; Bourdieu, 2013, p. 74). It is agents and their position in the field that lead to reproduction or transformation in the field. As Wacquant highlights that

position in the field inclines agents toward particular patterns of conduct: those who occupy the dominant positions in a field tend to pursue strategies of conservation (of the existing distribution of capital) while those relegated to subordinate locations are more liable to deploy strategies of subversion (1998, p. 222).

As may be inferred from the excerpt above, “[t]he dynamics of a field are governed by the agent’s attempts at acquiring [capital].” (Buzelin, 2013, p. 187). In other words, in a competitive field, agents can reproduce or transform existing structure and **doxa** that means “the taken-for-granted, preconscious understandings of the world and our place in it that shape our more conscious awarenesses” (Calhoun, 2011, p. 373) while striving to maintain or improve their position and to acquire and accumulate capital. Actually, Bourdieu discusses the field concept through the game metaphor. For Bourdieu, field represents a game field. Each player participating in the game has **illusio**. As Inghilleri states

Bourdieu’s concept of *illusio* refers to the feel for and belief in the game, i.e. the tacit knowledge that allows social agents, relatively unquestioningly, to make sense of what is happening around them and to make decisions as to how to act appropriately in the moment (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 280).

In other words, *illusio* is a thing/feel that originates adherence to the game which grounds the belief in the importance or interest of playing the game (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 128). It is “*illusio* which keeps social actors invested in certain social practices” (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 139).

**Capital** is another important concept of Bourdieu. He has a more comprehensive understanding of capital than Marx, who focuses only on economic and material capital. In Bourdieu’s sociology, capital refers to all “resources that structure what is possible for different individuals or groups to do, and that from the “stakes” of social

struggles” (Calhoun, 2011, p. 380). In other words, “capital is any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221). Accordingly, the concept of capital represents “the sum of the social agent’s determinations, i.e., the qualities or distinctive features he or she develops, incorporates and represents” (Wolf, 2010, p. 339). According to Bourdieu,

capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248, original emphasis).

Besides economic capital (material possessions), cultural capital (education, titles, forms of knowledge, taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences; language), and social capital (affiliations and networks accrued by virtue of membership in a group), Bourdieu also mentions about symbolic capital (prestige or social honour) that represents a synthesis of economic, social and cultural capitals (Buzelin, 2013, p. 187; Thomson, 2008, p. 69; Wacquant, 1998, p. 221; Wolf, 2010, p. 339). “[S]ymbolic capital, designates the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive them as such (when we attribute moral qualities to members of the upper class as a result of their ‘donating’ time and money to charities)” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221). All these forms of capital, inherited, cultivated, or accumulated by the agents, are convertible into each other and they play a crucial role in assigning the agents’ positions in the field. Additionally, unlike Marx who “defines classes exclusively in the economic sphere, by their position in the relations of production, Bourdieu argues that classes arise in the conjunction of shared position in social space and shared dispositions actualized in the sphere of consumption [...]” (Wacquant, 1998, p. 225).

As is clearly understood from the whole discussion above, there is a close interaction between the concepts of habitus, field and capital and agents’ practices arise from this relationality. Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) explains this relation through the following equation:

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

This equation means that “practice results from relations between one’s dispositions (habitus) and one’s position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that

social arena (field)” (Maton, 2008, p. 51). Therefore, not simply habitus but rather relations between habitus, capital and field generate agents’ practice (Calhoun, 2011, p. 364; Maton, 2008, p. 52).

So, it is possible to say that Bourdieu utilizes his relational concepts of habitus, field, capital, and *illusio* to examine the concrete practices of agents. In doing so, he aims to both explain and potentially transform the social interactions, struggles, and domination in the field/social space (Inghilleri, 2009, p. 280).

### **2.2.3.2. Bourdieusian translation sociology**

Pierre Bourdieu’s original conceptual tools, his sociological approach which transcends the classical individual-society dualism and combines theory and practice, and his activist identity make him one of the most leading names in today’s sociology. Accordingly, Bourdieusian sociology has offered an application in TS as well as in a wide range of disciplines such as education, history, linguistics, political science, philosophy, aesthetics, and literature (Bogenç-Demirel, 2014, p. 403). In fact, “[...] Bourdieu’s theory was not designed for translation, but there is nothing precluding a sociological theory of translation from drawing upon his ideas” (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 121). On the contrary, Bourdieu is “one of the sociologists whose theory is most applicable to translation” (ibid.) and his sociological approach and conceptual tools offer a fruitful framework for scrutinizing translation phenomena both as a product and process. To put it more clearly:

[...] Pierre Bourdieu’s theory is liable to contribute a fruitful framework to translation studies with its sociological analysis of practice. Bourdieusian sociology allows for all of the characteristics of translation to be addressed: from the influences on translation in the source society to the translation as a product in the target society, translation agents (most importantly the translator, but also the publisher, series director, critic...), and translation as production (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 128).

For this reason, Bourdieu’s sociology and his conceptual toolkit have been used by many different TS scholars so far.

“[...] Bourdieu’s ideas have been introduced in TS along two main lines of thinking” (Buzelin, 2013, p. 188). While the first line (exemplified by Sapiro, Gouanvic, and Sela-Sheffy, to name a few) generally focus on the literary field and literary translations and/or literary translator, the other line (exemplified by Simeoni, Wolf, and Inghilleri) draws on Bourdieu’s sociology and concepts of habitus and field to

understand translation practice and translation norms, in general, beyond the literary field (p. 188).

In fact, “[t]he increased attention to Bourdieu is indicative of a paradigmatic shift within the discipline, toward more sociologically- and anthropologically-informed approaches to the study of translation processes and products.” (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 125). Therefore, it is possible to say that Bourdieusian sociology, like other sociological approaches, has been applied to TS to re-evaluate, complement and improve the descriptive and polysystems approaches of the cultural turn (p. 125). In this respect, the contributions of Bourdieusian sociology to TS can be summarized under several headings.

Firstly, Bourdieusian sociology, offering a more powerful set of concepts than descriptive and polysystems approaches, enables TS scholars to theorize translational agents, especially translators, and their role in translation practice, which seems mostly ignored by the earlier theories (Munday, 2016, p. 237). In other words, Bourdieu’s sociology makes “[...] a significant contribution to attempts within translation studies to focus more attention on translators and interpreters themselves – to analyse critically their role as social and cultural agents actively participating in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices”. (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 126). As discussed in detail in the previous section, Bourdieu opposes persistent dualism between the subjective (i.e. agent, individual) and objective (i.e. structure, society) and hence tries to overcome this dualism through his conceptual toolkit. According to Bourdieu, there is a close and interwoven relationship between the agent (habitus) and objective structures (field) (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 148). “This is a “two-way” relationship: the social trajectory that constitutes the habitus contributes to the structuring of fields, which in turn structure the habitus” (p. 148). Therefore, for being able to define a social practice, a researcher needs to take into account both the habitus of the agents and the structure of the field. As the practice of translation, like every practice in Bourdieu’s term, is based on a coincidence of habitus and field; TS scholars have realized that they need to examine translational agents, especially translators, and their social trajectories, dispositions, habitus, capitals, and *illusio* besides translation norms and conventions to fully grasp translation practice. That is to say, Bourdieusian sociology and conceptual set have allowed TS scholars to examine translational

agents, especially translators, often neglected in the previous TS theories. Thanks to the concepts of habitus, capital and *illusio*, translators' personal histories, social trajectories, dispositions, background and their effect on translation product and process come to the fore and begin to be discussed. And these discussions inevitably "make descriptive theoretical approaches more 'agent aware' and translators and interpreters more visible as social actors" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 142).

Daniel Simeoni, one of the first scholars to integrate the concept of habitus to TS, defines the habitus of a translator as "translator's mindset" and "the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history" (Simeoni, 1998, p. 32). In his pivotal article, Simeoni discusses how the concept of habitus complements and improves the norm-based descriptive translation studies. "For Simeoni, the notion of habitus encompasses the notion of norms and, unlike norms, incorporates the double dimension of "structuring and structured" function" (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 148). In other words, for Simeoni, there is a two-way interaction between the translator's habitus and translational norms. Given this two-way interaction, Simeoni claims that translatorial habitus, which tends toward accepting the established translational norms continuously, has contributed to the internalization of translation as a submissive and secondary activity. This secondariness attributed to translation practice automatically generates low prestige for translators. That means it is the translator's habitus which constitutes the translator's secondary position in society over centuries. Simeoni explains translator's secondariness over centuries as follows:

To become a translator in the West today is to agree to becoming nearly fully subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense. Conflicts of authority cannot fail to arise between such masters but, in the end, the higher bidder carries the day. The translator has become the quintessential servant: efficient, punctual, hardworking, silent and yes, invisible (1998, p. 12).

However, it needs to be kept in mind that the translator's habitus, on the contrary to Simeoni's claim, does not always comply with established norms of the field. There may exist distinctive, contradictory, conflictual and resistant translatorial habitus that "have potentials to change existing social relationship and social practices" (Wolf, 2010, p. 340; 2014, pp. 13-14). Therefore, translator [can be] considered as an agent who can maintain and strengthen the values of the field s/he belongs to or show resistance to them and change the field (Yılmaz-Kutlay, 2015, p. 428). In sum, the translator's habitus that refers to the translator's personal history, experiences,

dispositions, decisions, has a determining effect on the translator's choices and actions and thus paying a crucial role in either reproduction or transformation of the field. That is why habitus of the translational agents, more importantly, of translators needs to be scrutinized by TS scholars through Bourdieu's conceptual framework.

In Bourdieusian sociology, agents and their habitus, capitals, *illusio* could not be evaluated without considering the structure of the field due to the interwoven relationship between them. Therefore, besides highlighting the importance of translator as an agent, "Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital and *illusio* have [also] made a valuable and unique contribution to the theorization of the interaction between agency and structure [...] within translation and interpreting research" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 126). In other words, thanks to Bourdieu's set of concepts, TS researchers get the chance to examine both translatorial agents, translators, and the socio-cultural constraints on their acts and products more holistically and effectively. This holistic point of view encompassing the analysis of both agents and structure is quite necessary for TS because as Eriş (2019) states:

translators are not isolated from the rest of the society they live in. They both influence and are influenced by the social reality around them. The acquired education, the family they grow in, ethos, traditions and many other social factors are embodied in the habitus of the translators as a member of the society. They are a part of the structure that is a result of social conditions (pp. 139-140). [Therefore] [t]ranslators are not destitute of their past experience in most parts of the translation process. They appeal to their habitus in different forms in relation to educational or familial background and entourage (p. 148).

To summarize, Bourdieusian sociology "offers a sound theory of practice to the developing of sociological paradigm in translation and interpreting studies" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 143). Bourdieu's conceptual framework opens a new road for TS to scrutinize translational agents (most importantly the translator, but also the publisher, series director, critic, etc.), their roles and positions in the field, their habitus, capitals, and *illusio*; socio-cultural constraints on the act and product of translation; translation's and translator's role in reproduction or transformation of these constraints within the field; translation process and power relations between the agents and institutions participating this process. In addition, Bourdieu's conception of reflexivity enables TS scholars to examine their own position in the field, TS itself as an academic discipline, academic power relations within the discipline and translation education provided by discipline. In brief, Bourdieusian sociology "allows for all the characteristics of translation to be addressed" (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 128).

Accordingly, this study which tries to bring FTS and Bourdieusian sociology of translation together in its theoretical framework will draw on Bourdieusian sociology and set of concepts to analyse feminist translation practices on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and atlak Zemin, to flash on how the translators' and editors' habitus, capital and illusio affect (and are affected by) their feminist translation practices, what positions the agents occupy in the digital publishing field, whether the translators' and editors' translation practices reproduce or transform patriarchal doxa and whether their conception of translation and translator complies with translation and translator conception of FTS.





### **3. METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Research Design**

Research design can be defined as “plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2009, p. 3). In the most general and traditional sense, research designs are grouped under three main headings: quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods approaches. While quantitative approaches “are primarily concerned with gathering and working with data that is structured and can be represented numerically” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 141), qualitative approaches “are primarily concerned with stories and accounts including subjective understandings, feelings, opinions and beliefs” (p. 142). “[...] [Q]uantitative data is typically gathered when a positivist epistemological approach is taken and data is collected that can be statistically analysed” (ibid), while “qualitative data is typically gathered when an interpretivist [and/or constructivist] epistemological approach is taken and when the data collected is the words or expressions of the research participants themselves” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 142; see also Creswell, 2009, p. 8).

Despite the differences between them, “[q]ualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies: instead, they represent different ends on a continuum. A study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa” (Creswell, 2009, p. 3). Additionally, there are mixed methods approaches that reside in the middle of this continuum by combining and using both qualitative and quantitative methods in single research (Creswell, 2009, p. 3; Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 142; Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 23).

Deciding which approach to adopt depends on the research questions, the nature of the data to be collected and analysed, and the ontological and epistemological standpoint of the research/er (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 113). To put it more clearly, the research object, research questions, basic assumptions and hypotheses that the research/er poses have a determining effect on how the research will be designed and what methods will be used. Therefore, the research design and methods of this study were determined in line with its research questions and the ontological and epistemological standpoints of FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

Given Bourdieu's epistemology called constructivist or 'genetic structuralism' (*structuralisme génétique*) which focuses on both society (field, social structures) and individuals (habitus, mental structures) and emphasizes their relational, constructed and constructing natures; and FTS's de/constructivist point of view which claims that translation and translator can play a crucial role in the deconstruction and reconstruction of patriarchal and/or feminist order and legitimizes and glorifies interventionist and resistant acts of translators and hence translators' visibility, this study adopts a qualitative approach in line with its constructivist epistemology.

"Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2009, p. 4). It focuses on the individual meaning and seeks to understand the context or settings of participants (pp. 4-8). Due to its flexibility and open-ended questions, qualitative research provides its participants with the opportunity to share their thoughts and experiences freely. Considering the agency emphasis in both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology constructing theoretical framework of this study, it becomes clearer that a qualitative approach foregrounding participants and individual meaning is more applicable to this study. Additionally, feminist studies mainly draw on qualitative approaches rather than quantitative ones because they think that quantitative studies mostly reflect patriarchal thought (Ak, 2017, pp. 6-7). This is another reason underlying the adoption of a qualitative approach in this study focusing on feminist translation practices and the agents conducting these practices.

Different methods<sup>28</sup> and strategies can be used in a qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2009, pp. 12-13). Case study is one of these qualitative methods and strategies. This study adopts the case study method, one of the most commonly used methods in postgraduate studies in translation studies (Susam-Sarajeva, 2009), in line with its purpose and research questions. Yin defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (2009, p. 18). According to Creswell,

[c]ase study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data

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<sup>28</sup> "[...] [R]esearch methods involve the forms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their study" (Creswell, 2009, p. 15).

collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes (2007, p. 73).

As is understood from Yin's and Creswell's definitions, contextualization, real-life setting, and in-depth analysis is crucial for a case study. Case study is "the preferred strategy when 'how' and 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (Yin, 1994, as cited in Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, p. 39). "[A] case study includes either a single case or a small number of cases, but each case is explored in detail and great depth" (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 128). A program, event, activity, process, one or more individuals, an institution, a community, an organisation, a situation or a country can be a case (Gillham, 2000, as cited in Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, p. 38; Creswell, 2009, p. 13; (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 475). Selecting the case or cases requires the researcher to establish a rationale and clear boundaries for her/his selection i.e. purposeful sampling<sup>29</sup> (Creswell, 2007, p. 76; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014, p. 215). In other words, for an effective case study, the researcher needs to justify the selection of case/s and to set and define clear temporal and spatial boundaries for case/s to be analysed (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014, p. 217). Because of its individuality embedded in a particular context, it is difficult to generalize the results of a case to other cases (p. 209). However, as Creswell emphasizes "the value of qualitative research [case study] lies in the particular description and themes developed in the context of a specific site. Particularity rather than generalizability is the hallmark of qualitative research [case study]" (2009, p. 193).

Indeed, "case study is an overarching research method which can include different sub-methods" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, p. 40). As case study requires an in-depth, detailed and holistic analysis, researchers generally use a variety of data collection procedures such as surveys, interviews, observations, text, and image analysis, research in archives (Creswell, 2009, p. 13; Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, p. 40). "If the data and results obtained by different methods converge or agree, the case study is more convincing" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, p. 40) because using two or more methods to

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<sup>29</sup> "Purposive sampling involves selecting a sample based on pre-defined critical parameters. [...] Selection of 'cases' in case study research could also be viewed as an example of this type of sampling" (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2014, p. 34). "Purposive sampling is usually used as part of research designs that include in-depth study, gathering and working with qualitative, in-depth and detailed data." (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 169).

collect data (i.e. triangulation<sup>30</sup>) help researcher to answer her/his research questions more comprehensively and hence to check the validity<sup>31</sup> of the research (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 145). That is why in this product-, participant-, and context-oriented<sup>32</sup> case study, the researcher collected data through text analysis, interviews, context analysis, and research in archives simultaneously to increase its validity.

As emphasized above, selecting the case and justifying this selection is the first and foremost step of a case study. In this respect, it is necessary to explain and justify why 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin and translations published on these two Turkish feminist websites, were selected as the case of this thesis. The latest developments and transformations that both feminism and FTS are going through, resultant new approaches and emerging gaps in the literature resulting from the new approaches played a crucial role in the case selection in this study. Paying attention to the call of the second paradigm in FTS for more study on non-literary texts alongside literary ones and more focus on different feminist translation practices and cases in different, especially non-western, contexts, and keeping up with the digital transformation and the fourth wave that feminism has been surfing through thanks to the internet, this dissertation selected 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin and translation published on these Turkish feminist websites as the case to fill the emerging gap in the literature. Considering the literature on feminist translation especially in Turkey, no previous study, except for the article derived from this dissertation (Saki-Demirel & Tarakcıoğlu, 2019), has analysed an online or digital source from a feminist translation perspective. Given its case, this dissertation is supposed to fill this gap in the literature, to widen the horizon for FTS and to make an important contribution to the field.

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<sup>30</sup> “Triangulation refers to the collection of a variety of data on the same phenomena, or the collection of data by different investigators or by different methods to ensure that the method of collecting data is valid” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 217).

<sup>31</sup> Validity can be defined as “[a] measure of research quality, meaning that the data we are planning to gather and work with to address our research questions is a close representation of the aspect of social reality we are studying” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 53). “At the most basic level, the validity of our results [...] depends on the extent to which the data we collate and analyse can contribute to answering our research questions” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 28). However, “especially when using qualitative approaches to research, one cannot claim absolute validity” (ibid.).

<sup>32</sup> In their influential and comprehensive book titled *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies* (2014), Saldanha and O’Brien classify research in TS under four main headings: product-oriented researches, process-oriented researches, participant-oriented researches and context-oriented researches. They stress that “whether a piece of research is process-, product or context-oriented is not determined by methodology itself or even the source of data but by the ultimate aims of the researcher and when investigating any of these aspects of translation it is impossible to exclude from view all the others, there is inevitable overlap” (2014, p. 5).

Feminist websites in Turkey are certainly not limited to 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. However, these two websites were chosen because they publish translated texts more regularly compared to other feminist websites in Turkey. The reason why both of these two feminist websites were covered is to conduct research covering a wider field and hence gain more holistic, comprehensive, comparative, and valid results. Additionally, there are some personal Turkish blogs that publish translations that can be viewed as feminist translation. However, they were not included in this dissertation because they would disrupt the structural and organisational similarity between the cases to be explored.

### **3.2. Data Collection Process**

“The data collection in case study research [which requires a detailed and in-depth analysis] is typically extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information, such as observations, interviews, documents, [archival records] and audiovisual materials” (Creswell, 2007, 75). Accordingly, this thesis utilizes multiple sources of data to provide a detailed and in-depth picture of feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. To become more convincing and reliable<sup>33</sup>, the data collection process of this dissertation will be explained in a systematic and transparent way in the following section.

In this product-, participant-, and context-oriented dissertation, data were collected through texts, paratexts, interviews, documents, and archival records.

Firstly, all articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment<sup>34</sup> until the end of May 2019 were chronologically compiled for each website to find out what texts were translated and what themes these translations are centred on and around. The temporal limitation of the research was determined by considering the time needed for data analysis. Additionally, translations made from languages other than English, a total of 7

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<sup>33</sup> “Reliability refers to the extent to which other researchers (or the researcher herself) could generate the same results, or come to the same conclusion, if investigating the same question, using the same data and methods at a different time. This is also called reproducibility or replicability.” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 35)

<sup>34</sup> 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin were established in July 2012 and October 2016, respectively.

translations from 5Harfliler and 10 translations from Çatlak Zemin<sup>35</sup>, could not be included in this research because of the language barrier of the researcher. After compiling the translated texts to be analysed within the scope of this thesis and determining the ones that are centred around the feminist themes, paratexts (prefaces, afterwords and footnotes) accompanying feminist-themed translated texts were collated and classified to seek whether 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin utilize paratexts in line with the general goals of FTS. Then, interviews were made with the translators and translation editors from both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin to elicit data about them. Actually, making interview is the best-suited data collection method for this thesis drawing on the agency orientation of both FTS and translation sociology, because interviews “permit the collection of more subject-centred data on practices, perceptions, feelings or life histories” (Buzelin, 2013, pp. 190-191) and “give privileged access to a person’s thoughts and opinions about a particular subject, which are difficult to access through direct observation of behaviour.” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 169). Besides the benefits they offer, interviews pose some challenges for a researcher that need to be taken into consideration while designing the research. As Saldanha and O’Brien aptly state that

Interviews [...] are time consuming not only for the researcher, who needs to conduct, transcribe and analyze them, but also for the participants. Recruiting relevant participants who are willing to take the time and who are accessible is one of the big hurdles in this type of research. As a result, interview [...] often rely on small numbers of participants which do not often constitute representative samples of the population. This means that results obtained from interviews and focus groups can rarely be generalized to a wider population (2014, p. 169).

Despite these challenges, interviews are still the best way to explore agents and their subjectivities in detail, and accordingly, provide extensive insight into the translators and editors analysed within the scope of this thesis.

There are three types of interviews: **Structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews**. “In structured interviews, the interviewer goes through a series of carefully prepared questions ensuring that the order in which they are asked and the wording is exactly the same in each case. Closed questions tend to be used” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 172). On the contrary, unstructured interviews, “characterized by a free-flowing process” (ibid.), “[f]ocus on a broad area for discussion [and] [e]nable the

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<sup>35</sup> The distribution of these translations by languages is as follows: On 5Harfliler: 2 articles translated from Spanish, 2 from Russian, 1 from French, 1 from Armenian, 1 from Azerbaijani. On Çatlak Zemin: 6 articles translated from Spanish, 1 from French, 1 from Italian and 1 from Persian.

participant to talk about the research topic in their own way” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 221). In unstructured interviews, “[i]nterviewers are allowed to improvise and open-ended questions allow participants to say as little or as much as they like, actively shaping the course of the interview” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 172). Semi-structured interviews are in-between structured and structured ones. As structured interviews do, semi-structured interviews “[f]ollow a common set of topics or questions for each interview” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 221), however, “[...] more of the questions are open-ended and there is more flexibility to allow variation in the order in which the questions are asked, as well as to introduce new questions” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, pp. 172-173). The interviews in this dissertation can be placed on the continuum between semi-structured and structured interviews. Indeed, the interview questions<sup>36</sup> both including open-ended and closed questions were carefully designed to be semi-structured and semi-structured interview model was followed during face to face and skype interviews. However, as some interviewees preferred<sup>37</sup> online interviews (to answer the interview questions in writing via email) and online interviews do not allow flexibility in the order and wording of the questions and introducing new questions, these interviews became somewhat closer to structured interviews on the continuum. Meanwhile, it needs to be noted that when small differences in the wording and order of the questions and a few questions added in the face to face/skype interviews were overlooked, there is no difference between the interview questions used in face-to-face/skype interviews and online interviews conducted for this thesis.

Within the scope of this thesis, it was planned to interview with both translators and translation editors from 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. Therefore, two groups of interview questions were separately prepared for translators and editors. After preparing the interview questions, two expert opinions were received concerning whether the interview questions comply with the purpose of the study. The questions were revised in line with the comments and suggestions of the experts. Then, the

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<sup>36</sup> For the interview questions prepared separately for translators and editors please see Appendix 5 and 6.

<sup>37</sup> As emphasized above, making interview poses some challenges to interviewers and finding volunteer interviewees to answer questions is undeniably one of the biggest challenges. Therefore, to make the process easier and more preferable for the interviewees and hence to increase the number of interviewees, they were told that they could choose whichever of the interviews (face to face / skype or online) they liked.

revised questions were sent to the Turkish language specialist and asked if the interview questions are clear and understandable. Given the language specialist's feedback, the questions were finalized.

Purposive sampling<sup>38</sup> was used to select the translators to be interviewed for this dissertation. That is to say, the translators interviewed were selected on the basis of principled criteria, criteria of having translated at least two feminist-themed texts. The criteria of having translated at least two feminist-themed texts were set, in line with the research questions, to be able to interview with translators whose (feminist-themed) text selections seems to be consistent rather than random and hence to reveal underlying reasons (such as habitus, ideology, and capital, etc.) behind this consistency. Considering the results of the thematic analysis conducted on the texts translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of May 2019, it was revealed that the number of the translators meeting the specified criteria was 24 for 5Harfliler and 12 for Çatlak Zemin.

Given the interview questions prepared and the translators selected to be interviewed, a face to face pilot interview was conducted with a translator (5H T1) in Ankara. After piloting, a few more minor corrections to the wording and order of the questions were made and thus the interview questions for translators took their final shape. As only two editors from 5Harfliler and one editor from Çatlak Zemin were interviewed within the scope of this thesis, no pilot interview could be conducted for the interview questions prepared for the editors, considering the difficulty of finding an editor to accept the interview. However, as mentioned above, the interview questions prepared for the editors were also peer-reviewed by two field experts and a language specialist just like the interview questions prepared for translators.

Then, the researcher applied to the Ethics Committee of Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University to conduct the interviews and hence the research in accordance with the academic ethical codes. Meanwhile, attempts were made to communicate with the specified translators (24 translators from 5Harfliler and 12 translators from Çatlak

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<sup>38</sup> In purposive sampling “the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study. Decisions need to be made about who or what should be sampled, what form the sampling will take, and how many people or sites need to be sampled” (Creswell, 2007, p. 125).



Zemin) and one translation editor from each of the two websites. Trying to reach the interviewees was the hardest part of the research. Firstly, an email indicating the researcher's request to interview with the specified translators and one translation editor was sent to the official mail addresses of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. While waiting for an answer from the websites, the names of the translators were also searched on the internet to get information about them and to reach their contact addresses. However, as some translators, especially on 5Harfliler, use a pseudonym, it was not possible to reach all translators through internet research. Contacting directly with 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin was the best and easiest way to reach the specified translators. For this reason, reminder emails indicating the researcher's request to interview with the translators and a translator editor were sent to 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin once more. Eventually, positive responses were received from both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. Both websites stated that their editors accepted to be interviewees and shared the contact addresses of these editors. The specified translators' contact addresses were thereupon requested; however, both websites said that they could not share the translators' contact addresses with the researcher for ethical reasons, but instead could forward the researcher's request to the specified translators. 5Harfliler forwarded the researcher's email to all specified translators. Çatlak Zemin stated that they would convey the researcher's request to the relevant translators verbally. However, the researcher could reach only one translator in this way. For this reason, different ways were followed to reach translators. All communication channels were used. Emails were sent to those whose email addresses were accessed through an internet search. Messages were sent from platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, Academia to the translators whose email addresses could not be reached. As a result of internet researches, the institutions, companies, publishing houses, translation offices/bureaus where some translators have worked in the past or are currently working in and the higher education institutions where they studied in the past or are currently studying at were determined. Then, email addresses of the relevant translators were requested from determined institutions, companies, publishing houses, translation offices/bureaus, and higher education institutions. In these ways, the researcher managed to contact with more translators. Additionally, the contacted translators were asked for help in reaching other translators, and thus, once again, the researcher's request to interview was conveyed to some of the specified translators

who could not be reached before. As a result of all these efforts, the researcher achieved to make interviews with a total of seven translators and two editors from 5Harfliler and four translators and one editor from Çatlak Zemin. While some translators and one editor preferred online interview and answered the interview questions via email, the other translators and two editors preferred face to face / Skype interview. In all face to face / Skype interviews, the voice of the interviewee was recorded with her permission. Meanwhile, the research was approved by the Ethical Committee of Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University<sup>39</sup> and an informed consent form<sup>40</sup>, written in a plain language to ensure that participants fully understand the nature, scope, and purpose of the research and that participation is voluntary and they can withdraw at any stage of the research, was sent to the interviewees and they were asked to sign the form. Thus, their consents were gained officially. After all interviews were conducted, the face to face / Skype interviews were transcribed verbatim, checked for accuracy by the researcher. Then, as all interviews were conducted in Turkish because both the researcher and all interviewees are native in Turkish, all transcripts and online interviews were translated into English by the researcher herself. However, in order to avoid any translation mistake and/or biased translation, the translations were reviewed by another expert translator, and corrections were made in a few sentences deemed necessary. In addition, when quoting directly in the text, both Turkish original of the excerpts and their English back translations were provided to increase transparency and reliability of the research and also to remove the language barrier. The following table indicates the details of the interviews:

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<sup>39</sup> For the approval of the Ethics Committee please see Appendix 3.

<sup>40</sup> For the informed consent form please see Appendix 4.

<b>Translators and Editors</b>	<b>The Website</b>	<b>The Type of Interview</b>	<b>The Date of Interview</b>	<b>The Duration of Interview</b>	<b>The Place of Interview</b>
5HT1 (piloting)	5Harfliler	Face to face	November 7, 2018	21:53	A Café in Ankara
5H T2	5Harfliler	Online	August 8, 2019	-	-
5H T3	5Harfliler	Online	August 9, 2019	-	-
ÇZ T1	Çatlak Zemin	Skype	August 12, 2019	23:59	-
ÇZ T2	Çatlak Zemin	Skype	August 19, 2019	34:35	-
5H T4	5Harfliler	Skype	August 24, 2019	28:31	-
5H T5	5Harfliler	Online	September 6, 2019	-	-
5H T6 / 5H E1 <sup>41</sup>	5Harfliler	Online	October 25, 2019	-	-
5H T7	5Harfliler	Online	October 27, 2019	-	-
5H E2	5Harfliler	Skype	October 31, 2019	1:46:30	-
ÇZ T3	Çatlak Zemin	Online	November 7, 2019	-	-
ÇZ T4 / ÇZ E1 <sup>42</sup>	Çatlak Zemin	Skype	November 16, 2019	39:30	-

Table 3.1.<sup>43</sup> The details of the interviews

<sup>41</sup> Indeed, 5H T6 and 5H E1 are the same person. As she works both as a translator and translation editor on 5Harfliler, she replied all interview questions prepared separately for translators and editors. For this reason, she was coded separately both as a translator and editor

<sup>42</sup> Indeed, ÇZ T4 and ÇZ E1 are the same person. As she works both as a translator and translation editor on Çatlak Zemin, she replied all interview questions prepared separately for translators and editors. For this reason, she was coded separately both as a translator and editor.

<sup>43</sup> As is seen from this Table, a chronological order was followed in coding.

As can be seen from the table above, to keep the identities of the interviewees confidential, each translator and editor was coded as 5H T1, 5H T2, ÇZ T1, ÇZ T2, 5H E1 or ÇZ E1, considering the interview dates and the first letters of the websites' names. Additionally, the researcher tried to keep the texts of the online interviews and recordings and transcripts of the face to face / Skype interviews in a safe location by removing the names of the interviewees in order to preserve confidentiality.

### **3.3. Data Analysis**

#### **3.3.1. Thematic Analysis**

In the most general sense, thematic analysis aims to generate a satisfactory thematic map of the data set showing the main themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Accordingly, in this thesis, thematic analysis was conducted to identify translated articles that are centred around feminist themes.<sup>44</sup> Identifying feminist-themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin was important for this thesis because, as FTS suggests that, the translation of a source text which addresses a feminist theme, i.e. translating a feminist text, sets a good example of feminist translation. During the thematic analysis conducted within the scope of this thesis, a 6-phase guide proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) was followed with minor changes.

Thematic analysis can be defined, basically, as “[a] process of working with raw data to identify and interpret key ideas or themes” (Matthews and Ross, 2010, p. 373). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), “[t]hematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes)<sup>45</sup> within data” (p. 79). In other words, thematic analysis, one of the most widely used qualitative methods, is conducted to find themes, i.e. repeated patterns of meaning within the data set<sup>46</sup> (p. 86). As Braun and Clarke emphasize throughout their article, flexibility is one of the main benefits of thematic analysis (p. 78). According to them, during thematic analysis, researchers “need to retain some flexibility, [because] rigid rules really do

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<sup>44</sup> What is meant by the "feminist theme" will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

<sup>45</sup> “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

<sup>46</sup> “Data corpus refers to all data collected for a particular research project, while data set refers to all the data from the corpus that are being used for a particular analysis. Data item is used to refer to each individual piece of data collected, which together make up the data set or corpus” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79).

not work” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). For example, researcher could be flexible in determining what proportion of data set would be counted as a theme and defining what a theme does mean, in line her/his overall research questions, because “the ‘keyness’ of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (p. 82).

In their article, Braun and Clarke (2006) mention about two types of thematic analysis: Inductive and theoretical thematic analysis (pp. 83-84). “Inductive analysis is [...] a process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher’s analytic preconceptions” (p. 83). Inductive thematic analysis is data-driven. On the contrary, “a ‘theoretical’ thematic analysis tend[s] to be driven by the researcher’s theoretical or analytic interest in the area, and is thus more explicitly analyst [and theory] driven” (p. 84). However, given the flexibility which thematic analysis offers, it is not possible to say that there is a clear cut between these two types of thematic analyses and a researcher could use only one of them in her/his research.

The following table displays the 6 phases that Braun and Clarke (2006) offer to perform a thematic analysis:

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 3.2. The 6-phase guide to thematic analysis

Although Braun and Clarke sort the phases in a linear order in this table, they stress that thematic analysis “is not a linear process of simply moving from one phase to the next. Instead, it is more recursive process, where movement is back and forth as needed, throughout the phases. It is also a process that develops over time” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 86-87). To understand this recursive process in a better way, the phased displayed in Table 3 will be discussed in detail below.

In the first phase, researcher familiarizes herself/himself with the data set by reading and reading again. If data is verbal, it is transcribed at this phase. Transcription may seem time-consuming for researchers; however, it is the best way of becoming familiar with data corpus (p. 88).

In the second phase, researcher who becomes familiar with the data set begins to generate initial codes and hence “an initial list of ideas about what is in the data and what is interesting about them” (p. 88). That is to say, coding which can be defined as a “process of ‘marking’ or identifying data for later analysis” (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 138), is the most important action of this phase. Researcher needs to know that “coded data differ from the units of analysis ([her/his] themes), which are (often) broader.” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). As Braun and Clarke (2006) states

[c]oding will, to some extent, depend on whether the themes are more ‘data-driven’ or ‘theory-driven’ - in the former, the themes will depend on the data, but in the latter, you might approach the data with specific questions in mind that you wish to code around. It will also depend on whether you are aiming to code the content of the entire data set, or whether you are coding to identify particular (and possibly limited) features of the data set (pp. 88-89).

There are different ways of coding the data set. While coding manually, researcher can take notes on the texts or can use highlighters or “post-it” to indicate potential patterns (p. 89). In this thesis, the coding was conducted manually, and the researcher use highlighter to identify the initial codes.

In the third phase, researcher searches for themes and tries to sort the initial codes identified in the second phase, into potential themes (p. 89). In other words, at this phase, the relevant initial codes are collated under the identified overarching themes. At this phase, researcher may notice that some initial codes do not seem to fit into any theme. According to Braun and Clarke, “it is perfectly acceptable to create a ‘theme’ called ‘miscellaneous’ to house the codes –possibly temporarily - that do not seem to fit into [researcher’s] main themes” (p. 90).

At the fourth stage, researcher rereads her/his entire data set for two purposes: “The first is, as discussed, to ascertain whether the themes ‘work’ in relation to the data set. The second is to code any additional data within themes that has been missed in earlier coding stages” (p. 91). Therefore, at this phase, researcher can increase or decrease the number of themes determined by dividing some themes or combining overlapping ones. At the end of this phase, researcher generates a thematic map of her/his analysis (ibid.).

In the fifth phase, researcher defines, further refines, and names the determined themes and analyses data set under these theme names<sup>47</sup> (p. 92). In so doing, researcher goes back to collated data extracts for each theme and writes a detailed analysis for each one of them (ibid.). “It is vital that [researcher does] not just paraphrase the content of the data extracts presented, but identify what is of interest about them and why” (ibid.).

In the last phase, researcher conducts her/his final analysis and writes her/his reports scholarly given the findings and results of her/his analysis (p. 93). While writing her/his report, a researcher needs to “[...] provide sufficient evidence of the themes within the data - i.e., enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme” (p. 93) and to “tell the complicated story of [her/his] data in a way which convinces the reader of the merit and validity of [her/his] analysis” (ibid.).

Given Braun and Clarke’s emphasis on the flexibility concerning the application of the abovementioned six phases, this thesis developed its own particular way of applying these phases. How these phrases were followed in this thesis will be discussed more fully in the following analysis chapter.

### **3.3.2. Paratextual Analysis**

Using paratexts<sup>48</sup>, devices appended to the text (Munday, 2016, p. 242), is one of the most frequently used feminist translation strategies. Feminist translators instrumentalise paratextual elements for their own feminist goals. Writing preface and/or footnotes has become almost routine for them. In this thesis, given the results of the thematic analysis, the paratextual analysis was conducted on the feminist-themed translated articles to figure out how the translators utilised the paratexts, what they discussed in these paratexts, whether these paratexts made the translation and/or translator visible or whether they contextualized the source text and author for the

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<sup>47</sup> “Names need to be concise, punchy, and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93).

<sup>48</sup> According to French cultural theorist Gerard Genette, there are two kinds of paratextual elements: peritexts and epitexts: “Peritexts appear in the same location as the text and are provided by the author or publisher. Examples given by Genette are titles, subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, prefaces, epilogues and framing elements such as the cover and blurb. An epitext ‘is any paratextual element not materially appended to the text within the same volume but circulating, as it were, freely, in a virtually limitless physical and social space’ Examples are marketing and promotional material, which may be provided by the publisher, correspondence on the text by the author, and also reviews and academic and critical discourse on the author and text which are written by others. The paratext is ‘subordinate’ to the text but is crucial in guiding the reading process” (Genette, 1997, as cited in Munday, 2016, p. 242).

target reader as FTS, especially the first paradigm of FTS, claims. To answer all these questions, firstly, the number of feminist themed translated articles with and without a paratext was determined for each website and displayed in a table. Then, the feminist themed translated articles that includes a paratext were categorized in two groups according to contents of the paratext/s that they contain. Later, to reveal what was discussed in these paratexts, the excerpts taken from the paratexts were analysed in detail. In so doing, English back translations of the Turkish excerpts, made by the researcher herself, were also given to remove the language barrier and hence to increase the reliability. At the end of the analysis, it was found out what purpose these paratexts serve for and whether they were instrumentalised in compliance with FTS's claims.

### **3.3.3. Analysis of Interviews**

A total of 14 interviews were conducted within the scope of this thesis. During the analysis of the transcripts of face to face / Skype interviews and the texts of the online interviews, the researcher coded<sup>49</sup> and labelled the data set by taking account of the research questions and theoretical framework of the thesis, FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology. At the end of the coding and labelling process, 8 overarching titles i.e. code labels were determined for similar codes and labels. The determined code labels were revised by an expert in the field. After some minor changes, the code labels were finalized. The relevant excerpts taken from the interviews were discussed under these code labels in a way to answer research questions of the thesis. Thus, as in thematic and paratextual analysis, English back translations of the Turkish excerpts, made by the researcher herself, were also presented to remove the language barrier and hence to increase the reliability. Given all this, it can be said that a process similar to that of the thematic analysis discussed in detail above, was followed during the analysis of the interviews.

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<sup>49</sup> “[...] [C]oding involves identifying units of analysis, i.e. segments of text which contain one piece of information that is relevant to answering the research question, and then applying labels, for example in order to group broadly similar statements, or identify features that may need closer attention. These labels should help the researcher retrieve and group the units of analysis in such a way that patterns are highlighted” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 189).



## 4. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter aims to discuss the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses carried out within the scope of this dissertation and the findings obtained through these analyses. Throughout the chapter, the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses conducted on the two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, and the findings of these analyses will be discussed in detail by taking account of the literature and the methodology explained in the previous chapters. However, before proceeding to these analyses, it is required to give information about 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin for a more meaningful discussion.

As emphasized in the second chapter, feminism has been going through a digital transformation in recent years thanks to the internet and some feminists call this transformation as the fourth wave of feminism. The Turkish feminist movement has undoubtedly been affected by this digital transformation, the internet has become a means of political activism and accordingly, more and more Turkish feminists have begun to utilize the internet for their feminist causes. They have used the internet (i.e. social media, websites, and blogs) for campaigning, establishing solidarity, enhancing networks, disseminating feminist ideas and fostering a digital sisterhood (Goker, 2019, p. 314). 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin set a good example of this digital transformation in the Turkish feminist movement. It is beyond doubt that feminist websites and/or blogs in Turkey are certainly not limited to 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. However, as stated in the third chapter these two websites were chosen as the case because they publish translated texts more regularly compared to other feminist websites in Turkey.

### 4.1. 5Harfliler

5Harfliler is an independent feminist website in pursuit of women's agenda. It was launched in the 2012 summer in line with the idea that women's agenda needs to focus on everything in which a woman may have an interest just to spite those who tend to restrict women's agenda to only diet, beauty secrets, and relationship advice. In this day and age when the word "woman" is still almost equated with a bogey, the website was named 5Harfliler (lit. quinqueliteral) both to imply the number of letters in the word of "kadın" (the Turkish equivalent of "woman") and to refer to the expression 'üç harfliler' (lit. trilateral), which is culturally used to refer to genie ("cin", the Turkish equivalent of genie, is also trilateral), because it is believed that calling the

word “cin” directly will summon a genie. Moreover, thanks to the witty use of 5Harfliler as its name, the website both manages to get rid of the differentiation of girl, woman, Ms, Mrs, Miss, and lady (“Hakkımızda,” n.d.) and to imply to “man” and “human” which are also quinqueliteral in Turkish (“erkek” and “insan” respectively) (Koçak, 2013).

In an interview, Duygu, one of the founders of the websites states that “[c]reating 5Harfliler came from a place of urgent personal need. There was no other platform where we could write the way we wrote and be ourselves” (Gautam, 2017). In the same interview, another founder, Suna, similarly says that the idea of running a website arose out of “a shared sentiment, which was that very little in Turkish publications spoke to our wits, worries, and wonders” (Gautam, 2017). As may be understood from these two statements, the founders who came together “thanks to the friendship among themselves and the power of internet”<sup>50</sup> (Özbirinci, 2015) established 5Harfliler to meet firstly their own needs and to open a space for themselves, space which is free from male violence and where daily issues could be discussed (Cantek & Bora, 2015).

5Harfliler arising from the personal needs and feminist concerns of its founders who define themselves as a feminist<sup>51</sup> (Cantek & Bora, 2015; Özbirinci, 2015), does not limit itself to the feminist agenda. On the contrary, 5Harfliler defines itself “as a website in pursuit of women’s agenda”. According to 5Harfliler, women’s agenda is limitless and flexible and hence everything could be included in women’s agenda (Koçak, 2013). In an interview, Duygu explains that they focus on the women’s agenda rather than the feminist one and not limiting themselves to the feminist agenda provides a sense of freedom and limitlessness. She also states that focusing on women’s (rather than feminist) agenda is a result of their desire to be free from the anxiety of whether their writings meet an imaginary “compliance with feminist standards” criterion (Özbirinci, 2015). In a similar vein, Nigar, one of the founders of

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<sup>50</sup> In the interview conducted by Yeşim Özbirinci in 2015, Duygu, one of the founders of the websites explained in detail how they came together and how the network among themselves was formed. She summarizes their story of coming together “as a mix of friendship and power of internet”.

<sup>51</sup> For more detailed information about the founders’ personal herstories paving the way for their feminist identities, see the interview conducted by Gautam and published on <http://www.wionews.com/world/in-conversation-with-5harfliler-digital-feminism-in-turbulent-turkey-13249>.

the websites, explains what “women’s agenda” means, what the difference is between women’s and feminist agendas and why they prefer women’s agenda as follows:

As Duygu says, we are in pursuit of women’s agenda, which means we are addressing the agendas of ourselves and other women who read the website and contribute with articles, questions or comments. That is to say, we are not trying to speak for “the Great Womanhood”. “Being in pursuit of women’s agenda” is a statement drawing on the idea that women may have an interest in whatever is in the universe. Since feminism, in a simple sense, have trouble with the male-dominated system, the “feminist agenda” covers issues such as violence against women, sexism in the media, and structural inequality of women and men; we constantly discuss these issues on 5Harfliler, too. However, the women’s agenda has no limits (Özbirinci, 2015, the researcher’s translation).

Although 5Harfliler does not limit itself to the feminist agenda and does not have any theme restriction, it strongly opposes sexism, misogyny, and homophobia. The founders and editors of the websites, being aware of the existence of different feminisms (İren, 2013) stress at every opportunity that sexist, misogynist and/or homophobic contents and hate speeches do not have any chance to be published on 5Harfliler (Bora, 2013). In this sense, it is clear that 5Harfliler challenges heteronormative patriarchal codes in the mainstream media from a feminist point of view (Yüksel, 2017) and hence establishes an alternative counter-politics.

Humorous and satirical language use is a distinctive character of 5Harfliler (Birer, 2017). 5Harfliler uses humour and satire for its feminist goals, especially for criticizing patriarchal codes. “[I]n an interview they gave on a radio show, 5Harfliler editors describe[s] the website as a feminist without a sulky face” (Cantek & Bora, 2015, as cited in Goker, 2019, p. 316). In the same interview, they also indicate that they want women who don’t call themselves feminists and men to read their site and therefore, besides being a feminist without a sulky face, they try to produce easy-to-read texts for their readers (Cantek & Bora, 2015).

“For the 5Harfliler team, there is no concern to be a peace-maker among women” (Goker, 2019, p. 324). As they emphasize in an interview conducted by Goker, scepticism and questioning attitude is their defining feature (ibid.). “For instance, immediately after publishing something celebratory of #metoo, they publish another post that questions it. [Interviewed editor] thinks this gives them room for manoeuvre away from the more dogmatic styles of speech she associates with women’s organizations” (ibid.).

In compliance with the founders’ feminist standpoints, 5Harfliler operates in a non-hierarchical structure. Editorships are rotated periodically, and decisions are made as

collectively as possible. Additionally, anyone can send what s/he writes and/or translates to be published on 5Harfliler. The founders/editors are trying to encourage their readers in this direction in every opportunity. Thus, the non-hierarchical structure is reinforced with the interactive participation of the readers. Thanks to both the articles and translations they send and the comments they can write below any articles on 5Harfliler, the reader can become a part of the 5Harfliler team easily. 5Harfliler also states that its doors are not closed to men, and provided that they are not sexist, misogynist, and homophobic, men can contribute to the site if they wish. Therefore, on 5Harfliler, there are a few male participants, albeit a small number.

On 5Harfliler, all articles are grouped under five main categories: “Square”, “Culture”, “Djinnies”<sup>52</sup>, “History” and “Art”. Additionally, there are two titles of “Visual of the Day” and “Desire Tram”<sup>53</sup> on the homepage. In addition to these main categories, each article published in 5Harfliler is tagged with certain tags. Thus, the reader can easily access other texts labelled under the same tag by clicking on the tag.

Since its inception, 5Harfliler has grown and advanced rapidly and has managed to attract more and more people with each passing day. In her article published in 2019, Goker states that

5Harfliler started as the project of a few women now in their thirties, grew very quickly, and started receiving grants and commissioning external authors. Nowadays, the editors receive a weekly minimum of 20 texts from anonymous writers, and the website gets 300,000–500,000 hits a month (Goker, 2019, p. 316).

Additionally, it worth noting that 5Harfliler came first in Turkish in the Bobs, the best online activism, in 2015.

## **4.2. Çatlak Zemin**

Çatlak Zemin is the second feminist website that was examined in this dissertation. Çatlak Zemin was launched in 2016, at a time when feminist organizations began to dissolve and their printed publications to close, by a group of feminists who have participated in the feminist movement for a long time, in order to refresh feminist connections among women, to strengthen feminist discourse and hence women (“Hoşbulduk,” 2016; Kepenek, 2018) and “to form a new feminist platform after the

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<sup>52</sup>Any article that does not fit into the other categories are included in “Djinnies” category (Goker, 2019, p. 316).

<sup>53</sup> “Desire Tram” category including “beautiful” and “handsome” visuals, was formed for those with flirtatious eyes.

self-determined dismantling of the Istanbul Feminist Collective, an umbrella organization of several feminist groups in Turkey” (Goker, 2019, p. 316). That is to say, “[...] it is their organic ties to the women’s movement and the need they felt to find new forms of organization that brought the Çatlak Zemin team together” (p. 324).

As stated above, Çatlak Zemin primarily aims to open new spaces for feminist discussions and to form new grounds on which the feminist discourse can be re/produced, expanded and can be reached to a wider audience (“Hoşbulduk”, 2016; “1. Yılında Çatlak Zemin”, 2017). In an interview, Özlem, one of the founders of Çatlak Zemin, states that “we aimed to think about feminist politics, deepen feminist discussions, diversify, open up to as many women as possible, and discuss over our differences” (Kepenek, 2018, the researcher’s translation).

Given its goals and objectives, it can be seen that Çatlak Zemin, contrary to 5Harfliler’s limitless women’s agenda, is in pursuit of a “more” feminist agenda. Çatlak Zemin is an online platform only for women. There is no involvement of men as in 5Harfliler. The founders/editors of Çatlak Zemin even indicate that the texts expressing women’s anger towards men are the most read texts of the site (“1. Yılında Çatlak Zemin,” 2017).

Additionally, Çatlak Zemin team often stresses that the ties with the street should be kept alive. “For them, digital feminism can never be independent from the street, which is why the site provides room for expression for organized feminist politics, i.e. through posting about and supporting feminist campaigns” (Goker, 2019, p. 324). One of the founders of Çatlak Zemin, Selime, underlines that the internet makes it possible to spread the feminist debate and to reach women who are difficult to reach by other means, but even so the movement’s ties with the street should not be broken (Yüksel, 2017).

Çatlak Zemin means “Cracked Ground” in English. In her interview, Kepenek asks one of the founders of Çatlak Zemin, Özlem, why the site is called “Çatlak Zemin” and gets the following answer:

We set out to establish a feminist ground. However, we were also aware that this ground had cracks. The feminist struggle that has been going on for years has certainly caused certain breaks and cracks. Not ignoring but accepting these cracks and being aware of our different feminisms, feminist stances we called ourselves *Çatlak Zemin* with a desire to establish a ground despite these difference and cracks (Kepenek, 2018, the researcher’s translation).

Like 5Harfliler, Çatlak Zemin operates in a non-hierarchical and collective way. Participating in and contributing to Çatlak Zemin is completely voluntary (Kepenek, 2018). The division of labour exists, but it is rotating rather than fixed. There is no professional staff. Çatlak Zemin team tries to reach an agreement when making a decision. As Çatlak Zemin founders/editors emphasize that they do not limit feminist attitude only to the content, but also they care and observe the feminist working principles (“1. Yılında Çatlak Zemin,” 2017).

Women not involved in the team can send their writings and translations that are not anti-feminist and concerned about empowering feminist politics and women, to Çatlak Zemin, too (Kepenek, 2018). Çatlak Zemin team is trying to encourage women in this direction in every opportunity. Thanks to the contributions of different women, Çatlak Zemin gains a more collective and interactive character.

On Çatlak Zemin there are eight main categories: “Feminist Window”, “Culture-Physics”, “Halet-i Ruhîye” that means “mood”, “Quickie”, “From our History”, “This week in Patriarchy”, “From the World” and “Femihat”<sup>54</sup>. Özlem explains the contents of these categories as follows:

When we first opened the site, “Feminist Window”, where we included feminist discussions; “Culture-Physics”, where writings in the field of culture and arts are dominant; “Halet-i Ruhîye” including writings that tell (women’s) problems by drawing on more subjective experiences; “From our History” describing important people and events in the herstory of women and feminism; “Femihat”, who responds to the letters in which women poured their hearts out without worrying about “what do my feminist friends say”, was our main sections. After a while, the idea of listing the patriarchal events that make life unbearable for women and LGBTI+ showed up. Then we started to compile the news that appeared in the press in the section of “This week in Patriarchy” (Kepenek, 2018, the researcher’s translation).

In addition to what Özlem said, there are also “From the World” and “Quickie” categories. “From the World” category publishes original and translated articles that make feminist struggles and feminist discourses in different parts of the world visible. “Quickie” is the last added category under which those who are too lazy to write can share something quickly.

It also needs to be stated that Çatlak Zemin attracts a lot of attention like 5Harfliler. “[It] receive[s] essays from around three new authors every week and ha[s] reached a 25,000–30,000 monthly readership” (Goker, 2019, p. 316).

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<sup>54</sup> A new word created by combining the words “feminist” and “hat” that means “line”.

As is understood from the discussion above, although there are some differences between 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, they share many features in common. Both websites operate in non-hierarchical, collective and interactive ways; reach out to many different women who cannot be reached by other means; provide a platform for feminist debates; create a new form of solidarity, a kind of digital sisterhood among women; foster conscious-raising thanks to their contents; and ultimately serve feminist politics (p. 324).

In the following section, the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses made within the scope of this thesis will be discussed in detail.

### **4.3. Thematic Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

Text selection is the first and foremost step in feminist translation, as in every translation. Therefore, firstly, before proceeding to the analyses of paratexts and interviews made with the editors and translators, thematic analysis was conducted on the translated articles published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin to determine the texts the websites selected for translation, to find out what themes these translated texts centred on and around, and ultimately to reveal whether 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin perform feminist translation practices in terms of the themes that they selected to translate. Thematic analysis is not only the first but also the most crucial step of the analyses conducted within the scope of this thesis because the following analyses (of the paratexts and interviews) were performed by drawing on the results of thematic analysis. To put it more clearly, as explained in the methodology chapter in detail, the paratextual analysis was conducted only on the feminist themed translated articles and the translators interviewed were selected on the basis of the criteria of having translated at least two feminist themed texts.

During the thematic analysis, the 6-phase guide of Braun and Clarke (2006) was followed. Before starting the analysis, all articles translated from English and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of May 2019 were compiled and listed in excel files chronologically, from newest to oldest, and separately for both websites. These lists that can be seen in Appendix 1 and 2, revealed that 5Harfliler published 162, and Çatlak Zemin published 79 translated articles within the specified time interval. It was also seen that the translated articles on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin are generally news, research, and essays whose

English originals were published on online newspapers, feminist websites and blogs, and various online platforms.

Then, in the first phase, the researcher repeatedly read these 241 translated articles and familiarized herself with all of them. In so doing, initial ideas about the translated articles were also noted down. In the second phase, 241 translated articles were reread, and initial codes were generated for each one of these articles. To generate the initial codes, the relevant parts of the articles were firstly highlighted and then copied and pasted into the excel files. Then, these quotes were summarized in one sentence. These summarizing sentences acted as the initial codes of the translated articles. In the third phase, the initial codes generated during the second phase were collated into the potential overarching feminist themes that were generated by considering the theoretical discussions on feminism and FTS in the second chapter. Given this fact, it can be stated that the thematic analysis performed in this thesis is theory driven. In the fourth phase, after generating all potential feminist themes and sub-themes and categorizing the initial codes under these themes, the determined initial codes and feminist themes were reviewed retrospectively by the researcher to ascertain that determined feminist themes work for the all data set and there are no missed codes and/or themes. After this revision, the determination of the feminist themes was finalized.

#### **4.3.1. The Results of the Thematic Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

The following thematic map was generated as a result of this rigorous analysis. This map displays the 14 feminist themes which are addressed on the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. At first, with the guidance of the supervisor and two experts in the field, these 14 feminist themes were categorized under 3 main headings of feminism, woman, and patriarchy, then these 3 main headings were placed under the overarching title “feminist theme”. Thanks to this thematic map, the feminist themes addressed on the websites could be presented and discussed in an easier, more understandable, and tidier way. Before proceeding to the map, it needs to be stated that the theme of “queer identities and sexual orientations” was categorized and discussed under the heading of “woman” because this dissertation considers both women and queer identities and sexual orientations as subjects who are oppressed, subordinated and exploited by the similar patriarchal codes, norms and rules. On the other hand, it



should also be emphasized that, given queer theory which rejects any stable sexual identity or idea about sexuality and strives to overcome dichotomies and to relieve people of any label regarding their sexual and gender identities, this dissertation has no intention of melting queer identities and sexual orientations in a single woman category.



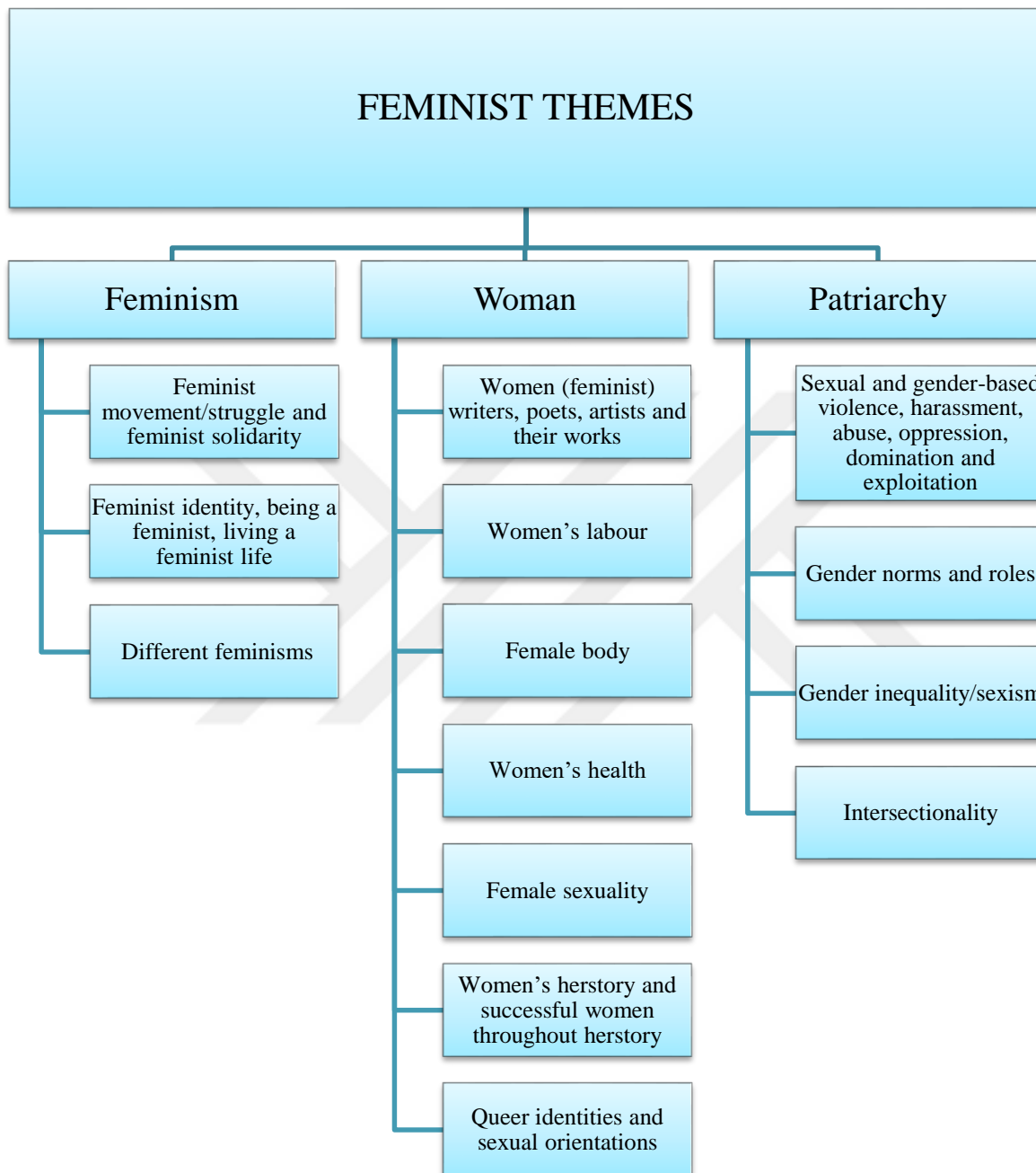


Figure 4.1. The thematic map displaying the feminist themes addressed in the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin

Given this thematic map, in a more general sense, the translated articles whose themes make women and queer identities visible; criticize patriarchy, patriarchal norms and sexual and gender based violence and inequality that patriarchy causes; and support women's feminist struggle against the patriarchy were defined as feminist themed translated articles. To put it more clearly, the translated articles which are centred on and around one or more of the feminist themes displayed on this thematic map were accepted and defined as **feminist themed translated articles**. Additionally, in line with FTS, the translations of a work, poem, letter, speech or an interview of women and/or feminist writers, poets, artists or thinkers, and the translated articles addressing and hence making visible the lives and experiences of different women were also defined and analysed as feminist themed translated articles even if they are not centred around the feminist themes displayed on the map. Drawing on this definition of a feminist themed translated article, the researcher marked the feminist themed translated articles as "1" and the non-feminist themed ones as "0". Then, to improve the overall validity and reliability of the thematic analysis, two experts in the field were asked to mark each translated article as "1" or "0" considering the abovementioned definition of feminist themed translated article, as the researcher did. The experts, not having seen each other's and researcher's decisions, decided and marked whether the translations were feminist themed or not according to the definition given to them. And then, the results of the experts and the researcher were compared. It was found out that the researchers and experts could not agree on 7 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 1 translated article on Çatlak Zemin. The translated articles on which the researcher and experts could not agree whether they are feminist themed or not were evaluated considering the opinion of the majority. Among the translated articles on which the researcher and experts could not agree, the ones that were marked as feminist themed translated articles by any two of the researcher and experts were accepted analysed as feminist themed translated articles. In other words, 2/3-majority was sought to determine the feminist themed translated articles. Within this framework, 2 translated articles from 5Harfliler and 1 translated article from Çatlak Zemin that were marked as non-feminist themed translated articles by the researcher at the end of her own analysis were changed as feminist themed articles in line with the decisions of the experts. Apart from this minor change, no changes were made to the first results the researcher obtained.

	5Harfliler	Çatlak Zemin
The number of the articles translated from English and published on the website from its establishment until the end of May 2019	162	79
The number of feminist themed translated articles	131	78
The number of non-feminist themed translated articles	31	1

Table 4.1. The results of the thematic analysis

As is seen in Table 4.1., the final results of the thematic analysis revealed that 131 (81%) out of 162 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 78 (99%) out of 79 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin are feminist themed. The further analyses were made on these feminist themed translated articles. On the other hand, the non-feminist themed translated articles on the websites such as “Kapakları Ayarlama Enstitüsü” (“Kapakları ayarlama,” 2014) in which Jim Tierney explains the process of designing a cover for the English translation of the novel *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar; “Plastiği Hayatımızdan Çıkarmanın 8 Yolu” (“Plastiği hayatımızdan,” 2017) which discusses how the plastic has damaged the earth and therefore 8 plastic items that we must stop using; “Hayvan Çiftliği: George Orwell Aslında Ne Kastetmişti?” (“Hayvan Çiftliği,” 2013) which is the translation of Orwell’s letter in which he explained what he essentially wanted to tell in his novel, *Animal Farm*; “Philip Roth’tan Wikipedia’ya Mektup: “Benlen Akıl Yarıştırma” (“Philip Roth,” 2012) which is the translation of Philip Roth’s letter that he wrote to Wikipedia; “İnternetin Üzücü Mirası: Artık Sır Yok” (“İnternetin üzücü,” 2013) that discusses how the internet eliminates the privacy of individuals; “Belgesel Ahlakı Üzerine...” (“Belgesel ahlakı,” 2013) which is the translation of American Suburb X’s interview with Gregory Halpern about documentary ethics in his photographs; and “Bir terapist terapiden en iyi nasıl yararlanır?” (“Bir terapist”, 2018) which addresses how a therapist can get the most out of therapy, were excluded from the analysis on the grounds that they cannot be considered as a feminist translation in terms of their themes. Meanwhile, it needs to be stated that further in-text analysis can be conducted

on the excluded non-feminist themed translated articles to see whether textual feminist translation strategies, i.e., supplementing and hijacking are used in these translations. However, it goes beyond the scope of this thematic and paratextual analysis-oriented study.

As can be seen on the thematic map generated by the thematic analysis, the feminist themed translated articles address and focus around 14 feminist themes<sup>55</sup>. In the following section, within the framework of the fifth phase of Braun and Clarke's guide, each one of these 14 feminist themes will be defined and discussed in detail. Then, two sample excerpts (one from 5Harfliler and one from Çatlak Zemin) will be presented for each of the 14 feminist themes to provide sufficient evidence of these feminist themes in the examined translated articles and hence to strengthen the discussion of the thematic analysis's results. Before proceeding to the discussion of the themes, it should be noted that since some translated articles address more than one of the feminist themes displayed on the thematic map, they are simultaneously included in more than one feminist theme category to be discussed below.

#### **4.3.1.1. Feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity**

The theme entitled "feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity" refers to any theme that makes various feminist movements and struggles in the different corners of the world and feminist solidarities among women visible; to any theme that support these feminist movements/struggles and solidarities i.e. strikes, rallies, campaigns, protests, hashtags organized against sexism, gender-based violence, oppression and inequality and discuss their successful and unsuccessful aspects, and the positive and negative reactions they face. The thematic analysis revealed that 5Harfliler published 10 translated articles addressing the theme of "feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity". The following excerpt was taken from one of these 10 translated articles, titled "Fransızca'yı Cinsiyetsizleştirmek: Dil Değişince Toplum da Değişir mi?" published on December 3, 2018, on 5Harfliler:

Yazar Albert Camus "Fransız dili benim anavatanımdır," der; çoğu Fransız da buna katılacaktır. Bu nedenle Fransızcaya uygulanan herhangi bir değişim çabası çoğunlukla kuşkuyla karşılanır.

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<sup>55</sup> It needs to be stated that one translated article on 5Harfliler entitled "F. Scott Fitzgerald'dan Genç Kızlara Nasihatler" ("F. Scott Fitzgerald'dan," 2012) and addressing the advice Fitzgerald wrote to her daughter was included in the feminist themed translated articles under the heading "Miscellaneous" since it could not be included in any of the 14 feminist themes, but it was still considered to be feminist themed by both researcher and experts.

Bu sonbaharda ilk defa cinsiyetsiz Fransızca kullanan bir okul kitabı yayımlandığında tepkiler anında başladı. Bu kitabın yayımlanması cinsiyetli bir dilin cinsiyetçi sonuçlar doğuracağını savunan Fransız feministler için bir zaferdi, cinsiyetsiz bir dile geçildiğinde kadınların sosyal durumlarının iyileşeceğini savunuyorlardı. Gelecek kuşakları kapsayıcı bir şekilde yetiştirmenin kadınlara karşı daha hoşgörülü olan iş ortamları gibi pozitif etkileri olacağını iddia ediyorlardı. [...] Fransızcanın bu özelliklerinin kadınlar için dezavantajlı olduğuna inanan feministler çözüm konusunda hemfikir değiller. Çoğu, tüm profesyonel isimlerin feminen versiyonlarını üretme ve/veya mümkün olduğunda cinsiyetsiz isimler kullanma taraftarı. Birçok kişi aynı zamanda maskülen isimlerin sonuna, feminen eklerin başına koyulabilecek bir “ara nokta” kullanmayı öneriyor; bu sayede her ismin iki cinsiyetli versiyonunu da söylemiş olabiliyoruz. (Örneğin musicien·ne·s, yani “kadın müzisyenler ve erkek müzisyenler” gibi.) Bazıları cinsiyetsiz bir zamir yaratmayı bile önerdi (İngilizcede sıklıkla bu amaçla kullanılan they veya İsveççedeki hen gibi.) Bu ve diğer öneriler kolektif bir şekilde “kapsayıcı yazı” olarak biliniyor. [...] Geçtiğimiz Eylül ayında Fransız yayınevi Hatier, High Council for Gender Equality’nin 2015’te yayımladığı Fransızca’yı daha cinsiyetsiz hale getirmek için on yolönerisinden yola çıkarak ilkökul üçüncü sınıftaki çocuklar için “kapsayıcı” bir okul kitabı yayımladı. Bunun üzerine muhafazakâr yayımlar “Feminizm: Kapsayıcı yazı sapkınlığı” ve “Kapsayıcı yazı: aptal·lar üreten yeni fabrika” başlıklı yazılar yayımladılar. Birçok filozof ve bilim insanı “dilbilim maskesi altındaki feminist aktivizme” ve “çocukların kobay olarak kullanılmasına” karşı ses çıkardılar” [...] [Öte yandan] [k]apsayıcı yazıyı normalleştiren kampanyaların işe yaradığına dair başka göstergeler de var: 2016’nın sonlarına doğru Microsoft Word, Fransızca için kapsayıcı yazı seçeneği olan yeni bir versiyon yayınladı. Şirket, bu yeni özelliğin “dışlayıcı, görmezden gelici veya stereotipleştirici” olarak kullanılabilir cinsiyetçi dile karşı üretildiğini ve mümkün olduğunda “cinsiyet kapsayıcı dil” kullanılması gerektiğini belirtti (“Fransızca’yı cinsiyetsizleştirmek,” 2018).

(ST) “My homeland is the French language,” author Albert Camus once wrote—and many French people would agree. That’s why any attempt at changing the language is often met with suspicion. So the uproar was almost instantaneous when, this fall, the first-ever school textbook promoting a gender-neutral version of French was released. It was a victory for a subset of French feminists who had argued that the gendered nature of the language promotes sexist outcomes, and that shifting to a gender-neutral version would improve women’s status in society. Educating the next generation in a gender-inclusive way, they claimed, would yield concrete positive changes, like professional environments that are more welcoming to women. [...] Feminists who believe that these features of the French language put women at a disadvantage disagree about how best to remedy them. Most recommend creating feminine versions of all professional nouns and/or using neutral nouns whenever possible. Many also recommend a grammatical tool that consists of adding a “median-period” at the end of masculine nouns, followed by the feminine ending, thus indicating both gendered versions of every noun (like musicien·ne·s, which would read as “male musicians and female musicians”). Some have even recommended creating a gender-neutral pronoun (the equivalent of how “they” is sometimes used in English, or “hen” in Sweden). These and other recommendations have collectively become known as “inclusive writing.” [...] When the French publishing house Hatier released an “inclusive” textbook for children in the third grade this September, it was based on the 2015 recommendations of the High Council for Gender Equality, which had outlined 10 ways to make the French language more gender-neutral. Major conservative publications published op-eds and editorials with headlines such as “Feminism: the delirium of inclusive writing” or “Inclusive writing: the new factory for idiot·e·s.” Many philosophers and scholars came out strongly against what they saw as feminist activism masquerading as linguistic science—and using children as guinea pigs. [...] [On the other hand] [t]here are other signs that the campaign to normalize inclusive writing is working: In late 2016, Microsoft Word released the newest version of its platform, which now has an inclusive writing option in French. The company explained that this new feature “targets gendered language which may be perceived as excluding, dismissive, or stereotyping,” and encourages “using gender-inclusive language” when possible (Timsit, 2017).

As is seen from the excerpt, the translated article makes French feminists’ struggle to subvert sexist French and create a new inclusive French language visible. The methods

French feminists used, the negative reactions they faced, and their achievements were also discussed in the article.

The theme of “feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity” is one of the most prominent feminist themes on Çatlak Zemin. The results of the thematic analysis showed that this theme was addressed in 33 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin. Considering that Çatlak Zemin published a total of 79 translated articles in the specified time period, it becomes clearer that the theme of “feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity” was addressed in almost 50% of the published translated articles. Additionally, it needs to be stated that almost each of these 33 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addresses a different feminist struggle in a different part of the World ranging from Venezuela to Pakistan, from the USA to Iran, from South Korea to Italy, from Ireland to Lebanon, from Argentina to Bulgaria, and this situation provides a huge variety. The following excerpt was taken from one of these 33 translated articles, titled “#NONUNADIMENO: Uluslararası Feminist Hareketin Beklenmedik Gücü” published on December 7, 2016, on Çatlak Zemin:

25 Kasım -Kadına Yönelik Erkek Şiddetini Durdurmak için Uluslararası Gün- genellikle politikacıların kadınların kurbanlaştırılmasını ve güçsüzlüğünü kutsadıkları boş, kurumsal bir gün olmanın ötesine geçmez. Bu sene İtalya’da, kadın cinayetlerinin sayısının her geçen yıl arttığı bir ülkede, inanılmaz büyük bir eylem örgütlenmesiyle 25 Kasım günü yeniden önem kazandı. Eylemin adı #NonUnaDiMeno yani #BiriBileEksikDeğil, doğrudan Arjantin’deki #NiUnaMenos eylemlerine gönderme yapıyordu. Mesele Polonya’dan Türkiye’ye, İzlanda’dan Şili’ye, dünyanın her yerinde her gün ayrımcılığa ve şiddete karşı mücadele eden kadınlarla dayanışma içinde olma... Bu eylemin ve eylemin ardından yapılan toplantının örgütlenmesine vesile olan, farklı kadın gerçekliklerinin, feminist kolektiflerin, ağların ve İtalya’nın her bir köşesinde yaşayan kadınların birbirilerini bulmalarıydı. [...] İtalya’da, Avrupa’da yükselen sağ popülizmin yeni bir aşaması olarak işaret edilen bir ülkede, böyle bir eylem gerçek anlamda şok etkisi yarattı. Kimse Roma’da bu kadar çok insanın, hem de kendiliğinden örgütlenerek böyle bir eylem yapmasını beklemiyordu. Eylemi örgütleyenler bile! Eylemin çağrısını kadınlar yapmıştı ve eylem şiddete ve her türlü ayrımcılığa, özellikle de translara ve lgbt’lere yönelik ayrımcılığa karşı mücadele eden herkese açıldı (“#NONUNADIMENO,” 2016).

(ST) The 25th of November – the international day to stop male violence against women – is usually no more than an empty institutional day, used by politicians to sanctify the victimization and impotence of women. This year in Italy, a country that sees the number of instances of femicide growing year after year, this day has been re-signified by a huge self-organised demonstration. The demo was called under the slogan #NonUnaDiMeno (Not one less), to recall directly the Argentinian demonstrations #NiUnaMenos, and to stand in solidarity with all women in the world that are fighting everyday against discrimination, violence, and for their self-determination, from Poland to Turkey, from Island to Chile... This demonstration and the following assembly were called through a fruitful encounter between different female and feminist realities, collectives, networks, and many single persons from all over Italy. [...] In a country that is being narrated as the new turning point in the rising of right-wing populism in Europe, this demonstration has been a real dislocation. No one was expecting so many people to gather in Rome, in a completely self-organised way. Not even those who launched the demo! It was demonstration launched by women and open to all subjectivities that are fighting against violence and all other forms of discriminations, especially transfeminist and lgbtqi. [...] (“#NonUnaDiMeno,” 2016).

As the excerpt clarifies that this translated article addresses a huge feminist demonstration and assembly organized under the slogan #NonUnaDiMeno in Italy. Why this feminist demonstration was organized, what it aimed to do, and what reactions it created are also discussed in the article.

#### **4.3.1.2. Feminist identity, being a feminist, living a feminist life**

Any theme that discusses the questions of what the concept/word of “feminist” means, who is feminist, who can be called a feminist; why women refrain from identifying themselves as feminist, what burdens feminist identity brings with it, what it means to live a feminist life and how to lead such a feminist life was compiled under the theme of “feminist identity, being a feminist, living a feminist life”. It was observed that 6 translated articles on 5Harfliler address the theme of “feminist identity, being a feminist, living a feminist life”. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled ““Hepimiz Feminist Olmalıyız” – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’nin Konuşmasının Tam Metni” published on January 13, 2015, on 5Harfliler:

Giderek tanımım şu noktaya ulaştı: mutlu, Afrikalı, erkeklerden nefret etmeyen, dudak parlaticılarını seven, erkekler için değil kendisi için topuklu ayakkabı giyen bir feministtim. Bunların çoğu şaka tabii ama feminist kelimesi yanında bir yük geliyor, olumsuz bir yük. Erkeklerden, sütyenlerden, Afrika kültüründen mutlaka nefret ediyorsunuzdur – bunun gibi şeyler. [...] Okulama yıllar önce bana o gün feminist derken haklıydı. Ben bir feministim. O gün sözlükte bu kelimenin anlamına baktığımda yazan şuydu: “Feminist: cinsiyetler arasında sosyal, politik ve ekonomik eşitliğe inanan kişi. Büyük büyük annem dinlediğim hikayelere göre bir feministti. Evlenmek istemediği adamın evinden kaçmış ve sonunda evlenmek istediği adamla evlenmişti. Haksızlığa uğradığını düşündüğünde karşı gelir, protesto eder, sesini çıkartırdı – toprak meselelerinde örneğin. Büyük büyük annem feminist kelimesini bilmiyordu. Ama bu onun feminist olmadığı anlamına gelmiyor. Daha fazlamız bu kelimeyi tekrar sahiplenmeli. Benim kendi feminist tanımım şöyle: Feminist: “Evet, bugünkü haliyle toplumsal cinsiyette bir sorun var, bunu düzeltmeliyiz ve daha iyisini yapmalıyız” diyen kadın veya erkek. Tanıdığım en iyi feminist, erkek kardeşim. Kendisi aynı zamanda iyi, yakışıklı ve sevgi dolu bir adam ve oldukça da erkeksi (“Hepimiz feminist,” 2015).

(ST) At some point I was a happy African feminist who does not hate men and who likes lip gloss and who wears high heels for herself but not for men. Of course a lot of this was tongue-in-cheek, but that word “feminist” is so heavy with baggage, negative baggage. You hate men, you hate bras, you hate African culture, that sort of thing. [...] And he was right, that day many years ago, when he called me a feminist. I am a feminist. And when I looked up that word in the dictionary that day, this is what it said: feminist: a person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes. My great-grandmother, from the stories I’ve heard, was a feminist. She ran away from the house of a man she did not to marry and ended up marrying the man of her choice. She refused, she protested, she spoke up, whenever she felt she was being deprived of access of land, that sort of thing. My great-grandmother did not know that word, “feminist.” But it doesn’t mean that she wasn’t one. More of us should reclaim that word. My own definition of feminist is: feminist: a man or a woman who says, “Yes, there’s a problem with gender as it is today, and we must fix it, we must do better.” The best feminist I know is my brother Kene. He is also a kind, good-looking, lovely man, and he is very masculine (Adichie, 2012).



In this excerpt taken from her inspiring speech titled “We should all be feminists”, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie identifies herself as a feminist. She also expresses what feminism means for her and who can be called a feminist. According to her, any man or woman who acknowledges gender-based problems and tries to eliminate these problems is feminist. In her speech, Ngozi Adichie also exemplifies that a person who does not identify herself as a feminist or does not even know the word, feminist, can lead a feminist life.

Thematic analysis showed that there are 3 translated articles on *Çatlak Zemin* which address the theme of “feminist identity, being a feminist, living a feminist life”. The following excerpt taken from the translated article titled “Feminist bir oğul yetiştirmek” published on July 3, 2018, on *Çatlak Zemin* focuses on this theme:

Karar verdim ki tabiat değil yetiştirme esastır. Ve elbette, toplumsal cinsiyet bir inşadır. [...] Bir traktör görüntüsünün oğlumda dizginlenemez bir coşku yarattığı gerçeğini değiştiremem. Ama ona kızların da traktör kullanabileceğini öğretebilirim. Feminist bir oğul yetiştirmeye işte tam da bunu yaparak – elbette birçok başka dersin yanı sıra – çalışıyorum. Feminist bir oğul derken bahsettiğim varsayımları sorgulayan, adaletsizliğe karşı ses çıkaran ve ‘kaslarını’ zulmü ve baskıyı söküp atmak için kullanan bir oğul. Oğlumun hayatı birçok erkek çocuğunkinden farklı – özellikle de toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini nasıl anlamlandıracağı konusunda. Ev dışında tam zamanlı işlerde çalışan iki annesi var. Doktoru bir kadın, cemaatinin hahamı bir kadın ve doktora sahibi bir büyük annesi var. Bunlar birkaç on yıl önce kadınlara açık olmayan deneyimlerdi. En sevdiği çocuk bakıcısı Wellesley’den mezun olmuş beyaz olmayan bir trans erkek. Ve ben onu her sabah İspanyolca ile haşır neşir olacağı bir kreşe bırakıyorum. Orada merenge dansı öğreniyor, kâğıt tabak ve plastik kamışlardan ayçiçeği yapıyor ve bebek baykuşlar hakkında İspanyolca kitaplar okuyor. Arkadaş çevrem ve ona bakanların oğlumu feminist yapmaya yeteceğini düşünmek istiyorum. Belki de gerçekten yeter (“Feminist bir oğul,” 2018).

(ST) Nurture is stronger than nature, I concluded. Gender is a construction [...] I can’t change the fact that the sight of a tractor gives my son unbridled delight. But I can teach him that girls can drive tractors, too. And that, among many other lessons, is how I’m trying to raise a feminist boy: a boy who will question assumptions, speak out against injustice, and use his muscles to uproot oppression. My son’s life is different from the lives of many boys, especially in how he will understand gender roles. He has two moms who work full-time outside of the home. He has a female pediatrician, a female rabbi, and a grandmother with a Ph.D.—experiences that were entirely unavailable to women just a few decades ago. His favorite babysitter is a transgender man of color who graduated from Wellesley. And every morning, I drop my son off at a Spanish-immersion day care, where he dances merengue, creates sunflowers out of paper plates and plastic straws, and reads Spanish-language books about baby owls. I’d like to think that our community of friends and caretakers is enough to make my son a feminist. Maybe it is (Namerow, 2018).

In this excerpt, the writer who wants to raise her son as a feminist explains what she does mean by a feminist boy and what she does to raise a feminist son, what she tries to teach her son, and how she raises him to be a feminist.

### 4.3.1.3. Different feminisms

As highlighted in the second chapter of this thesis, feminism is not a monolithic entity and there are different feminisms, i.e. different feminist approaches. The translated articles on the websites addressing the different feminisms, explaining their arguments and methods were compiled under the theme of “different feminisms”. 6 translated articles on 5Harfliler discussing ecofeminism, consumerist feminism, “bad” feminism, neoliberal feminism, online feminism, the conflicts between different feminisms were included in this theme. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Ekofeminizm Nedir?” and published on November 21, 2018, on 5Harfliler:

İklim değişikliği ve çevresel sorunlara cinsiyet perspektifinden baktığımızda, kadınları ön planda tutan bir düşünce ekolü var: ekofeminizm. [...] 1970’lerde, anti nükleer yaygınlaşması hareketi ve yeşil politik aktivizmle beraber ortaya çıkan ekofeminizm, çevresel zararın kadınların sömürülmesi ve gücünün elinden alınmasıyla nasıl ilişkilendirildiğini ele alıyor. İngiliz akademisyen Mary Mellor, “ekofeminizm, doğal dünyanın sömürülmesi ve aşağılanmasıyla kadınların ikincilleştirilmesi ve baskılanması arasında bağlantı gören bir harekettir. Ekofeminizm, feminist ve yeşil hareketin temellerini bir araya getirirken, ikisine de meydan okur,” diyor. [...] Ekofeminizm, Dünya ve kadınlar arasında bir paralellik görür. [...] Ekofeminizm güç hiyerarşilerini sorgular. [...] Teorik şeyleri geride bıraktığımızda, ekofeminizm çoğunlukla kadınların –özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde– çevrenin tahribatından nasıl etkilendiklerine işaret eder. [...] (“Ekofeminizm nedir,” 2018).

(ST) When it comes to putting a gendered lens on climate change and environmental issues, there’s one particular school of thought that prioritizes women: the concept of ecofeminism. [...] Emerging in the 1970s, alongside the anti-nuclear proliferation movement and the beginnings of green political activism, the concept of ecofeminism relates environmental damage to women’s exploitation and lack of empowerment. To quote Professor Mary Mellor, a UK academic, “ecofeminism is a movement that sees a connection between the exploitation and degradation of the natural world and the subordination and oppression of women... Ecofeminism brings together elements of the feminist and green movements, while at the same time offering a challenge to both.” [...] Ecofeminism Sees A Parallel Between The Earth & Women. [...] Ecofeminism Challenges Power Hierarchies. [...] Beyond the theoretical stuff, much ecofeminism points to the very real interactions that women, particularly in developing countries, have with environment degradation, and how their disempowerment is related to serious ecological problems. [...] (Thorpe, 2016).

As can be seen from the excerpt, ecofeminism, how it arose, and what it advocates in general was discussed in this translated article. Therefore, this translated article was compiled under the theme of “different feminisms”.

The thematic analysis revealed that there are 8 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addressing different feminisms and thus compiled under the theme of “different feminisms”. The second wave feminism, radical feminism, anti-capitalist feminism, transnational feminism, black feminism, internationalist feminism rooted in the working class, and “marketplace feminism” are amongst the ones that were discussed in the translated articles on Çatlak Zemin. The following excerpt was taken from the

translated article titled “Piyasa feminizmi nedir? İşte beş örneği” published on February 26, 2018, on Çatlak Zemin:

Feminizmin ilgi odağı olduğu bir zamandayız. Son birkaç yıldır feminizm popüler ve cool oldu. Beyoncé’dan tutun da Barack Obama’ya kadar herkes feminist ve milenyum kadınlarının üçte biri kendisini böyle tanımlıyor (Beyoncé değil, feminist olarak). Bu bir başarı gibi duruyor. Olsa olsa iyiye işaret olurmuş gibi. Ancak feminizmin popülerliği arttıkça markaların onu ticarileştirmesinde de bir artış görüyoruz. Feminizmin ticarileşmesi aslında geçen yüzyıldan beri sürüyor, ama artık giderek hız kazandı. Bitch Magazin’in kurucusu Andi Zeisler buna “piyasa feminizmi” diyor. “We Were Feminists Once: From Riot Grrrl to CoverGirl®, the Buying and Selling of a Political Movement (Bir Zamanlar Feministlik: ‘Riot Grrrl [1]’den ‘Kapak Kız’ına, Siyasi bir Hareketin Alınıp Satılması) başlıklı kitabında feminizmin nasıl alınıp satıldığını ve bunun feminist mesajı politik olmaktan çıkarak “havalı, eğlenceli, erişilebilir bir kimliğe” indirildiğini yazıyor. Cool oldukça, feminizm giderek eşitsiz sistemlere karşı bir isyan değil kişisel tarz ve seçim haline geldi. Politikliğinden arındırılmış bir ürüne dönüştü. Hatta yalnızca bir değil, böyle sayısız ürüne [...] Birçok marka, modern kadın ancak doğru dudak kalemini bulursa daha bağımsız, daha özgüvenli olabilir fikrini işleyip duruyor. Daha kötüsü, bunlar toplumsal hareketleri kendi kârları için araçsallaştırmaya çalışan markalar. [...] Kendinize masraf yapmak istiyorsanız, tabii ki buyrun! Hatta şu an benim de yüzümde kil maskesi var. Ancak feminizm gözeneklerimin açık olup olmadığı veya özbakım temalı bir kahve kupam olup olmadığı ile ilgilenmez. Piyasa feminizmi “femireklam” (“femvertising”) veya “güçlendirici reklam” (“empowertising”) denilen alanda da yükselişte. Andi Zeisler’in kitabında belirttiği üzere, piyasa feminizminin temelinde firmaların kadınlara berbat hissettirmeden ürün satın almalarını sağlayabileceği şeklindeki devrimci yaklaşım yatıyor [...] Yanlış anlaşılmasın. İçinde feminist mesaj olan reklamı tercih ederim. Ancak unutmayalım ki bu reklamlar ürünleri satmak için varlar ve kadınları olumlu temsil etmelerinin nedeni sadece bunun kâr getiriyor olması (“Piyasa feminizmi,” 2018).

(ST) Feminism is having a moment. Over the last few years, feminism has become popular and cool. Everyone from Beyoncé to Barack Obama is a feminist, and one-third of millennial women identify as such (as feminists, not as Beyoncé). This seems like progress. This seems like it can only be good news. And yet with the rise in feminism’s popularity, we’ve also seen a rise in brands trying to commodify it. The commodification of feminism has actually been going on for at least a century, but has become even more common lately. Andi Zeisler, founder of Bitch magazine, calls this “marketplace feminism.” In her book, *We Were Feminists Once: From Riot Grrrl to CoverGirl®, the Buying and Selling of a Political Movement*, she writes about how feminism being bought and sold has watered down feminism’s message from a political movement into a “cool, fun, accessible identity.” As it has become cool, feminism has become more about style and personal choices rather than uprooting unequal systems. Feminism has become a depoliticized product. Actually, it has become many, many products. [...] Plenty of brands have been pushing the idea that women can be independent, confident, modern women if only they have the right shade of lipstick. Worse yet, are the brands that try to appropriate social movements for their own gain. [...] If you want to spend money on yourself, go right ahead! I literally have a charcoal mask on my face this very minute. But Feminism doesn’t care if my pores are clear or if I have a self-care mug. The rise of marketplace feminism has also seen an increase in what’s known as “femvertising” or “empowertising.” As Andi Zeisler points out in her book, marketplace feminism sprang from the revolutionary notion that companies can get women to buy products without making them feel like shit about themselves. [...] Don’t get me wrong, I’d prefer advertising have a feminist spin. But we shouldn’t forget that these ads only exist to sell products and the only reason they’re finally showing women in a positive light is because it’s profitable (Longo, 2018).

As is understood from the excerpt, this translated article focuses on “marketplace feminism”, explains and exemplifies how it works, and also criticizes how it turns feminism from political movement to a thing that could be bought and sold. That is because this translated article was analysed under the theme of “different feminisms”.

#### 4.3.1.4. Women (feminist) writers, poets, artists, and their works

Unearthing women writers and their works that have been oppressed, underappreciated, hidden and/or ignored by patriarchy throughout history, emphasizing their importance and hence making them visible is one of the most prominent goals of FTS. During the thematic analysis, any translated article that serves for this goal of FTS by addressing women (feminist) writer, poets, artists, and their lives, works, careers, and talents and thus making them visible was compiled under the theme of “women (feminist) writers, poets, artists, and their works”. It was seen that there are 21 translated articles on 5Harfliler centring around this theme. It was also observed that many different women writers and artists such as Lousia May Alcott, Carol J. Adams, Margeret Atwood, Reneate Bertlmann, Patricia Highsmith, V.C. Andrew, Simone de Beauvoir, Lionle Shriver, Virgina Woolf, Shirley Jackson, Sylvia Plath, and Anne Frank and their lives, works, and careers were discussed in these 21 translated articles. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article titled “Duvarlara Çarpa Çarpa: Violette Leduc’un Hikayesi” published on February 23, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Violette Leduc: unutmamız gereken muhteşem Fransız feminist yazar. Simone de Beauvoir’ın himayesi altına aldığı, Jean Genet’le kıyaslanabilecek erotik metinlerin yazarı ve zoru başaran bir feminist. [...] Heteroseksüelliği yerinden eden, pornografiye açıkça kur yapan ve epey mahrem cinsel detaylar içeren anıları, geçtiğimiz yıllarda ABD ve Fransa’da yayınlandı. Ancak 50 yıldan fazla bir süre önce her şeyi yapmış ve söylemiş Violette Leduc’un kendi dönemindeki varlığı görünmez kılınmış. Garip bir marjinalleştirme bu: Leduc’u himayesi altına almış Simone de Beauvoir feminist bir ikon olmayı sürdürüyor. Leduc’la aynı dönemde yaşamış, onun gibi metinlerinde eşcinsel seksle ilgili detayları açıkça kullanan Jean Genet epey okunuyor ve Fransız avangart yazımının öncüsü olarak çok saygı görüyor. Ama Leduc öyle değil. İlk kitabı, otobiyografik romanı L’Asphyxie, hâlâ İngilizceye çevrilmedi. 1955’te yazdığı Thérèse ve Isabelle’in sansürlü versiyonu Fransa’da 2000 yılına kadar yayınlanmadı; İngilizce olarak da anca geçen yıl Feminist Press tarafından yayınlandı. Leduc’un otobiyografileri La Bâtarde (1964) ve Mad in Pursuit’te (1970) açıkça anlatılmış reddediliş öykülerinin izini sürdürdüğünüzde paranın ve erkekliğin edebiyat kapısında nasıl sinsice bekçilik yaptığını anlıyorsunuz; o zaman da, şimdi de. Leduc fakir ve gayrimeşru olarak doğar; annesi hizmetçi, babası mirasçıdır ve kaçamaklarının meyvesi Leduc, istenmeyen bir çocuk olarak doğar. Bekar annesi en sonunda “düzgün” bir koca bulana kadar sürekli insanlara yaltaklanıp hizmet etmek zorunda kalarak saygıdeğerliğin sınırlarında dolanır. Çocukluğunun büyük kısmında, Leduc’un feminist eğitimi kitaplardan ve kafelerde edilen sohbetlerden değil, annesinin kahvaltılık sofrasındaki öğütlerinden gelir. [...] Leduc, [...] 1972’de vefat etti. Yaşadığı Fransa’da, taşralı bir kadın, bir kaçakçı, çılgınca yaşayan ve delice seven bir lezbiyen, kültürel anlatıya, külliyata ve dersliklere alınmaya değer görülmedi. Belki çoktan öldü ve unutuldu ama sözlerinde hâlâ haklılık payı olabilir (“Duvarlara çarpa çarpa,” 2017).

(ST) Violette Leduc: the great French feminist writer we need to remember. She was Simone de Beauvoir’s protege, an erotic writer to match Jean Genet and a feminist tour de force. [...] The explicitly sexual tell-all memoir, with its eager flirtations with the pornographic and dislocations of heterosexuality, has blossomed in the US and France in recent years. But Violette Leduc, who did it all and said it all more than 50 years ago, is a ghostly presence in its genealogy. It is a mysterious marginalisation: Simone de Beauvoir, who took on Leduc as a protege, remains a

feminist icon. Leduc's contemporary Jean Genet, also wrote sexually explicit, homosexual texts and is widely read and venerated as a pioneer in French avant-garde writing. Not so Leduc. Her first book, the autobiographical novel *L'Asphyxie*, has still not been translated into English. Her novel *Thérèse and Isabelle*, written in 1955, was not published uncensored in France until 2000 and was only translated and published in English by the Feminist Press last year. [...] A journey through Leduc's rejections, documented in her autobiographies *La Bâtarde* (1964) and *Mad in Pursuit* (1970), lay bare the insidious gatekeeping that money and masculinity exert on literary inclusion, then and now. Leduc was born poor and illegitimate; her mother is the help, her father is the heir and she, the child of their furtive union, is unwanted. Her single mother has to scrounge and serve, always skirting the boundaries of respectability until she finally finds a "respectable" husband. For much of her childhood, Leduc's feminist education comes not from books and café chats but from her mother's exhortations, delivered at the breakfast table. [...] [S]he passed away in 1972. In the France she lived in, a provincial woman, a smuggler, a lesbian who lived wildly and loved madly, was not deemed worthy of inclusion into cultural narrative, into canon and classroom. She may be dead, gone and forgotten, but she may still be right (Zakaria, 2016).

As is seen from the excerpt, the life, and works of French feminist writer Violette Leduc who was ignored and underestimated for a long time, is discussed and hence made visible in this translated article. In so doing, the article especially argues that we need to remember this great woman (feminist) writer, who was largely ignored during her life and even after her death.

The results of the thematic analysis also showed that there are 9 translated articles on *Çatlak Zemin* centring around the theme of "women (feminist) writers, poets, artists, and their works". In these 9 translated articles, the women writers such as Judith Butler, Sara Ahmed, Ursula Le Guin, Elena Ferrante; the feminist film directors; feminist artists participating in feminist protests were addressed; the contents, methods, and importance of their works and performances were discussed and thus their visibilities were increased. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article titled "Kadın edebiyatı için harika zamanlar—Ama neden hâlâ ikinci sınıf muamelesi görüyoruz?", published on November 30, 2018, on *Çatlak Zemin* to exemplify the existence of this theme on *Çatlak Zemin*:

Erkekler hakikaten kadınlardan bir şeyler öğreniyor mu? Sık sık. Peki, bunu kamusal olarak kabul ediyorlar mı? Nadiren—günümüzde bile bu böyle. Edebiyat örneğinden gidelim. Kendimi ne kadar zorlarsam zorlayayım, bir kadın yazarın eserinden öyle ya da böyle etkilendiğini söyleyen çok fazla erkek yazar ismi düşünmüyorum. İtalya özelinde aklıma tek bir isim geliyor, o da Virginia Woolf okumanın kendisine çok şey kattığını söyleyen, *The Leopard*'ın yazarı Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa. Buna karşılık, kadın meslektaşlarını küçümseyen ya da onlara ancak ehemmiyetsiz, banal hikayeler—işte evlilik, çocuklar, aşk maceraları olsun; kısacası ancak ucuz romanslar ya da duygusal romanlar—yazma payesi biçen pek çok erkek yazar biliyorum. [...] Dünyanın her köşesinde, her alanda berrak bir akılla, acımasız bir idrakla, cesaretle, duygusallığa teslim olmaksızın yazan pek çok kadın var. Yüksek edebi kalitede eserler üretebilen bir kadın zekasının varlığı apaçık. Ama klişelerin yok olması zor oluyor: Bizler duygusalız, bizler başkalarını hoşnut etmek için varız. Erkeklerse, sözleri ve işleriyle dünyadaki iyiliğin kötülüğe üstün gelmesini sağlayacak muhteşem edebiyatçılar ve korkusuz öğretmenler ("Kadın edebiyatı," 2018).

(ST) Do men learn from women? Often. Do they admit it publicly? Rarely, even today. Let's stick to literature. No matter how hard I try, I can't think of many male writers who have said that they were in any way indebted to the work of a woman writer. Among Italians only one comes to mind, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, the author of *The Leopard*, who wrote that he had benefited from reading Virginia Woolf. I could list quite a few great male writers who either belittle their female colleagues, or attribute to them a capacity only to write banal, trifling stories – of marriage, children, love affairs; cheap romances and sentimental novels. [...] Many women who write, in every part of the world, in every field, do so with lucidity, with a pitiless gaze, with courage, with no concession to sentimentality. A widespread female intelligence that produces writing of a high literary quality has become manifest. But the cliché dies hard: we are emotional; we please. Men make great literature and teach fearlessly, through their words and deeds, how all the evil in the world should yield to good (Ferrante, 2018).

This excerpt points out and criticizes the sexism towards women writers and their work. It also emphasizes that despite this sexism, many women writers are very talented and produce highly qualified literary works all over the World. Thus, the existence and importance of women writers are highlighted in this translated article.

#### **4.3.1.5. Women's labour**

Any theme that makes women's labour visible; that opposes the exploitation and ignorance of women's labour i.e. unpaid domestic labour; and that challenges the patriarchal norms and orders expecting more (emotional) labour from women than men was compiled under the theme of "women's labour". The thematic analysis revealed that there are 4 translated articles on 5Harfliler addressing this theme. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled "Bir Entelektüel Tarz Olarak Kalpsizlik" published on May 15, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

1999 tarihli, kadınların akademideki duygusal emeği üzerine bir çalışma, "öğrencilerin, kadın profesörlerin erkek profesörlerden daha cana yakın olmasını beklediği ve olmadıklarında onları daha acımasız bir şekilde yargıladığı" sonucuna ulaştı. Daha yakınlarda ise, Northeastern Üniversitesi'nden tarih profesörü Benjamin M. Schmidt, kadın profesörler kişilikleri üzerinden daha sık değerlendirilirken erkek profesörlere "deha" denme olasılığının daha yüksek olduğunu buldu. Pek çok kadın, öğrencilerinin kendilerine sık sık terapist ya da sosyal hizmet görevlisi gibi davrandığını belirtiyor. Kadın akademisyenler -diğer meslek gruplarından kadınlar gibi- hem meslektaşları hem de öğrencileri söz konusu olduğunda duygusal emeğin en büyük kısmını sarf etmek durumunda bırakılıyor. [...] Günümüzde kadın akademisyenler, araştırmalarında duygusallıktan uzak, analitik bir çizgi tutturmanın baskısı ile sınıfta ya da fakülte toplantılarında külfetli duygusal emek sarf etme baskısı arasında kalmış bir vaziyette ("Bir entelektüel tarz," 2017).

(ST) A 1999 study of women's emotional labor in academe found that "students expect female professors to be nicer than male professors and judge them more harshly when they are not. More recently, the history professor Benjamin M. Schmidt, at Northeastern University, found that male professors were more likely to be called "geniuses," while female professors were more often judged on their personalities. Many women say that their students frequently treat them like counselors or social workers. Female academics — like their peers in other professions — are made to perform the bulk of the emotional labor, with both colleagues and students. [...] Women academics today are caught between the pressure to be unsentimentally analytical in their research and the pressure to perform burdensome emotional labor in the classroom or in faculty meetings (Fitzpatrick, 2017).

This excerpt highlights and questions the fact that compared to men, women academicians are expected to perform more emotional labour. The excerpt also states that this burdensome emotional labour creates pressure on women.

The results of the thematic presented that there are 4 translated articles on *Çatlak Zemin* in which the theme of “women’s labour” is addressed. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “#DaktiloİçinTeşekkürler” published on April 5, 2017, on *Çatlak Zemin*:

Hangi nedenle olursa olsun, çok fazla erkek yazar yıllar boyunca kendi lanet işlerini daktilo etmekte isteksiz ya da başarısız olmuşlardı. Kitaplarının teşekkür bölümü, karılarının ne kadar çok ekstra iş yapmış olduğunu gösteriyordu. Mesela “Bu zor el yazmasının tümünü, ev kadınlarının ağır yükü üzerine binen altı yıllık savaş ve sonrasında ezici şartlarına rağmen daktilo ettiği için karıma teşekkür etmek zorundayım.” Örnekler her alandandı; akademik iş, kurgusal, kurgusal olmayan, şiir ve diğer birçok tür, kendine-yardım kitapları bile. “El yazımı daktilo ettiği, yeniden daktilo ettiği ve sonra bir kez daha daktilo ettiği için karıma çok minnettarım.” Çok fazla daktilo... Holsinger, örneklerinin çoğu eski metinlerden olmasına rağmen, “şok edici bir kısmının” da son yirmi yılda yayınlanan kitaplardan olduğunu söylüyor. Birçok durumda cefakar kadın eşler kendi isimleriyle anılmaktan bile mahrum kalıyorlar. Erkek yazarlar kadının adını anmadan “Eşime de teşekkür ediyorum” demenin yeteceğini düşünüyorlar. Üstelik sadece eşler değil, bazen isimsiz kız çocukları da işin içine giriyor. Holsinger bu fenomen hakkında zaten birçok çalışma yapıldı üzerine yazılar yazıldığına ama hashtag’in büyük bir kamusal tartışma başlattığına dikkat çekiyor. “İnsanlar Fransızca, İspanyolca, Portekizce örnekler, kendilerinin veya ebeveynlerinin teşekkür edilmemiş anonim akademik çalışma deneyimlerinden hikayeler paylaştı” diyor. Bazıları kadın emeğinin akademide ne kadar sık değersizleştirildiğine dair kendi deneyimlerini paylaşmış (“#DaktiloİçinTeşekkürler,” 2017).

(ST) For whatever reason, a lot of male authors over the years have been unwilling or unable to type up their own goddamn work. The acknowledgments of their books show how much extra work their wives did in turn. “I have to thank my wife for typing the whole of this difficult manuscript in spite of the heavy burden laid on housewives by a six years’ war and its oppressive aftermath,” one example reads. Holsinger said he drew his examples from all over: academic work, fiction, nonfiction, poetry, and many other genres — even self-help books. “I am most grateful to ... my wife for typing, retyping and typing yet again the manuscript.” Holsinger told BuzzFeed News that while many of his examples came from older texts, “a shocking proportion” came from books published in the last two decades. [...] In many cases, these long-suffering wives were not even afforded the courtesy of their own names. [...] “My wife” had to suffice. [...] Not just wives, either. Sometimes anonymous daughters were involved, too. Holsinger noted that many people have studied and written about this phenomenon already, but the hashtag kicked off a big public conversation. “People have shared examples in French, Spanish, Portuguese, as well as many stories from their own or their parents’ experiences of unacknowledged or anonymous academic labor,” Holsinger said. Some people even shared their own experiences of how women’s labor often goes unappreciated in academia (Daro, 2017).

This excerpt taken from *Çatlak Zemin* points out the unappreciated women’s labour in academia, in typing and retyping their husbands’ and fathers’ manuscripts. As is understood from the excerpt, many women’s labours were exploited by their own husbands and fathers and they were left anonymous even in the acknowledgements. This exploitation and ignorance of women’s labour is questioned and challenged in this translated article.

#### 4.3.1.6. Female body

Any translated article that dares to talk about the female body and its features and parts like vagina and menstruation labelled as shame or disgusting by patriarchy; any translated article that addresses the patriarchal pressure and control over the female body and women's reproductive rights; and any translated article that criticizes and challenges the exploitation and objectification of the female body was compiled under the theme of "female body". The results of the thematic analysis revealed that there are 19 translated articles on 5Harfliler focusing on this theme. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article titled "Konuşmamız Gereken Bir Konu Var: Âdet Düzenimiz" published on August 18, 2014, on 5Harfliler:

Kadın bedenini utanılacak bir şey olarak görmek gibi bir kültür var, özellikle de konu âdet görmek olduğunda", [...]. [...] Genel hissiyat âdet görmenin kadınlar arasında dahi bir tabu olduğu ve bu konuya dair daha açık bir biçimde konuşmayı öğrenmemiz gerektiği idi. Doğal bir bedensel işlevin toplumun yarısı tarafından böylesine çekingenlik, garipseme ve utanç duygularıyla tecrübe edilmesi ilginç. Tuvalet kâğıtlarımızı saklamıyoruz ama tamponları kol çantalarından düşmeye görsün; hâlâ iki ayağı bir pabuca giriveriyor bazı kadınların. Hijyenik pedlerimizi çiçek desenli teneke kutularda saklıyoruz bir de. Gittiğiniz bir evin tuvaletinde bir yerlere sıkıştırılmış ve ısmarlama torbalara sarılmış tuvalet kâğıtları görmek biraz saçma olmaz mıydı? Sanki âdet gördüğümüze dair kanıtların olması utanılacak bir şeymiş gibi, hijyenik pedlerimize ve tamponlarımıza işte aynen bu muameleyi gösteriyoruz. [...] [Menstrüasyon eğitimi araştırmacısı Chella Quint] adet dönemlerimize daha olumlu bir ışıkta bakmamızı sağlamak için "#periodpositive project" [âdet-pozitif proje] isimli bir proje de yaratmış. Genç kadınlara âdet görmenin utanılacak bir yanının olmadığını öğretmek gerektiğini söylüyor. "Düzenli âdet görmek tıpkı nabzınız veya kan basıncınız gibi büyük önem taşır. Vücudunuzun düzenli çalıştığının göstergesidir bu," diyor Quint ("Konuşmamız gereken," 2014).

(ST) There is a culture of shaming around women's bodies particularly as it relates to menses," [...]. [...] the general feeling was that periods are a taboo, even among women, and that we should learn to speak more openly about them. It's interesting that so much embarrassment, awkwardness, and shame surround a natural bodily function experienced by half the population at some point in their lives. We don't hide toilet paper away, yet some women still get flustered if a tampon drops out of their handbag, or we might buy a floral-patterned tin to hide our sanitary pads. If you spotted some toilet roll tucked away and covered in a little bespoke baggy in someone's loo, wouldn't you find it faintly ridiculous? And yet that's what we do all the time with sanitary products, as though the evidence that we have periods is something to be ashamed of. [...] [A menstruation education researcher, Chella Quint] also created a project to help us see periods in less of a negative light, called the #periodpositive project. She says it's important to teach girls to see that there's nothing shameful about menstruation. "If you menstruate, having regular periods is a vital sign, like your heart rate or your blood pressure, that shows your body is working well," she says (Jupp, 2015).

This excerpt draws attention to the fact that menstruation is seen as a taboo in society, even among women. It also questions this nonsense taboo and emphasizes that there is nothing shameful about menstruation, on the contrary, it is natural and vital just like heartbeat and blood pressure.



The results of the thematic analysis also showed that there are 15 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin that could be analysed under the theme of “female body”. It was seen that 10 out of these 15 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin focuses on women’s right to abortion and patriarchal pressure and control over abortion. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article titled “Verona nasıl aşırı sağ ve ultra-katolik ittifak için model bir şehir haline geldi?”, published on April 9, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin and addressing the law prohibiting abortion in Verona:

Kadınlar, LGBT bireyler, göçmenler ve azınlıklar aynı hareketlerin hedefi haline gelmiş ve bu hareketler Verona’dan ulusal düzeye kadar İtalyan politikasını fethetmiş durumda. Eva, verilecek cevabın “feminist direniş” olması gerektiğini savunuyor. Eva, kadınların bedenlerinin “bu savaşın sürdüğü alan” olduğunu, aşırı sağcı ve ultra Katolik hareketler nezdinde kadınların anavatan için savaşacak oğullar doğuran bir araç, tecavüzden veya barbarların şiddetinden korunması gereken bir “şey” olduğunu söylüyor. Siviero ise “kadın bedenini söylem ve siyasetlerinde ırkçı, cinsiyetçi, mizojin (kadın düşmanı) fikirlerini beslemek için” kullanıyorlar diyor ve “Bu nedenle direnişin başlaması gereken yer tam da bu bedenler,” diye ekliyor (“Verona nasıl,” 2019).

(ST) Women, LGBT people, immigrants and minorities are all targets of the same movements which have increasingly captured Italian politics from Verona to the national level. The response, said Eva, must be “feminist resistance”. She described women’s bodies as “the battleground of this fight”, used by far-right and ultra-Catholic movements to generate sons for the motherland or as something to defend from rape and violence by barbarians. “They use women’s bodies either for racist, sexist or misogynist ideas to fuel their rhetoric and their politics”, added Siviero. “So these same bodies are the place where the resistance must start” (Torrise, 2019).

This excerpt highlights the fact that patriarchy uses and objectifies women’s bodies to enforce its racist, sexist, and misogynist ideas. Therefore, it is claimed that women’s bodies are battlefields where a feminist resistance against patriarchy must begin.

#### **4.3.1.7. Women’s health**

Any theme that addresses and hence reveals the negative and deteriorating effects of sexism, gender-based norms, roles and violence on women’s health was evaluated under the theme of “women’s health”. The results of thematic analysis showed that 5 translated articles on 5Harfliler address this theme. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Nepal’in Dünyadaki Gizli Sağlık Krizini Çözmek İçin Attığı Adımlar” published on April 28, 2019, on 5Harfliler:

Kadınların maruz kaldığı şiddetin sağlık durumları üzerindeki etkileri ağır oluyor. ABD’de yaşanan aile içi şiddet vakaları her yıl 2 milyon yaralanmaya sebep oluyor. Bu da aile içi şiddetin obezite ve sigara kullanımından daha büyük bir sağlık problemi olduğunu gösteriyor. Aile içi şiddet kronik ağrı, astım, uyku problemleri, huzursuz bağırsak sendromu (IBS), kalp hastalıkları, diyabet, felç ve cinsel yolla bulaşan hastalıklara neden oluyor. Partnerinden şiddet gören kadınların intihar etme riski daha yüksek oluyor ve bu kadınlarda depresyon, anksiyete, panik atak ve travma sonrası stres bozukluğu daha sık görülüyor (“Nepal’in Dünyadaki,” 2019).

(ST) The impact violence has on women’s health is immense. In the US, intimate partner violence results in 2 million injuries each year, making it a larger health problem than obesity

and smoking. It is associated with chronic pain, asthma, difficulty sleeping, irritable bowel syndrome, heart disease, diabetes, stroke and sexually transmitted diseases. Women who have experienced violence from a partner are at higher risk for suicide and more likely to suffer from depression, anxiety, panic attacks and post-traumatic stress disorder (Taormina, 2018).

This excerpt reveals how immensely intimate partner violence affects women's health. The resultant health problems are also stated in detail in the excerpt. Additionally, it defines intimate partner violence as a health problem that is larger than obesity and smoking.

During the thematic analysis it was found that there are 2 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addressing the theme of "women's health". The following sample excerpt was taken from one of these two translated articles, entitled "Günde zorla 16.000 kalori yedirilen kız çocukları" published on August 30, 2018, on Çatlak Zemin:

[...] Ancak Moritanya, Batı Sahra ve Fas'ın güneyindeki kırsal bölgelerde yaygın olan "leblouh" geleneğini duymamış olabilirsiniz. Leblouh, neredeyse beş yaşından başlayarak küçük kızları evliliğe hazırlamak için onlara zorla yemek yedirme sürecidir. Moritanya'nın bazı bölgelerinde iri kadınların çok daha çekici olduğu düşünülürken daha zayıf bireylerin evliliği çok daha az hak ettiğine inanılır. Şaşırtıcı biçimde, leblouh uygulaması ülkede hiçbir zaman yasaklanmadı. Bu da cezasız bir şekilde uygulanmaya devam etmesine izin verildiği anlamına geliyor. Bu acımasız geleneğe maruz bırakılan genç kadınlar, her gün yüksek kaloriler tüketmeye zorlandıkları kilo alma kamplarına gönderiliyorlar. Bu kamplar "şişmanlatıcı" olarak bilinen yaşlı kadınlar tarafından idare ediliyor. CNN muhabiri Mohamed Yahya Abdul Wedoud ile yapılan bir röportajda 25 yaşındaki Mariam Mint Ahmed, leblouh geleneği ile olan kişisel tecrübesini paylaşıyor. "Gençler olarak kendi yaşamlarımıza zarar veren bu geleneği sonlandırmak bizlerin görevi," diyor. "İstemediği halde zorla şişmanlatılan suçsuz günahsız o kadar çok genç kadın tanıyorum ki. Ve çoğunluğu da hastalanıyor. Onların sürekli dolaşım bozuklukları, hipertansiyon ve kalp hastalıkları ile boğuştuğunu gördükçe çok üzülüyorum". [...] Bu kadınlar günlük beslenme diyetlerini 16.000 kaloriye çıkarmaya zorlanıyorlar. Zaten bu sıklıkla, kusmaya başladıkları nokta oluyor. [...] Bu kızların zorlandığı şey gerçekten mide bulandırıcı. Kendi bedenleri üzerinde hiçbir söz hakkı tanınmadan onlara bir hayat biçimi dayatılıyor. Dahası, büyük bedenleri dolayısıyla yaşam kaliteleri de baltalanmış durumda ve bu fazla beslenme bir yığın sağlık problemlerine sebep oluyor" ("Günde zorla," 2018).

(ST) However, you may not have heard of "leblouh" which is prevalent in rural in areas in Mauritania, Western Sahara, and southern Morocco. Leblouh is a horrific process whereby girls as young as five are force-fed in a bid to prepare them for marriage. In parts of Mauritania, larger girls and women are seen as more attractive and wealthier while those who are slimmer are considered less worthy of marriage. Astoundingly, leblouh has never been outlawed in the country, meaning it has been allowed to continue unpunished. The girls who are subjected to this cruel tradition are sent to fat camps where they are forced to consume thousands of calories a day. These camps are run by elderly women known as "fatteners". In an interview with CNN correspondent Mohamed Yahya Abdul Wedoud, 25-year-old Mariam Mint Ahmed, opened up about her own experience with leblouh. "It is our responsibility as a young generation to put an end to the custom that threatens our lives," she said. "I know so many innocent girls that were fattened up against their will to be married off and most of them got sick. I feel sad when I constantly see them struggling with blood pressure, hypertension and heart diseases." [...] These daughters are forced to consume diets up to 16,000 calories, often to the fullest extent that they start throwing up. [...] What these girls are forced to ensure is absolutely sickening. This lifestyle is forced on them, leaving with no agency over their own bodies. Moreover, their quality of life is sabotaged as their large size and constant overeating leave them with a whole host of health problems" (Hambiliki, 2018).

This excerpt firstly explains what the leblouh tradition in Africa means. Then, it reveals the deteriorating effect of this tradition on the health of women who are exposed to this tradition, a kind of violence. This excerpt also presents the statements of a woman calling to stop this sickening tradition.

#### 4.3.1.8. Female sexuality

Any theme that makes visible female sexuality which is ignored and/or left unspoken; any theme that discusses, criticizes and/or challenges patriarchal pressure and control over female sexuality and any theme that opposes the commodification of female sexuality and seeing women only as sex objects was compiled under the theme of “female sexuality”. The results of the thematic analysis showed that 11 translated articles on 5Harfliler address this theme. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated articles entitled “Yatağımda Uyuyan Biri: Mısır’da Feminizm ve Evlilik Üzerine” published on September 20, 2018, on 5Harfliler:

Çoğu kadın özgürlüklerini ve cinselliklerini kısıtlayan aile ortamlarında yetiştiriliyorlar. Bize ‘namuslu’ davranmayı, itibarımızı korumayı, insan içine yalnızca kısa süreyle ve kesin bir amaçla çıkmayı ve tabii bir de evlenmeden seks yapmamamız gerektiğini öğretiyorlar. Bu tip kısıtlamalar yüzünden bir çoğumuz hayatımızı istediğimiz gibi yaşama arzusuyla aile evinden ayrılıyor. Ailesinin ya da kocasının evinde yaşamayan ve her geçen gün sayısı artan mustaqellat, yani müstakiller oluyoruz. [...] Tek başına yaşayan bekar bir kadının güvenli seks yapmaya çalışması kabaya dönüşebilir. Ortada iki sorun var: cinsel yolla bulaşan enfeksiyonları önleyen korunma sorunu (tabii partneriniz karşı çıkmazsa) ve cinsel şiddet korkusu. Korunma konusunda sıkıntı yoksa ve güvendiğiniz biriyle beraberseniz, seks yapmak için mümkün olan en az riskli yerleri bulmayı başarsanız bile; mahallede adınızın çıkmasından ve fuhuştan sizi tutuklamalarından hep korkarsınız. Bu şartlarda seks kadınlar için uğraşmak istemedikleri bir bela haline gelir. Hele bir de bu kadınlar birçok farklı cephede savaşmaktan bunaldıysa: iş, aile, taciz ve bazen de arkadaşlarla. [...] [Evlilikle birlikte] Ailem seks yaptığımı, seksin hayatımda önemli bir yeri olduğunu artık kabul ediyor. Annem bana iç çamaşırını alıyor, kız kardeşim de öyle. Babam eşimle ailemi ziyarete gittiğimizde bize özel alan tanıyor. O kapının ardında, o an seks yapıyor olabileceğimizi de biliyor. Artık bitti. Hukuk cinsel hayatımı yasallaştırdı, ailemin de rızası var (“Yatağımda uyuyan,” 2018).

(ST) Many women have been raised in familial contexts where their mobility and sexuality are restricted. We are taught how to act “respectably,” to pay attention to our reputation, to access public spaces only temporarily and with a clear purpose, and, of course, not to have sex unless married. These restrictions have driven many of us to move out of our family homes out of a desire to experience life for ourselves, and enter the expanding ranks of the mustaqellat, or independent women, those who live neither in the home of their families nor husbands. [...] Trying to have safe sex can become a nightmare as an unmarried woman living on your own. There is the question of contraception to prevent pregnancy and STIs — and hoping your partner won’t object — and, of course, there is the fear of sexual violence. And then, even if contraception isn’t an issue and you are with a partner whom you trust, and you manage to find places where you can have sex with the least risk possible, there is always the fear of a neighborhood scandal that could end up with your arrest on charges of sex work. In these circumstances, sex is often perceived by women as a hassle that they prefer not to put themselves through, especially if these women are already overwhelmed by battling on multiple fronts: a labor battle, a family battle, a harassment battle, a battle over a place on the metro, an emotional battle, and battles with friends from time to time. [...] [After i got married] my family finally accepts the fact that I have sex, and that sex is one of the main aspects of my life. My mother

buys me lingerie, and so does my sister. My dad gives us personal space during family visits. And he knows that we might be having sex right now, behind that door. It's done; my sexual affairs now are legitimized, by the virtue of law, and blessed by my family (Ahmed, 2018).

This excerpt clearly shows that patriarchal society has strict control over female sexuality, especially over the sexuality of single women. This patriarchal pressure and control are so strong that many single women see sex as trouble. And in these patriarchal societies, as the excerpt states that single women's sexual affairs are allowed only when they get married.

During the thematic analysis, it was also found that there are 5 translated articles on *Çatlak Zemin* which address the theme of "female sexuality". The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article titled "Çalışma: Hetero kadınlar işe yaramaz partnerleri yüzünden daha az orgazm oluyorlar" published on May 31, 2017 on *Çatlak Zemin*:

"Yakalanması zor kadın orgazmını" yakalamak o kadar da zor değil—lezbiyenlere sorun. Archives of Sexual Behavior dergisinde Şubat 2017'de yayınlanan bir çalışmaya göre lezbiyenler, "yakalanması zor kadın orgazmını" elde etmenin o kadar da zor olmadığını gösterdiler. [...] Verileri analiz ettikten sonra çıkan sonuçlar, "orgazm aralığı" (orgasm gap) denen şeyi doğrulamış: Erkekler daha sık orgazm oluyorlar. Yine de ilginç olan, hetero ve lezbiyen kadınlar arasındaki ve seks sırasında ne sıklıkta orgazm olduklarını bildirmelerindeki farklılık. Lezbiyenlerin yüzde 88'i, yakın partnerle genellikle ya da her zaman orgazm olduğunu söylerken, hetero kadınlarda bu oran yüzde 65 civarında. [...] Araştırmadaki pek çok kadına göre, "vajinal birleşme orgazm için zorunlu değil. Genital uyarılma, öpüşme ve oral seks dahil olunca hetero kadınların yüzde sekseni neredeyse her zaman orgazm olduklarını söylüyorlar." [...] "Eğer hetero çiftler, kadının gerçekten orgazm olmasını istiyorlarsa, lezbiyenlerin sıklıkla yatakta bu yaptıklarını kendileri de yapabilirler" ("Çalışma hetero kadınlar," 2017).

(ST) The "elusive female orgasm" really isn't that elusive at all—just ask lesbians. According to a study published in 2017 in the Archives of Sexual Behavior, lesbians confirm the so-called "elusive female orgasm" is really not that hard to find. [...] After analyzing the data, the results confirmed what's been described as the "orgasm gap": Men were found more likely to come than women. What was interesting, however, was the difference between heterosexual and lesbian women and how frequently they reported orgasming during sex. Eighty-eight percent of lesbians said they usually or always came when they were intimate, compared to 65 percent of straight women. [...] For many women in their survey, he continues, "vaginal intercourse wasn't necessary [to climax]. Eighty percent of heterosexual women who had genital stimulation, deep kissing, and who received oral sex said they usually-always orgasm." [...] "We found that these activities, which are very often what lesbians do in bed, are transferable to what heterosexual couples could do in bed if they really wanted the woman to have an orgasm" (Lawson, 2017).

This excerpt focusing on female orgasm, mostly ignored, and left unspoken by patriarchy, presents the results of a research on female orgasm. It reveals that straight women have fewer orgasms than lesbian women. Therefore, it claims that straight men need to learn from lesbians how to orgasm women.

#### 4.3.1.9. Women’s herstory, successful women throughout herstory

As Simone de Beauvoir emphasizes that history has always belonged to men; and women and their successes have always been ignored by patriarchy like a ghost. Therefore, making women’s success visible and writing women’s herstory has become one of the foremost goals of feminism, and hence feminist translation. The translated articles on the websites serving this goal through their themes were compiled under the theme of “women’s herstory, successful women throughout herstory”. The results of the thematic analysis showed that 5 translated articles on 5Harfliler address this theme. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Artık Gözden Kaçmayacak: Arama Motorlarının Temelini Atan Karen Sparck Jones” published on January 10, 2019, on 5Harfliler:

Bir bilgisayar programcısı olan Sparck Jones özellikle doğal dil işlenmesine odaklanmış ve kendi kendini eğitmişti. Bu disiplinde kadınların varlığının önemini savunuyordu. Aynı zamanda on yıllar öncesinden Silikon Vadisi’nin bu günlerde içine girdiği hesaplaşmayı öngörmüş ve bilgisayar bilimcilerin geliştirdikleri teknolojinin sosyal etkileri üzerine kafa yormaları gerektiğinin ve aksinin riskli olacağını altını çizmişti. [...] Sparck Jones’un Journal of Documentation (Belge Dergisi)’nde 1972’de yayımlanan özgün makalesi modern araştırma motorlarının temelini attı. Makalede o dönemde pek de rastlanmayan bir yöntem kullanarak istatistik ve dilbilimini birleştirmiş ve bilgisayarların kelimeler arasındaki ilişkileri nasıl yorumlayabilecekleriyle ilgili prensipleri içeren formüller bulmuştu. [...] Sparck Jones da kendisi gibi bilgisayar bilimcisi olan Roger Needham’la evlendiği zaman evlenmeden önceki soyadını tutacaktı. 1958’de bu konuyla ilgili olarak, “böylece kendinize ait kalıcı bir varlığınız oluyor” demişti. [...] Sparck Jones 4 Nisan 2007’de kanserden öldü. 71 yaşındaydı. Kendisi Times’da bir ölüm ilanı ile anılmamıştı ama eşinin ölümü 2003’te anılmıştı. Günümüzde araştırmacılar hala onun formüllerine atıfta bulunuyorlar. Yapay zeka yaygınlaştıkça, onun üzerine çalıştığı fikirler daha yeni uygulamaya alınıyorlar. [...] Sparck Jones hem kadın hem erkek bir nesil araştırmacıya danışmanlık yaptı. “Programlama yalnızca erkeklere bırakılmayacak kadar önemlidir” sloganını o buldu (“Artık gözden kaçmayacak,” 2019).

(ST) A self-taught programmer with a focus on natural language processing, and an advocate for women in the field, Sparck Jones also foreshadowed by decades Silicon Valley’s current reckoning, warning about the risks of technology being led by computer scientists who were not attuned to its social implications. [...] Sparck Jones’s seminal 1972 paper in the Journal of Documentation laid the groundwork for the modern search engine. In it, she combined statistics with linguistics — an unusual approach at the time — to establish formulas that embodied principles for how computers could interpret relationships between words. [...] Sparck Jones, too, kept her name when she married Roger Needham, a fellow computer scientist, in 1958, saying, “It maintains a permanent existence of your own.” [...] Sparck Jones died of cancer on April 4, 2007. She was 71. Though she did not receive an obituary in The Times, her husband did, in 2003. Today, researchers are still citing her formulas. Ideas she wrote about are now being put into practice as artificial intelligence research becomes more prevalent. [...] Sparck Jones mentored a generation of researchers, male and female, and came up with a slogan: “Computing is too important to be left to men” (Bowles, 2019).

Firstly, it needs to be noted that the original English version of the translated article from which this excerpt was taken was published on the New York Times within the scope of “Overlooked” series including obituaries about remarkable people whose deaths went unreported in The Times. Given this fact, it becomes clear that the text

aims to make visible Sparck Jones and her successes as a self-taught programmer. For this reason, as is seen in the excerpt, her contributions to the field of computing and her achievements are discussed in detail within the text.

The thematic analysis also revealed that there is only 1 translated article on *Çatlak Zemin* focusing on the theme of “women’s herstory, successful women throughout herstory”. The following sample excerpt was taken from this translated article entitled “‘Sosyal Cins: Kadınlar Arası Arkadaşlığın Bir Tarihi’” published on March 4, 2019, on *Çatlak Zemin*:

Kadınlar Antik Yunan toplumsal hayatının bir parçası olmadığı için, arkadaşlıkları da ilgi görmüyordu. İlk kadın entelektüellerden olan ve ayrıca kadınlar arasındaki özverili arkadaşlıkların ilk yazılı örneklerini de veren manastır rahibeleri, dünyanın geri kalanından kasıtlı olarak ayrı tutuluyorlardı. Daha sonraki dönemlerde ise kadınların toplumsal hayattan kopukluğu, arkadaşlıklarının üstünlüğünü gerektirmek için kullanılmaya başlandı. Yazarlar 16. yüzyılda, bir kadının eşini sık sık en iyi arkadaşı olarak konumlandıran modern düğün yeminlerinin tam aksine, “Bir kadının en iyi arkadaşı ile aynı ruhu paylaşabileceği, kocasıyla ise bunu ancak nadiren yaşayabileceği anlaşılmıştır,” diye yazarlardı. “Dedikodu” (gossip) yalnızca kadın arkadaşı anlatan bir kelimeydi ve hiçbir olumsuz çağrışımı yoktu. 17. yüzyıla beraber, kadınlar arkadaşlıkla daha sık anılır oldular. Filozof Mary Astell, kadınların “Dünya meseleleriyle daha az haşır neşir oldukları için,” daha otantik ve saf bağları olduğunu yazdı. Evlenen kadınlar çoğunlukla anne ve kız kardeşlerinden uzağa gittikleri için, komşularıyla bağlar kuruyorlardı. Bu kadınlar çoğunlukla aileleriyle iletişimde kalabilecek kadar eğitimli ya da onları ziyaret edecek kadar zengin olmadıklarından arkadaşları yeni bir aileye dönüşüyordu. [...] Tarihin farklı zamanlarında, tüm ekonomik düzeylerden kadınların arkadaşlıklarına sık sık ailelerin talepleriyle ket vurulmuştur. [...] Tarih boyu kadınların aile içindeki yükleri arttıkça, arkadaşlıkları zarar gördü ya da tamamen bitti. Arkadaşlık; kadınların ikincil, yardımcı rollerini zorlamanın ve diğer ilerici politik gündemleri öne çıkarmanın güçlü bir yoluna dönüştü. Susan B. Anthony ve Elizabeth Cady Stanton’ın sarsılmayan dostluğu, kadınların oy hakkı kazanma çabalarının temelini oluşturdu. Jane Addams, reformist sosyal hareketini yakın kadın işbirlikçileriyle beraber kurdu. Eleanor Roosevelt, arkadaşlarının hayatındaki önemli konumu sebebiyle kocasından bağımsız siyasi bir güç olarak sahneye çıkabildi. Betty Friedan ev kadınlarının sıkıntılarından bahsettiği ve ikinci dalga feminist hareketin güçlenmeye başladığı sırada, artık kadınlar arasındaki bağların siyasi değişim için örgütleyici bir güç olduğu açıkça kabul edilmişti. Kız kardeşlik, sloganın da dediği gibi, güçlüdür (“Sosyal cins,” 2019).

(ST) Because women weren’t part of Greek public life, their friendship was of little interest. Cloistered nuns, among the first female intellectuals and also some of the first documented examples of devoted friendship between women, were deliberately closed off from the wider world. Later, women’s disconnectedness from public life was used as a justification for the superiority of their friendships. In stark contrast to modern wedding vows that often position a woman’s romantic partner as her best friend, in the 16th century, “it was understood that a woman could share the same soul with her best friend, but rarely, if ever, with her husband,” the authors write. The word “gossip” simply referred to a female friend and had no negative connotations. By the 17th century, women had started to become associated with friendship. The philosopher Mary Astell wrote that women’s bonds were more authentic and pure because women were “less concern’d in the affairs of the World.” Women formed bonds with neighbors, “since wives commonly moved away from their mothers and sisters.” These women usually weren’t wealthy enough to travel or literate enough to keep in touch with their kin, so friends became supplemental family. [...] Women at all economic levels and points in history have, at times, found their friendships impeded by the demands of family. [...] Historically, as women’s obligations to family life increase, their friendships tend to suffer or disappear altogether. Friendship became a powerful way of challenging women’s subservient roles and pushing forward other progressive political agendas. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s

unwavering friendship formed the foundation of the push for women's suffrage. Jane Addams established the settlement house movement with a close group of female collaborators. Eleanor Roosevelt emerged as a political force independent of her husband because of the central role that her friends played in her life. By the time Betty Friedan called out housewives' malaise and the second-wave feminist movement was percolating, the bonds between women were openly acknowledged as an organizing force for political change. Sisterhood, as the slogan goes, is powerful (Friedman, 2015).

As the excerpt shows, the herstory of the friendship among women is discussed within the text. Besides focusing on the historical development of friendship among women, the excerpt also explains and exemplifies what a crucial role this friendship i.e. sisterhood plays in women's lives and achievements, and the growth of the feminist movement.

#### **4.3.1.10. Queer identities and sexual orientations**

Any translated article in which queer identities and different sexual orientations are discussed and thus made visible was compiled under the theme of "queer identities and sexual orientations". It was seen that many different queer identities and sexual orientations such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, asexual, demisexual, and transgender individuals, and their lives, the problems, and the violence they face are discussed in detail in some translated articles on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. The results of the thematic analysis revealed that there are 11 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 7 on Çatlak Zemin addressing this theme. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article, the translation of a conversation with the trans actress Laverne Cox, entitled "Laverne Cox: Ben Böyle İyiyim" published on August 22, 2013, on 5Harfliler:

Bu dizi aynı zamanda cinsel kimlik ve cinsellik arasındaki farka da eğiliyor – geçiş döneminin ardından Sophia karısından ayrılmıyor. Popüler kültürde aradaki fark çok ender çizilir.

Bu tam Trans 101. Cinsel kimliğin ve seksüel yönelimin ayrı şeyler olduğunu senelerdir söylüyorum ama bunu bilmeyen bir sürü insan var. Bence bunun sebebi bizim de LGBT topluluğunun parçası olmamız ve gey, lezbiyen ve biseksüel kişilerle aynı gruba konmamız, ama bizim için konu seksüel eğilim değil cinsel kimlik. Ayrıca insanların gey ve lezbiyenlerle ilgili sorunlarının çoğunun, özellikle çocuklarla uğraşıldığı zaman, cinsel kimlikle alakalı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Doğuşta kendisine erkeklik tayin edilen birinin bir oğlan çocuğunun davranması gerektiği gibi davranmamasıyla alakalı. Bunun o kadar büyük bir kısmı cinsel kimlik ve feminenlik korkusuyla alakalı ki... ("Laverne Cox," 2013).

(ST) This show also explores the difference between gender identity and sexuality — after her transition, Sophia stays with her wife. That distinction is rarely drawn in pop culture.

That's is very Trans 101. I've been saying this for years, that gender identity and sexual orientation are different but so many people don't know. I think that the reason for that is that we are in the LGBT community and we get lumped with gay and lesbian folks and bisexual folks, but [for us] it's not about sexual orientation, but gender identity. I also think that a lot of the issues that folks seem to have with gays and lesbians, particularly when kids are bullied, are

about gender. It's about someone assigned male at birth not acting the way a boy should act. So much of it comes down to gender and this fear of femininity in our culture (Juzwiak, 2013).

This excerpt presents Laverne Cox's explanations on the difference between gender identity and sexual orientation. In this excerpt, she stresses that transsexuality is not a sexual orientation but a gender identity. In addition, she implies that the problems queer individuals face stem from the strict and sexist gender norms in patriarchal societies.

Below is another sample excerpt addressing the theme of "queer identities and sexual orientations" taken from the translated article entitled "Cinsiyet belasından feminist bir yaşam sürmeye: Sara Ahmed'in Judith Butler'la söyleşisi" published on May 29, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin:

"Bir zamanlar "queer", hizaya girmeyen, kolaylıkla kategorize edilemeyen toplumsal cinsiyetler ve çeşitli cinsellikler için bir tür şemsiye terim işlevi görmüşse de bugün kendi içinde bir mücadeleye sahne oluyor. Pek çok trans ya da trans hakları savunucusu queerin dışlayıcı bir terim olduğunu, trans deneyimini ne kapsadığını ne de tanımladığını iddia ediyor. [...] Bence queer, mücadeleyi genişletme dalgasının bir parçası olmalı" ("Cinsiyet belası," 2019).

(ST) "If 'queer' once sought to provide an umbrella term for nonconforming genders and various sexualities, ones that did not easily submit to categorization, it is now clearly embroiled in a battle of its own. Many trans people, or trans advocates, have argued that queer is exclusionary, that it does not include or describe trans experience. [...] It seems to me that queer has to be part of the weave of a broadening struggle" (Ahmed, 2016, pp. 490-492).

This excerpt taken from the interview that Sara Ahmed made with Judith Butler on the issues of gender, queer identity, and queer movement, etc., presents Butler's explanations on the term, "queer".

#### **4.3.1.11. Sexual and gender-based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination, and exploitation**

Any theme that addresses, makes visible, criticizes, and/or challenges different types of sexual and gender based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination, and exploitation was compiled under the theme of "sexual and gender-based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination, and exploitation". It was seen that many different types of sexual and gender based violence such as rape, sexual harassment, online harassment, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, physical and psychological violence, woman's murder, misogyny, homophobia, transphobia were addressed quite a lot in the translated articles on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. The results of the thematic analysis showed that there are 47 translated articles on 5Harfliler, 34 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addressing this theme and it is the



most frequently addressed theme on both websites. The following sample excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Ev Hücreye Döndüğünde: Kadınların Ev Hapsi Beyanları” published on October 10, 2018, on 5Harfliler:

Bir kadını boyunduruk altına almak, kaderini ve hayatını kontrol altında tutmak için dayak, ölüm tehditleri, evliliğe zorlamak ya da eğitimden mahrum etmek yetmediğinde ve ailenin erkekleri karar alırken genç bir kadının çıkarlarından başka her şeyi düşündükleri için, toplandıklarında, ev hapsi genellikle nihai ceza olur. [...] “Kızları Ev İçi Şiddeten Koruma Yasası” inisiyatifinde “ev hapsi”ni, “özel alanda aile bireyleri tarafından kadına uygulanan bir şiddet biçimi” olarak tanımlıyoruz. Bu hapsedme, kadınlara il ya da ülke dışına çıkmayı yasaklama şeklinde olabilir ya da onları evden çıkmaktan men etmeyi içerebilir. Bir kadın için eve kapatılmak, -bu ev kendi ya da aile üyelerinden birinin evi olsun- tecridin en uç şeklidir çünkü sosyal izolasyon gerektirir ve genellikle şiddetli depresyona yol açar. Bu kadarıyla da bitmez. Çoğu zaman ev hapsi, cinsel şiddetin yanı sıra tehdit ve ağır dayak, yemek, su ve ilaçtan yoksun bırakılmak da dahil olmak üzere diğer şiddet biçimleriyle birlikte uygulanır. Bu yazıda eve hapsedilen Mısırlı kadınların beyanlarından kesitler var. [...] İşkence ve ölüm tehditleri nadir değildir; bazı kadınlar öldürülür ya da zorla intihar ettirilir ve ölüm nedenleri, sır olarak saklanır. [...] Aile içi şiddet, evde, sokakta veya başka bir yerde aile üyesi tarafından uygulanan şiddettir. Çoğunlukla erkekler tarafından uygulanır fakat kadınlar tarafından uygulanıp desteklenebilir de. Ailenin bazı üyelerine, özellikle kadınlar üzerinde kullanılmak üzere sınırsız güç verildiği suretle aile içi şiddet, toplum ve hukuk tarafından tolere edilmiş olur. Şiddet, baba, anne, ağabey, amca veya dedenin yanı sıra koca, nişanlı, erkek arkadaş veya eski koca da dahil olmak üzere bir partner tarafından da ilişki boyunca / ilişki bittikten sonra uygulanabilir. Fiziksel istismarı, evlilik içi tecavüzü, duygusal istismarı ve bir insanın güven duygusunu yok eden bütün davranışları içerebilir (“Ev hücreye döndüğünde,” 2018).

(ST) When neither beating, death threats, forced marriage nor deprivation of education prove effective in subduing a woman and controlling her fate and her life, when the men of the family come together to decide what they deem is in the interests of a young woman regardless of anything else, domestic detention often becomes the ultimate punishment. [...] We, at the initiative “A Law to Protect Girls from Domestic Violence,” define home detention enforced by family members as a form of violence against women in private spaces. This detention may take the form of forbidding women from traveling outside the governorate or out of the country, and it may also include banning them from leaving the house. For a woman to be confined to a home — her own or that of a family member — is the most extreme form of detention, as it involves complete social isolation and usually causes severe emotional distress. And this is seldom the end of it. Domestic detention is often enacted in parallel with other forms of violence, including the deprivation of food, water and medication, threats and violent beatings, as well as sexual violence. Here are some snippets of the accounts of Egyptian women who have been detained at home. [...] Torture and death threats are not uncommon — some women are murdered or driven to commit suicide, and the cause of death is kept under wraps. [...] Family violence is violence committed by a family member in the home, on the street, or elsewhere. It is mostly perpetrated by men but can also be enacted or supported by women. It is permitted by society and the law, as certain members of the family are granted unlimited power, particularly over women. It can be committed by a father, mother, brother, uncle or grandfather, as well as a partner — including a husband, fiancé, boyfriend or ex-husband — throughout the period of a relationship or after it ends. It can include physical abuse, spousal rape, emotional abuse and behavior that all destroy the confidence of a human being (Tantawi, 2018).

This excerpt taken from the translated article focusing on home detention in Egypt clearly defines what home detention means. Besides this clear definition, it also emphasizes that home detention is often enacted with other forms of violence such as the deprivation of food, water and medication, threats and violent beatings, torture, sexual, physical and psychological harassment, and intra-marital rape. The negative

and destructive effects of home detention on women are also highlighted in this excerpt.

Below is another excerpt addressing the theme of “sexual and gender-based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination and exploitation”, taken from the translated article titled “Mesele O’Reilly ve Weinstein meselesi değil: Cinsel şiddet bir ‘küresel salgın’” published on November 10, 2017, on Çatlak Zemin:

Öte yandan cinsel taciz ABD ile sınırlı değildir. Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddetin bir “küresel salgın” olduğunu duyurdu. Harvard Humanitarian Initiative’den acil tıp ve hukuk uzmanları, dünyada yaşayan kadınların kabaca yüzde 33’ünün hayatına dokunan, ulusal sınırları ve sınıfları aşan bir sorun olduğunu kabul etmek gerektiğine inanıyorlar. Dert dünyası Dünya Sağlık Örgütü dünyada her üç kadından birinin, birçoğu 15 yaşına gelmeden önce olmak üzere, hayatı boyunca fiziksel ve cinsel şiddete maruz kalacağını öngörüyor. Gerçekte, kırsal alanda yaşayan birçok kadının ilk cinsel deneyimi zorla cinsel ilişki oluyor. Tanzanya’nın kırsal bölgelerinde bu oran yüzde 17, Gana’da 21, Peru’da 24, Bangladeş’te 30 ve Güney Afrika’da 40; ilk cinsel deneyimlerinin kadınların rızası dışında gerçekleştiğini rapor ediyor. Eş şiddeti de küresel olarak yaygın. Dünya Sağlık Örgütü’nün bir çalışmasına göre İngiltere, Meksika, Nikaragua, Peru ve Zimbabveli kentli kadınlar erkek arkadaşlarının ya da eşlerinin kendilerine karşı bir tür cinsel şiddet uyguladığını bildirdiler. Küresel düzeyde öldürülen kadınların yaklaşık yüzde 55’i eşleri tarafından öldürülüyor. Kadınlara yönelik şiddet, psikolojik istismardan bir tür cinsel saldırganlığa ve Harvey Weinstein’in işlediği iddia edilen tecavüze kadar birçok biçimde gerçekleşebiliyor. Namus cinayetleri, fiziksel saldırılar, kız çocuklarının öldürülmesi ve kadın sünneti, kadın ticareti trafiği, zorla evlendirme ve işyerinde ve okulda cinsel taciz de toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddet olarak kabul edilmekte. Oranlar ülkeden ülkeye değişebiliyor. Örneğin Japonya’da yüzde 15 iken Etyopya’da yüzde 71 olabiliyor, fakat şiddet aslında her yerde yaşanan bir kadın deneyimi. [...] Araştırmalar, cinsel şiddetin, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği, kadınlar ve erkekler arasındaki eşitsiz güç ilişkileri gibi etkenlerin yanı sıra iktidara dayalı eşitsizlik gibi çok çeşitli nedenleri olduğunu gösteriyor. [...] Evde, sokakta ya da savaşta kadınlara karşı şiddet, özel ve kamusal alanda gerçekleşen bir insan hakları ihhalidir (“Mesele O’Reilly,” 2017).

(ST) Nor is sexual harassment limited to the United States. The U.N. has called gender-based violence a “global pandemic.” As experts in emergency medicine and legal research at the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, we believe it’s important to acknowledge that this issue transcends national borders and class boundaries to touch the lives of roughly 33 percent of all women worldwide. According to World Health Organization estimates, one in three women worldwide will experience either physical or sexual violence in her lifetime, many of them before the age of 15. In fact, for many rural women, their first sexual encounter will be a forced one. Some 17 percent of women in rural Tanzania, 21 percent in Ghana, 24 percent in Peru, 30 percent in Bangladesh and 40 percent in South Africa report that their first sexual experience was nonconsensual. Intimate partner violence is also pervasive globally. In one World Health Organization study, 22 to 25 percent of women surveyed in cities in England, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Zimbabwe reported that a boyfriend or husband had committed some form of sexual violence against them. Globally, up to 55 percent of women murdered are killed by their partners. Violence against women takes many forms, ranging from psychological abuse to the kind of sexual predation, sexual assault and rape allegedly committed by Harvey Weinstein. Honor killings, physical attacks, female infanticide, genital cutting, trafficking, forced marriages and sexual harassment at work and school are also considered gender-based violence. Rates range from country to country – from 15 percent in Japan to 71 percent in Ethiopia – but violence is, in effect, a ubiquitous female experience. [...] Research reveals that there are multiple causes of sexual violence, among them gender inequality and power differentials between men and women. [...] Whether at home, on the streets or during war, violence against women is a HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION that takes place in PUBLIC and PRIVATE Space (“It’s not just O’Reilly”, 2017).

The excerpt addressing different forms of gender-based violence states that gender-based violence is a “global pandemic”. After sharing quantitative data showing how widespread violence is all over the World and explaining the reasons behind it, the excerpt ends by stating that “violence against women is a human right violation” (“It’s not just O’Reilly,” 2017).

#### 4.3.1.12. Gender norms/roles

Any theme that discusses and/or challenges gender norms/roles which strictly control every aspect of life, assign certain roles to man and woman and thus stereotype femininity and masculinity, establish strict rules on what man and woman should do and how they should do it, and any theme that points out the problems and inequalities stemming from these norms and roles was compiled under the theme of “gender norms/roles”. The results of the thematic analysis showed that there are 16 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 14 on Çatlak Zemin addressing this theme. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article titled “Ananı Da Al Git Buradan” published on June 14, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Madde bağımlılığı, kadınlara yüklenen “onu yeterince seviyorsan/ona yeterince emek verirsen/sabırlı olursan onu düzeltebilirsin” fikrinin bir nevi uç versiyonu. Kadınlar, çocuk doğurmayı seçseler de seçmeseler de anneliğe zorlanırken erkeklerin ölene kadar çocuk – sorumluluktan azade – kalmasına izin veren daha büyük bir sistemin parçası aslında. [...] Kadınların rolünün erkekleri (onlar ailelerinin evinden ayrıldıktan sonra bile) eğitmek ve onlara bakmak olduğunu söyleyen daha çok mesaja ihtiyacımız varmış gibi! [...] Kocanız, daima, en çok yetişkin gözetimine ihtiyaç duyacak en büyük çocuğunuz olacaktır. [...] Ben anneliği reddediyorum; her şekliyle. Bebek-bebek istemiyorum; erkek-bebek de istemiyorum. Yani aslında erkekler, kendilerini düzeltebilirler, [...]. [...] Annelik sadece kelimenin gerçek anlamıyla anne olmaktan ibaret değil. Bütün kadınların nasıl kabul gördüğüyle de ilgili. Kadınlık, özünde “anne gibi” özelliklerle de bağlantılı: tahammül, yumuşaklık, bakım, besleme, anaçlık, hassasiyet. Annelerin önceliği hep başkalarına vermesi bekleniyor – onlar bencil, talepkar veya agresif olamaz. Ayrıca, sadece çocuklarının değil kocalarının davranışlarından da sorumlu tutuluyorlar. Erkekler aldattığında, suç onunla yeteri kadar seks yapmadığı veya onunla yeteri kadar ilgilenmediği için yine karısının oluyor. Heteroseksüel ilişkilerdeki bütün duygusal emeğin – iletişim ve bağlantı kurma gibi şeylere sürekli “emek vermenin” yükü kadınlara yükleniyor. “İyi” bir kız arkadaş veya eşin, erkeği sürekli “düzeltmeye” çalışan olması fikrini yüceltmek sadece iğrenç değil, kadınlara kabul edilemez erkek davranışlarını kabul etmeyi – sonuna kadar onlara katlanmayı – öğrettiği için zararlı da (“Ananı da al,” 2017).

(ST) While substance abuse and addiction is sort of an extreme version of the “you can fix him if you just love him/work on him/are patient enough” thing that’s fed to women, it’s all part of a larger system that allows men to remain boys forever — free from any accountability — while women are forced into motherhood, whether or not they choose to reproduce. [...] Like, as if we need more messaging that tells men that women’s role is to nurture and care for them — even after they’ve moved out of their parents’ house. [...] Your husband will always be your biggest and oldest child that requires the most adult supervision [...] I reject motherhood, in every way possible. I don’t want a baby-baby and I don’t want a man-baby. [...] Motherhood is not just about literal mothers. It is about how all women are seen. Femininity, in and of itself, is connected to “motherly” characteristics: tolerance, gentleness, caring, nurturing, sensitivity, nurturance, deference. Mothers are always supposed to put everyone else first — they are not to

be selfish or demanding or aggressive. They are also, traditionally, held responsible for not only their children’s behaviour, but their husbands’. When men cheat, it’s his wife’s fault for not sexing him enough, or loving him enough, or paying enough attention to him. Women are responsible for doing all the emotional labour in heterosexual relationships — constantly “working on” things like communication and connectivity. Reinforcing the idea that a “good” girlfriend or wife is one that constantly tries to “fix” a man is not only gross but harmful, as it teaches women to accept male behaviour that is unacceptable — to just stick it out (Murphy, 2016).

This excerpt addresses and criticizes the role of motherhood assigned by patriarchy to all women. It emphasizes that “[m]otherhood is not just about literal mothers. It is about how all women are seen. Femininity, in and of itself, is connected to “motherly” characteristics: tolerance, gentleness, caring, nurturing, sensitivity, nurturance, deference” (Murphy, 2016). Besides the “motherly” roles and characteristics attributed to women, depicting men/husbands as a child that needs women’s supervision is also criticised within the text.

Below is another excerpt addressing the theme of “gender norms/roles” taken from the translated article entitled “Ağlamak erkek işidir” published on October 15, 2018 on Çatlak Zemin:

“Erkekler ağlamaz” fikri, hepimizin aklına kazınmış en eski fikirlerden biridir. Bir erkeğin cenazede veya parmağını kapağıya sıkıştırdığında döküleceği birkaç damla gözyaşı kabul edilebilir, ancak “gerçek” bir erkeğin böyle durumlarda kendini hemen toparlaması beklenir. İnsan içinde ağlamak kadınlara özgüdür. Bu yalnızca toplumsal bir beklenti değil, bilimsel olarak da kanıtlanmış bir olgu. Bugüne kadar yapılan tüm araştırmalara göre kadınlar erkeklerden çok daha fazla ağlıyor. [...] Aradaki fark bizim için o kadar sıradan ki genellikle bunun asla aşamayacak, biyolojik temelli bir cinsiyet farklılığı olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Ancak, ağlama konusunda kadın ve erkek arasındaki bu fark aslında oldukça yeni bir olgu. Tarihe ve edebiyata baktığımızda erkeklerin geçmişte insan içinde ağlamaktan çekinmediği ve bu davranışın kadınsı veya utanılacak bir şey olarak görülmediği ortaya çıkıyor. Hatta yazılı tarih boyunca erkeklerin ağlaması neredeyse her zaman doğal karşılanmış. [...] Erkeklerin duygularını belli etmemeleri gerektiği tabusu yüzünden depresyondaki erkekler, kadınlarla karşılaştırıldığında yardım istemek konusunda daha çekingen davranıyor. Bununla bağlantılı olarak erkekler, kadınlara göre intihara üç-dört kat daha fazla eğilimli. Erkek depresyonu, alkolizm ve madde bağımlılığı biçimine de daha sık girer, bu da depresyona bağlı ölümlerin sayısını artırıyor. Üretkenlik seviyesi yüksek, stoik İskandinav uluslarını düşünün. Bu uluslar, alkolizm ve intiharda dünyada başı çekiyor. Bu nedenle erkeklerin geçmişteki gibi rahatça ağlayabilmeleri gerekiyor. Orta Çağın dip dibe yaşayan kasabalarını yeniden yaratamasak da aynı samimiyet ruhunu canlandırabiliriz (“Ağlamak erkek”, 2018).

(ST) One of our most firmly entrenched ideas of masculinity is that men don’t cry. Although he might shed a discreet tear at a funeral, and it’s acceptable for him to well up when he slams his fingers in a car door, a real man is expected to quickly regain control. Sobbing openly is strictly for girls. This isn’t just a social expectation; it’s a scientific fact. All the research to date finds that women cry significantly more than men. [...] The discrepancy is such a commonplace, we tend to assume it’s biologically hard-wired; that, whether you like it or not, this is one gender difference that isn’t going away. But actually, the gender gap in crying seems to be a recent development. Historical and literary evidence suggests that, in the past, not only did men cry in public, but no one saw it as feminine or shameful. In fact, male weeping was regarded as normal in almost every part of the world for most of recorded history. [...] Taboos against male expressiveness mean that men are far less likely than women to get help when they’re suffering from depression. This, in turn, is correlated with higher suicide rates; men are three to four times

as likely to commit suicide as women. Male depression is also more likely to express itself in alcoholism and drug addiction, which have their own high death toll. Think of stoical Scandinavia, whose nations rank high for productivity – but also lead the world in rates of alcoholism and suicide. So it might be time for men to return to the free-flowing tears of the past. Although we can't go back to the close-knit villages of the medieval era, we can try to revive their fraternal spirit (Newman, 2015).

This excerpt challenges one of the most firmly entrenched ideas of masculinity: “men don't cry”. To break this stereotype, it speaks of the periods when men's cry was not considered taboo or something to be ashamed of. It also states that the idea of “men don't cry” harms men a lot and leads to lots of problems. Therefore, it argues for the removal of this gender stereotype.

#### **4.3.1.13. Gender inequality/sexism**

Any theme that discusses and questions the sexist discourse, action, and behaviour spreading to all areas of life (i.e. daily life, business, science, art, sport, etc.) and the resultant gender inequality; and any theme that calls for gender equality was analysed under the theme of “gender inequality/sexism”. The results of the thematic analysis revealed that 28 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 18 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin address this theme. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Hepimiz Feminist Olmalıyız” – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie'nin Konuşmasının Tam Metni” published on January 13, 2015, on 5Harfliler:

Size çocukluğumdan bir hikaye anlatacağım. İlkokuldayken öğretmenim dönemin başında bize bir sınav yapacağını ve en yüksek notu alanın sınıf başkanı olacağını söyledi. Sınıf başkanı olmak büyük mesele. Sınıf başkanıysanız konuşanları tahtaya yazacak gücünüz var. Ama benim öğretmenim sınıf başkanına aynı zamanda bir sopa veriyor ve gürültü yapanları tespit etmek için sınıfta devriye gezmesini istiyordu. Tabii ki sopayı kullanmaya izin yoktu ama 9 yaşındaki ben için bu yine de heyecan verici bir olasılıktı. Sınıf başkanı olmayı çok istemiştım ve sınavdaki en yüksek notu ben aldım. Ardından öğretmenim sınıf başkanının oğlan olması gerektiğini söyledi. Şaşırılmışım. Kendisi bunu sınav öncesi belirtmeyi unutmıştu çünkü zaten yeterince bariz olduğunu düşünüyordu. En yüksek ikinci notu alan öğrenci oğlandı ve sınıf başkanı o oldu. İşin daha ilginç, bu çocuk sınıfta sopa ile devriye gezmeye hiçbir isteği olmayan, tatlı, nazık bir ruhtu. Ben ise bunun hırsıyla doluydum. Ama ben kadındım, o erkek ve bu yüzden sınıf başkanı o oldu. Bu olayı hiç unutmadım. [...] Dünyada az bir farkla da olsa daha fazla kadın var, nüfusun %52'si kadınlardan oluşuyor. Ama güç ve prestij barındıran tüm pozisyonları erkekler doldurmuş durumda. Nobel Barış ödüllü Wangari Maathai, bunu kısa ve öz bir şekilde “ne kadar yukarıya çıkarsan orada o kadar az kadın vardır” olarak ifade ediyor. Geçen Amerikan seçimlerinde Lilly Ledbetter Kanunu'nu sık sık duyduk. Kanunun ismindeki güzel aliterasyon bir kenara, bu kanun aslında eşit niteliklerdeki bir kadın ve bir erkeğin aynı işi yapması ve fakat erkeğin erkek olması sebebiyle daha fazla maaş alması ile ilgili [...] Birçok tanınmış bara, kulübe yalnız başıma gidemem. Yalnız bir kadınsan girmene izin vermezler. Bir erkeğin sana eşlik etmesi gerekir. Nijerya'da bir restorana ne zaman yanımda bir erkekle girsem, garson yanımdakini karşılar ve beni görmezden gelir. Bu garsonlar, erkeklerin kadınlardan daha önemli olduğunu öğreten bir toplumun ürünü. Garsonun incitme niyetinde olmadığını biliyorum ama bir şeyi entelektüel olarak bilmek başka, duygusal olarak hissetmek başka. Onlar beni görmezden geldiğinde ben kendimi görünmez hissediyorum. Üzülüyorum. Onlara benim de bir erkek kadar insan olduğumu ve bir erkek kadar varlığımın kabul edilmesini hak ettiğimi

söylemek istiyorum. Bunlar küçük şeyler ama bazen en acıtanlar küçük şeyler oluyor (“Hepimiz feminist,” 2015).

(ST) Now, here’s a story from my childhood. When I was in primary school, my teacher said at the beginning of term that she would give the class a test, and whoever got the highest code would be the class monitor. Now, class monitor was a big deal. If you were a class monitor, you got to write down the names of noise-makers, which was heady enough power in its own. But my teacher would also give you a cane to hold in your hand while you walked around and patrolled the class for noise-makers. Now, of course you were not actually allowed to use the cane, but it was an exciting prospect for the 9-year-old me. I very much wanted to be the class monitor, and I got the highest score on the test. Then to my surprise my teacher said that the monitor had to be a boy. She had forgotten to make that clear earlier because she assumed it was obvious. A boy had the second highest score on the test and he would be monitor. Now what was even more interesting about this is that the boy was a sweet gentle soul who had no interest in patrolling the class with a cane. While I was full of ambition to do so. But I was female and he was male, and so he became the class monitor. And I’ve never forgotten that incident. [...] There are slightly more women than men in the world, about 52% of the world’s population is female. But most of the positions of power and prestige are occupied by men. The late Kenyan, Nobel Peace Laureate, Wangari Maathai, put it simply and well when she said, “The higher you go the fewer women there are”. In the recent US elections, we kept hearing of the Lilly Ledbetter Law. And if we go beyond the nicely alliterative name of that law, it was really about a man and a woman doing the same job, being equally qualified and the man being paid more because he is a man. [...] In Lagos, I cannot go alone into many reputable bars and clubs. They just don’t let you in if you are a woman alone. You have to be accompanied by a man. Each time I walk into a Nigerian restaurant with a man, the waiter greets the man and ignores me. The waiters are products of a society that has taught them that men are more important than women. And I know the waiters don’t intend any harm, but it is one thing to know intellectually, and quite another to feel it emotionally. Each time they ignore me, I feel invisible. I feel upset. I want to tell them that I am just as human as the man, that I am just as worthy of acknowledgement. These are little things but sometimes it’s the little things that sting the most (Adichie, 2012).

In this excerpt taken from her famous speech titled “We should all be feminists”, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie demonstrates, exemplifies, and criticizes sexism and resultant gender inequalities. With her examples from her own life, she reveals more clearly what sexism and gender inequality turn out to be in real life.

Below is another excerpt addressing the theme of “gender inequality/sexism” taken from the translated article titled “Hayatın her alanında erkeklerin ayrıcalıkları: İşte size 160’tan fazla örnek” published on January 15, 2018, on Çatlak Zemin:

Kültürel beklentilerimiz, yasal sistemimiz, sosyal programlarımız erkekleri hep hiyerarşik olarak tepede tutmaya ayarlı. Sonuç olarak da diğer cinsiyetlere karşı erkekler, hedefe ulaşma, başarıya ve yararlanma konusunda sürekli daha fazlasına sahipler. İşte buna eril ayrıcalık diyoruz. Fakat eril ayrıcalık hakkında birşey daha var: Sen de dahil herkesin canını yakıyor. Çünkü eril ayrıcalığa ulaşmanın için senin de zararlı erkeklik normlarını onaylamamı gerektiriyor. [...] Fazla uzatmadan, hepimizin hak ettiği değişimi gerçekleştirmek için ABD’deki eril ayrıcalıkları görelim [...] Senin sözünün kesilme olasılığı daha azdır. Kadınların ve erkeklerin yaptığı çalışmalar gösteriyor ki kadınların sözü erkeklerden daha çok kesiliyor. Otomatik olarak ne söylediği hakkında fikri olmayan biri olarak kabul edilmezsin ve mansplaining’e maruz kalmazsın [...] Senin, “kadınsı” kabul edilen ve ait olduğun cinsiyetin ikincilliğini gösteren davranışları göstermen, daha az küfretmen, daha çok özür dilemen beklenmez. Eğer karşı cinsten biri yoluna çıkarsa kenara geçmen beklenmez. Sosyal normlar senin fiziksel olarak daha çok yer kaplamana izin verir. [...] Bekar baba olarak sıradan ebeveynlik görevlerini yerine getirdiğinde takdir toplarken, kadınlar senin yaptıklarının aynısını yaptıkları halde bekar anne olarak eleştirilir. Çocuk sahibi olmadığında toplumda cinsiyetinin “doğal içgüdüleri”ne göre hareket

etmediğini duymazsın. Tercihlerinin peşinden açık bir şekilde koşarken sana “dikkat çekmeye çalıştığını” söylenmez. Sana kadınları etkilemek için yaptığın söylenmeden “erkeksi” hobilerle örneğin sporla uğraşmanın keyfini sürebilirsin. Utanmadan ve “kaltak” damgası yemeden ne kadar çok seks yaptığını söyleyerek tebrik edilebilirsin. [...] Evlendiğinde soyadını değiştirmen beklenmez veya değiştirmek istemediğinde sorgulanmazsın. [...] (“Hayatın her alanında,” 2018).

(ST) Our current cultural expectations, legislative system, and social programming work to sustain a hierarchy that constantly places men on the top. Consequently, men consistently achieve, succeed, and benefit at the expense of every other gender. That’s called male privilege. But here’s the thing about male privilege: it hurts everyone, including you. This is because accessing male privilege often requires you to conform to a toxic norm of masculinity. [...] Without further ado, let’s face these examples of male privilege in the US so we can make the change we all deserve. [...] You’re less likely to be interrupted when you speak – studies of men and women showed that both interrupted women more than men. You’re not automatically assumed to not know what you’re talking about – or subjected to mansplaining. [...] You’re not expected to swear less, apologize more, or other supposedly “lady-like” behaviors that reflect stereotypes of your gender being submissive. You’re not expected to step aside if someone of another gender is walking in your path. Social norms allow you to take up more physical space. [...] You can get praise for ordinary parental duties or for being a single father, while mothers are simply expected to do the same and even criticized for single motherhood. You’re not said to be going against your gender’s “natural instinct” or your role in society by not having children. You can be outgoing or open about your choices without people calling you an “attention seeker.” You can enjoy traditionally “masculine” hobbies like sports without people saying you’re just doing it to impress men. You’re more likely to be congratulated for having lots of sex, rather than shamed for it or called a “slut.” [...] You’re not expected to change your name if you get married or questioned if you don’t. [...] (Johnson, 2016).

This excerpt focuses on the male privilege that spreads to all aspects of life and gives some examples. Thanks to these examples, sexist approaches considering man superior to a woman and resultant gender inequality becomes clearer.

#### **4.3.1.14. Intersectionality**

Any theme that addresses and explains the concept of intersectionality coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, and illustrates intersectionality as lived experience was compiled under the theme of “intersectionality”. The results of the thematic analysis showed that there are 6 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 5 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addressing and illustrating the subject of intersectionality. The following excerpt was taken from the translated article entitled “Kesişimsellik Hemen Şimdi!” published on January 6, 2017 on 5Harfliler:

Kesişimsellik (intersectionality) bir terim haline getirilmeden önce yaşanmakta olan bir gerçeklikti. Bugün, bu kavrama bir isim vermemden yaklaşık 30 yıl sonra, kesişimsellik her yerde görünür olmuş durumda. Fakat eğer beyaz olmayan [1] kadınlar ve kızlar hala arka plana atılmaya devam ediliyorsa, kesişimselliğin anlamına dair önemli bir şeyi yitirmişizdir. 1976’da Emma DeGraffenreid ile birlikte birçok siyah kadın General Motors şirketini ayrımcılıktan dolayı mahkemeye vermişlerdi. İddia etiklerine göre şirket işgücünü ırk ve cinsiyete göre ayırıyordu: Siyahlar ve beyazların yaptığı işler ayrıydı. Davacılar, kadınların sadece belli işlere başvurabilirken bazı işlere ise sadece erkeklerin alındığını iddia ediyorlardı. Bu tabii ki başlı başına bir problemdi, fakat mevzu siyah kadınlar için daha da karışık görünüyordu. Şirkette siyahlara verilen işlerin hepsi erkek işiyken, kadınlara verilen işlerin hepsi sadece beyazlar içindi. Fabrikada çalışmak üzere işe alınan siyah insanların tümü erkekti; bu da siyah bir kadının

başvurusu dikkate alınmayacak demek oluyordu. Aynı şekilde, bir kadın beyaz ise sekreterlik görevi için işe alınabilirdi, fakat siyah bir kadın için bu mümkün değildi. Bu durumda, erkek veya beyaz olmadıklarından ötürü ne 'siyah işleri' ne de 'kadın işleri' siyah kadınlar için uygundu. Her ne kadar bazı siyahlar ve bazı kadınlar işe alınıyor olsalar da, bu düpedüz ayrımcılık değil miydi? ("Kesişimsellik hemen," 2017).

(ST) Intersectionality was a lived reality before it became a term. Today, nearly three decades after I first put a name to the concept, the term seems to be everywhere. But if women and girls of color continue to be left in the shadows, something vital to the understanding of intersectionality has been lost. In 1976, Emma DeGraffenreid and several other black women sued General Motors for discrimination, arguing that the company segregated its workforce by race and gender: Blacks did one set of jobs and whites did another. According to the plaintiffs' experiences, women were welcome to apply for some jobs, while only men were suitable for others. This was of course a problem in and of itself, but for black women the consequences were compounded. You see, the black jobs were men's jobs, and the women's jobs were only for whites. Thus, while a black applicant might get hired to work on the floor of the factory if he were male; if she were a black female she would not be considered. Similarly, a woman might be hired as a secretary if she were white, but wouldn't have a chance at that job if she were black. Neither the black jobs nor the women's jobs were appropriate for black women, since they were neither male nor white. Wasn't this clearly discrimination, even if some blacks and some women were hired? (Crenshaw, 2015).

At first, it needs to be noted that this excerpt was taken from the translated article whose English original was written by Kimberlé Crenshaw who coined the term of intersectionality. In this excerpt, Crenshaw firstly emphasizes the fact that intersectionality is a lived reality for a long time. Then, she illustrates how racism and sexism intersect in the lives of women of colour.

Below is another excerpt addressing the theme of "intersectionality" taken from the translated article titled "İzin verin size Aurat Yürüyüşü'nü womansplain\* edeyim" published on April 16, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin:

Dünyanın herhangi bir yerindeki beyaz bir kadının en kötü deneyimi, beyaz olmayan bir kadının çoğu deneyiminden muhtemelen daha iyidir. Bunun da Cynthia D. Ritchie'nin Pakistan'la flörtünden daha iyi bir örneği olamaz. Cynthia, Pakistan'ı kadınlar için güvenli ilan etti. Peşaver'de bisiklete biniyor. Beyaz ayrıcalığı sayesinde bu tarz şeyler söyleyip yapabildiğini iddia edenlere hemen karşılığını veriyor. Yine de, kahverengi tenli kadınlar aynı şeyi denediğinde, mitingleri iptal ediliyor, onlara "orospu" deniyor ve eğer Pakistan gerçekten kadınlar için güvenliyse neden Sabeen Mahmud, Qandeel Baloch ve Perween Rehman mezarda yatıyor? ("İzin verin," 2019).

The worst experience of a white woman, anywhere in the world, is still likely better than most experiences that a woman of colour will have. Nowhere is this better exemplified than Cynthia D. Ritchie's tryst with Pakistan. She has declared Pakistan safe for women. She rides bicycles in Peshawar. She bites back if anyone tells her that she is able to say and do such things because of white privilege. And yet, when brown women attempt the same, their rallies are cancelled, they are called 'sluts' and if Pakistan really is safe for women, then why do Sabeen Mahmud, Qandeel Baloch and Perween Rehman lie in graves? (Mohyidin, 2019).

This excerpt illustrates how racism and sexism intersect in the lives of women of colour, too. The first sentence of the excerpt is striking in terms of explaining clearly what intersectionality means: "The worst experience of a white woman, anywhere in

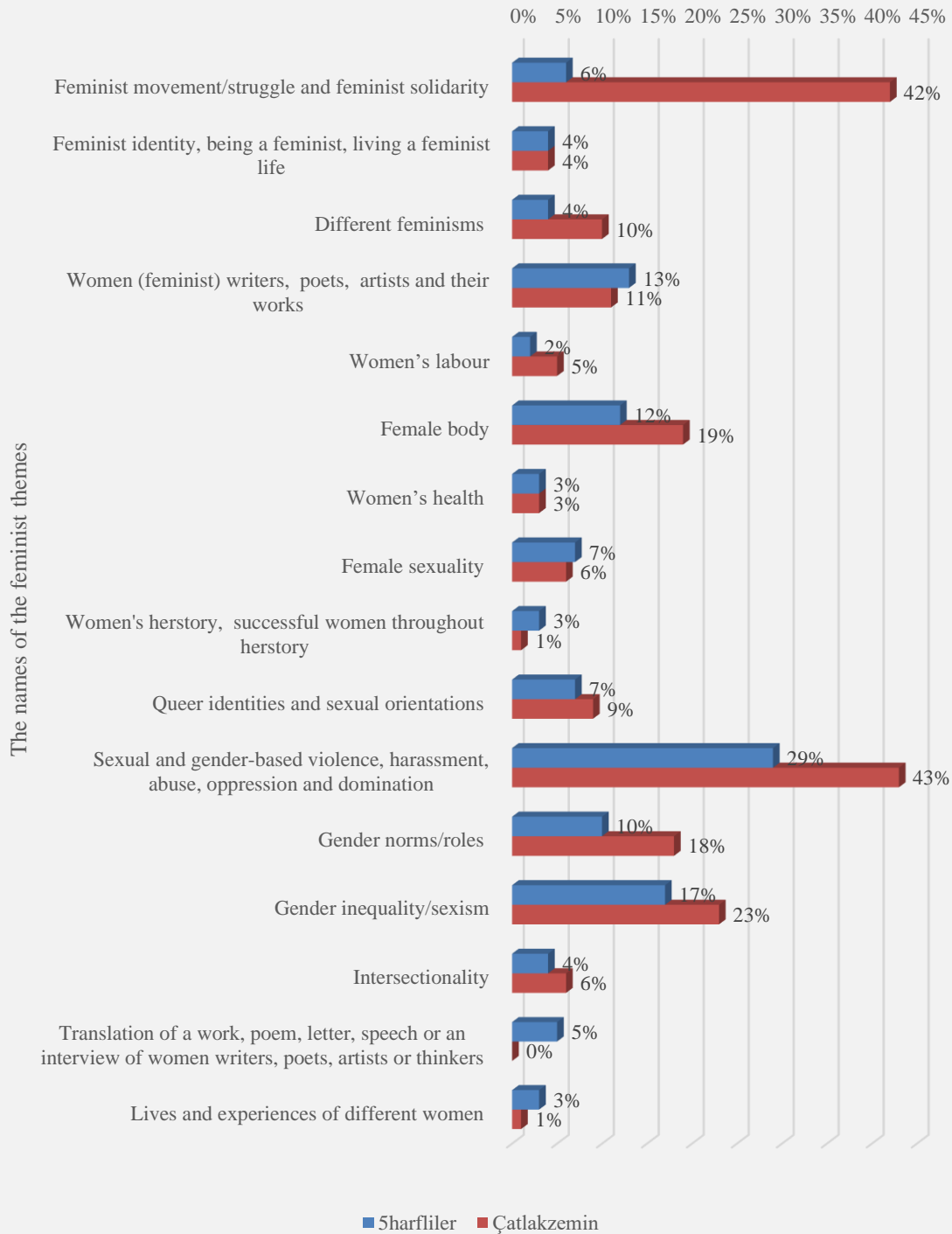


the world, is still likely better than most experiences that a woman of colour will have” (Mohyidin, 2019).

Along with all the 14 feminist themes and the translated articles addressing these feminist themes, given FTS, the translations of a work, poem, letter, speech or an interview of women and/or feminist writers, poets, artists or thinkers were also considered as a feminist translation and hence they were included in the feminist themed translated articles even if they do not address the feminist themes discussed above. The result of the thematic analysis revealed that there are 8 translated articles on 5Harfliler like this. The translation of the love letters written by Charlotte Bronte, the translation of Virginia Woolf’s suicide note, the translation of a poem of Layli Long Soldier, and the translation of Elfriede Jelinek’s Nobel Literature Prize speech are among these 8 translated articles on 5Harfliler. It was also seen that there is no such translation on Çatlak Zemin. Additionally, the translated articles addressing and hence making visible the lives and experiences of different women were included in the feminist theme translated articles, too, even if they are not centred around one of the 14 feminist themes. The result of the thematic analysis showed that 5 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 1 translated article on Çatlak Zemin address and thus make visible the lives and experiences of different women. The translated articles focusing on the story of a Nigerian woman participating in the counter-guerrilla movement in Nigeria, or addressing the story of a woman who had a difficult childhood, or describing a woman’s experience of facing her fear are among these 6 translated articles considered and analysed as a feminist theme translated article.

The following graph showing the feminist theme distribution on the websites in percentage was generated to compare the websites and hence to discuss and interpret the results of the thematic analysis in a better and clearer way:

The percentage of the translated articles addressing the feminist themes (out of 162 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 79 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin in total)



Graph 4.1. The percentage of the translated articles addressing the feminist themes

### **4.3.2. The Discussion of the Results of Thematic Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

The results of the thematic analysis become more meaningful when they are considered along with the general policies of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. As stated in the first section of this chapter, 5Harfliler does not restrict women's agenda and publishes everything in which a woman may have an interest if it is not misogynist and does not contain any hate speech, while Çatlak Zemin directly aims to strengthen feminist discourse. This decisive difference in the publishing policies of the websites is reflected in the published translated articles, too. It is seen that 31 out of 162 translated articles on 5Harfliler do not address feminist themes, even if they may appeal to a woman. This shows that any text in which a woman may have an interest is not necessarily written from a feminist point of view or does not necessarily address a feminist theme. Compared to 5Harfliler, on Çatlak Zemin which tries to strengthen feminist discourse, all 79 translated articles except one address one or more of the aforementioned feminist themes, much more frequently than 5Harfliler, thereby setting a good example of feminist translation in terms of their themes.

The thematic analysis revealed that the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin address the same feminist themes except for a few minor differences. However, it was seen that some differences stemming from the general publishing policies and feminist standpoints of the websites lie in the distribution of these feminist themes. Although the theme of "sexual and gender-based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination, and exploitation" is the most frequently addressed theme on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, a striking difference appears in the theme of "feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity". Compared to 5Harfliler on which only 10 (6%) out of 162 translated articles address the theme of "feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity", 33 (42%) out of 79 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin address this theme and thus make very different feminist struggles in different corners of the world visible for the target readers. It is worth noting that some of these 33 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin are the translations of the different feminist groups' calls for feminist strike and struggle. Undoubtedly, Çatlak Zemin's feminist standpoint that often stresses that the ties with the street should be kept alive, has a determining effect on this situation. On the other hand, it can also be said that

the relatively balanced and verified distribution of the feminist themes on 5Harfliler compared to Çatlak Zemin and especially the translations of a work, poem, letter, speech or an interview of women and/or feminist writers, poets, artists or thinkers which do not address a feminist theme reflect 5Harfliler's general policy that does not limit itself to a strict feminist agenda.

#### **4.4. Paratextual Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

Feminist translators, as discussed in detail in the second chapter, use paratexts so often that it has almost become a routine for them. FTS scholars assert that feminist translators basically use paratexts for two purposes: first, to make their femininity and feminist subjectivity, translation motivations, processes, and choices visible, thereby challenging the traditional invisibility of translators and subverting the hierarchal relationship between author and translator; secondly, to contextualize, explain and interpret the source text and the author from their own feminist point of view, thereby introducing and bringing them closer to the target reader. Massardier-Kenney (1997) calls these two ways of paratext usage translator-centred commentary and author-centred commentary, respectively.

In this thesis, considering the above-mentioned claims of FTS scholars, the paratextual analysis was conducted on the feminist themed translated articles to figure out how frequently the translators and editors on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin utilised the paratexts i.e., prefaces, afterwords, footnotes and/or translators' notes, what they discussed in these paratexts, whether these paratexts made the translation and/or translators visible or whether they contextualized the source text and author for the target reader as FTS, especially the first paradigm of FTS, claims.

##### **4.4.1. The Results of the Paratextual Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

Within the scope of the paratextual analysis, the feminist themed translated articles which do not include any paratext were identified and excluded at first. It was detected that 46 out of 131 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler, and 36 out of 78 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin do not contain any paratext. Then, the paratexts in the remaining 85 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 42 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin were analysed in detail to see what purpose they serve. Given the theoretical discussions within FTS, they were categorized into two groups labelled as the paratexts making translation and/or

translator visible and the contextualizing paratexts. These labels corresponding to two main ways of using paratext within feminist translation were put forward by the researcher herself. Although FTS pays special attention to the paratext usage in translation, no previous study except for Massardier-Kenney (1997) has categorized and/or labelled the paratexts usage in feminist translation. In this sense, the categorization and labels put forward by the researcher in this thesis are supposed to contribute to the field, FTS. Any paratext in which the translators explain and discuss their translation motivations, labour, translators' choices, and translation processes; any paratext, even if it does not address translator's motivation, labour, choices, and translation process, written in the first-person singular by the translators and thus stressing the translators' active presence; any paratext introducing the translator and any paratext specified as translator's note (TN) and hence increasing the visibility of translation and translator was included in the first group of paratext. The results of the paratextual analysis revealed that 54 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 23 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin contain a paratext making translation and/or translator visible. On the other hand, any paratext that provides additional information about the source text, source text author and the theme addressed in the source text, and hence improving the target readers' understanding; any paratext that contextualizes, explains and interprets the source text and author thereby reflecting the feminist standpoints of the translator and/or the website and influencing the target readers' reception of the text was considered and analysed as a contextualizing paratext. The results of the paratextual analysis showed that 78 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 41 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin include a contextualizing paratext. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that 47 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 22 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin simultaneously include both a paratext making translation and/or translator visible and a contextualizing paratext or include a single paratext that simultaneously makes translation and/or translator visible and contextualize the source text and author.

	5Harfliler (out of 131)	Çatlak Zemin (out of 78)
The number of feminist themed translated articles that do not include any paratext	46	36
The number of feminist themed translated articles that include a paratext making translation and/or translator visible	54	23
The number of feminist themed translated articles that include a contextualizing paratext	78	41
The number of feminist themed translated articles that simultaneously include both types of paratexts	47	22

Table 4.2. The results of the paratextual analysis

To provide a better understanding of how the websites instrumentalised the above mentioned two types of paratexts and what they discussed in these paratexts, the most striking 10 sample excerpts from 5Harfliler and 10 sample excerpts from Çatlak Zemin jointly selected by the researcher and her advisor will be examined in detail below. Firstly, the excerpts taken from the paratexts making translation and/or translator will be analysed, then the excerpt taken from the contextualizing paratexts will be discussed separately for both websites.

#### **4.4.1.1. The paratexts making translation and/or translator visible**

As displayed in Table 4.2., 54 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler include a paratext making translation and/or translator visible. The results of the paratextual analysis revealed that the majority of the paratexts in these 54 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler are mostly written in the first-person singular by the translators and address translators' motivation, labour, choices, and/or translation processes. It was also seen that the paratexts in 3 out of 54 translated articles introduce the translators and provide the links which take the readers to other writings and translations of the translators. Additionally, it needs to be stated that the footnotes in 2 out of 54 translated articles do not directly address translation motivation, process and/or translator's choices but specified as translator's note (TN) and hence increasing the visibility of the translation and translator. Therefore, they were considered as

paratexts making translation and/or translator visible. Below are 5 sample excerpts taken from the paratexts in these 54 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler.

The first excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article titled “Ananı Da Al Git Buradan” published on June 14, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Birkaç hafta önce, erkeklik meselesine fazlasıyla kafa yormuş; meseleye kafa yormakla kalmayıp bu kavramı sorunsallaştırmış HETEROSEKSÜEL bir erkekle (onlardan herhalde dünyada toplam 5-6 tane vardır gibi hissediyorum hep) muhabbet ediyordum. Bar sahibi bu kişi (hayır, hayalî arkadaşım değil), müşterisi olarak barına gelen kadın ve erkekler arasında gözlemlediği önemli bir farktan bahsetti: Kadınlar, kendileriyle ilgili sürekli bir sorun tespiti ve o sorunu çözme seferberliği halindeyken, erkeklerin çözmeye çalışmak bir yana, özellikle duygusal ilişkileri çıkmaza girdiğinde kendilerinde kesiiiiinlikle bir sorun görmemeleri. Onun bu gözlemi, Kanada menşeli 5harfliler benzeri web sitesi Feminist Current’ta okuduğum aşağıdaki yazıyı hatırlattı. Bu öfkeli ve öfkesinde epey haklı yazıyı (haklılığı konusunda kadınlarımız da bana hak verecektir hehe) daha fazla okura ulaştırma misyonu edindim. Çok, pek çok kadının bıkkın bir tonla kafa sallayacağı bir yazı olduğunu düşünüyor; fazlası için yorumlarda buluşabiliriz diyorum (“Ananı da al,” 2017).

A few weeks ago, I was chatting with a heterosexual man who chewed over the masculinity issue, who not only chewed over it but also problematized this concept (I always feel that there are probably 5 or 6 guys like that in the whole world). This man, bar owner, (no, not my imaginary friend) talked about an important difference between men and women who came to the bar as a client: while women are constantly detecting problems with themselves and trying to solve them, men, leaving aside finding a solution, see absolutely nothing wrong with themselves especially when their emotional relations reach an impasse. His observation reminded me of the following article I read on Feminist Current, Canadian-origin, 5Harfliler-like website. I have taken the mission of conveying this angry and quite right in its anger (our women would also agree with me on its rightness, hehe) to more readers. Thinking that many women will nod to this article wearily; I say we can meet in comments for more (The researcher’s back translation).

As is seen from the excerpt, in her preface that she wrote in the first-person singular, the translator created a space for her own critical and feminist voice. Explaining the process which reminded her of the source text that she read on Feminist Current and stating that the source text that criticizes patriarchal gender roles and norms seeing woman as mother and man as a child is quite right, the translator positioned herself ideologically and presented her feminist point of view. She also expressed her translation motivation and stated that she translated this text to convey its message and feminist standpoint to more readers. All these made the translator’s active presence and feminist subjectivity highly visible.

The second excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Elfriede Jelinek’in 2004 Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü Konuşması: “İnsana Ne Kalır?” published on February 20, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Avusturyalı yazar Elfriede Jelinek’in, 2004 Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü kabul konuşmasının kısmi çevirisine 2014’te başlamıştım. Jelinek’in ödül töreninde önceden kaydedilmiş bir video görüntü olarak yayınlanan konuşmasının neden özel olduğunu hemen anlayacaksınız. Yazarın dilin kaybı

ve dışarıyla ile imtihanını bir saç metaforu üzerinden ziyaret eden bu inanılmaz metni, sadık çeviri yapmayı beceremediğim ve becermeyi de istemediğim için sadık olarak çevirmediğim. Ancak metinden götürdüklerimi eşitlemek üzere Amerikalı sanatçı Michael Green'den çeviriye yarelik etmek üzere bir GIF çalışması yapmasını rica ettim [...] ("Elfriede Jelinek," 2017).

I started in 2014 to translate some parts of the Austrian author Elfriede Jelinek's 2004 Nobel Prize for Literature acceptance speech. You will immediately understand why Jelinek's speech, published as a pre-recorded video at the award ceremony, is special. I did not translate faithfully this amazing text which explains the author's trouble with language loss and outside through a hair metaphor, because I failed, and I did not want to make a faithful translation. However, to compensate what I lost in translation, I asked the American artist Michael Green to do a GIF that would accompany the translation (The researcher's back translation).

In her preface she wrote in the first-person singular, the translator firstly mentioned about her translation process. Then, she expressed her admiration with the source text. In fact, the most striking part of the preface is that the translator stated she did not translate faithfully because she did not manage to translate faithfully and did not want to do so. This statement of the translator complies perfectly with FTS's claims challenging the notions of equivalence and fidelity. Stating in her preface that she failed and did not want to make a faithful translation, the translator pointed out her active and interventionist role and thereby challenging and deconstructing the traditional invisibility of translators.

The third excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled "Odalar ve Merdivenler" published on October 31, 2012, on 5Harfliler:

Matrix film serisinin yapımcı ve yönetmenleri Wachowski kardeşlerin yarısı Lana Wachowski, İnsan Hakları Derneği'nin Görünürlük Ödülü'ne layık görülmüş. 2000'li yılların başında cinsiyet değişim sürecine giren Wachowski, ödülünü alırken aynı anda güldürmeyi ve kalp tellerini titretmeyi başaran yirmibeş dakikalık harika bir konuşma yapmış. [...] Wachowski'nin konuşmasının önemli bulduğum parçalarını Türkçe'ye çevirmek için başına oturdumda, önce önemli parçalar uc uca eklendi, sonra okudukça metnin sağını solunu kasaplamak kocaman bir hata olacakmış gibi gelmeye başladı. Neresinin vurucu olduğuna ben niye karar veriyordum? Ben Milliyet kom tere editörü müydüm, tık avcısı gibi Wachowski'nin hikayesini makaslıyordum? Sonunda duygu yoğunluğunun verdiği hafif deli bir enerjiyle görev bilincimi layıkıyla üzerime geçirip konuşmanın tamamını çevirdim. [...] ("Odalar ve merdivenler," 2012).

Lana Wachowski of the Wachowskis, the producer and director of the Matrix film series, was honoured with Human Rights Campaign's (HRC) Visibility Award. While receiving her award, Wachowski whose gender transitioning process began in the early 2000s, made a wonderful twenty-five-minute speech that entertains and strikes a chord with the audience at the same time. [...] When I set about translating what I deem important in Wachowski's speech into Turkish, firstly the striking parts came together and then the more I read, the more I felt it would be a huge mistake to butcher the text. Why would I be the one deciding which parts are striking? Why would I butcher the story of Wachowski like a click-hunter editor on milliyet.com.tr? Finally, with slightly insane energy which emotional intensity provided, I translated the whole speech with a sense of mission [...] (The researcher's back translation).

In this preface, the translator expressed her admiration for the source text, i.e. Lana Wachowski's speech while receiving the Human Rights Campaign's (HRC) Visibility Award, at first. Given the content of the source text and the fact that Lana Wachowski



is a trans woman, the translator's admiration for the source text reflects her positive opinion of trans individuals. Therefore, it can be said that the translator presented her ideological stand by expressing her admiration. Another important point in the preface that the translator focused on is her translation process. She talked about her decisions and the translation process in detail and thus making both herself and her translation visible.

The fourth excerpt was taken from the footnote in the translated article entitled "(Karşı Cinsin Kıyafetlerini) Giyinme Odası" published on December 19, 2012, on 5Harfliler:

\*İngilizce'deki "transgender" kelimesinin Türkçe'de benimsenmiş tam karşılığı var mı bilmiyorum. Transgender kelime anlamı olarak "cinsel kimliğini değiştiren" demek; kimlik değişiminin seksüel (özellikle tıbbi) yönüyle veya cinsel yönelimle değil daha çok (toplumsal) cinsiyet rollerinin reddi ve/ya üstlenilmesiyle alakalı bir terim. Bu yüzden genel bir terim olan trans kelimesini kullandım. \*\*Crossdresser kendi cinsiyeti dışında/karşı cins gibi giyinen anlamına geliyor. Başka dillerde olduğu gibi Türkçe'de de bazen travesti kelimesi ile birbirinin yerine kullanılıyor. Travesti daha geniş bir anlamda kullanıldığı için crossdresser'ı bazen anlamını açarak bazen de İngilizcesiyle kullandım. \*\*\*Vikipedya'ya güvenerek "coming out" terimini İngilizce bıraktım ("Karşı cinsin kıyafetlerini," 2012).

\*I do not know if the term "transgender" in English has an exact equivalent adopted in Turkish. Transgender literally refers to "those who transition their sexual identity" and it is a term that is not concerned with the sexual (especially medical) aspect of identity transition or sexual orientation but rather with the rejection and/or acceptance of (social) gender roles. So, I used the generic term trans. \*\* Crossdresser refers to those who dress like the opposite sex. It is sometimes used interchangeably with the term transvestite in Turkish as in other languages. I used crossdresser sometimes by explicating its meaning and sometimes by leaving it in English because transvestite is used in a broader sense. \*\*\* Relying on Wikipedia, I left the term "coming out" in English (The researcher's back translation).

In this footnote which was not specified as a translator's note, the translator explained and justified her translation choices. She expressed how and why she used the terms of "trans", "crossdresser" and "coming out". She also provided the links on the words of "Crossdresser" and "Vikipedya" to two different pages on Wikipedia to justify her choices. Thus, she stressed her active presence as a translator.

The fifth excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled "Bilim Tarihinde 5Harfliler" published on March 30, 2016, on 5Harfliler:

Art+Feminism oluşumunun vikipediye ele geçirip yeniden yazdığı bu günlerde erkekler tarafından yazılmış olan tarihin bilim kısmına bir göz atalım. Bir de ne görelim? Tabi ki yetersiz temsil. İşte, sokakta, her yerde olduğumuz gibi laboratuvarlarda da var olduğumuz için, yeterince konuşulmayan çok kadın bilimci söz konusu. Her 8 Mart'ta farklı bilim mecralarından bu kadınlara dair gittikçe daha fazla İngilizce kaynak çıkıyor; fava ata ata geriye giderken kaybolduğumu farkettim. Ben de güzel işler üretmeyi başarmış bu kadınların arasından emeği gasp edilmiş 6 bilimcinin hikayesini Türkçe'ye çevirmek istedim. Çünkü sevgi neydi? Vallahi okuduğunuz kaynağa göre değişir ("Bilim tarihinde," 2016).

These days when the Art+Feminism organization has taken over and rewritten Wikipedia, let's have a look at the scientific part of history written by men. And guess what? Underrepresentation, of course. There are many women scientists who are not talked about

enough because we exist in laboratories as we exist at work, on the street, and everywhere. Every March 8, more and more English sources are becoming available about these women from different scientific disciplines. I realized that I was lost as I went back to my likes. So, I wanted to translate into Turkish the story of six scientists who are among the women who have managed to produce beautiful works and whose labour has been seized. Because what was love? In truth, it depends on the source you read (The researcher's back translation).

FTS emphasizes that one of the most prominent goals of feminist translators is to unearth women writers and translators who have been ignored and underappreciated by patriarchy throughout history. In other words, feminist translators make use of translation to recover the lost voices of women, women writers, and translators. The preface above reveals that the translator who wrote it acted in line with this goal of feminist translators, too. In her preface, the translator implied that she translated the source text in order to unearth the stories of the six women scientists whose successes and labours were ignored, underestimated or underappreciated by their male colleagues and patriarchy, thereby making these women and their successes visible. Expressing her translation motivation clearly in her preface, the translator both stressed her active presence as a translator and presented her feminist subjectivity and ideology.

When it comes to Çatlak Zemin, it was seen that 23 feminist themed translated articles include a paratext making translation and/or translator visible. It is worth noting that although they do not address translation motivation, process and/or translators' choices, the footnotes in 14 out of 23 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin were considered as a paratext making translation and/or translator visible just because they are specified as a translator's note (TN) which undoubtedly increases the visibility of translators regardless of footnotes' contents. It was also seen that the paratexts in the remaining 9 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin address translation motivation, translation process and/or translator's choices. Additionally, it needs to be stated that the paratexts only in 4 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin were written by the translators in the first-person singular.

Below are 5 sample excerpts taken from the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible in the 23 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin.

The first excerpt was taken from the translator's note in the translated article entitled "Bireysel farklılıklar bize daha fazla ne söyleyebilir?" published on April 30, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin:

Çevirenin notu: Umarım bu çeviri, hiçbir bedenin cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim dikte etmediğine yönelik daha ileri ve derin araştırmalara vesile olur... (“Bireysel farklılıklar,” 2019).

Translator’s note: I hope this translation will be instrumental in further and deeper research into the fact that nobody dictates gender and sexual orientation... (The researcher’s back translation).

As is seen from the excerpt, in this footnote specified as a translator’s note, the translator explained her translation motivation, albeit implicitly. Stating that she hoped her translation would lead to further and deeper studies indicating that nobody dictates any gender and sexual orientation, the translator both explained her intention in translating this text and presented her ideological stance against sexism. Therefore, it can be said that this translator’s note made the translator and her (feminist) subjectivity visible.

The second excerpt was taken from the translator’s notes in the translated article entitled “Cinsiyet belasından feminist bir yaşam sürmeye: Sara Ahmed’in Judith Butler’la söyleşisi” published on May 29, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin:

[1] Judith Butler’ın Cinsiyet Belası kitabından yapılan alıntıları kendim çevirdim. (ç.n.). [2] PQBDS, Boykot, Tecrit, Yaptırımlar için Filistin’li Queerler olarak çevrilebilecek oluşumun İngilizce kısaltması. Kısaltmanın açılımı şöyle: Palestinian Queers for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions. BDS ise Boykot, Tecrit ve Yaptırımlar olarak çevrilebilecek Boycott, Divestment and Sactions’ın kısaltması. Bu oluşum Türkiye’de “Filistin için İsrail’i Boykot Girişimi” olarak biliniyor. PQBDS için bakınız: <http://www.pqbds.com/> (Judith Butler bu siteye 2016 tarihinde baktığını not düşmüş.) (ç.n.) (“Cinsiyet belasından,” 2019).

[1] I translated the excerpts from Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* on my own. (TN). [2] PQBDS is the English acronym for the organization, which can be translated as ‘Boykot, Tecrit, Yaptırımlar için Filistin’li Queerler’. The acronym stands for Palestinian Queers for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions. BDS stands for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions, which can be translated as ‘Boykot, Tecrit ve Yaptırımlar’. This organization is known in Turkey as the “Attempt to Boycott Israel for Palestine”. For PQBDS, see: <http://www.pqbds.com/> (Judith Butler noted that she looked at this site in 2016.) (TN) (The researcher’s back translation).

As is seen from the excerpt, in the first translator’s note, the translator needed to clarify that she translated the quotes from Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* by herself, because this book was translated into Turkish by another translator before. This translator’s note, written in the first-person singular, increased the visibility of the translator and her translation. In the second translator’s note, the translator gave detailed information about some abbreviations in the text. Since these notes were specified as a translator’s note, both of them, regardless of their content, contributed to the visibility of the translator and translation.

The third excerpt was taken from the footnotes in the translated article titled “Günümüz seks işçisi kültürü” published on July 11, 2017, on Çatlak Zemin:

[1] Metnin aslında “kadınlarla para karşılığında seks yapan erkek” anlamına gelen “John” ifadesi geçiyor. Seks yanlısı feminizmin kullandığı “müşteri” ifadesinin kullanılmaması metnin savunduğu seks karşıtı feminist yaklaşımı yansıtmak bakımından önemli olsa da, bu ifadenin Türkçe karşılığı olmadığından dolayı çeviride seks yanlısı yaklaşımın kullandığı “müşteri” ifadesi kullanılmıştır. [...] [3] Latince; kişiye yönelik, kişiyle ilgili anlamına gelir. Bir safsata türü olarak Türkçe’de de yaygın bir şekilde Latince olarak kullanıldığından çevrilmemiştir (“Günümüz seks işçisi,” 2017).

In the original text, the author uses the term “John” which means “the man who has sex with women against payment”. Even though not using the term “customer” which pro-sex feminism uses is important to reflect the anti-sex feminist approach of the text, the term “customer” which pro-sex approach prefers was used in translation, because the term “John” has not a Turkish equivalent [...] [3] It means person-oriented and person-related in Latin. It was not translated because the Latin term is widely used in Turkish as a type of fallacy (The researcher’s back translation).

In these two footnotes, despite the passive sentence structure used, the translator’s choices were clearly explained and justified. Especially the justification in the first note revealed that the translator paid special attention to save the sex-negative feminist approach of the source text in her translation. All these made the translation and translator’s choices explicit for the target reader.

The fourth excerpt was taken from the preface and translator’s note in the translated article entitled “Güzel değiliz, çirkin değiliz, öfkeliyiz!” published on October 1, 2018, on Çatlak Zemin:

Geçen sene, Miss Turkey 2017 (hani şu Türkiye’nin en güzel kadınının seçildiği yarışma) ve İtir Esen epeyce gündemleşmişti. İtir, BİRİNCİ seçilmiş; ardından attığı bir tweet nedeniyle tacı elinden alınmıştı ve yarışmada ikinci seçilen Aslı Sümen’e verilmişti. Yani Türkiye’nin ikinci en güzel kadını, birinci en güzel kadını oluvermişti. O günlerde tartışmalar daha ziyade İtir Esen’in Twitter’da yazdıkları üzerinden dönmüştü. Bu sene de Miss Turkey gündeme oturdu ve yarışmaya katılan kadınların bedenleri yine tartışma konusu oldu. Biz de, Miss Turkey’in kendisini sorunsallaştırdık ve “Kadınların tarihinde bu konuyla ilgili neler olmuştu?” diye sorduk. Bunun üzerine 1968’de New York Radical Women\* tarafından gerçekleştirilen Miss America güzellik yarışması protestosuna çağrı metnini Türkçe’ye çevirmeye çalıştık. 2018 yılında, 1968 tarihli bu metni çevirirken hemen aşağıdaki görsel aklımıza geliyor ve dövize katılmaktan kendimizi alamıyoruz. Görsel: I can’t believe we’re still protesting this shit.

ç.n: Metnin orijinalinde “We will reclaim ourselves for ourselves.” olarak yazılmış olan ifadeyi bu şekilde [“Hayatlarımıza yeniden sahip çıkacağız”] çevirmeyi uygun gördük. Kendimizi kendimiz için tekrar tanımlayacağız gibi bir anlama denk düşüyor (“Güzel değiliz,” 2018).

Last year, Miss Turkey 2017 (the beauty pageant in which the most beautiful woman of Turkey is chosen) and İtir Esen considerably occupied the agenda. İtir won the contest; then she was stripped of her crown over her tweets and Esen’s title was passed on to runner-up Aslı Sümen. In other words, Turkey’s second most beautiful woman became spontaneously the first most beautiful woman of Turkey. In those days, the discussions were mostly over what İtir Esen wrote on Twitter. This year, Miss Turkey came also to the fore and the bodies of women who participated in the contest became the subject of discussion again. We have problematized Miss Turkey too and asked, “what had happened in the herstory of women about this issue?” Then, we tried to translate the call organized by New York Radical Women in 1968 to protest Miss America beauty pageant, into Turkish. In 2018, while translating this text dated 1968, the following visual springs to our mind and we can’t help agreeing with it. The visual: I can’t believe we’re still protesting this shit.

Translators' note (TN): We saw fit to translate “we will reclaim ourselves for ourselves” into Turkish in this way [as “Hayatlarımıza yeniden sahip çıkacağız”] It means that we are going to redefine ourselves for ourselves (The researcher's back translation).

As may be understood from the usage of the first-person plural, this preface and translators' note were written by the two translators of the text. The translators stressed their presence by explaining their translation motivation, process, and choices in their preface and translators' note in an explicit way. Additionally, it can be inferred from the preface they wrote, the visual they shared, and the source text they selected to translate that the translators have a feminist point of view. So, it can be said that the translators presented their ideological stand in the paratexts they used.

The fifth excerpt was taken from the translators' note in the translated article titled “Friend zone” diye bir şey yok ve kadınlar size bi' bok borçlu değil \\_(ツ)\_/” published on August 15, 2017, on Çatlak Zemin:

Ç.N. Rıza kavramına taktığım bu dönem karşıma çıkması sebebiyle mi bilmiyorum ama bu yazıyı ufak tefek sıkıntılara rağmen epey sevdim ve dilimize kazandırmaya karar verdim. “Friend zone” un Türkçe muadili var mı bilmiyorum— “kankalanmak” gibi zorlama bir şey yapmak istemedim ve “arkadaş olarak görmek” de bu nadide tabiri tam anlamıyla karşılamıyor.

Bu satırların, sevdiği kişi ona “kanka” diyince kalbine hançer yemiş gibi olup bir köşede içlice ağlayanlara hitaben kaleme alındığını düşünmüyorum. Bu sebeple, yazının bir kadın ile asgari düzeyde insanlığa dayanan her diyalogunu, cinsel ilişki yatırımı olarak kuran, dolayısıyla mevzu direkt olarak ve tercihen hızla cinselliğe doğru ilerlemediğinde asabileşen, hadsizleşen, hainleşen erkeklere hitaben yazıldığına dikkat çekmek başlangıç için önemli (“Friend zone,” 2017).

Translator's note. (T.N.) I don't know if this is because I met it in those days when I became obsessed with the concept of consent, but I liked this article very much despite its little difficulties and I decided to bring it into our language. I don't know if “friend zone” has a Turkish equivalent—I didn't want to use a far-fetched word like “kankalamak” and “seeing as a friend” doesn't exactly cover this rare phrase.

I do not think that these lines were written to those who felt as if they had been stabbed in the heart with a dagger when the lady they love called them ‘friend’ and were weeping in a corner. For this reason, it is important to point out that the article was written to men who see each minimally human dialogue with a woman as an investment in sexual intercourse and thus get irritable, perfidious and presumptuous when they do not immediately directly and preferably end up with sex (The researcher's back translation).

In this footnote which was specified as a translator's note, the translator explained her translation motivation clearly. The translator also discussed and justified her choices. While explaining her thoughts about the source text and saying who the target audience of this article is, the translator both asserts authority over the source text and expresses her own critical views on the subject, thereby deconstructing the traditional invisibility of translators.

Apart from the prefaces, footnotes and translators' notes exemplified above, another important factor that affects the visibility of the translators is the way they are presented on these two websites. In the translated articles on Çatlak Zemin, the names of translators appear at the bottom of the text while the names of source authors appear on the top like the names of the copyright authors in the Turkish original articles. The places where the names of the translators and source text authors appear on Çatlak Zemin verify and maintain the traditional hierarchy that sees the translator inferior to the author. Compared to Çatlak Zemin, on 5Harfliler, the names and profile pictures of translators appear at the same place where the names and profile pictures of the authors appear in the original Turkish articles. Additionally, on 5Harfliler, just below the profile pictures of the translators, there is a section titled "Yazarın diğer yazıları" ("the other writings of the author" in English) showing the other translations and writings of the relevant translator on 5Harfliler. As may be inferred from this title, 5Harfliler sees translator as an author, in other words, it sees the translator equal to the author and the translation equal to the original writing. All these contribute to the deconstruction of the traditional inferior position of translators and increase the visibility of the translators on 5Harfliler.

#### **4.4.1.2. The contextualizing paratexts**

The results of the paratextual analysis showed that compared to the paratexts making translation and/or translators visible, contextualizing paratexts were used more frequently on both websites. It was found that 78 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 41 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin include a contextualizing paratext i.e., preface, afterword, footnote and/or translator's note. It was also found out that the websites used the contextualizing paratexts to provide additional and contextual information about the source text and the author and to bring them closer to the target readers. In so doing, they also presented their own comments and interpretations reflecting their feminist point of view. Therefore, it can be claimed that the websites (i.e. editors) and/or translators used the contextualizing paratexts to act as a feminist "gatekeeper" between the source text/author and the target reader, and hence to influence or even control the target readers' reception.

Below are 5 sample excerpts taken from the contextualizing paratexts in the feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler.

The first excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Ölüm Kadar Ciddi, Küfürlü bir Şaka: Renate Bertlmann” published on March 6, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Renate Bertlmann, 1970’lerde bir çok çağdaşı gibi 1968’in devrimci atmosferi ve ikinci dalga feminizmin gücüyle kadın bedenini bir kutlama ve devrim aracı olarak yeniden kurgulayan eserler üretmiş, Viyanalı avangart bir sanatçı. Bu dönemde üreten feminist sanatçıların bazen beraber, bazen tek başlarına benzer direniş ve ayaklanma yöntemlerini paylaşarak aynı noktalarda buluşmaları, aynı temaları farklı yoğunluk ve şekillerde ziyaret etmeleri ve sonunda ortaya çıkan miras dil bana çok dokunaklı ve ilham verici geliyor. Sihirli bir saat doğru zamanı vurmuş gibi bir sürü farklı coğrafyadan yaratıcı kadın, kendilerine zorla kabul ettirilmiş imgeleri bir devrimin araçları olarak ayaklandırıyorlar. Gelinlikler, çeyizler, mutfak eşyaları, ütüler, yani bir kadının eve kısılmış hayatına şahitlik eden tüm kadınsı objeler, bu sanatçıların eserlerinde yepyeni amaçlarla canlanıyorlar. Bunların arasında Renate Bertlmann, emzik, prezervatif, plastik top gibi bol çağrışımlı objeler kullanarak fallus odaklı eserler üretmesiyle biraz daha farklı bir yerde duruyor. Aşağıda Bertlmann ile genelde Amerikayla özdeşleştirdiğimiz pop sanatın Latin Amerika ve dünyanın geri kalanındaki izdüşümlerini takip eden “The World Goes Pop” sergisi kapsamında yapılmış bir röportajı tercüme ettim (“Ölüm kadar,” 2017).

Renate Bertlmann, like many of her contemporaries in the 1970s, is a Viennese avant-garde artist who, with the power of second-wave feminism in the revolutionary atmosphere of 1968, produced works that reconstruct the female body as a means of celebration and revolution. Feminist artists who produced works during this period came together by sharing similar methods of resistance and rebellion sometimes together and sometimes alone and visited the same themes in different frequencies and forms, thereby creating a heritage language. And all these sound to me very touching and inspiring. Creative women from various geographies are causing images forced upon them to revolt as the tools of revolution as if a magic clock struck the right time. Wedding gowns, dowries, kitchen utensils, and irons, that are all feminine objects that bear witness to a woman’s life trapped in the house are revived in the works of these artists for novel purposes. Among these artists, Renate Bertlmann holds a slightly different place as she produces phallus-oriented works using richly evocative objects such as pacifiers, condoms, and plastic balls. Below I translated an interview with Bertlmann as part of the “The World Goes Pop” exhibition, which follows the projections of pop art, which we generally identify with America, in Latin America and the rest of the world (The researcher’s back translation).

In this preface, the translator firstly introduced the interviewed feminist artist, Renate Bertlman. She presented additional and contextual information about the style of Bertlman, her works, the period in which she produced her works, and her feminist contemporaries. Thus, she prepared the target reader for the translation i.e., the interview with Bertlman they will read below.

The second excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Duvarlara Çarpa Çarpa: Violette Leduc’un Hikayesi” published on February 23, 2017, on 5Harfliler:

Geçenlerde tavsiye üzerine 2013’te gösterime girmiş Fransız filmi Violette’i izledim. Violette, hayatı zorluklarla geçmiş, Simone de Beauvoir’ın yeteneğini fark ettiğinde kanatları altına aldığı ve o zamana kadar hiçbir kadının o denli cüretkar bir şekilde yazmadığı tabu konuları (kürtaj ve lezbiyen ilişkiler gibi) kalemine taşımış feminist yazar Violette Leduc’un hikayesi. Film, yazarın Simone de Beauvoir’la tanışmasından kısa bir süre önce başlıyor ve yayımlandıktan sonra çok satanlar arasına giren otobiyografik eseri “La Bâtarde” a (Piç) kadar geçen süreyi anlatıyor.

Elbette söz konusu zaman dilimi günlük güneşlik olmaktan epey uzak. Violette, Simone de Beauvoir'a takıntılı bir şekilde aşık oluyor, reddediliyor ve hayatının bir bölümü onun tarafından kabul edilme çabasıyla debelenerek geçiyor.

Film, merkeze Violette'i aldığı, onun hikayesini anlattığı için De Beauvoir'ın nasıl biri olduğuna dair elimizde fazla ipucu yok; Violette'in De Beauvoir algısı dışında. O algıyı – kendi algıma göre – tek kelimeyle tasvir etmek istersem “tamamlanmışlık” derim. Violette, karşısında “tamamlanmış” biri görüyor Simone de Beauvoir'a bakarken. [...] Duygusal tepkilerinden ötürü sonradan girdiği entelektüel çevrelerde “drama kraliçesi” olmakla itham edilen Violette, duvarlara çarpa çarpa delireyazıyor – buna De Beauvoir'un duvarları da dahil – ama nihayet kendi sınırlarını el yordamıyla bulmaya yaklaşıyor. Bu arada kitapları da yavaş yavaş daha geniş kitlelerce fark ediliyor. Film o noktada sona eriyor. Gayrimeşru olarak doğup büyüme, annesine olan ebedi kızgınlığı, özgüven düşüklüğü, yoksulluk, her daim sevgi ve kabul edilme açlığı, okuma-yazma sevdasını finanse etmekte çektiği zorluk... Leduc'un, hem bunları taşıyarak hem de bunlara rağmen yazdığı, hem de kadınlığını hiç sakınmadan kalemine döktüğü için daha fazla dikkati hak ettiği kesin. Diğer yandan, Violette'in film boyu De Beauvoir'ın ardından, onun tarafından kabul edilmek için koşturup durması ve bu kabul arzusunun bütün nevrozlarını açığa çıkarmasında beni – tam da Violette'e yakışır şekilde – ağlama krizlerine sokan bir yan vardı. Ve filmin sonunda, Violette'in “başkalarının ve kendisinin sınırlarını” kabullenmiş (dolayısıyla sakinleşmiş ve hatta özgürleşmiş) hali ise kalbime acımtırak, buruk bir his yaydı. Sanırım büyümek, acımtırak ve buruk bir hisle beraber geliyor.

[...] Aşağıda çevirisini okuyacağınız, geçen yıl Guardian'da yayımlanan şu yazı, Leduc'un adının feminist çevrelerde neden anılmadığını sorguluyor; iki feminist yazarın hayatını karşılaştırıyor ve “Mücadeleyle geçen hayatlar karşısında yazının değeri nedir?” diyor bir nevi. Bu arada, yazarın Türkçe'ye sadece “La Bâtarde” (Piç) eseri çevrilmiş; o da sadece Nadir Kitap'ta bulunuyor. Bu da yine hepimizin ayıbı olsun (“Duvarlara çarpa çarpa,” 2017).

I recently watched the 2013 French film Violette on advice. The film tells the story of Violette Leduc, a feminist author who wrote about taboo topics (such as abortion and lesbian relationships) that no woman ever wrote so defiantly and had lived a hard life until Simone de Beauvoir spotted her talent and took her under her wings. The film begins shortly before the author meets Simone de Beauvoir and shows the period leading up to her autobiographical work “La Bâtarde” (Bastard), which became a bestseller after its release. Of course, that period is far from being brilliantly sunny. Violette falls obsessively in love with Simone de Beauvoir and is rejected. She spends part of her life struggling to be accepted by her.

Because the film is centred on Violette and tells her story, we do not have much clue what De Beauvoir is like but Violette's perception of de Beauvoir. If I wanted to describe that perception – based on my own perception – with a word, I would say “completedness”. Violette sees someone “complete” when she looks at Simone de Beauvoir. [...] Accused of being a “drama queen” by intellectual circles that she is involved in later because of her emotional reactions, Violette goes mad coming up against brick walls – including the walls of de Beauvoir – but finally comes close to groping her on boundaries. Her books, meanwhile, become more widely known. The film ends at that point. Born and grown illegitimately, eternal anger at her mother low self-esteem, poverty, endless hunger for love and acceptance, difficulty in financing her love of reading and writing... Leduc certainly deserves more attention both for putting up with these challenges and writing despite them and for writing about her womanhood without any hesitation. There was something about Violette's running after de Beauvoir and her acceptance and about her desire for acceptance that exposed her all neuroses that put me in crying fits – just as Violette would do. At the end of the film, Violette who accepted the “boundaries of others and herself” (and thus calmed down and even liberated herself) gave my heart a bitter, sour feeling. I think growing up comes with a bitter and sour feeling.

[...] The following translated article published in The Guardian last year questions why Leduc's name is not cited in feminist circles, compares the lives of two feminist authors and says, “What is the value of writing in the face of the struggling lives?”. By the way, only “La Bâtarde” (Bastard) was translated into Turkish and it is available only on the website Nadir Kitap. And shame on all of us (The researcher's back translation).



In this preface, one of the longest and therefore the most comprehensive prefaces in the translated articles on 5Harfliler, the translator touched on many topics. While mentioning about the film she had recently seen, the translator gave detailed information about the French feminist writer, Violette Leduc, her life and works. She also talked about the relationship between Violette Leduc and Simone de Beauvoir. After providing detailed information about Leduc, the translator explained what the source text questions and what it focuses on. Thus, she brought the target readers closer to both Violette Leduc and the translated article. Additionally, the translator expressed her positive thoughts about Leduc and her works and hence led the target readers to hear her feminist voice supporting Violette Leduc.

The third excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article titled “Beatrix Potter’dan Resimli Mektuplar” published on February 13, 2014, on 5Harfliler:

Çocuk kitabı yazarı ve illüstratörü Beatrix Potter’ın meraklı, tombul tavşancıklarını kalem kutularından ve defterlerden tanırız. Çocuk kitabı yazarlığına başlamadan önce bilim ve botanik çizimleri yapan ve aslında bu konuda eğitim alan Potter’ın en ünlü çalışması Peter Rabbit’in Masalı, evinde çalışan mürebbiyenin oğlu Noel’e yazdığı resimli mektuplardan doğmuş. Potter beş yaşındaki Noel’e günlük hayatını, gördüğü hayvan ve bitkileri çizerek anlatırken aklında bunları yayınlamak filan yokmuş. Aşağıda gördüğümüz inanılmaz samimi ve sevimli mektuplar, çocuk kitaplarının en ünlü serilerinden Peter Rabbit’in doğumuna şahitlik ediyor, kendilerini Morgan Library arşivinden aldım ve çevirdim. Kim derdi ki Noel’i eğlendirmeyi amaçlayan bu sarı sayfalar yüz küsur sene sonra hala milyonlarca çocuğun ilgisini çekecek? (Tavşanın modası geçmez!) Mektupları okurken insan Potter’ın doğaya duyduğu derin sevgiyi paylaşmadan, beş yaşındaki bir çocuğa hitap ederkenki ustalığına, kısa cümlelerinden taşan heyecana hayranlık duymadan edemiyor, siz de bakın: [...] (“Beatrix Potter’dan,” 2014).

You know the curious, chubby bunnies of children’s book author and illustrator Beatrix Potter from pencil cases and notebooks. Before becoming a children’s book author, Potter made scientific and botanical illustrations in which she was trained. Her famous book, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, was born out of the illustrated letters she wrote to Noel, the son of the governess who worked at their home. When Potter told five-year-old Noel about her daily life by drawing the animals and plants that she saw, she had no idea to publish them. The incredibly sincere and adorable letters you see below bear witness to the birth of Peter Rabbit, one of the most famous series of children’s books, which I obtained from the Archives of the Morgan Library and translated. Who would have thought that these yellow pages, intended to entertain Noel, still attract millions of children a hundred or so years late? (The rabbit never goes out of fashion!) Reading the letters, one cannot help but share Potter’s deep love for nature and admire her mastery of addressing a five-year-old boy and the excitement that flows from her short sentences. Have a look at [...] (The researcher’s back translation).

In this preface, the translator introduced the source text writer, Beatrix Potter, at first. Then, she explained that Potter’s most popular tale, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, was born from the illustrated letters that Potter wrote for a boy named Noel. After giving contextual information about the source text and author, the translator expressed her admiration for the source text i.e. the illustrated letters and mentioned how gifted and

talented Beatrix Potter is. Thus, she both brought the source text and the writer closer to the target readers and guided their reception, as well.

The fourth excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Yanmak Kaçınılmazsa Zevk Almaya Bakılsın Mı?” published on January 5, 2014, on 5Harfliler:

Geçen sene Ekim ayında, Hindistan’da bir kadın tecavüzcüsünü yakmış. Kendisine tecavüz eden adam kefaletle serbest bırakılınca birkaç ay sonra “konunun mahkeme dışında çözümünü konuşmak üzere” evine davet etmiş, daha sonra üzerine karosen döküp ateşe vermiş. Aşağıda internetin bir köşesinden konuya getirilen yorumlar var. Tamam adam yanarak ölmüş ama, tüm suçu kadında mı arayacağız? (“Yanmak kaçınılmazsa,” 2014).

In October last year, a woman in India set her rapist on fire. A few months after the man who raped her was released on bail, she invited him over to her home to discuss an out-of-court settlement. Then she doused him in kerosene and set him on fire. Below are the comments from a corner of the internet. Okay, he was burned to death, but should we lay all the blame on her? (The researcher’s back translation).

This preface provided a piece of contextual information that the target readers would need to better understand the text. The question generally used to blame women victims of rape was reversed at the end of the preface and thus target readers’ attention was drawn to the patriarchal mentality that blames women under all circumstances.

The fifth excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Gerassi’nin 1976 Tarihli Beauvoir Röportajı: 25. Yılında “İkinci Cins”” published on September 2, 2013, on 5Harfliler:

John Gerassi 1976 yılında feminizmin başucu kaynaklarından birisi olarak kabul edilen, Simon de Beauvoir tarafından yazılan *Le Deuxième Sexe* [İkinci Cins]’in yayımlanmasının 25. Yılı şerefine, eserin yazarı ile bir röportaj yapmıştır. Bu tarihi röportajı aşağıda okuyabileceksiniz. Beauvoir, röportajın yapıldığı yıllarda artık haklı bir paye kazanmış, söylediği her sözü büyük dikkatle dinlenen aydın mertebesindedir. 1976’da ilerleyen yaşına rağmen aktif siyasetle ve edebiyatla olan ilgisini yitirmemiştir. Yaşının gereği kimi yerde karamsarlığa kapıldığı kimi yerde ise ebedi çocukluğunu koruduğu gözlenmektedir. Henüz dünyanın iki kutuplu olduğu yıllardır. Bunun etkisi oldukça keskindir (“Gerassi’nin 1976 tarihli,” 2013).

In honour of the 25th anniversary of the publication of *Le Deuxième Sexe* [The Second Sex], which was written by Simon de Beauvoir and is considered one of the reference books of feminism, John Gerassi interviewed with the author in 1976. You can read this historic interview below. When the interview was made, Beauvoir was holding the position of an intellectual who was awarded rightful appreciation and recognition and whose every word was listened to with great care. Despite her advancing age in 1976, she did not lose her interest in active politics and literature. Due to her age, she became pessimistic sometimes and preserved her eternal childhood other times. Those were the years when the world was bipolar. Its effect was quite sharp (The researcher’s back translation).

This preface presented contextual information about the source text, the interview that John Gerassi made with Simone de Beauvoir, and the period when the interview was held. It also mentioned about Simone de Beauvoir’s intellectual position at that time and thereby preparing the target readers for the interview that they would read.

Below are 5 sample excerpts taken from the contextual paratexts in the feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin.

The first excerpt was taken from the translator’s note in the translated article entitled “İzin verin size Aurat Yürüyüşü’nü womansplain\* edeyim” published on April 16, 2019, on Çatlak Zemin:

(\*) Çevirmenin notu: Son zamanlarda sıkça kullanılan, erkeklerin kadınlara – daha az bilseler bile – her türlü konuda sürekli bilgi verme, izah etme hallerini tarifleyen ‘mansplaining’ teriminin tersyüz edilmiş hali. ‘Womansplaining’ ifadesinde açıklama gücü ve açıklayan pozisyonu erkekler yerine kadınların. Mansplaining terimi için bakınız: <https://catlakzemin.com/mansplaining-ne-demek-cumle-icinde-kullananim-benim-babam-mansplaining-2/> ve <http://www.5harfliler.com/yoksa-size-hala-acuklamadilar-mi/> (“İzin verin,” 2019).

(\*) Translator’s note: It is an inversion of the term ‘mansplaining’, which has recently been used to describe the way men – even if they know less – constantly comment on and explain all kinds of things to women. As for the term ‘womansplaining’, not men but women have the power of explanation and the position of explanation. For the term mansplaining, see: <https://catlakzemin.com/mansplaining-ne-demek-cumle-icinde-kullananim-benim-babam-mansplaining-2/> and <http://www.5harfliler.com/yoksa-size-hala-acuklamadilar-mi/> (The researcher’s back translation).

As may be understood from the excerpt, this translator’s note was written to provide additional information about the terms, “mansplain” and “womansplain”, newly coined by feminists. The translator’s note also provided the links to the two relevant articles on Çatlak Zemin and 5Harfliler to help the target readers to better understand and contextualize these terms. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the article on 5Harfliler linked in the translator’s note discusses the Turkish equivalent, “açıklamak”, proposed for the term, “mansplaining”. Given the fact that FTS was born out of the Canadian women translators’ efforts to translate the creative and interventionist feminist writings, 5Harfliler’s effort to translate “mansplaining” into Turkish sets a good example of feminist translation.

The second excerpt was taken from the preface and footnote in the translated article entitled “Uluslararası bir grup sosyalist feministten İranlı kadınlarla dayanışma bildirisi” published on February 20, 2018, on Çatlak Zemin:

Bir süredir İranlı kadınların birbiri ardına kamusal alanda başörtülerini çıkartmak suretiyle İran’ın zorunlu başörtüsü politikasını protesto ettikleri haberlerini alıyoruz. Bu kadınları desteklemek üzere uluslararası bir grup sosyalist feministin kaleme alarak imzaya açtığı bir dayanışma metni bir hafta içinde yüzlerce kez imzalanarak 18 Şubat’ta internet üzerinden dolaşıma sokuldu. [i] Metni imzalayanlar arasında Frigga Haug, Nancy Holmstrom, Nira Yuval-Davis ve Ann Ferguson gibi tanınmış isimler; Çin, Hindistan, ABD, İngiltere, Avustralya, Lübnan, Arjantin ve Brezilya gibi dünyanın dört bir yanından feministler var. Çatlak Zemin olarak halen imzaya açık olan metnin çevirisini paylaşıyoruz.

[Dipnot] Bu metne imzanızı eklemek isterseniz lütfen [info@allianceofmesocialists.org](mailto:info@allianceofmesocialists.org) adresinden Alliance of Middle Eastern Socialists (Orta Doğulu Sosyalistler İttifakı) ile iletişime geçiniz (“Uluslararası bir grup,” 2018).

We have been hearing for some time that Iranian women are protesting Iran’s mandatory hijab policy by removing their headscarves in public one after the other. A statement written and signed by a group of international socialist feminists in solidarity with Iranian women was signed hundreds of times within a week and circulated online on February 18. The signatories of the statement include prominent figures such as Frigga Haug, Nancy Holmstrom, Nira Yuval-Davis, and Ann Ferguson and feminists from around the world, including China, India, the United States, Britain, Australia, Lebanon, Argentina, and Brazil. As Çatlak Zemin, we share a translation of the text that is still available for signature.

Footnote: If you wish to add your signature below, please contact the Alliance of Middle Eastern Socialists at [info@allianceofmesocialists.org](mailto:info@allianceofmesocialists.org) (The researcher’s back translation).

The preface, apparently written by editors of Çatlak Zemin, provided contextual information about the source text, the statement written by a group of socialist feminists, and signed by the feminists from all over the world to support Iranian women’s protest against mandatory headscarf rule. In the footnote, on the other hand, a contact address was given for readers who may want to sign the statement. Both presenting this statement and giving a contact address for those who may want to sign it, Çatlak Zemin positioned itself ideologically and showed its own support to the feminists who wrote and signed the statement.

The third excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Manchester bombalaması genç kadın ve kız çocuklarına karşı planlı bir saldırıydı” published on May 26, 2017, on Çatlak Zemin:

Manchester bombalamasında intihar bombacısı Ariane Grande konserini hedef aldı. Ariane Grande cinsiyetçilikle ve kadınların nesneleştirilmesi ile mücadele eden, hayran kitlesini oluşturan genç kızları güçlendirecek mesajlar veren bir kadın. Bu konserin hedef alınmış olmasında kuşkusuz IŞİD’in kadın düşmanlığının etkisi büyük. Daha önce Orlando saldırısında LGBT topluluğu hedef alınmıştı. Ayrıca IŞİD militanı intihar bombacılarının geçmişlerinde kadına yönelik şiddet suçu işlemiş oldukları da sık tartışılan bir başka konu. Kuşkusuz IŞİD sadece kadınlara saldırma hedefiyle bu bombalamaları gerçekleştiriyor fakat bombalı saldırı yapacağı yerlerde özellikle kadınları, LGBT’leri, muhalifleri hedef alıyor. Feminist Current sitesinde yayınlanan yazıda belirtildiği gibi her ne kadar İngiltere Başbakanı Theresa May açıklamalarında değinmemiş olsa da bu saldırı genç kadın ve kız çocuklarına karşı planlı bir saldırı: [...] (“Manchester bombalaması,” 2017).

In the Manchester bombing, the suicide bomber targeted an Ariane Grande concert. Ariane Grande is a woman who struggles against sexism and the objectification of women and communicates messages to empower young girls who make up her fan base. The misogyny of ISIS no doubt has a huge impact on the fact that the concert was targeted. The LGBT community had previously been targeted in the Orlando attack. Another frequently discussed issue is that ISIS militant suicide bombers committed violent crimes against women in the past. Undoubtedly, ISIS organizes these bombings not only with the goal of attacking women, but it is also targeting especially women, LGBT people, and dissidents in their bomb attacks. As noted in the article published on the website Feminist Current, this attack is a planned attack against young women and girls although British Prime Minister Theresa May did not put it in her remarks: [...] (The researcher’s back translation).

This preface firstly provided contextual information about Ariane Grande’s ideological (feminist) standpoint and the ISIS bomb attack targeting her concert in Manchester. Then, the preface presented Çatlak Zemin’s comments on the attack. These comments and the source text selected to be translated revealed that Çatlak Zemin interprets ISIS bomb attack in Manchester as a reflection of misogyny. So, it can be said that Çatlak Zemin used this preface to present its own comments and interpretations on the attack and to direct the target readers to read the text from its perspective.

The fourth excerpt was taken from the preface written to the translated video entitled “Çocuk düşünmez misiniz?” published on April 10, 2017, on Çatlak Zemin:

“Evlensen, çocukların olsa şöyle, istemez misin?” gibi cevabı içinde gizli soruları ya da “yirmiye geçtin (otuza geldin), peki ne zaman? (evlilik + çocuk)” gibi hadi’lemeleri, gündelik hayatlarımızda münasebetli münasebetsiz birçok kişiden duymaktan helak olduk. Eğer zorla evlendirilme gibi bir durum içerisinde değilsek elbet, ülke çapında mahalle baskısı-patriyarkanın sadık kulu- tıklar tıklar işliyor ancak bu “kadın annedir” teması da bir yandan güncelleniyor. İşi “anne olmayan eksiktir” e vardırca kadar abartan devletlüler bile gözlemlenebiliyor –evet, azalarak bitmediler bilakis mitoz bölünme teşbihini hak edecek kadar görülür haldeler-. Oysa çok basitçe kadınlar “tamsan sen doğur” dediler, diyorlar, diyecekler. Tüm baskılara rağmen “zorunlu annelik” dayatmasına itiraz büyüyor. Çocuksuz kadınların sayısında artış olduğu konuşuluyor. Yani çocuk yapmamayı seçen kadınların sayısı artıyor. Bu da tabii dünyada bir infiale yol açıyor. İzleyelim (“Çocuk düşünmes misiniz,” 2017).

We have been exhausted from hearing rhetorical questions such as “if you were married and had kids, wouldn’t you want to?” or the come-ons such as “You’ve already passed thirty (you are thirty now), so when? (marriage + children)” from relevant or irrelevant people in our daily lives. If we are not in a situation of forced marriage, the nationwide neighbourhood pressure - the loyal servant of the patriarchy - is running smoothly, but the theme of “woman is a mother” is also being updated. We even see politicians who exaggerate it saying “women who are not mothers are incomplete” – yes, such politicians have not disappeared, but they are visible enough to deserve to be described with the metaphor of mitosis. Women simply said, are saying and will say “You give birth if you are complete”. Despite all the pressure, the objection to the imposition of “compulsory motherhood” is growing. There has been an increase in the number of childless women. So, the number of women who choose not to have children is growing. This, of course, has aroused indignation across the world. Let’s watch (The researcher’s back translation).

This preface was written to the translated video in which women from the different parts of the world criticise and challenge the patriarchal pressures on women to become mothers and the patriarchal mentality that deems childless women incomplete, inferior and worthless. In this preface, Çatlak Zemin pointed out and criticised the fact that women in Turkey are exposed to similar patriarchal pressures to become mothers. Thus, it demonstrated its feminist stance against these patriarchal pressures.

The fifth excerpt was taken from the preface in the translated article entitled “Elena Ferrante’nin çığneden mahremiyeti” published on October 13, 2016, on Çatlak Zemin:

Elena Ferrante geçtiğimiz yıl, tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye’de de büyük ilgiyle okundu. Bizler, 1950’lerden bugüne anlattığı Napoli öykülerinde kadınlar arası ilişkilerdeki dayanışma ve çatışma öykülerinin kapsayıcılığına ve gerçekliğine, patriyarkanın binbir formuna, sınıfa, kimliğe, siyaset biçimlerine ve dört ciltte anlatılan tüm tarihsel arkaplanın yaşadığımız ülkeyi anımsatmasına şaşırarak, etkilendik. Ferrante, anonim kalmak istediğini verdiği yazılı mülakatlarda defalarca belirtmiş bir yazar. 2 Ekim Pazar günü İtalyan bir gazeteci Ferrante’nin kim olduğunu bulduğunu iddia etti ve sansasyonel varsayımlar öne sürdü. Ardından Twitter ve çeşitli internet portallarında hızla yazılar yayınlandı. “Kadın yazar olmak” meselesi çeşitli veçheleriyle gündeme geldi. Aşağıda, konu ile ilgili bir yazı ile bir Twitter flood’ını bulabilirsiniz (“Elena Ferrante’nin,” 2016).

Last year, Elena Ferrante was read with great interest in Turkey, as all over the world. We were surprised and impressed by the inclusiveness and reality of the stories of solidarity and conflict in relations between women from the 1950s to today in *The Neapolitan Novels*, a thousand forms of patriarchy, the class, the identity, the forms of politics, and the fact that the entire historical background told in four volumes reminds us of the country we live in. Ferrante is an author who repeatedly stated in written interviews that she wants to remain anonymous. On Sunday, October 2, an Italian journalist claimed to have found out who Ferrante is and put forward sensational assumptions. Subsequently, posts were quickly published on Twitter and various internet portals. The issue of “being a woman author” came up with its various aspects. Below you can find an article and a Twitter flow about the topic (The researcher’s back translation).

This preface mentioned Elena Ferrante and her works read with great interest all around the world. Thus, it provided the contextual information that the target reader will need to better contextualize the translations that they will read below. Additionally, it can be said that this preface increased the Turkish readers’ attention in Elena Ferrante and her works by stating that the historical background described in Ferrante’s books is reminiscent of Turkey.

#### **4.4.2. The Discussion of the Results of the Paratextual Analysis on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

The results of the paratextual analysis showed that 54 (41%) of the feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler include a paratext making translation and/or translator visible while 78 (60%) of feminist themed translated article on 5Harfliler include a contextualizing paratext. The same results also revealed that 23 (29%) of the feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin include a paratext making translation and/or translator visible while 41 (53%) of the feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin include a contextualizing paratext. Given these results of the paratextual analysis, it can be stated that both websites use the contextualizing paratexts more often than the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible and 5Harfliler makes use of both types of paratexts more frequently than Çatlak Zemin. In fact, the most decisive difference between the two websites lies in the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible. As stated before, the footnotes in 14 out of 23 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin were considered, regardless of

their contents, as a paratext making translation and/or translator visible just because they were specified as “translator’s note” and/or “TN”. In other words, the paratexts only in 9 out of 23 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin address translation motivation, translator’s choices, and translation process directly and/or are written by the translators in the first-person singular. Compared to Çatlak Zemin, on 5Harfliler translations and/or translators become more visible thanks to the paratexts mostly written by the translators themselves in first-person singular and addressing translation motivation, translators’ choices, and translation process directly. In addition, the places where the names and profile pictures of translators appear on 5Harfliler increase the translators’ visibility and deconstruct their traditional inferior position by seeing them equal to the writers of the original Turkish articles. The last but not the least important result of the paratextual analysis was that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin provided some links in their paratexts to enable the target readers to better contextualize the translated texts. It can be claimed that these links, each one of which is actually a contextualizing paratext, are one of the most distinctive features of the online feminist translation practices. Compared to the paratextual elements in the printed feminist translations, these links provide the readers with much more detailed and enormous information that they can reach with just one click.

#### **4.5. Analysis of the Interviews with the Translators and Editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin**

The interview analysis is the last but perhaps the most crucial step of the analyses conducted within the scope of this dissertation which tries to offer a sociological insight into the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. Given FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology’s focuses on translational agents, the importance of making interviews with the translators and editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin becomes clearer. Accordingly, it can be stated that the interview analysis is vital to be able to answer the research questions of this dissertation and hence to provide sociological insight into the translation practices on the websites.

As detailed information about how the interviewees were selected and contacted and how the interviews were made was given in the methodology chapter, these details will not be mentioned in this section to avoid redundancy. This section will focus on

how the 14 interviews made with the translators and editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin<sup>56</sup> were analysed.

At first, the audiotaped face to face / Skype interviews were transcribed verbatim. Then, as all 14 interviews were conducted in Turkish, all transcripts of the face to face / Skype interviews and the texts of the online interviews were translated into English by the researcher herself. While transcribing and translating the interviews, the researcher coded the data set considering the research questions and the theoretical and conceptual framework of the dissertation, FTS, and Bourdieusian translation sociology. This coding process generated 8 overarching titles i.e. code labels under which similar codes from the interviews could be compiled and analysed. Meanwhile, it needs to be noted that these 8 code labels determined by the researcher were also revised by an expert in the field to see whether they work for the entire data set collected through the 14 interviews made with 12 different interviewees<sup>57</sup>. Given the minor changes suggested by the expert, the 8 overarching code labels were finalized as follows:

1. The cultural capitals of the agents
2. The agents' feminist identity and consciousness
3. The social capitals of the agents
4. Text selection
5. The agents' views and awareness on "feminist translation"
6. The translators' conception of "translation" and "translator". Does it comply with FTS?
7. The translators' views on translation's role, position and/or importance in the feminist movement
8. The websites' translation policies

In the following section, each one of these code labels will be discussed in detail. To strengthen the discussion and exemplify its findings, the various excerpts taken from the interviews will also be presented.

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<sup>56</sup> The researcher made interviews with 7 translators and 2 editors from 5Harfliler and 4 translators and 1 editor from Çatlak Zemin.

<sup>57</sup> Since 5H T6/E1 and ÇZ T4/E1 work(ed) both as a translator and an editor on the websites, they answered two groups of interview questions prepared separately for translators and editors. So two different interviews were (could be) made with one person. Therefore, it was said above that 14 different interviews were made with 12 different interviewees.



#### **4.5.1. The Results of the Interview Analysis**

##### **4.5.1.1. The cultural capitals of the agents**

Capital, as explained in the second chapter, is one of the most crucial concepts of Bourdieu. Compared to Marx who focuses only on economic and material capital, Bourdieu defines the concept of capital in a more comprehensive way. He claims that there are four forms/types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. For Bourdieu, all these forms of capital, which are convertible into each other have a determining effect on the practices of the agents and hence play a crucial role in assigning the agents' positions in the field. Drawing on Bourdieu's conception of capital, this thesis focusing especially on the cultural and social capitals of the agents, claims that cultural capitals (education, titles, forms of knowledge, taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences; language) of the translators and editors have affected and shaped their relationship with translation phenomenon and profession in general, and their feminist translation practices on the websites in particular. Accordingly, the researcher generated this code label titled "the cultural capitals of the agents" to discuss the cultural capitals (especially education and titles) of the agents and thus to reveal how their cultural capitals affect and shape their translation practices. The answers given by the interviewees to the interview questions revealed the following information about their cultural capital:

5H T1 received her BA in Translation Studies from Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and MA in Women's Studies from Istanbul University. She wrote her master's thesis on feminist humour. She is a PhD candidate in Communication Sciences at Hacettepe University in Ankara. She knows English and translates from Turkish to English, from English to Turkish. She has a professional translator experience. In addition to being a translator, she also worked as a journalist and an editor on different platforms. She has currently been working as a freelance translator (personal communication, November 7, 2018).

5H T2 got her BA in Western Languages and Literatures from Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. She stated that she enrolled in undergraduate studies in Translation Studies at Çankaya University in Ankara so as to improve her translations' quality. However, after studying for a semester, she left this undergraduate programme since the first-year courses were generally focused on improving language skills. She is

currently pursuing a master's degree in English Literature and Cultural Studies at Çankaya University. She knows English and translates from English to Turkish (personal communication, August 8, 2019).

5H T3 received her BA in International Relations and MA in Women's Studies from Istanbul University. She wrote her master's thesis on women's attendance in mosques. She is a PhD candidate in Sociology at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul. She is currently conducting fieldwork in the mosques in Istanbul for her doctoral dissertation. She knows English. She stated that she has worked as an editor in a publishing house, in a journal and a digital marketing agency and also as a voluntary editor on gender equality platforms such as "erktolia"<sup>58</sup>. She added that "actually, my main profession is not translating but editing" (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

5H T4 is currently pursuing her undergraduate studies in Linguistics at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and working as a freelance translator at a private health company. She knows English and translates from English to Turkish (personal communication, August 24, 2019).

5H T5 got her BA in Translation and Interpreting (French Language) at Marmara University in Istanbul. She is currently pursuing a master's degree in Language Technologies at Strasbourg University. She knows English and French and translates from French and English to Turkish. She is a professional subtitle and dubbing translator (personal communication, September 6, 2019).

5H T6/E1 received her BA in English Language and Literature from Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. She holds two MA degrees, one in Creative Writing from The New School in New York and another in Art History from The Courtauld Institute of Art in London. She knows English and translates from English to Turkish, from Turkish to English. She is currently working as responsible for exhibitions at a Museum in Istanbul (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

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<sup>58</sup> "[E]rktolia is a pro-active platform which exposes and takes action against everyday sexism in Turkey. The name erktolia has a referral to all lands under the influence of patriarchy ("erk" in Turkish)" ("Hakkımızda/About Us," n.d.).

5H T7 got her BA in Translation and Interpreting (English Language) at Marmara University in Istanbul. She knows English and translates from Turkish to English, mostly from English to Turkish. She has currently been working as a professional freelance translator (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

5H E2 received her BA in Anthropology from Bard College in New York. She knows English and translates from English to Turkish, from Turkish to English. She is currently trying to learn Persian to be able to translate from Persian to Turkish and hence to introduce Persian women, their writings and feminist struggle to the Turkish readers (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

ÇZ T1 received her BA in Political Science and Public Administration from Middle East Technical University in Ankara, MA in Cultural Studies from Bilgi University in Istanbul and PhD in Comparative Gender Studies from Central European University in Budapest. She has currently been working as an academician in the field of Gender Studies at a university in Sweden. She knows English and Spanish and translates from English and Spanish to Turkish (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

ÇZ T2 earned her BA and MA in Sociology from Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. So far, she has worked as a research assistant at a university and as a researcher and project director at various private companies. She has currently been working as a Senior Executive at an international media, marketing, and advertising agency. She knows English and often translates from English to Turkish, sometimes from Turkish to English (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

ÇZ T3 received her BA in Sociology and MA and PhD in Cultural Anthropology from Hacettepe University in Ankara. She is an Associate Professor in Communication Sciences at a university in Cyprus. She teaches in the fields of sociology, anthropology, gender studies and feminism. She knows English and translates only from English into Turkish (personal communication, November 7, 2019).

ÇZ T4/E1 graduated from Galatasaray High School in Istanbul, one of the most prestigious high schools in Turkey. Then she received her BA and MA in Sociology from Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and PhD in Sociology from the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington. She wrote both her master thesis and doctoral dissertation on abortion and reproductive politics in Turkey. She has worked as a freelance researcher, research assistant and teaching assistant at two different

universities. She is currently working as a Senior Research Analyst at a private company in the USA. She knows French and English. She can translate from English to Turkish and edit the translations from French and English to Turkish (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

All this information revealed clearly that all agents are well-educated in the different fields of social sciences, they know at least one foreign language and therefore have high cultural capitals and hold high titles. The interviews also showed that only 3 out of 12 interviewees, 5H T1, 5H T5 and 5H T7 have translation training at the university level and hold BA in Translation Studies. Besides these 3 translators, 5H T2 stated that she enrolled in undergraduate studies in Translation Studies but later she left this programme. Additionally, 5H T4 said that she took a few non-credit courses from the Translation Studies Department at Boğaziçi University, but she did not exactly have translation training. She added that she plans to take credit courses on translation and translation theories to improve herself in translation (5H T4, personal communication, August 24, 2019). The interviewed 4 translators from Çatlak Zemin stated that they have not had any translation training at the university level. During the analysis of the interviews it was also realized that compared to the other translators, the 3 translators who hold a BA in Translation Studies adopt translation as their profession and emphasize their translator identities more. For example, 5H T5 stated that

Marmara Üniversitesi Fransızca Mütercim Tercümanlık bölümü mezunuyum. 9 senedir çeviriyle meşgulüm. Şu anda Strasbourg Üniversitesi'nde Dil Teknolojileri bölümünde yüksek lisans yapıyorum. [...] İngilizce ve Fransızcadan çeviri yapıyorum. Alt yazı ve dublaj çevirmeniyim, teknik ve edebi çeviri deneyimim de var (personal communication, September 6, 2019).

I graduated from the Department of French Translation and Interpreting of Marmara University. I have been engaged in translation for nine years. I am currently doing a master's degree in Language Technology at the University of Strasbourg. [...] I translate from English and French. I am a subtitle and dubbing translator. I have also experience in technical and literary translation (The researcher's back translation).

Similarly, 5H T7 emphasized her translation profession and said that

Marmara Üniversitesi İngilizce Mütercim Tercümanlık bölümünü bitirdim. 2018 yılında mezun olduğumdan beri serbest çevirmenlik yapıyorum. Çeviri yapmaya üniversitede İngilizceden Türkçeye, Türkçeden İngilizceye çeviriler yaparak başladım. Ağırlıklı olarak İngilizceden Türkçeye çeviri yapıyorum. Şimdiye kadar medikal çeviri, ticari metin çevirisi, edebiyat, dergi çevirisi gibi farklı alanlarda çeviriler yaptım. Şu an ağırlıklı olarak makale ve düşünce yazılarının çevirisini yapıyorum (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

I graduated from the Department of English Translation and Interpreting of Marmara University. I have been a freelance translator since I graduated in 2018. I started to translate by doing translations from English to Turkish and vice versa at the university. I mostly translate from English into Turkish. So far, I have done translations in different fields such as medical

translation, commercial text translation, literature, and magazine translation. Nowadays, I am mostly translating articles and think pieces (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, the other 2 translators, 5H T3 and ÇZ T2 do not define themselves as a translator although they have somehow made different translations on different platforms for different reasons. ÇZ T2 said that

Herhangi bir çeviri eğitimi almadım. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi sosyoloji bölümünde okudum. Lisansımı orda yaptım. Sonra yüksek lisansımı da yine aynı bölümde yaptım. Orda zaten İngilizceyi ileri letmişim. Herhangi bir çeviri eğitimi almadım ama feminist olduğum ve İngilizce bildiğim için bir şekilde kendimi çeviri yaparken buldum diyeyim. Yani kendi kendime bir şeyler okudum. Aslında çevirmen değilim (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

I did not receive any translation training. I studied at the Sociology Department of Boğaziçi University. I did a bachelor's degree there. Then I did a Master's in the same department. I had already improved my English there. I did not receive any translation training. But since I am a feminist and I speak English, I found myself translating. Well, I just did some reading. I am not a translator (The researcher's back translation).

Indeed, as may be inferred from the excerpt above, the interviews revealed that what enables the agents to translate is not the translation education they received, but the knowledge of the foreign language they have. The following two excerpts taken from ÇZ T4/E1 and ÇZ T1 justify this inference:

Ben hiçbir çeviri eğitimi almadım. Yani Çeviri yapıyor olmamın tek sebebi dil biliyor olmam. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi mezunuyum Sosyoloji Bölümü. Lisansı ve mastırı tamamladıktan sonra Amerika'ya doktora geldim sonrada burada kalmış bulundum. Dolayısıyla özellikle İngilizce iyi anlıyorum ve hani çeviri yapılabilecek ya da yapılan çevirilerin üzerinden geçebilecek noktadayım. Galatasaray Lisesi mezunuyum. Sitede Fransızca çeviri çok ender yer alıyor ama aldığı zamanlarda onun da üzerinden geçebilecek durumdayım. Dediğim gibi çeviri eğitimi hiç almadım, çeviri yapmaktan hiç hoşlanmıyorum çok mutsuz oluyorum. Çünkü çeviri teorisini hiç bilmiyorum. Çeviriye ne şekilde yaparsam yapayım orijinal dilinde verilen hissi ve anlamı yakalayamadığımı düşünüp aşırı derecede mutsuz oluyorum. Ama hani bu metin de sitede olsun ve başka çevirecek kimse yok, hadi bunu da sen yap dediklerinde hayır demiyorum (ÇZ T4/E1, personal communication, November 16, 2019).

I have no translation training. So, the only reason I am translating is that I speak a foreign language. I graduated from Boğaziçi University, Department of Sociology. After completing my bachelor's degree and master's degree, I came to America for a doctorate, and then I stayed here. So, I understand English very well, and I can translate or edit translations. I graduated from Galatasaray High School. Translations from French are rarely published on the website. But when they are published, I can edit them. As I said, I never studied translation. I even do not like translating. I become very unhappy because I do not know the translation theory. I become very unhappy because I think I can never convey the original meaning and sense no matter how I translate. Even if I convey the meaning, I cannot convey the sense. But when I want a text to be published on the website, I translate it. Or when I am told there is no one to translate, I do not say no (The researcher's back translation).

and

Herhangi bir çeviri eğitimi almadım. Üniversiteyi Ankara'da Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi bölümünde okudum. Daha sonra kültürel çalışmalarda master yaptım, daha sonra da toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları alanında doktora yaptım. Hala o alanda akademisyenlik yürütüyorum. Çeviri eğitimi almadım. Çeviri eğitimi almadım fakat herşeyi İngilizce okudum. Dolayısıyla hani Türkiye'de olan bitene kafa yorarken bir taraftan İngilizce bir şeyler okuyarak düşünme gibi bir pratiğim oldu (ÇZ T1, personal communication, August 12, 2019).

I did not receive any translation training. I studied political science and public administration in Ankara. Then I did a Master's in cultural studies and a PhD in gender studies. I work as an academic in this field. I did not receive translation training. I did not study translation, but I read everything in English. So, when I was thinking about what is going on in Turkey and reading something in English, I had a practice of thinking (The researcher's back translation).

Accordingly, it can be claimed that cultural capital they possess, especially the knowledge of foreign language enables the agents to interrelate with translation phenomenon and profession in different ways and degrees. For example, 5H T6/E1 stated that

Tam zamanlı çevirmen olarak hiçbir zaman çalışmadım, ancak eğitimim, profesyonel ve entelektüel faaliyetlerim her gün çeviriyle uğraşmamı gerektiriyor farklı kapasitelerde (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

I have never worked as a full-time translator, but my training, professional and intellectual activities require me to engage in translation every day in different capacities (The researcher's back translation).

The interviews also indicated that apart from their translations on the websites, the translators translate different types of texts for different purposes. It was seen that the translators have translated different types of texts to make money or voluntarily for ideological and political reasons; to fill the gap in the Turkish literature or for their own academic works or completely in line with their personal interests and tastes. 5H T1's statements strikingly demonstrate how a translator can translate different texts for different purposes:

Tabi feminist metinler de var böyle Ayizi için ya da Amargi için gönüllü çevirdiğim. Tabi o daha son dönemde. İlk dönemlerde çeviri benim için hep para kazanmak için yapılacak bir şey oldu. Açıkçası daha sonra daha idealistçe, yani orijinal metni çok hoşuma gidip de sırf zevkine çevirdiğim zamanlar daha sonraki zamanlara tekabül ediyor. Yani son senelere tekabül ediyor. Ama ilk zamanlar hep para için çeviri yaptım. Mesela Koridor Yayıncılık için birisi polisiye birisi kişisel gelişim, iki kitap çevirmiştım yine tamamen parası için. Şimdi akademiye girdikten sonra akademik metinler de gelmeye başladı elimde. Yani aslında hangi işle meşgulsem ya da işte ne denir, vaktimi neye harcıyorsa, o alanda daha çok çeviri geliyor. Çeviri yapabildiğimi görenler zaten ya paralı ya da gönüllü çeviriler veriyorlar. Mesela altyazı ya da dublaj çevirisi çok yapıyorum bu dönem, yine parası iyi olduğu için. Özellikle Türkçeden İngilizceye. Çünkü son dönemde Türk dizileri çok ilgi görüyor yurtdışında. Fox dizilerini çeviriyorum mesela İngilizceye (personal communication, November 7, 2018).

There are, of course, feminist texts that I voluntarily translated for Ayizi or Amargi, but it is more recent. Honestly, for me, translation was initially something to do generally for money. Later, it became more idealistic. It was much later that I liked the original text and translated it just for pleasure. Well, it is more recent. But first, it was always to make money. For example, I translated two books for Koridor Publishing House, one was a detective novel and the other was a self-improvement book. After I entered the academy, I started to receive academic texts to translate. Well, I receive more translations in the field that I am currently busy with or engaged in. When people see that I can translate, they ask me to translate for them for money or voluntarily. Nowadays, I do, for example, subtitle or dubbing translation again because it brings good money. Especially from Turkish to English. Turkish shows and series are today in increasing demand. For example, I translate Fox TV shows into English (The researcher's back translation).

In a similar vein, ÇZ T1 explained the different translations she made for different purposes as follows:

Çeviri yapmaya ne zaman başladım hatırlamıyorum. Sanırım ufak ufak hani böyle aktivist çeviriler üniversiteden beri yapıyorum. Para için de çeviri yaptım. İngilizceden Türkçe'ye ve bir dönem İspanyolca'dan Türkçe'ye çeviri yaptım. Bir akademisyenin X adlı kitabını Türkçeye çevirmiştim İngilizceden. Ama tabii kitap çevirisi ile websitesi için kısa çeviriler yapmak birbirinden çok farklı şeyler. Ama yani para için yaptığım çevirileri bir kenara bırakırsak, aktivist olarak sistematik çeviriyi Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif'de örgütlü olduğum dönemde Feminist Politika Dergisi için yapmıştım (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

I do not remember when I started translating. I guess I started with activist translation. I have been translating since my undergraduate years. I also translated for money. I translate from English to Turkish. I translated from Spanish to Turkish for a while. I translated an academician's book entitled X into Turkish, from English. But, of course, book translation is very different from translating a short text to a website. They are quite different. Aside from the translations I did for money, as an activist, I did a systematic translation for the Feminist Politika magazine when I took part in the Socialist Feminist Collective (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, 5H T3 expressed her own reason for making translation as follows:

Aslında 5Harflilerle tanışana kadar sadece tezim için çeviriler yapmıştım. İngilizce kaynaklardan teze doğrudan alıntı yapmak istediğim bir kaç pasaj çevirmiştim. Bu konuda neredeyse hiç mesleki tecrübem yok diyebiliriz (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

I only did translations for my thesis until I met 5Harfliler. I translated several passages from English sources that I wanted to directly quote in my thesis. I have almost no professional experience in translation (The researcher's back translation).

All the excerpts discussed above showed that the cultural capitals of the translators affected and shaped their translation practices and the translators instrumentalised their cultural capitals to acquire and accumulate again cultural or economic capital and this situation exemplified how capitals are convertible into one another. Another important point the excerpts highlighted is that there are ideological, political, feminist motivations behind the translation practices of the agents. The following code label will discuss these feminist motivations and consciousness behind the translation practices of the agents.

#### **4.5.1.2. The agents' feminist identity and consciousness**

FTS suggests that feminist translators are, or should be, ideologically motivated and especially feminist. Pointing out the fact that feminist texts migrate from culture to culture, often through translation, FTS emphasizes the need and importance of translating feminist texts by the translators with a feminist consciousness. Based on this claim and emphasis of FTS, the researcher asked the 12 interviewees whether they describe themselves as feminist or not. In this way, she tried to find out whether the translators performing the feminist translation practices on the websites are feminists as FTS claims.

All of the interviewees said that they describe themselves as feminists. But their answers revealed that they adopt different feminisms, so their understandings of feminism are different, and different causes and processes led them to feminism. The interviewees explained the causes and processes that led them to feminism by focusing on their own personal experiences and encounters in both private and public spheres. The interviewees' statements showed that their dispositions, childhoods, families, parents, but especially mothers, emotional and sexual relations, social environments, friends, the education they receive, the books they read, and the institutions they work in are among the factors that led them to be feminists.

5H T6/E1 explained how her disposition, feelings, and anger that she had since childhood made her a feminist as follows:

Elbette bir feministim. Kendimi bildim bileli içinde bulunduğum her bağlam ve ortamda söylenmeyen ve yazılmayanlara dair bir hassasiyetim oldu. İma ya da metafor yoluyla, kültürel kapalılık, “kibarlık ve incelik” üzerinden söylenmeyenlere dair devamlı olarak erişim sağlamaya çalışan, zihinsel olarak oldukça huzursuz bir çocuktum. Kadın kimliğiyle görece rahat hissedene ve bu kimliğin içinde yetiştirilen biri olarak böyle huzursuz ve düşünceli bir kimyaya sahip olup ortaokul itibarıyla kendisi için devamlı ‘sinsi’ ifade alanları açmaya çalışan azıllı bir feministe dönüşmem herhalde kaçınılmazdı. Bunun içinde aynı zamanda mizah düşkünlüğüm ve mizah üretilen bağlamlarda kadın sesinin, öznesinin tamamen görünmez olduğunu devamlı olarak hissetmem, bunun bende yarattığı rahatsızlık ve büyük öfke de önemlidir feminizminin ve siyasi görüşlerimin şekillenmesinde (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

Of course, I am a feminist. For as long as I can remember, in every context and environment, I have been in, I have had a sensitivity about what is not said and what is not written. I was a mentally unsettled kid who was constantly trying to gain access to what is not said using innuendos or metaphors and through cultural closeness, “politeness and courtesy.” As someone who felt relatively comfortable with her woman identity and was brought up in this identity, it was inevitable that I would turn into a notorious feminist who had such restless and thoughtful chemistry and was constantly trying to create ‘insidious’ spaces of self-expression as a junior high school student. What is also important in shaping my feminism and political views is my fondness for humour and my constant feeling that the female voice and the female subject is completely invisible in the contexts in which humour is produced, and the discomfort and great anger that it arouses in me (The researcher’s back translation).

Like 5H T6/E1, 5H T7 implied that the awareness she had since childhood played an important role in the formation of her feminist identity. In addition, she explained how her conception of feminism has evolved over the years as follows:

Kendimi feminist olarak tanımlıyorum ancak kafamdaki ‘ideal’ feministe ne kadar yakınım onu bilmiyorum. [...] Son bir senedir kendimi ekofeminizme yakın görüyorum, felsefesini daha iyi anlamaya gayret ediyorum. Ekofeminizmle tanışmadan çok önce, çocukluk dönemde de feminist görüşlerim vardı. Etrafını sorgulayan bir çocuktum. Lise dönemiyle birlikte birçok şeyin farkına varmam ve hayatı anlamlandırmaya başlamamla birlikte kendimi feminist olarak görmeye başladım. Yıllar içinde feminizm anlayışım değişti. Feminizmle ilgili fazla bilgim yokken konunun sadece kadınlar üzerinde kurulan eril tahakkümle ilgili olduğunu düşünüyordum ancak büyüdükçe, olgunlaştıkça, daha çok şey öğrendikçe feminizm anlayışım daha kapsayıcı bir felsefeye evrildi. Olması gereken de bu aslında. Şu anki feminizm anlayışım yalnız kadınları değil; LGBTIQ+ bireyleri, engellileri (ya da dezavantajlıları), hayvanları,



doğayı, kısaca kapitalist ataerkil düzenin zarar verdiği, baskıladığı ya da ‘azınlık’ olarak gördüğü canlı cansız herkesi kapsıyor. Ancak hala kendimi yetersiz görüyorum, yeterince feminist değilmişim gibi geliyor (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

I describe myself as a feminist, but I do not know how close I am to the ‘ideal’ feminist in my mind. [...] For the last year, I consider myself close to ecofeminism and try to have a better understanding of its philosophy. In my childhood, long before I met ecofeminism, I also had feminist views. I was a questioning kid. As I became aware of many things and began to make sense of life during high school years, I began to see myself as a feminist. Over the years, my conception of feminism has changed. When I did not know much about feminism, I thought it was just about men’s domination over women. But as I grew older, matured, and learned more, my conception of feminism evolved into a more inclusive philosophy. This is actually what it should be. My current conception of feminism includes not only women, but LGBTIQ+ individuals, the disabled (or the disadvantaged), animals, nature, in brief, anyone alive or dead whom the capitalist patriarchal order harms, suppresses, or considers to be a ‘minority’. But I still find myself inadequate. I feel like I am not feminist enough (The researcher’s back translation).

On the other hand, 5H T4 and 5H T5 stressed that their families, parents but especially their mothers whom they take as role models, have a significant role in the construction of their feminist identities. 5H T4 stated that:

Feminizm ile tanışmam lisedeyken aile baskısı, bunların sorgulaması, daha sonra çeşitli feminist yazarlarla tanışmamla olmuştu. Her ne kadar kendini bir feminist tanımlıyor olmasa da annemin güçlü bir kadın imajı çizmesi, ekonomik özgürlüğünü elinde tutması ve kadın arkadaşlarıyla dayanışmasını görmemin de buna katkısı büyük (personal communication, August 24, 2019).

My encounter with feminism was due to family pressure and questioning in high school and my later encounters with various feminist authors. Although she does not describe herself as a feminist, the fact my mother’s image of a strong woman, her economic freedom and her solidarity with her female friends made a great contribution (The researcher’s back translation).

Similarly, 5H T5 said that:

Kendimi feminist olarak tanımlıyorum. Yaşım henüz küçükken annem, babamın şiddetine maruz kalırdı. Boşanmak, kendi işini kurmak, evini ayırmak, yeni bir sevgili edinmek, bütün bunları ailesine ve çevresine kabul ettirmek için ne kadar uğraş verdiğini, nasıl zorlandığını o yaşta gördüm. Bu şekilde büyümüş biri olarak farklı türlü düşünmem veya feminizme ilgi duymamam imkânsızdı herhâlde. Üstelik hem annem hem babam okumuş ve “aydın” olarak tabir edilebilecek kişiler. Yani şiddetin sınıfının olmadığına da şahit olmuş bulundum. Çeviri yerine başka bir uğraşım olsaydı feminizmi onunla da bağdaştırırdım muhtemelen (personal communication, September 7, 2019).

I describe myself as a feminist. When I was young, my mother was subjected to my father’s violence. I saw at that age how hard she struggled to get divorced, start your own business, split up, get a new lover, and make all this accepted to her family and environment. As someone who grew up like this, it was impossible for me to think differently or not have an interest in feminism. Besides, both my parents are educated and can be referred to as “intellectuals”. I mean, I also witnessed that violence has no class. If I had something else to do other than translation, I would probably associate feminism with it (The researcher’s back translation).

On the other hand, ÇZ T2 explained that what makes her a feminist is her social environment, her friends, and the department she studied:

Evet kendimi feminist olarak tanımlıyorum. O kadar çok oldu ki yani sorulara baktım sonra düşünürken de unuttum. Yani çok olmuş. Kendimi içimde hep feministmişim falan gibi hissediyorum herhalde. O da üniversiteye girdiğimde yine işte folklor kulübündeydim ve kadın araştırmaları kulübündeydim. 18 yaşındayken. [...]. Sonrasında işte Kadın Araştırmaları Kulübü ile aslında biraz daha okuyup düşünmeye başladım her şey üzerine. Sonra Boğaziçi’ndeki

Lubunya diye bir LGBT örgütü vardı oraya da dahil oldum zaten bütün arkadaşlarım bir şekilde feminist ya da LGBT hareketinden olduğu için nasıl oldum yolculuğu nasıl ilerledi bilmiyorum ama bir şekilde feminist oldum yani. Zaten Sosyoloji bölümü de, yani hocalarımız kendilerini öyle tanımlamıyor olabilirler ama sonuçta okuttukları şeyler de çok eleştirel ve feminizme götüren şeylerdi benim için aslında bir şekilde hep Sosyoloji lisanstayken şey ödevlerimi vesaire herşey onun üstüne yapıyor buldum kendimi ve sonrasında da çok ikna oldum şunda da yani çok katlanarak gitti yani sonrasında zaten arkadaşlarım bütün arkadaş çevrem İstanbul'daki feministlerden oldu vesaire. Şimdi de Mor çatı gönüllüsüyüm (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

Yes, I describe myself as a feminist. I looked at the questions and then I forgot when I was thinking. It feels like I have always been a feminist. When I started going to university, I was at the folklore club and the women's studies club. I was eighteen. After involving in the Women's Studies Club, I began to think about and question something. And later at Boğaziçi University, there was an LGBT organization called Lubunya. I got involved in it. All my friends were in some way feminists or part of the LGBT movement. So, I do not know how my journey went, but I became a feminist somehow. My instructors at the sociology department may not describe themselves as feminists, but what they taught was very critical and something that led to feminism. When I was doing a Bachelor's in sociology, I found myself doing every assignment and homework on feminism. Later, I was very convinced. I have become more feminist. So, my friends are feminists in Istanbul, and now I am a volunteer for Mor Çatı (The researcher's back translation).

Similarly, the other four translators, 5H T2, 5H T3, ÇZ T1 and ÇZ T4/E1 expressed that they became feminists thanks to the books they read, the courses they took and the departments they studied at. 5H T2 highlighted the importance of the courses she took as follows:

Kendimi feminist olarak tanımlıyorum. Toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmalarını “yaşam hakkı” ve “şiddetsizlik” konularındaki hassasiyetleri nedeniyle çok önemli buluyorum. Bu hassasiyetler üzerinden zaten ilgili olduğum bu alanda benim için en önemli kırılma noktalarını aldığım dersler oluşturdu. Farklı feminist literatürleri incelerken aklımdaki sorular ve kendi tecrübemle akademik çalışmaları bağdaştırabildiğimi gördüm, yaşam pratiklerini ve düşünsel çalışmayı bir arada tartışan bir alan olduğu için çalışmayı hâlâ sürdürüyorum (personal communication, August 8, 2019).

I describe myself as a feminist. I find gender studies very important because of its sensitivity to “right to life” and “nonviolence.” The courses that I took were the most important breaking points for me in this field that I was already involved in due to such sensitivity. As I was looking for different feminist literatures, I realized that I was able to reconcile academic studies with my personal experience and the questions in my mind. I still continue to study because it is a field that discusses life practices and intellectual work together (The researcher's back translation).

5H T3 emphasized that what led her to feminism was her experiences and encounters in the public sphere, not in the private sphere.

Evet, ben bir feministim. 2 erkek kardeşimle orta sınıf bir ailede büyüdüm. Özel alandaki ayrımcılıkların hep farkındaydım ama bunun adını yani farkındalığımı kamusal alanda keşfettim, Siyasal'a başladığımda. Burada Fatmagül Berktaş, Serpil Çakır, Sevgi Uçan gibi hocalardan dersler alıyordum. Kadın cinayetlerinin, aynı işte eşit olmayan ücretle çalışmanın, bu gibi konuların farkındalığına fakültede vardım. Dolayısıyla feminist teoriyle lisans dönemimde tanıştığımı söyleyebilirim. Sonra müslüman kadın kimliğime sahip çıkmam, bunu yaşayabilmem için farklı feminizmler bana yol gösterdi. Yüksek lisansımı Fatmagül Berktaş'ın da davetiyle Kadın Çalışmaları'nda feminizm alanında yapmaya bu şekilde karar verdim. Yazmak benim için politika yapmanın bir yolu, akademik disiplin içinde yazdığım şeylerin müslüman kadın hareketine ve camilerdeki eşitsiz mekân kullanımını iyileştirmeye katkısı olsun istiyorum, kamusal alana buradan bir katkı olsun. Bu arada feminizm hakkında ilk okuduğum kitap, Bell

Hooks'un Tutkulu Politika Feminizm Herkes İçindir'di, çok etkilenmişim (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

Yes, I am a feminist. I grew up in a middle-class family with two brothers. I was always aware of the discrimination in the private sphere, but I discovered the term, that is consciousness in the public sphere when I started studying politics. I was taking classes from instructors such as Fatmagül Berktaş, Serpil Çakır, and Sevgi Uçan. When I was at the faculty, I became aware of issues such as femicides and unequal pay for equal work. So, I can tell that I met feminist theory in my undergraduate years. Then different feminisms led me to claim my Muslim female identity and to be able to live it. This is how I decided to do my master's degree in feminism in women's studies at the invitation of Fatmagül Berktaş. Writing is a way of doing politics for me. I want my academic writings to contribute to the Muslim women's movement and the improvement of the unequal spatial use in mosques. I want to make a contribution to the public sphere. The first book I read about feminism, by the way, was Bell Hooks's *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. I was really impressed (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T4/E1 indicated that she became a feminist thanks to the books she read:

Kendimi feminist olarak tanımlıyorum evet. Hatta yani kişiliğimin önemli bir parçası bu şekilde. Yani öyle çok dramatik olaylar değil, ben kitap okuyarak feminist oldum. Bilhassa sosyoloji bölümünde bu konuya ilişkin kuramsal metinleri okurken bunların ne kadar mantıklı olduğunu ve kendi hayatımda bunun ne kadar çok örneğini gördüğümü fark etmemle giderek o tarafa doğru kaydım. (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Yes, I describe myself as a feminist. It is most probably an important part of my personality. My story is not so dramatic. I became a feminist by reading books. Especially when I was studying at the sociology department and reading theoretical texts on this subject, I came to realise how logical they are and how many examples I had seen in my own life (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T1 stated that her experiences and encounters in both private and public spheres paved the way for her to become a feminist, a sociologist feminist:

Ben evet feminist olarak tanımlıyorum kendimi. Sosyalist feminist olarak tanımlıyorum. Daha erken yaşta sosyalist oldum sosyalist olduğum için siyaset bilimi okumaya başladım. Fakat siyaset bilimi eğitiminden geçerken gerek kişisel hayatımdaki gelişmeler, yani aşk hayatım ve cinsellik alanındaki gelişmeler, gerekse hani sosyal bilim okuyor olmanın getirdiği bir kişinin kendi hayatına dönüp bakması, kendi toplumsal bağlamına dönüp bakması sonucunda üniversitenin son yıllarında feminist de olduğuma kanaat getirdim. Ve hani şanslıyım hani okuduğum yerden dolayı zaten farklı feminizmlerin olduğunu feminizmi öğrendiğim andan itibaren biliyordum. Geçmişte sosyalist olduğum için de sosyalist feminist oldum. Ve yani o da değişmedi o saatten sonra bir daha (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

Yes, I describe myself as a feminist. I describe myself as a socialist feminist. I became a socialist at a young age. As I am a socialist, I started to study political science. I was convinced that I was a feminist in the last years of my undergraduate study as a result of both developments in my personal life, that is in my love and sex life, and my introspection and analysis of my social context influenced by my study in a field of social science. I am lucky as I studied political science. Luckily, I knew from the moment I learned about feminism that there are different feminisms. Since I was a socialist in the past, I became a socialist feminist and it did not change (The researcher's back translation).

All these excerpts clearly showed that although they adopt different feminisms in different ways and for different reasons, all the 12 interviewees have feminist consciousness and describe themselves as feminists and, undoubtedly, their feminist consciousness, subjectivities and identities affect and shape their translation practices as well as all their other practices.

#### 4.5.1.3. The social capitals of the agents

The cultural capitals and feminist identities of the agents were discussed under the previous two code labels. It was found out that the 12 interviewees have strong cultural capitals that are quite similar to each other, and all of the interviewees identify themselves as feminists. Under this code label entitled “social capitals of the agents”, the agents’ social capitals constructed and reinforced by this shared cultural capital and collective feminist identity will be discussed. Thus, it will be revealed that the agents met the websites thanks to the social capital they have, and their social capital is one of the most prominent factors paving the way for their feminist translation practices on the websites.

According to Bourdieu, people’s social environment, social network, in short, who they know, who they are communicating and connected with, determines their social capital. In other words, social capital is made up of and accumulated through social affiliations, networks, and connections. To reveal the interviewees’ social capital, the researcher asked the interviewees how they met the websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin.

The answers given by the interviewees clearly showed that the translators and editors of 5Harfliler came together mostly thanks to their individual friendships and/or internet and social media use. In other words, as one of the founders of 5Harfliler said in an interview (Özbirinci, 2015) that they came together as a result of a mix of friendship and power of the internet. Having taken part in the establishment of 5Harfliler, 5H E2 explained how they came together thanks to their individual acquaintances and friendships as follows:

Beşiktaş’ta yaşıyordum bir ara. Atlas Ağa’da 3 arkadaş beraber yaşıyorduk. X’in sevgilisi (5Harflilerin kurucularından) Y idi. Sürekli bizim evdeydi. Gide gele, gide gele, sohbet ede ede filan dedi ki işte benim böyle böyle Z diye bir arkadaşım var. Z’yi tanıyordum zaten ama bir muhabbetimiz yoktu bir de W diye bir arkadaşım var. Biz böyle üçümüz böyle bir websitesi mi yapsak diye konuşuyoruz işte ne dersin, sence işte ihtiyaç var mı falan. Ben de dedim çok güzel olur. Katılmak isterim dedim. O da harika dedi. Böyle böyle birkaç kişi bir araya geldik toplamda 9 kişi olduk yani. Onların tanıdığı, internet üzerinden tanıdığı ya da kişisel olarak da belki tanıdığı insanları toplamışlar. Ben bir tek Y’yi tanıyordum. Z ile tanıştıyorduk ama hiçbir muhabbetimiz yoktu. Yani ilk girdiğim de o ortama hiç kimseyi tanıımıyordum kısacası. Yani herkes ya 1 ya 2 kişiyi tanıyordu. Herkes birbiriyle yeni tanıştıyordu ve çok hızlı bir şekilde acayip bir dostluk başladı aramızda. [...] Sonra biz çok yakın arkadaş olduk tabii. Herkes herkes ile aynı derecede değil tabii ki de herkes başka şekillerde arkadaşlıklar kurdular. Bu arkadaşlıkların bazıları koştular, bazıları devam etti vesaire (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

Some time ago, I was living in Besiktaş. We were three friends living together. Y was X's girlfriend. She was at our house all the time. We had conversations when she came over. She talked about her friend, Z. I already knew Z. But I never talked to her before. Y also talked about her friend, W. She told that they were planning to do something like that. She also asked for my opinion. I said it would be great. I said I would like to join. She said it is great. So, we were a few at first but later became nine. They gathered people they knew, people they knew online, or people they knew personally. I only knew Y. Z and I knew each other but we did not have any conversation. So, I did not know anyone when I first got involved. It was true for everybody. Everybody knew one person or two. Everyone was just getting to know each other, and very quickly we made very beautiful friendship. [...] And then we became very close friends. Not everyone had the same degree of friendship as everyone. But everyone made friendships in different ways. Some of these friendships ruined, but some survived (the researcher's back translation).

Like 5H E2, 5H T2, 5H T4 and 5H T5 stated that they met 5Harfliler thanks to their friends:

Sitenin kurucularından biri yakın arkadaşım. Bu sayede 5Harfliler ile tanıştım (5H T2, personal communication, August 8, 2019).

One of the founders of the website is a close friend of mine. This is how I met 5Harfliler (The researcher's back translation).

[5Harfliler ile] Üniversitede okurken arkadaşlarım sayesinde tanıştım ve takip etmeye başladım (5H T5, personal communication, September 6, 2019).

I met [5Harfliler] thanks to my friends while studying at university and then I started to follow the website (The researcher's back translation).

Açıkçası hatırlamıyorum. Sanırım arkadaşımın gönderdiği gündemle ilgili bir makaleyle olmuştu. Daha sonrasında da her gün takip ettiğim, yeni yazı/çeviri gelmiş mi diye merakla takip ettiğim bir platforma dönüştü (5H T4, personal communication, August 24, 2019).

Honestly, I do not remember. I think it was thanks to an article on the agenda that my friend sent to me. Later it became a platform that I follow every day, wondering if a new article or translation is published (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, 5H T1 and 5H T7 said that they met 5Harfliler thanks to social media. 5H T7 indicated that:

5Harfliler'le tesadüfen tanıştım aslında. Sanırım yayınlanan yazılarından biri Twitter'da karşıma çıkmıştı. Daha sonra çok düzenli olmasa da siteyi takip etmeye, yayınlanan yazıları okumaya başladım (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

I met 5Harfile by chance. I think I came across one of their posts on Twitter. I then began to follow the website, reading their articles, though not very regularly (The researcher's back translation).

Compared to the agents of 5Harfliler, the translators and editors of Çatlak Zemin seemed to have a more organized social capital and they came together thanks to the friendships they developed within the feminist groups. ÇZ T1 explained she met the other agents of Çatlak Zemin while she involved in Socialist Feminist Collective and Istanbul Feminist Collective:

Şimdi sizin mesela Çatlak Zemin çevirmeni olarak saydığımız isimlerin bir kısmı da Feminist Politika Dergisi'nde beraber iş yaptığımız kişilerdi [...] Dediğim gibi Çatlak Zemin ekibiyle, ekibinin bir kısmıyla, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif'ten tanışıyorum. İstanbul Feminist Kolektif

diye bir oluşumu da vardı. Bunu zaten hani başkaları da size anlatacaktır. İstanbul Feminist Kolektif'ten tanışık olan kişiler de vardı (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

We used to work together for the Feminist Politika magazine, for example, with some of the people you are now referring to as Çatlak Zemin translators [...] As I said, I am familiar with the Çatlak Zemin team, some members of the team, from the Socialist Feminist Collective. There was also an organisation called İstanbul Feminist Collective. Others will also tell you about it. There were also acquaintances from the İstanbul Feminist Collective (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T2 emphasized that her friends with whom she took part in a feminist group established Çatlak Zemin:

Aslında dediğim gibi, yani benim üniversiteden arkadaşlarım yani Boğaziçi'ndeki arkadaşlarım zaten Çatlak Zemin'i kurdular. 5Harflileri de hep takip ediyordum. 5Harfliler'de çok mesela yazan eden arkadaşım vardı. [...] Ama Çatlak Zemin'in kurucuları, ya o ekip zaten çok yakın arkadaşlarımdan oluşuyor. İşte ben az önce söylemedim, şey, çok uzun süre Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi diye bir örgüt vardı, oradaydım. O ekipten de zaten beraber çok iş yaptığımız insanlar, yani bir iki tanesi çok yakın arkadaşım. Onlar kurdular Çatlak Zemin'i küçük bir ekip olarak (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

As I said, my friends from Boğaziçi University founded Çatlak Zemin. I was always following 5Harfliler. I have many friends who write for 5Harfliler, too. But the founders of Çatlak Zemin are my close friends. As I said before, for a very long time, I was in an organization called Women's Initiative for Peace. I worked a lot together with the people in that team. A couple of them are my close friends. They founded Çatlak Zemin (The researcher's back translation).

Like ÇZ T1 and ÇZ T2, ÇZ T4/E1 pointed out the fact that the agents of Çatlak Zemin knew each other from the feminist organizations and collectives that they had involved in before:

2008 yılında açık bir çağrıyla Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif kuruldu. Kuruluş aşamasından itibaren Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif'te yer aldım. Bu şekilde İstanbul'un ve genel olarak Türkiye'nin siyasi ortamına girmiş oldum. Başka çeşitli gruplar içerisinde yer aldım. Yıllar içerisinde İstanbul Feminist Kolektif, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi gibi çeşitli başka gruplar içerisinde de bulundum. Ama bunların hepsinde hep feminist olarak bulundum. Karma örgütlerde siyaset yapmakla hiçbir alakam olmadı hep kadın grupları içerisinde çalıştım. [...] Çatlak Zemin'i biz kurduk. Yani aslında şöyle ben zaten burda (ABD) yaşıyordum Çatlak Zemin kurulduğu sırada. Bir aylığına tatile Türkiye'ye gittiğimde kızlarla buluştum bizim. Dediler ki "biz böyle böyle bir iş yapıyoruz birkaç haftaya açılacak şimdi yazı yazıyoruz, topluyoruz. Hadi sende gel" ben de "olur gelirim" dedim. [...] Çatlak Zemin dediğimiz grup zaten sağ baştan say 15 sol baştan say 15 kişi. Bunun 6 7 si SFK dan kalan kişilerin çoğunluğunu İFK dan tanıyoruz. [...] Böyle bir siyasi ortamda çok vakit geçirmenin şöyle bir yan etkisi de oluyor sosyalliği de politik ortamda yaşıyor oluyorsunuz ve politik olarak yakın durduğunuz insanlarla arkadaşlığınız da yakınlaşıyor. Çoğu insan benim zaten önceden tam da bu mecralardan tanıdığım insanlar. Benim Türkiye'de olmadığım esnarlarda birkaç kişiyle daha tanışmış bizimkiler. Çatlak Zemin'e gelip de tanıştığım iki üç kişi var bu şekilde (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

In 2008, the Socialist Feminist Collective was founded with an open call. I have been involved in the Socialist Feminist Collective since its foundation. In this way, I got involved in the political environment of İstanbul and Turkey in general. I also took part in various other groups. Over the years, I have been involved in various groups, such as İstanbul Feminist Collective, and Women's Initiative for Peace. But I have always been a feminist in all these groups. I have never had anything to do with politics in mixed organisations. I have always worked in women's groups. [...] We founded Çatlak Zemin. I was already living here (USA) when Çatlak Zemin was founded. When I went to Turkey on vacation for a month, I met the girls. They said: "We are founding a website. It is going to open in a few weeks. We are writing and collecting articles now. Come join us." And I said: "OK, I am in" [...] The group we call Çatlak Zemin consist of fifteen people in total. Among them, six or seven are from SFK. We knew most of the rest from

IFK. [...] There is also a side effect of spending a lot of time in a political environment like this. You socialise in a political environment and become close friends with people that you are politically closer to. Most people are those that I already knew from these platforms. My friends met a few other people when I was not in Turkey. There are two or three people I met like this via Çatlak Zemin (The researcher's back translation).

Indeed, ÇZ T4/E1's remarks confirm Bourdieu's argument that a shared position in social space contributes to the formation of social classes. As she stated that being politically close to each other reinforced their friendship and this relationship paved the way for the establishment of Çatlak Zemin.

As can be seen from the excerpts above, the agents' social capital plays a decisive role in their acquaintances and encounters with other agents and the websites. But it should not be forgotten that the agents develop and maintain their social capital thanks to their shared cultural capital and feminist identity.

#### **4.5.1.4. Text selection**

To reveal the ST selection processes on the websites, what factors and ideological motivations lie behind these selections and how the websites' general publishing policies, and the agents' dispositions, cultural and social capitals affect the ST selection processes, the researcher asked the interviewees how they selected the texts to be translated and published on the websites.

The answers of the interviewees showed that on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, the STs to be translated are sometimes chosen by the translators themselves in line with their own dispositions, mindsets, personal interests, tastes and needs, and/or feminist concerns, or sometimes by the editors in line with the general publishing policy and standpoint of the website.

5H T6/E1, both as a translator and an editor on 5Harfliler between the years of 2012 and 2015, expressed what she paid attention to when choosing a text to be translated and/or published on the site, in the following way:

Bu anlamda söz konusu döneme dair bir şeyler söylemek için düşündüğümde o dönem 5Harfliler'e katkıda bulunan [...] kişiler olarak ihtiyacını hissettiğimiz içeriğin peşine düştüğümüzü görüyorum. Aynı doğrultuda, şahsi olarak da, güncel olan ve tartışma yaratacak veyahut var olan (ancak henüz basılmamış) literatüre katkıda bulunacak yazıları yayınlamak istegindeydim. Eğer takip ettiğim bir yayın ya da internet dergisinde 'kafa açıcı' ya da 'kaçırılmaması gereken' bir içerik olduğunu düşünüyorsam bunu siteye taşımayı öncelik haline getiriyordum (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

In this sense, when I think to say something about the period in question, I see that we were in pursuit of the content that we needed. In a similar way, I personally wanted to publish up-to-date articles that would create a discussion or contribute to existing (but not yet published) literature.

If I thought there was an “eye-opening” or “not to be missed” content in a publication or internet magazine I followed, I made it a priority to translate and publish it on the site (The researcher’s back translation).

Another editor of 5Harfliler, 5H E2 explained how and by which criteria 5Harfliler selects the STs to be translated and published on the website, as follows:

Biz kendi aramızda [5Harfliler ekibi], kendi okuduğunuz ve çok etkilendiğiniz makaleleri, okuduğumuz herşeyi sürekli birbirimize yolluyorduk. Olaylar olabilir, makaleler olabilir, genel bir düşüncemiz olabilir. Ne bileyim mesela bir film görmüşsek onunla ilgili düşüncelerimiz olabilir. Zaten çok gayriresmi bir e-mail iletişimimiz vardı. Ve yani siteye yansıyan çevrilirler ve yazılar aslında bizim e-mailler aracılığı ile birbirimizle paylaştığımız şeyin gerçekten yüzde 5’i filan diyebilirim. [...] Çok önemli bulduğumuz, kritik, yani böyle mesela edebiyat alanında aklıma geliyor, işte sanat alanında, işte doğrudan reel politika ile ilgili çeviri daha az ama, çok sağlam analiz olduğunu düşündümüz, özellikle kanonik yani belli bir alandaki çalışmaları tersyüz eden belli bir inanışı kıran türde çalışmalar varsa bunları tercih ediyorduk kesinlikle. Ya da yurtdışında çok ciddi tartışma -bu ille feminist bir tartışma olmak zorunda değil- yarattığını bildiğimiz ve o tartışmadan hani Türkçede de haberdar olalım, Türkçede de bu tartışma olsun, bunu da bir kayıt düşelim tarihe, buradaki insanlar acaba nasıl düşünecekler yurtdışındaki herhangi bir tartışma hakkında diye düşündüğümüz bir konu olduğunda çevirip siteye koyuyoruz. Şunu da söyleyeyim, açık bir platform olduğumuz için dışarıdan insanlar “Ben şu metni çevirmek istiyorum, ne dersiniz?” diye geliyorlar genelde. Hani öyle gelen metinlerin yüzde %99’unu yayınlamışızdır ya da %99’una şey demişizdir: “Evet çevirin lütfen yayınlayacağız” demişizdir. Yani demek istediğim, bizim tekil bir politikamız var da sürekli onu uyguluyormuşuz gibi bir şey de yok yani. Dediğim gibi onu daha akışkan, açık bırakmaya çalışıyoruz. Biraz şey de belirliyor, çünkü insanların kafasına ne takılmışsa o sıralar bununla ilgili bir şey yolluyor oluyorlar. Ve bir anda sizin gündeminize başka birinin gündemi giriyor. Bu çok güzel bir şey. Demek ki bir yerlerde bir kadın buna kafayı takmış, bununla ilgilenmiş, bunu çevirmeye değer görmüş, bu kadar saatini vermiş filan. Onu da hemen hop gündemimize alıyoruz. Zaten 5Harfliler’in olayı bu. Yani kadın gündeminin peşinde derken tam olarak kastettiğimiz şey bu. Hepimizin yani tek bir gündemimiz yok, hepimizin gündemi ayrı ayrı, neyle ilgileniyorsak herşey (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

We [the 5Harfliler team] were constantly sending each other articles that we read and that really impressed us, everything that we read. It can be incidents, articles, or our general idea. It can be our thoughts about a movie. We had a very informal e-mail communication. The translations and the articles published on the website correspond to about five per cent of what we share with each other through e-mails. [...] There are fewer translations that we found critical, for example, in the field of literature, in the field of art or directly related to real politics. We would definitely prefer such work that we thought to be a very solid analysis and that reverses canonical studies in a certain area and defies a certain belief. We translate and publish on the website if there is a topic that we know creates a very serious debate abroad, not necessarily a feminist debate, if we say let us be aware of that discussion in Turkish or let this be a discussion in Turkish, if we want to make a record of it, or if we wonder what people here will think about a debate abroad. Let me also say that because we are an open platform, people from outside usually ask: “I want to translate this text, what do you say?”. We have published 99% of such texts sent to us or we have said to 99% of those people: “Yes, please translate, we will publish.” I mean it is not like that we have a singular policy and follow it all the time. As I said, we are trying to keep it more random, open. It depends on what people have in their mind because they are sending writing about what their mind is currently busy with. And suddenly someone else’s agenda is on your agenda. This is good. So, you know a woman somewhere was obsessed with it, she was interested in it, she thought it is worth translating, and she devoted all her hours to it. Then we just add it to our agenda. That is what 5Harfliler is all about. That is exactly what we mean when we say we are pursuing the women’s agenda. We do not have a single agenda. We all have a personal agenda. It is everything that we are interested in (The researcher’s back translation).

One of the most striking aspects of 5H E2’s statements is that 5Harfliler does not follow a single strict policy in the ST selection process. Another important point is that



the texts to be translated and published on 5Harfliler can be about any topic on the agenda of any woman and therefore the STs are not always expected to carry out a feminist discussion. These statements reflect the general publishing policy of 5Harfliler which is in pursuit of women's agenda and does not restrict itself to a strict feminist agenda. It should also be noted that 5H E2's statements verify the results of the thematic analysis conducted within the scope of this thesis.

Like 5H E2, 5H T4 and 5H T3 pointed out the fact that 5Harfliler is a website in pursuit of women's agenda and hence the texts selected to be translated may go beyond the boundaries of a strict feminist agenda. 5H T4 stated that

Çevirisini yapacağım makaleleri nasıl seçtiğim ise değişkenlik gösteriyor. Kimi zaman Trump'ın bir sözü nedeniyle şaşkınlık geçirip feminist bir yazardan eleştirel bir makale çeviriyorum, kimi zaman da Türkçe literatürde faydalı olacağını düşündüğüm bir kavram ile ilgili bir makaleyi çeviriyorum. [Seçimlerimde] feminist kimliğim tabii ki belirleyici oluyor, fakat bununla kalmıyor. 5Harfliler'de kadınlara ilgilendiren her alanla ilgili yazılar var, dikkatinizi çekmiştir, bu yalnızca feminist mücadeleyle sınırlı değil (personal communication, August 24, 2019).

The way I choose articles I translate varies. Sometimes I translate a critical article of a feminist author who is surprised by Trump's remark and other times I translate an article about a concept that I think would be useful in the Turkish literature. My feminist identity is, of course, decisive, but not only that. 5Harfliler has articles about all areas of interest to women. You may have noticed. They are not limited to the feminist struggle (The researcher's back translation).

In a similar way, 5H T2 emphasized that

5Harfliler'e çevirdiğim metinler arasında benim seçtiklerim de editörler tarafından bana önerilenler de oldu. Metni ben seçiyorsam, yurt dışında konuşulan güncel konuları Türkiye'de tartışmaya açmak öncelikli amacım oluyor. 5Harfliler çok kişinin ve farklı yaklaşımları olan kişilerin takip ettiği bir platform, tartışmaları dolaşıma sokmak için önemli bir fırsat. Yazılara gelen yorumları da çok değerli buluyorum. Sitenin "kadın gündemi"ni kapsayıcı şekilde takip etmesi nedeniyle, "özellikle ve öncelikli olarak feminist" olmayan yaklaşımlara da açık olduğunu düşünüyorum. Şimdiye kadar çevirdiğim yazıları göz önüne alınca, yazının feminist olmasından çok, belli bir tartışmaya alan açmasının çevirmemde önemli bir faktör olduğunu fark ediyorum (personal communication, August 8, 2019).

I chose some of the texts and the others were recommended to me by the editors. If I choose a text, it is my primary goal to bring current issues spoken abroad up for discussion in Turkey. 5Harfliler is a platform followed by many people and people with different approaches. It serves as an important opportunity to circulate discussions. I really value the comments on my posts. Due to the website's overarching pursuit of "the women's agenda", I think it is also open to approaches "that are not specifically and primarily feminist". Considering the texts that I have translated so far, I realise that not being a feminist but the fact that my translations open a certain space for debate is an important factor for me to translate (The researcher's back translation).

5H T3 and 5H T7 explained how the STs are selected jointly by the translator and editor in line with both 5Harfliler's general policy and the translator's individual interests, tastes, and feminist concerns:

İlk yazımı [...] gönüllü olarak ben göndermiştim. Daha sonra sevgili editör [5H E2] 5Harfliler için telif ödemeli feminist çeviri teklifi geldi. Ben de seve seve kabul ettim. [...] Genellikle zaten yazarken hep kadınlar için üretiyorum. Yani çeviri olmasa da bir şey yazarken genellikle kadın meseleleri üzerine yazıyorum ben. Çeviri için ilgilendiğim konular olarak daha çok Ortadoğu

Arap coğrafyası, müslüman kadın hareketi, ya da siyah kadınların meseleleri ya da feminist sanat üzerine çeviriler yapabileceğimi söyledim. Seve seve çeviri beklediler. İlk çeviri metnimi gene [5H E2] tavsiye etmişti [...] (5H T3, personal communication, August 9, 2019).

I voluntarily submitted my first article [...]. Then, the editor [5H E2] made an offer for copyrighted paid feminist translation for 5Harfliler. I accepted gladly. [...] I usually always produce for women when I am writing. I mean it does not have to be a translation. When I write something, I usually write about women's issues. I told them that I could do translations about topics I am interested in, such as the Middle East Arab Geography, the Muslim women's movement, issues of black women in the US, and feminist art. They were happy to wait for my translation. [5H E2] recommended my first translation (The researcher's back translation).

Çoğunlukla 5Harfliler editörleri çeviri için bana birkaç metin gönderiyor, ben de en beğendiğim ya da kendime en yakın bulduğum, çevirisini yapmak istediğim metinleri seçiyorum. O açıdan çevirecek metinlere editörlerle beraber karar veriyoruz demek daha doğru olur. Genellikle bir tartışma başlatacak, farkındalık yaratacak, sorgulatacak metinleri çevirmeye çalışıyoruz. Ben de karşına ilgi çekici olduğunu düşündüğüm metinler çıktığı zaman editörüne öneri olarak sunuyorum. Tabii metin seçimi yaparken "acemi" feminist kimliğimin etkili olduğunu düşünüyorum. (5H T7, personal communication, October 27, 2019).

Mostly, the editors of 5Harfliler send me a few texts for translation. I choose texts that I like most or that I find closest to myself to translate. It would be more accurate to say that we decide the texts to translate together with the editors. We often try to translate texts that stimulate a discussion, raise awareness, and provoke questioning. When I come across texts that I think are interesting, I suggest them to my editor. Of course, I think my "novice" feminist identity is instrumental in choosing texts (The researcher's back translation).

All the excerpts above revealed that 5Harfliler generally attempts to select mind-opening and up-to-date STs that could initiate a strong discussion (not necessarily a feminist discussion), raise awareness, question and challenge a canonical belief. It was also found out that the translators' own agendas, individual interests, tastes, and feminist concerns have a determining effect on the text selection.

Additionally, the interviews showed that Çatlak Zemin follows a text selection process quite similar to that of 5Harfliler. On Çatlak Zemin, as on 5Harfliler, the STs are sometimes chosen by the translators themselves in line with their own interests, tastes and feminist concerns or sometimes recommended by the editors to the translators. The biggest difference between 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin is that unlike 5Harfliler which does not limit itself with the feminist agenda, Çatlak Zemin tries to follow a feminist agenda and selects the STs to be translated and published on the website primarily in line with its feminist concerns.

ÇZ T4/E1 explained how and by which criteria Çatlak Zemin selects the STs to be translated and published on the website, as follows:

Yazıların seçimi çok da sistematik bir süreç değil. Ben ya da başkasının gözüne bir yerde bir şey çarpıyor "Bu güzelmiş bunu siteye koyalım mı" diye birbirimizle paylaşıyoruz. Burada siteye konacak yazılar hakkında belli başlı bir takım kriterlerimiz var. Sadece çeviri açısından değil, tüm yazılar için geçerli. Antifeminist, mizojinist milliyetçi ırkçı vs. vs. içerikleri kesinlikle siteye koymuyoruz. Bu çeviriler için de geçerli. Dolayısıyla geriye kalan metinler zaten feminist metinler olmuş oluyor. Dediğiniz gibi çok farklı feminizmler mevcut ama bu esas

prensiplerimize aykırı olmadığı sürece herhangi bir feminizmi temsil eden bir yazının ya da çevirinin sitede yer alması bizi sadece mutlu eder. Tabii ki böyle sistematik olmayan bir şekilde gözümüze çarpması biraz da güncellik de alakalı oluyor. O sırada güncel olan bizi meşgul eden her neyse onunla ilgili okuyor oluyoruz neticede. Bir de tabii dışardan da öneriler geliyor. Kimi yüz yüze tanıdığımız kimi hiç tanımadığımız insanlar bize sitenin mail adresinden yazıp “Ben Çatlak Zemin’e katkı sağlamak istiyorum. Sağlayabileceğim katkı çeviri üzerinden” diyebiliyor. [...] Kimi zaman bu insanlar kendi önerileriyle de gelebiliyorlar. “Ben böyle bir şey gördüm bunu çevirsem Çatlak Zeminde yayınlanır mı?” diye. Dediğim gibi yazıları onaylama süreci gayet gevşek bir süreç. Şu şu şu kısıtlara uymasından ziyade çok karşı durduğumuz şeyleri temsil eden bir yerden konuşmaması bizim için önemli olan tek kriter (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

The selection of writings is not a very systematic process. Something catches my eye or someone else’s eye. We share it with each other: “This is nice, let us put it on the website.” We have certain criteria for articles to publish on the website. Not only for translations, but they also apply to all articles. We certainly do not publish, on the website, anti-feminist, misogynist, nationalist content and so on. This is also true for translations. So, what remains is feminist texts. As you say, there are many different feminisms. As long as it is not contrary to our core principles, we are only happy to have, on our website, an article or translation that represents any feminism. Of course, if something catches our attention in such an unsystematic way, it is a bit about topicality. We are reading about whatever is current or whatever is keeping us busy at the time. There are also suggestions from outside. Some people we know personally and some people we do not know at all write to us, to the website e-mail and tell “I want to contribute to Çatlak Zemin. The contribution I can make is through translation.” [...] Sometimes these people can come with their suggestions, asking: “I have seen something like this. If I translated it would it be published on Çatlak Zemin?”. As I said, the process of approving articles is very loose. Rather than expecting articles to meet some criteria, the only criterion that matters to us is that they should not speak from a place that represents what we stand against (The researcher’s back translation).

ÇZ T4/E1 added and emphasized that Çatlak Zemin’s main focus is feminism, so the texts are chosen in line with this focus:

Çatlak zemin feminist bir site. Kadınlar ve kadınlık dar değil, daha geniş bir tanım üzerinden buna yaklaşıyoruz ama her ne kadar güzel bir metin olsa da toplumsal cinsiyet, kadınlık, eşitsizlik vs. gibi şeyleri odağına almayan bir yazının yazı olarak ya da çeviri olarak bizim sitede çok yerinin olmadığını düşünüyoruz. Hani böyle çok solcu, sosyalist, çok olumlu çeşitli yazılar önümüze gelebiliyor ama hani bunun adresi bizim site değil diyoruz o zaman. Bizim kendimize biçtiğimiz yer belli (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Çatlak Zemin is a feminist website. Women and femininity are not narrow, we approach them through a broader definition. But we think that there is not much room on our website for a piece of writing or translation that does not focus on gender, femininity, inequality etc., no matter how beautiful it is. Sometimes we receive various articles, very leftist, socialist, very positive articles. But we say our website is not the place to publish them. We know where we stand (The researcher’s back translation).

Along with Çatlak Zemin’s general publishing policy mainly focused on feminism, the translators’ own interests, tastes and criteria influence and shape the text selection process. ÇZ T1 and ÇZ T2 who stated that they chose the STs on their own explained what factors lie behind their selections. ÇZ T1 said that:

Bazen karşıma güzel bir yazı çıkıyor işte hani belirli kriterleri var. İşte kolay okunur mu? Paragraflar cümleler uzun mu? E hani Internet yayıncılığının biraz daha akıcı olması ve kolay okunması gerekiyor. O kriterlere de uyduğunu düşünüyorsam o zaman hani çeviriyorum işte ne bileyim mesela İran’da sosyalist feministlerin bir eylemini çevirmek istedim. Çünkü düşündüm ki ben çevirmezsem onu başkası çevirmez. Gibi. Bu tarz böyle hani politik müdahale olarak

gördüğüm metinleri bizim bağlamamız da zihin açıcı olduğunu düşündüğü metinleri ben kendim öneriyorum [Çatlak Zemin'e] (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

Sometimes I come across a nice article. And there are certain criteria. For example, is it easy to read? Are paragraphs and sentences long? Well, internet publishing needs to be more flowing and simpler. If I think that a text meets these criteria, then I translate it. For example, I wanted to translate a protest of socialist feminists in Iran because I thought that if I did not translate it, no one else would translate it. I recommend the (political) texts that I find mind-opening (the researcher's back translation).

This excerpt revealed that while selecting the ST to be translated, the translator paid attention not only to its content but also to its fluency and easy readability.

ÇZ T2 explained her own criteria for text selection as follows:

Çevireceğim metinleri seçerken iki şeye dikkat ediyorum. Birincisi Türkiye'de kadınlar ne severler, ne onların dikkatini çeker diye düşünüyorum. Yani Türkiye'de karşılığı olabilecek konular neler onlara bakıyorum. Bir de dediğim gibi işte bayağı kendi zevkime ve ilgi alanıma göre seçiyorum. İşte dedikodu denilebilecek magazinsel şeyleri çevirmeyi seviyorum aslında. Yok efendim şunun klibinde vajina pantolonu giymiş bu ne demek filan gibi bir şey çevirmiştım geçenlerde. Öyle şeyleri çeviriyorum. Ya aslında biraz daha eğlenceli, okurken sıkılmasınlar vesaire gibi bakıyorum. Bir de işte bayağı gönlüme göre. Sara Ahmed'i çok seviyorum, onun bloğunu çok seviyorum. İşte onları çeviriyim falan dedim. En sonda şeyi çeviriyorum bu ara. Guardian'da yayınlanan video serisileri var. İşte regl olmak üzerine, yok efendim orgazm üzerine falan, translik üzerine vesaire. Böyle video serileri var onların alt yazılarını çeviriyorum. İlk defa alt yazı çevirisi yaptım mesela. Ama böyle izleyince dedim ki gerçekten bunu herkes izlemek zorunda o yüzden öyle çeviriyorum (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

When choosing the texts that I translate, I pay attention to two points. First, I ponder what women in Turkey love and what will attract their attention. In other words, I look at issues that could have a counterpart in Turkey. As I said, I choose what to translate to my taste and interests. I actually like to translate magazine stuff, what might be called gossip. For example, recently I translated something about someone wearing vagina pants in a music video. I translate such stuff. I look for what is a little more fun and what will not bore readers. I translate at my will. I love Sara Ahmed so much; I love her blog so much. So, I decided to translate her writing. Lately, I am translating a video series released on The Guardian. It is about menstruation, orgasms, transsexuality and so on. There are such video series. I translate their subtitles. It was the first time that I had ever translated subtitles. But when I watched it, I thought everybody should watch it. This is why I translate (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T2's statements showed that the target (Turkish) audience and context, her own tastes, interests and feminist concerns affect her selections.

#### **4.5.1.5. The agents' views and awareness on "feminist translation"**

To reveal the agents' views and awareness on feminist translation, the interviewees were asked if they heard of the term, feminist translation before, if they took any course in feminist translation and what feminist translation means to them.

4 translators from 5Harfliler, 3 of whom hold BA in TS, stated that they did not take any course in feminist translation, but they heard of the concept of feminist translation before. 5H T3 explained where and how she first encountered the concept of feminist translation and what it means for her as follows:

Feminist çeviriyle ilgili hiç ders almadım. Feminist çeviri kavramını ilk defa yüksek lisans ders döneminde duydum. 2012-2013 yılında Kadın Çalışmaları'nda birlikte ders aldığım arkadaşlarımdan neredeyse tamamı ya İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı ya da Mütercim Tercümanlık formasyonundan geliyordu. Arkadaşlarımdan birinin yüksek lisans tezi bu konu üzerineydi [...] Bence feminist çeviri ve bu yaklaşım eril dilin tahakkümünü kırmak, buna meydan okumak için önemli bir araç ve hatta belki amaç. Herhalükarda biliyoruz ki dil ayrımcılığı yeniden üretir. Bu yüzden feminist çeviri hem teori hem de pratik açısından önemli. Ayrımcılıkları, eşitsizlikleri görünür kılmak ve tahakkümü sorgulamak için önemli dilsel bir araç (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

I think feminist translation and this approach is an important tool, maybe even a goal, to defeat the dominance of masculine language and to challenge it. In any case, we know that language reproduces discrimination. That is why feminist translation is important both theoretically and practically. It is an important linguistic tool to make discrimination and inequalities visible and question dominance (The researcher's back translation).

As seen from the excerpt, 5H T3 first encountered the concept of feminist translation thanks to her cultural (her MA in Women's Studies) and social capitals (her friends she met while pursuing her MA). In addition, she pointed out that patriarchy is constructed and maintained in and through patriarchal language use and therefore she considers feminist translation as an important linguistic tool that can challenge and change this patriarchal language.

5H T1, 5H T5 and 5H T7 who received their BA in TS said they heard of the concept of feminist translation before. 5H T1 stated that:

Çok yakın zamana kadar duymamıştım aslında bir çeviri bilimci olmama rağmen. Yani bu şeyde duydum aslında ilk. Daha doğrusu bunun en azından üstünde konuşulmaya değer bir şey olduğunu o zaman farkettim. İşte Gül Varlı'nın CerModern'de Ayizi için yaptığı söyleşi<sup>59</sup>. Hatta o zaman şeyi düşündümü hatırlıyorum: Nasıl olur ki feminist çeviri acaba falan diye biraz üstünde düşündüğümü hatırlıyorum. Aslında birkaç cevabı olabilir. Hem feminist bir metni kendi dilinize yani çevireceğiniz dile kazandırmak herhalde feminist bir çeviridir diye düşünüyorum. Öte yandan herhangi bir metni çevirirken ya da cinsiyetçi bir küfürü çevirirken örneğin diline dikkat etmek de her halde feminist çeviri olsa gerek. Yani vardığım sonuçlar bu oldu aslında (personal communication, November 7, 2019).

It has been only recently that I heard of it even though I am a translation scholar. I heard it when... Actually, I realised it is something worth talking about during a conversation held by Gül Varlı for Ayizi at Cern Modern. I even remember that I thought then for a while about what this feminist translation is. I remember that I reflected on it. This question may have more than one answer. I think translating a feminist text into your language is probably feminist translation. Besides, it also involves paying attention to the language while translating any text, for example, while translating a sexist swear. Being careful about the language while translating must also be a feminist translation. This is my inference (The researcher's back translation).

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<sup>59</sup> An interview titled "Feminist Translation" held at CerModern on March 24, 2018 within the scope of "the Talks with Ayizi Women" organized by Ayizi Kitap, a Turkish feminist publishing house which operated between the years of 2010 and 2019.

The most striking point in 5H T1's statements is that although she is a translation studies scholar, she has not heard of the concept of feminist translation until quite recently. She heard of the concept of feminist translation thanks to a seminar.

Another translator, 5H T7, who holds a BA in TS stated that she first encountered the concept of feminist translation thanks to the translation theory course she took while pursuing her BA. Additionally, she explained what feminist translation means for her, as follows:

Üniversite hayatımda feminist çeviri kavramıyla tanışmıştım. Sherry Simon'ın *Gender in Translation* kitabından okumalar yapmıştık. Ancak özel olarak feminist çeviri üzerine bir ders almadım. Çeviri kuramları derslerinde işlediğimiz konulardan biri olmuştu. Feminist çeviri benim için feminist kaygılarla, feminizmin dokunduğu konularda, hedef kitleyi de göz önünde bulundurarak gerektiği yerde kaynak metne müdahalede bulunarak, varsa cinsiyetçi, normatif veya LGBTIQ+ fobik söylemleri çıkararak, değiştirerek ya da bunlara dikkat çekerek çeviri yapmak demek kabaca. Bana göre feminist çevirinin amacı da farkındalık yaratmak, insanlar arasında tartışmalar başlatmak, onları sorgulamaya yöneltmek ve ses çıkartmaktır (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

I was introduced to the concept of feminist translation during my undergraduate study. We read passages from Sherry Simon's *Gender in Translation*. But I did not take a course in feminist translation. It was one of the topics we studied in translation theory classes. Roughly speaking, to me, feminist translation means translating with feminist concerns, translating issues that feminism deals with, making interventions and changes in the source text, when necessary, bearing in mind the target audience, and deleting, modifying or highlighting sexist, normative or LGBTIQ+ phobic expressions. To me, the goal of feminist translation is to raise awareness, open discussions among people, lead them to question, and make a voice (The researcher's back translation).

5H T5, the other translator who holds BA in TS stated that:

Evet, duydum fakat buna dair bir ders almadım. Feminist çeviri konulu bir panelde ilk kez bu tabiri duydum. Pek çok kadının erkek ismiyle çeviri yapıp yayınladığını bilmiyordum, bu sayede haberdar oldum ve ilgimi çekti. Daha sonra "Bekaretin 'El Değmemiş' Tarihi" adlı kitabı okudum ve feminist bakış açısıyla yapılmış çevirisi çok hoşuma gitti. Lisans bitirme tezimde feminist çeviri yaklaşımını incelemek istedim, hocalarım "müstehcen" bulduğu için ilerleyemedim (personal communication, September 6, 2019).

Yes, I heard, but I did not take a course. I first heard of the term on a panel on feminist translation. I did not know that so many women translated and published under male names. So, I got informed and intrigued. Then I read the book "Virgin: The Untouched History" and I liked its translation done from a feminist perspective. I wanted to study the feminist translation approach in my undergraduate thesis. But I could not because my instructors found it "obscene" (The researcher's back translation).

In her statements, 5H T5 emphasized her special interest in feminist translation and that she had wanted to study feminist translation in her undergraduate thesis, but she could not proceed because her supervisors found it "obscene". 5H T5 remarks clearly show that how important role TS scholars and advisors can play in students' chances to progress academically in the field of feminist translation. Therefore, TS scholars, academicians and advisors should not prevent students who want to study feminist

translation; on the contrary, they should direct and encourage the students in line with their interest in feminist translation.

5H T2 and 5H T4 stated that they did not hear of the concept of feminist translation before but have an idea of what feminist translation might be. 5H T2 explained her views on feminist translation as follows:

“Feminist çeviri” diye bir kavram olduğundan haberdar değildim ama feminist yaklaşımla ya da feminist bir ajandayla çeviri yapılabileceğini biliyorum. Homer’i İngilizceye çeviren ilk kadın çevirmen Emily Wilson metnin diğer çevirilerini incelerken, bazı sözcüklerin kaynak dilde anlam alanı içinde barındırmadığı kadın düşmanı ifadelerle karşılandığını görmüş örneğin. Çevirisinin değerli olmasının nedenlerinden biri bu hassasiyeti hem okuma hem çeviri sürecinde canlı tutması. Sadık çeviri/serbest çeviri tartışmaları ışığında hem aktivizm çerçevesinde, örneğin kadın düşmanı bir metnin bu özelliğini sözcük seçimleriyle iyice öne çıkararak ya da dayanışma ve özen gösterme çerçevesinde, örneğin cinsiyet çalışmaları açısından hassas konularda yazılmış metinlerde (cinsel saldırı, cinsiyet kimliği, cinsel yönelim vb.) “tetikleyici” olabilecek ifadeleri çevirirken iki kez düşünerek feminist bir yaklaşımla çeviri yapılabileceğini düşünüyorum (personal communication, August 8, 2019).

I am not aware there is a concept called “feminist translation”. But I do know that translation can be done with a feminist approach or from a feminist perspective. Emily Wilson, the first woman to translate Homer’s Odyssey into English, saw that some words were turned into misogynistic expressions that did not appear in the source language while she was looking at other translations of the text. One of the reasons her translation is valuable is that she kept this sensitivity alive in both the reading and translation process. I think translation can be done with a feminist approach. For example, by highlighting the nature of a misogynistic text with word choices or in the framework of solidarity and care in the light of the faithful translation vs free translation debate. For example, by thinking twice while translating expressions that may be “triggering” in texts on sensitive issues in gender studies (such as sexual assault, gender identity, and sexual orientation (The researcher’s back translation).

Her statements and the example that she gave revealed that she has a very strong and comprehensive understanding of feminist translation although she did not hear of the concept before.

Like 5H T2, 5H T4 stated she did not hear of the concept of feminist translation. She explained what feminist translation means for her, as follows:

Duymadım, mümkün olursa önümüzdeki dönem çeviri dersleri almak istiyorum. Tam olarak bilmesem de, feminist bir yaklaşımla çeviri yapmak bence, kapsayıcılığı göz önünde bulundurarak, kadınları ilgilendiren konularda çeviri yapmak demek. 5Harfliler’in bu konuda Türkiye’de önemli bir yer oluşturduğunu düşünüyorum (personal communication, August 24, 2019).

I have not heard. I would like to take translation classes next semester if possible. Even though I am not familiar with it, I think it means translating with a feminist approach and translating texts on issues that concern women, considering inclusivity. In this context, 5Harfliler, I think, holds an important place in Turkey (The researcher’s back translation).

When it comes to Çatlak Zemin, ÇZ T1 and ÇZ T4/E1 said they had never heard the concept of feminist translation before, so they do not know exactly what it means. ÇZ T4/E1 stated that:

Feminist çeviri kavramını hiç duymadım. Açıkçası çok da tahayyül edemiyorum çünkü feminist çeviri demek kuşkusuz sadece feminist metinlerin çevrilmesi demek değil. Yani boşa atmayım ben hiç bilmiyorum (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

I have never heard of the concept of feminist translation. Frankly, I cannot imagine much because feminist translation is, of course, not just the translation of feminist texts. To be honest, I do not know at all (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T3 said that she had not heard the concept of feminist translation before, but, thanks to her cultural capital, she described feminist translation as if she knew feminist translation theory very well:

Duymadım. Tanıdık olduğunu söyleyebilirim. Hiç feminist çeviri dersi almadım. Almak isterim. Feminist yakın okuma kavramını biliyorum. Feminist çeviri veya feminist bir yaklaşımla çeviri metnin cinsiyetçi yönlerine ilişkin dipnotları da içerecek şekilde bir yapı bozumcu çeviri olabilir diye düşünüyorum (personal communication, November 7, 2019).

I have never heard. It is familiar, though. I never took a course in feminist translation. I would like to take it. I know the concept of feminist close reading. I think that feminist translation or translation with a feminist approach may be a deconstructionist translation, adding footnotes on the sexist aspects of the text (The researcher's back translation).

From Çatlak Zemin, only ÇZ T2 stated that she had heard of the concept of feminist translation before. She said that she first encountered and began to think about the concept thanks to her friends pursuing BA in TS and the articles that she read. She explained feminist translation by giving an example from a translation she made:

Mesela çevirdiğim videoda biraz transfobik bulduğum bir kısım, yani transfobik gibi yorumlanabileceğini düşündüğüm bir kısım vardı. Ama ben feminist bir çevirmenim ve o metnin orasından rahatsız olduğum için dipnot vesaire düşme ihtiyacı hissettim. Ya da yani üstte böyle olabilir ama bizi yansıtmıyor vesaire gibi bir açıklama yapma ihtiyacı hissediyorum. Hani feminist çeviri sanki böyle şey. Hani metne müdahale etmiyorsun ama metni seçerken zaten bir takım feminist kaygılarla seçiyorum. Bu tabii ki tartışmalar burada da tartışılın diye. Metne müdahale etmiyorum ama dipnota koyuyorum böyle diyor ama aslında tartışma şöyle de yapılabilirdi diye (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

I found some part of the video I was translating transphobic. I mean I thought it might be perceived as transphobic. But I am a feminist translator. Because I was uncomfortable with that part of the text, I felt the need to add a footnote. So, I need to make an explanation, like 'the original text says so, but it does not reflect us'. Feminist translation is something like that. You do not interfere, but when I am choosing a text, I am choosing it with various feminist concerns. It is just for letting discussions evolve here. But I do not intervene in the text. I just add a footnote to explain what is told in the original or to tell that the discussion could have been different (The researcher's back translation).

Her example revealed that ÇZ T2 performed a feminist translation practice thanks to her text selection and paratext usage.

All excerpts discussed under this code label showed that all 12 interviewees, including the 3 translators who hold BA in TS, did not take any course in feminist translation. Only 5 translators (4 from 5Harfliler and 1 from Çatlak Zemin) stated that they heard the concept of feminist translation before. It was found out that they first encountered the concept thanks to their cultural and social capitals. The other 3 translators



expressed their opinions about what feminist translation means or can mean, too, although they had never heard of the concept of feminist translation before. It was seen that they were able to define and interpret feminist translation in a similar way to FTS despite their lack of official training and academic/theoretical knowledge on FTS. The other 2 translators stated that they had never heard of the concept of feminist translation, thus they have no idea about it.

#### **4.5.1.6. The translators' conception of "translation" and "translator". Does it comply with FTS?**

As discussed in detail in the second chapter, FTS, especially the Canada-based first paradigm of it, asserts that feminist translation and translator is, and should be, subversive, resistant, interventionist and aggressive. FTS radically challenges the overvalued status of ST, the traditional conception of fidelity and the translator's invisibility. Accordingly, for FTS, feminist translators could (and/or should) subvert, "correct" and even hijack STs in line with their own feminist goals. In doing so, they generally make use of paratext to increase their visibility and/or to contextualize the ST. Additionally, FTS claims that feminist translation should create a shock effect (Godard, 1984, as cited in von Flotow, 1991, p. 70) and "constantly disrupt the fluent reading process and remind readers that they are reading a translation" (Ergün, 2013a, p. 25).

To reveal whether the translators' conception of "translation" and "translator" complies with FTS's abovementioned conception, the researcher asked the interviewees the following questions: What do you particularly care and pay attention to while translating? Do you ever intervene in or change the ST with feminist concerns (such as subverting a sexist language use in the ST)? To what extent do you think the translator should adhere to the ST and author? Can the translator act freely in the translation process, leaving aside adherence to the ST and author? Do you (need to) add a preface, footnote, or translator note to your translation to make yourself as a translator and your translation visible?

Almost all of the interviewees firstly stated that they generally do not encounter and thus do not have to tackle a sexist discourse and/or expression because they usually prefer to translate feminist STs:

Ben hâlihazırda zaten feminist metinlere odaklandığım için çeviri yaparken kaynak metindeki cinsiyetçi bir ifadeyle uğraşmak zorunda kalmadım hiç (5H T3, personal communication, August 9, 2019).

I have never had to deal with a sexist expression in the source text when translating because I am already focused on feminist texts (The researcher's back translation).

Cinsiyetçi bir dil kullanımını değiştirmem söz konusu olmadı şu ana kadar, yaptığım çeviriler genellikle feminist yazarlar tarafından kaleme alınmış makaleler oluyor (5H T4, personal communication, August 24, 2019).

I have never had to change the use of sexist language. I most often translate articles written by feminist authors (The researcher's back translation).

5Harfliler özelinde, çevirisini yaptığım metinlerin zaten neredeyse tamamı patriyarkayı sorgulayan, tepki gösteren, ses çıkartan, feminist kaygılarla kaleme alınmış metinler oluyor. O nedenle kaynak metinlerde rahatsız edici noktalar pek olmuyor (5H T7, personal communication, October 27, 2019).

Almost all the texts that I have translated for 5Harfliler, in particular, are already written with feminist concerns that question and challenge the patriarchy and speak up. So, there are not many disturbing points in the source texts (The researcher's back translation).

[...] metinleri kendim seçtiğim ya da metinler hep editör onayından geçtiği için cinsiyetçi metin çevirmek gibi bir şey açıkçası hiç karşıma çıkmadı (ÇZ T1, personal communication, August 12, 2019).

[...] because I choose texts or texts always go through the editorial approval process, I have never happened to translate a sexist text (The researcher's back translation).

Ben hep feminist ve cinsiyete duyarlı metinler çevirdim. Böyle bir [cinsiyetçi bir ifadeye müdahale etmemi gerektirecek bir] deneyimim olmadı (ÇZ T3, personal communication, November 7, 2019).

I have always translated feminist and gender-sensitive texts. I have never had such an experience [that would require me to intervene in a sexist expression] (The researcher's back translation).

Translators who stated that there appeared no need for an extra (feminist) intervention in the STs during the translation process, because the STs they chose were already feminists, argued that any intervention if it is required, should be made through paratexts i.e. footnotes and prefaces without subverting the ST. ÇZ T3 said that

Yukarıda da bir önceki soruya verdiğim yanıtta belirttiğim gibi bu tür metinleri Türkçeye çevirmediğim ama çevirsem böyle yapardım. Cinsiyetçilik ve ayrımcılık gördüğümde 'çevirmenin notu' eklemesi yapardım (personal communication, November 7, 2019).

As I said in my answer to the previous question, I did not translate such texts into Turkish. But I would do so if I did. If I saw sexism and discrimination, I would add a 'translator's note' (The researcher's back translation).

Indeed, all translators, except for 5H T3 and 5H T6/E1, stated that translation should be, as far as possible, faithful to the ST and any translatorial intervention subverting the content and message of the ST is unacceptable. They added that any intervention if it is required, should be made through paratexts without subverting the content and message of the ST. 5H T4 stated that:

Çevirmen metne ve yazara olabildiğince sadık kalmalıdır diye düşünüyorum (personal communication, August 24, 2019).

I think the translator should adhere to the text and the author as much as possible (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T1 expressed her views on intervention in the ST as follows:

[...] [C]insiyetçi metin çevirmek gibi bir şey açıkçası hiç karşıma çıkmadı. Çıksa büyük ihtimalle metne müdahale etmek yerine, bir dip not koyardım ve esasen öyle yapılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Dolayısıyla çevirmen bir dipnot ya da giriş yazısı yazarak metne müdahale edebilir ve o dipnotta çevirmen bu görüşün kendi görüşünü yansıtmadığını ya da hani webitesi'nin görüşünü yansıtmadığını veya hani burada bir problem olduğunun farkında olduğunu vesaire söyleyebilir. Bunun ötesinde metne içerik yönünden müdahale edemez, çarpıtamaz diye düşünüyorum. [...] Yani içerikte var olan bir şeyi yokmuş gibi çevirmek doğru olmaz. Ama bu feminizmle ilgili bir şey değil. [...] Entelektüel bir emeği içeriğini değiştirerek çevirmek doğru ve etik bir davranış değil. Bu feminist olsak da böyle olmasak da böyle (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

I have never actually experienced anything like translating a sexist text. If I had, I probably would add a footnote rather than intervening in the text. I honestly think it should be done so. So, the translator may intervene in the text by writing a footnote or preface. In that footnote, the translator may say that this opinion does not reflect her or his opinion, it does not reflect the opinion of the website, or she or he is aware that there is a problem here. Beyond that, I think the translator cannot interfere with the content of the text and distort it. [...] So, it would not be right to translate something in the content as if it did not exist. But it has nothing to do with feminism. [...] It is not right and ethical to translate intellectual labour by modifying its content. This is so, whether we are feminists or not (The researcher's back translation).

In a similar way, ÇZ T2, ÇZ T4/E1 and 5H T5 seriously opposed the translatorial interventions that may subvert the ST. ÇZ T4/E1 stated that:

[İ]çeriği değiştirecek mesajları yontacak ya da tamamen ortadan kaldıracak bir müdahale bence kabul edilemez (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

I think an intervention that would change the content and partially or completely eliminate messages is unacceptable (The researcher's back translation).

ÇZ T2 explained why any translatorial intervention, especially hijacking the ST, is unacceptable for her:

Bence çevirmen kaynak metni bir kenara bırakarak özgürce hareket edemez. O zaman kendisi o metne referans vererek yazı yazsın onu eleştiren. Yani kaynak metne çeviri sırasında müdahale etmemek lazım bence. Ben etmem, etmeyi de korkunç derecede yanlış buluyorum. Mesela cinsiyetçi bir ifade varsa metinde onu aynen öyle çevirmelisin. Bu senin fikrin değil sonuçta, sen çevirmensin. Yani bununla ilgili çok bir kaygın varsa metnin altına üstüne bir not yazarsın ya da bir eleştiri yazısı yazarsın yarım sayfa. Çünkü mesele o yazarın dediği şeyleri tartıştırmak. Belki ona katılmayacak birisi güzel bir tartışma çıkacak. Dolayısıyla, metne müdahale edilmemeli (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

The translator cannot leave the source text aside and act freely. The translator should then write a new text in reference to the text to criticise it. In other words, I think the translator should not interfere with the source text. I do not. And I find it horribly wrong. For example, if there is a sexist expression in the text, you have to translate it exactly like that. It is not your idea. You are the translator. If you are worried about it, you may write a footnote or a half-page review. The thing is to discuss what that author said. Maybe someone will not agree with the author and a good discussion will arise. So, no intervention should be made in the text (The researcher's back translation).

5H T5 stated that she prefers not to translate a sexist ST rather than subvert or hijack it in translation:

Kaynak metne müdahale etmiyorum. Herhangi bir sebeple müdahale edilmesini de kabul edilebilir bulmuyorum. Kabul edemeyeceğim bir dil kullanılmışsa, hizmet etmek istemeyeceğim bir amaca sahipse ya da inandığım değerlere tersse o çeviriyi yapmama veya işi geri çevirme hakkım daima baki (personal communication, September 6, 2019).

I do not intervene in the ST. I find it unacceptable to intervene for any reason. If a language that I cannot accept is used, if it has a purpose that I do not want to serve, or if it is contrary to what I believe in, I always have the right to not translate or to decline the job (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, 5H T3, 5H T6/E1 said some changes could, or even should, be made in the ST with feminist concerns. However, they also indicated that they tend to explain and clarify these changes through paratexts. 5H T3 explained how she dares and loves to dare to intervene in ST with feminist concerns, and clearly stated that:

[B]ence çeviren dipnot ekleyerek, yani “yazar burada “şu kelimeyi” kullanmış ama bu kelimenin ifade ettiği cinsiyetçilikten ötürü çeviride onun yerine “bu kelime” kullanılmıştır” gibi bir notla, bu şekilde yazıya müdahale edebilir. Hatta edebilmeli bence. Bütün feministler öyle yapmalı gibi genel, müdahaleci ve ödev veren tarzda cümleler kurmaktan nefret ederim. O yüzden “çeviri yapan bütün feministler öyle yapmalı” demek istemiyorum, haddime de değil. Ama en azından ben bir feminist olarak, kaynak metindeki cinsiyetçi kelimeleri, ifadeleri, cümleleri, değiştirebilmeliyim, kadın dostu, kadınlar lehine, eşitlikçi bir dil kurabilmeliyim. Eril ifadelere meydan okumaktır bu. Yüzyıllardır tahakkümü var bu eril dilin. Değiştirmekten, meydan okumaktan, meydan okumanın cesaretini duymaktan hoşlanıyorum (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

I think the translator may intervene in the text by adding a footnote that reads, for example, the author here used “this word” but it was replaced in translation by “that word” because of the sexism that this word refers to. I even think the translator can intervene. I hate making generic, intrusive, and authoritative sentences like all feminists should do. So, I do not want to say “all feminists who translate should do that way”. Not my place. But at least I, as a feminist, should be able to change the sexist words, phrases, and sentences in the source text and use a women-friendly, women-supportive, egalitarian language. It is a challenge to masculine expressions. This masculine language has been dominating for centuries. I like to change, challenge, and hear the courage of the challenge (The researcher's back translation).

Similarly, 5H T6/E1 explained how she overstepped the traditional boundaries of translation and translator as follows:

[...] Çevirmenin sınırları konusunda ise, siteye çeviri katkısında bulunan biri olarak, kaynak metinler üzerinde yaratıcı anlamda bazen at koştuğumu söylemem gerek. Ses ve dil anlamında, özellikle de çok sevdiğim bir metinse ağırlığını ve inceliklerini daha iyi karşılayacağımı düşündüğüm, çoğu yayınevinde kabul görmeyecek çevirisel müdahalelerde bulunuyordum. Veyahut Elliott Rodger yazısı özelinde olduğu gibi, siyasi bir tavırla çeviride mizahın dozunu bilinçli bir şekilde ayarlıyordum. Bu koşan çevirisel atların notunu ise editörü ya da çevirmeni olarak metnin sonuna düşmeye çalışıyordum her zaman, bu çevirisel tavır konusunda okuyucunun anlayışını ya da iltimas geçmesini istemek üzere (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

As for the limits of the translator, I have to say that as someone who contributes translation to the website, I sometimes creatively had a free hand with the source texts. In terms of voice and language, especially if it is a text that I love very much, I was making translational interventions that I think would better satisfy its importance and subtleties and would not be accepted by most publishing houses. Or, as with the Elliott Rodger's article, in particular, I was consciously adjusting the dose of humour in translation with a political attitude. I was noting down these adjustments at the end of the text as its editor or translator, asking the reader to understand or favour this translational attitude (The researcher's back translation).

Two translators, 5H T1 and 5H T7 stated that they tend to remain faithful to ST, so they usually do not intervene in it, but they recently realized through their own experiences that they sometimes need to, or should, intervene in the ST with feminist concerns. 5H T7 exemplified that:

5Harfliler özelinde, çevirisini yaptığım metinlerin zaten neredeyse tamamı patriyarkayı sorgulayan, tepki gösteren, ses çıkartan, feminist kaygılarla kaleme alınmış metinler oluyor. O nedenle kaynak metinlerde rahatsız edici noktalar pek olmuyor ancak geçenlerde yaptığım bir hatadan (ya da gözden kaçırdığım bir noktadan) bahsedeyim. Geçenlerde çevirisini yaptığım X ilişkisini inceleyen bir röportaj metninin bir bölümünde transfobik/trans dışlayıcı ifadeler vardı. Çeviriyi yaparken o ifadeler kafama takılmıştı ama sorunun ne olduğunu tam kestirememiştim. İçime sinmese de müdahalede bulunmadan o ifadeleri çevirmiştim. Yeterince hassas davranmadım ya da cahil olduğumun, farkındalığının olmadığı bir konuydu. Çeviriyi gönderdikten sonra editörüm o ifadeler hakkında beni uyardı. Trans dışlayıcı ifadeler çeviri metinden çıkarıldı ve editör notunda bu ifadelerin çıkarıldığı ve neden çıkarıldığı açıklandı. Yaptığım bu hatadan sonra artık bu tür ifadelere çok daha fazla dikkat ediyorum. Çünkü o bağlamda bu tür ifadeleri müdahale etmeden çevirerek ben de şiddeti yeniden üretmiş oluyorum (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

Almost all the texts that I have translated for 5Harfliler, in particular, are already written with feminist concerns that question and challenge the patriarchy and speak up. For that reason, there are not many disturbing points in the source texts. But let me tell you a mistake I made lately (or a point I missed). There were transphobic, trans-exclusionary expressions in a part of an interview text on the X relationship that I lately translated. When I was translating, those expressions annoyed me. But I did not really understand what the problem was. I translated those expressions without interference even if I did not feel right. It was something that I was not sensitive enough or I was ignorant and unaware. After I sent the translation, my editor warned me about those expressions. Trans-exclusionary expressions were deleted from the translated text and the editorial note was added to explain that these expressions were deleted and why they were deleted. Now I pay much more attention to such expressions after this mistake I made. This is because, in that context, I reproduce violence by translating such expressions without interference (The researcher's back translation).

5H T1 explained that she realized after being criticized by a reader for translating a sexist swear in the ST word for word that she should intervene in ST sometimes:

Tabi kaynak metinler genellikle feminist olunca müdahaleye pek gerek kalmıyor ama geçenlerde şöyle bir şey oldu. 5Harfliler için çevirdiğim bir metinde “fuck in” ya da “fuck of” gibi bir ifade geçiyordu. Ben de onu hem kaynak metne sadık kalmak, hem de küfürün yarattığı anlam yoğunluğunu korumak için “siktir edin” diye çevirdim. Daha sonra bir okur çevirinin altına bir yorum yaptı: “5Harflilere bunu yakıştıramadım, sizin gibi feminist bir sitede nasıl böyle cinsiyetçi bir küfür yer alabilir” diye. Ben mesala o zaman farkettim bunu göz ardı ettiğimi ya da çevirirken dikkat etmediğimi. Hakikaten “defedin gitsin” diye de çevirebilirdim belki ama o da aynı anlam yoğunluğunu vermiyor gibi. Ama şimdi mesela böyle cinsiyetçi bir ifade çıksa karşına, çevirirken daha dikkatli olurum (personal communication, November 7, 2018).

When the source texts are usually feminist, there is no need to intervene. But something happened recently. In a text I translated for 5Harfliler, there was a phrase like “fuck in” or “fuck of.” So, I translated it as “siktir edin” [fuck it] both to adhere to the source text and keep the intensity of the meaning created by the swear word. A reader later commented below the translation: “I would not expect it of 5Harfliler. How can such a sexist swearing be used on a feminist website like you?”. That was when I realized I had ignored it or had not paid attention during translation. I could have translated it as “defedin gitsin” [forget about it]. But it does not seem to have the same intensity of meaning. But now, for example, if I encountered such a sexist expression, I would be more careful when translating it (The researcher's back translation).

As can be understood from the excerpts above, whether they use or not, all translators are positive about using paratext. The translators' statements also revealed that they make use of paratext sometimes to explain or justify their translation decisions and choices, but mostly to facilitate the target readers' reading process and to enable them to contextualize the text. It should also be highlighted that these statements of the translators verify the results of the paratextual analysis conducted within the scope of this dissertation. 5H T3 explained as follows how she instrumentalised the footnote to explicate and to justify her decisions and choices as a feminist translator:

[Mesela, 5Harfliler için yaptığım bir çeviride] “survivor” sözcüğünü “mağdur”, “şiddet mağduru”, “tecavüz mağduru” olarak çevirmenin ya da bunu yaşayan kadınlara “kurban” demenin, bu acıyı yaşayan ve bu yazıyı okuyacak kadınlara iyi gelmediğini, iyi gelmeyeceğini biliyorum. Dolayısıyla bu konudaki eğitimleri, tartışmaları gündelik hayatında da takip eden biri olarak, Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği'nin önerdiği gibi “mağdur” yerine “hayatta kalan” ifadesini seçtim. Bu konuda da çeviriye şöyle bir dipnot eklemiştım: *Çeviri notu: İngilizcesi “survivor” olan ifade, Türkçe’de genellikle “mağdur” olarak kullanılır, şiddet mağduru, tecavüz mağduru gibi. Öte yandan bu yazıda Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği yayınlarında tavsiye edildiği üzere “hayatta kalan” ifadesi tercih edilmiştir* (personal communication, August 9, 2019).

[For example, in a text I translate for 5Harfliler], I know that translating the word “survivor” as “victim”, “victim of violence” or “victim of rape” or calling those women who have such an experience “victim” is not good for women who are going through this pain and who will read this article. For this reason, as someone who follows training, debates, and everyday life related to this topic, I chose the phrase “hayatta kalan” [survivor] instead of “victim” as suggested by the Association for Struggle against Sexual Violence. I added a footnote to the translation: *Translator’s note: The English word “survivor” is often used in Turkish as “victim”, such as a victim of violence and a victim of rape. However, the word “hayatta kalan” was preferred in this article as recommended in the publications of the Association for Struggle against Sexual Violence* (The researcher’s back translation).

On the other hand, most of the interviewees stated that they make use of paratexts mostly to contextualize the ST and authors and thus to increase the readers’ understanding. ÇZ T1 said that:

[...] Bazen metni yazan kişi ile ilgili kısa bir biyografi yazma ihtiyacı duyuyorum. Kaynak metni yazanın kim olduğunu okur da bilsin istiyorum. Ya da o çeviriyi bağlama oturtmak için çevirmen olarak dipnot koyabiliyorum. Ama bu eklemeleri tamamen yaptığım çeviriyi bağlama oturtmak hedefiyle yapıyorum (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

[...] Sometimes I feel the need to write a short biography about the person who wrote the text. I want the reader to know who wrote the source text. Or, as a translator, I can add a footnote to put that translation into context. But I make these additions entirely with the goal of putting my translation into context (The researcher’s back translation).

ÇZ T2 exemplified how she uses paratexts to contextualize the ST and hence to increase the readers’ understanding of it:

Geçenlerde yaptığım bir çeviride Marsha Johnson’un ismi geçiyordu bir cümlede. Ama sadece ismi geçiyordu, Johnson ile ilgili herhangi bir bilgi verilmiyordu. Düşündüm ki okur Marsha Johnson’un kim olduğunu bilmeyebilir. Ama Johnson çok önemli birisi. Çok önemli bir devrimci, Stonewall ayaklanmasının öncülerinden biri. Dolayısıyla okurun Johnson’u bilmesi,

tanınması lazım. İşte o zaman oraya bir not ekleme ihtiyacı hissediyorum: “Netflix’de Johnson ile ilgili bir belgesel var, onu da izleyin. İzlediğinizde okuduğunuz bu metni daha iyi anlamlandıracaksınız” gibi bir not düşünüyorum (personal communication, August 19, 2019).

A sentence in a text I recently translated was referring to Marsha Johnson. But only by name, no information about Johnson was given. I thought the reader might not know who Marsha Johnson is. But Johnson is a very important person. A very important revolutionary, one of the pioneers of the Stonewall uprising. So, the reader needs to know and learn who Johnson is. That is when I felt the need to add a note there: “There is a documentary on Johnson on Netflix. Watch it, too. “You will make better sense of this text you are reading when you watch it” (The researcher’s back translation).

Additionally, the answers given by the translators to the question of whether they use paratext to make themselves visible as a translator showed that the translators, especially Çatlak Zemin translators, do not worry about being visible as a translator and thus they do not use paratexts for this purpose. Çatlak Zemin translators stated that they adopt a socialist, collective, and activist standpoint and therefore being visible as a translator and/or an activist is not important to them. They even said that they think the name of the translator should remain anonymous because the collective perspective requires being invisible as an individual. For instance, ÇZ T1 told that

Çevirmen olarak kendimi görünür kılmak için böyle bir şey yapmadım henüz. Nasıl diyeyim, aktivist işlerde çevirmen kimliğini o kadar önemsemiyorum. Rumuzla da çıkabilirdi benim çevirilerim. Çünkü hakikaten o çeviriye politik bir katkı olarak yapıyorum ve buradan bana bir tanınırlık ya da görünürlük gelsin gibi bir beklentim yok. Bu kişisel bir şey. Ben örgütlülüğün biraz daha anonim olması gerektiğini düşünen biriyim, sosyalist formasyondan kaynaklanıyor olabilir bu. O yüzden görünürlük adına ya da tanınırlık adına hiçbir şey yapmıyorum. [...] Mesela Feminist Politikaya Dergisi için çeviri yaparken isimsiz çeviri yapıyorduk (personal communication, August 12, 2019).

I have not done anything like that yet to make myself visible as a translator. I do not care so much about the identity of a translator in activist efforts. My translations could have come up with a nickname because I do indeed make that translation as a political contribution and I do not expect to get any recognition or visibility. This is personal. I am someone who thinks that organisation should be a bit more anonymous. It may be due to my socialist background. So, I do nothing for visibility or recognition. [...] For example, while we were translating for the Feminist Politics magazine, we were translating anonymously (The researcher’s back translation).

These statements of ÇZ T1 reminds the Spanish anarchy-feminist translators who preferred to remain anonymous in their translation because they adopt an anarchist ideology that rejects private property and authority on the intellectual texts (Mainer, 2017). Like Spanish anarchy-feminist translators, ÇZ T1 stated that translator visibility is not important for her because she adopts a socialist ideology.

It was also seen that besides the adoption of socialist ideology, internalisation of the traditional hierarchy that considers translation inferior to ST and translators handmaiden to authors plays an important role in translators’ attitude not caring about

translator visibility. The following excerpts revealed how the translators reconstructed the traditional hierarchy between translation and ST in their discourse:

Çevirmen olarak kendimi görünür kılmak için herhangi bir çabam olmuyor. Çevirmenin yazarın kendi dilinde söyleyicisi olduğunu yazarın önüne geçmemesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Aklımda çevirmek istediğim bir feminist kitap var. İç kapakta adımın küçük puntolarla yazması benim için yeterli (ÇZ T3, personal communication, November 7, 2019).

As a translator, I do not make any effort to make myself visible. I think what the translator speaks in their native language should not take precedence over the author. I have a feminist book in mind that I want to translate. It is enough for me to have my name written on the inside cover in small point size (The researcher's back translation).

Çatlak Zemin'e ilk çeviri yaptığımda anonim olsun istemiştım mesela. Yani gerek yok benim ismimi görmelerine. Sonuçta ben yazmadım (ÇZ T2, personal communication, August 19, 2019).

When I first translated for Çatlak Zemin, I wanted it to be anonymous. I mean they do not have to see my name. After all, I did not write it (The researcher's back translation).

These statements of Çatlak Zemin translators revealed once more that the feminist translation theory cannot be prescriptive, on the contrary, every feminist translation practice is agent- and context-bounded and therefore each one should be evaluated within its own context.

Another proof that each (feminist) translation is context-bound, and therefore there cannot be a single, prescriptive feminist translation theory, is the emphasis some interviewees made on fluency and easy readability. FTS, especially the Canada-based first paradigm of it, claims that feminist translators should adopt a non-fluent and foreignizing translation style that disrupt the fluent reading process of the reader. However, some interviewees defended the opposite view. They argued that translation, especially the one to be published on a website, should be fluent, easy-reading and reader-friendly. They also stated that they make special efforts to ensure that their translations are fluent, easy-to-read and not “smell” of translation. 5H T5 explained that:

Dilin doğal olmasına özen gösteriyorum her şeyden önce. Okuyan kişinin bunun bir çeviri olduğunu hissetmeden, akıcı bir biçimde ilerlemesini istiyorum (personal communication, September 6, 2019).

First of all, I make sure the language is natural. I want the reader to go through the text fluently, without feeling that it is a translation (The researcher's back translation).

In a similar way, 5H T1 said that:

Metin çok çeviri kokmasını oluyor benim derdim genelde. Yani metni yerelleştirmeye çalışıyorum. Yaptığım çeviri kulak tırmalısın istemiyorum. Su gibi akıp gitsin istiyorum (personal communication, November 7, 2018).



My concern usually is that the text does not sound like a translation. So, I try to domesticate the text. I do not want my translation to sound unnatural. I want it to flow like water (The researcher's back translation).

All excerpts discussed under this code label showed that most of the interviewees tend to remain faithful to ST, they absolutely oppose the subversive translation methods such as hijacking, but they welcome and support the use of paratext. They make use of paratexts mostly to contextualize the ST rather than making themselves visible as a translator. It was also found out that Çatlak Zemin translators do not worry about translator visibility. Some translators argued that the translator could, even should, remain unanimous in the activist translations. The emphasis some translators put on fluency is another important issue that emerged under this code label. Accordingly, it can be claimed once more that any feminist translation practice cannot completely comply with prescriptive feminist translation theory, thus each feminist translation and/or translator should be evaluated and discussed within its own context.

#### **4.5.1.7. The translators' views on translation's role, position and/or importance in feminist movement**

FTS, as stated before, tries to challenge and deconstruct the traditional hierarchy between TT and ST and considers translation equal to the original text. Additionally, especially in recent years, the second paradigm of FTS emphasizes that translation is vital for feminist movement and struggle, therefore it is crucial to focus not only on feminism's impact on translation but also on the impact and importance of translation on feminism. To reveal the views of the translators on these issues, the researcher asked two questions to them: What do you think about the role, importance and contribution of translation in/to the feminist struggle? Can translating a feminist text be considered equal to writing a feminist text?

The answers of the translators showed that they do not agree on whether translation can be considered equal to ST or not. While 5H T3, 5H T4, 5H T5 and ÇZ T1 stated translation can be considered equal to ST, 5H T7, ÇZ T2 and ÇZ T4 claimed that it cannot be considered.

The translators who consider translation equal to, even more important than, the ST expressed their views as follows:

[B]en feminist bir metni çevirmenin feminist bir metni kaleme almakla eşdeğer olduğunu düşünüyorum. Kesinlikle biri diğerinden daha az önemli değil (5H T3, personal communication, August 9, 2019).

[I] think translating a feminist text is equivalent to writing a feminist text. For sure, one is no less important than the other (The researcher's back translation).

Elbette mücadelede önemli bir yeri var. Çevrilen metin, feminist birikime katkı sağlayacak, yeni tartışmalara fırsat tanıyacaktır. Bu bağlamda çeviriyi, feminist bir metni kaleme almakla eş değer görüyorum (5H T5, personal communication, September 6, 2019).

Of course, it has an important place in the struggle. The translated text will contribute to feminist philosophy/agenda and provide the opportunity for new debates. In this context, I consider translating equivalent to writing a feminist text (The researcher's back translation).

Çevirilerin de en az kaleme alınan original yazılar kadar değerli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Dünyadaki feminizmlerden, feminist mücadeleden haberdar olmak o dili konuşmayan insanların da ihtiyacı olan bir şey. [...]. Ben mesela kişisel olarak konuşursam, feminist çeviri olmasaydı büyük ihtimalle feminist olmazdım şuanda, bu kadar fazla içinde olmazdım feminist mücadelenin. 5Harfliler okuyan çoğu insanda bence böyledir hata. Bence feminist mücadelenin gerçekten içinde olan insanlar, Judith Butler gibi büyük yazarların çevirilerini okuyarak şuan ne düşündükleri oluşturmuş insanlar. O yüzden ben feminist çevirinin feminist mücadelede çok büyük bir yeri olduğunu düşünüyorum. [...] Hatta feminist bir metni çevirmek, feminist bir metin kaleme almaktan daha da önemli bence. Çünkü eğer zaten şuan da dünyada ne olup bitiyor görmezsek, dünyada nasıl teoriler var, nasıl feminizmler var bilmezsek yeni metinler kaleme almamız çok daha zor olur diye düşünüyorum (5H T4, personal communication, August 24, 2019).

I think translations are as valuable as original writings. Being aware of feminisms and the feminist struggle across the world is something that people who do not speak that language also need. [...]. Personally speaking, if it was not feminist translation, for example, I probably would not be a feminist and I would not be in so much involved in the feminist struggle. I think it is also true for most people who read 5Harfliler. I believe people who are deeply involved in the feminist struggle are those who have created their current thoughts by reading translations of great authors such as Judith Butler. So, I think that feminist translation has a central place in the feminist struggle. [...] For me, it is even more important to translate a feminist text than to write a feminist text. This is because if we do not see what is going on in the world, if we do not know how theories exist in the world and how feminisms exist, I think it will be much harder for us to write new texts (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, it was found out that some translators who see translation inferior to ST reproduced and maintained the traditional hierarchy between TT and ST. 5H T7 stated that:

Feminist mücadele bağlamında feminist bir metni çevirmeyi feminist bir metni kaleme almakla yakın görsem de eşdeğer görmüyorum. Bir metnin kaleme alınmasında, o metni sıfırdan ortaya çıkarmada çeviriye göre daha çok emeğin olduğunu düşünüyorum (personal communication, October 27, 2019).

Although I consider translating a feminist text similar to writing a feminist text in the context of the feminist struggle, I do not consider them equivalent. I think there is more labour in writing a text from scratch compared to translation (The researcher's back translation).

In a similar way, ÇZ T3 explained that:

Bir metni çevirmek feminist bir metin yazmakla eşdeğer değildir. Ancak feminist bir yazıyı çevirerek feminizm öğrenilebilir ve feminist olunabilir. (personal communication, November 7, 2019).

Translating a text is not equivalent to writing a feminist text. However, one can learn feminism and become a feminist by translating a feminist text (The researcher's back translation).

Although the translators disagree about whether translation can be considered equal to ST or not and some translators consider translation inferior and subordinate to ST, they

all agree that translation is crucial for feminism and the women's movement to progress. Highlighting the importance of sharing experience in feminism, 5H T2 explained why translation is so vital to feminism as follows:

Feminizmlerde "tecrübe paylaşımı" çok önemli bir yer tuttuğu için yabancı dilde yazılmış metinlerin Türkçeye çevrilmesini çok önemli buluyorum. İngilizce yazan birinin kendi tecrübesini anlattığı, ya da İngilizce yazan feminist bir filozofun feminist tartışmalara katkı sağladığı eserlerin yalnızca Türkçe bilen okur tarafından okunabilmesi "tecrübe paylaşımı" anlamında çok değerli. Üstelik "yalnızlaştırma", "sadece buralı olana ilgiyi makbul kılma" gibi tutucu yöntemlere karşı da güzel bir mücadele alanı/cevap çeviri (5H T2, personal communication, August 8, 2019).

I believe it is very important to translate texts written in foreign languages into Turkish because "experience sharing" occupies a significant place in feminism. It is really valuable for "experience sharing" that readers who speak only Turkish can read texts in which an English-writing author tell her or his experience or an English-writing feminist philosopher contributes to feminist debates. Translation is also a good field of struggle or response against conservative methods such as "isolating" and "acknowledging interest only in the local" (The researcher's back translation).

5H T7 emphasized that translation creates a sense of unity and solidarity among different women and feminists in different parts of the world:

Feminist metinleri çevirmenin feminist mücadele için çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Farklı insanların farklı coğrafyalarda, farklı kültürlerde, farklı şartlarda aynı davanın mücadelesini verdiklerini, benzer zorluklarla başa çıktıklarını görmek insanlar arasında bir birlik ve dayanışma hissi yaratıyor bence. Feminizm herkes için, her yerde, her kültürde. O nedenle farklı kültürlerin seslerini duymak ve duyurmak da gerekiyor (5H T7, personal communication, October 27, 2019).

I think translating feminist texts is very important for the feminist struggle. It creates a sense of unity and solidarity among people to see that different people struggle for the same cause and deal with similar challenges in different geographies, in different cultures, and under different conditions. Feminism is for everyone, everywhere, in every culture. Therefore, it is also necessary to hear and make heard the voices of different cultures (The researcher's back translation).

All the other translators who share similar ideas with 5H T2 and 5H T7 said that translation enables feminist knowledge and experience to be shared and thus allowing more people to learn feminism and to become feminist. They also underlined that translation plays a crucial role in fostering new feminist discussions and creating new awareness in the target societies.

#### **4.5.1.8. The websites' translation policies**

The most striking excerpts from the interviews made with the editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin will be discussed, respectively, under this code label to reveal the translation policies of the websites and how they instrumentalise translation for their own political and/or feminist goals.

Since detailed information on how and by which criteria the websites select the texts to be translated was discussed under the code label titled “text selection”, no further information will be provided under this code label to avoid redundancy. Nevertheless, it may need to restate some points to better grasp the translation policies of the websites.

As stated before, on both websites, the texts to be translated are selected jointly by the translators and editors in line with both the general publishing policy of the website and the translators’ dispositions, individual interests, tastes and feminist concerns.

Since 5Harfliler defines itself as a website in pursuit of women’s agenda, it does not limit itself to a strict feminist agenda and thus the translated articles published on 5Harfliler are not always expected to carry out a feminist discussion. The editors of 5Harfliler (5H T6/E1 and 5H E2) stated that 5Harfliler generally attempts to translate mind-opening and up-to-date STs that could initiate a strong discussion (not necessarily a feminist discussion), raise awareness, question and challenge a canonical belief. They also highlighted that the texts to be translated and published on 5Harfliler should (and could) not be misogynist, homophobic and racist, or not contain any hate speech. 5H E2 added that they do not follow a very strict translation policy other than this basic principle and every person who contributes to 5Harfliler is in pursuit of her/his own agenda.

5H E2 explained that 5Harfliler instrumentalises translation for three different purposes in general. The first purpose is to bring mind-opening and up-to-date foreign (not necessarily feminist) texts into Turkish and hence ensure that the Turkish readers who do not know foreign languages are aware of these texts and discussion. The second purpose is to translate some important concepts into Turkish and to think over the potential Turkish equivalents of these concepts. 5H E2 explained their effort to find a Turkish equivalent to a newly coined term, “mansplaining”, as follows:

“Mansplaining” hakikaten kadınların sürekli karşılaştığı bir durum, bir sorun. Biz de bu mesele üzerine kafa yorarken terimi nasıl Türkçeleştirebiliriz diye düşündük. Twitter üzerinden okurlarımıza sorduk “Arkadaşlar bu terimi nasıl çevirebiliriz?” diye. Bir okurumuzun önerisiydi aslında “açıklama”. “Açıklama” önerisi oldukça beğenildi ve tuttu da daha sonrasında. Onun dışında da bir sürü harika öneri gelmişti. “Açık oturum”, “sıkzah etmek” bunlardan bazıları mesela (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

“Mansplaining” is indeed a situation, a problem that women face all the time. While we were thinking about this issue, we ponder how we could translate the term into Turkish. We asked our readers on Twitter: “Friends, how can we translate this term?”. “Açıklama” was actually a suggestion from a reader. The suggestion “açıklama” was liked a lot and became popular.

Besides that, we received a lot of great suggestions. Some of these, for example, are “açık oturum” and “sıkzah etmek” (The researcher’s back translation).

Given the first Canadian feminist translators’ effort to translate the experimental feminist writing, its unconventional spellings and structures, neologisms and puns, 5Harfliler’s efforts to translate the term, mansplaining, can be considered as a feminist translation practice.

5H E2 also stated that 5Harfliler instrumentalises translation to create a political manoeuvre field when producing original content poses some political and criminal risks:

Belli politik meselelere doğrudan Türkçe özgün bir yazı yazarak ya da yayınlarken katkı sunamıyorsak, bir takım kriminal tehlikelerden ve risklerden ötürü belli yazarları tehlikeye atmak istemiyorsak ya da zaten yazarlar çeşitli çekincelerle original içerik üretmek istemiyorlarsa o konularda, o zaman hemen çeviriye başvuruyoruz mesela. Bu meseleyle ilgili konuşabilecek, tartışma yaratabilecek ne yayımlayabiliriz, Dünyanın değişik yerlerinde ne oldu ya da Türkiye’deki bu meseleyle ilgili 10 sene evvel ne yayınlandı, bir şey çevirip yayımlayabilir miyiz diye düşünüyoruz hemen. Çeviriye böyle bir kullanışlılık da atfediyoruz diyeyim. Çeviri politik manevra yapma imkânı tanıyor bize. Çünkü yazı yazmakla karşılaştırıldığında, çeviri yayınladığımız için mahkemeye verilmeniz daha düşük bir ihtimal. Kısacası bazı durumlarda çeviri bize riske girmeden tartışmayı sürdürme olanağı sunuyor (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

If we cannot contribute to certain political issues by writing or publishing an original article in Turkish, if we do not want to endanger certain authors due to some criminal dangers and risks, or if authors do not want to produce original content with various reservations, then we immediately resort to translation. We think about what we can publish about this issue, what happened in different parts of the world, or what was published about this issue in Turkey 10 years ago, and if we can translate and publish something. We attribute such usefulness to translation. Translation allows us to manoeuvre politically. This is because compared to writing, you are less likely to be sued for publishing a translation. In short, in some cases, translation allows us to keep the debate without taking a risk (The researcher’s back translation).

In addition, 5H E2 emphasized that they make great efforts to publish translations from as many different sources, geographies and languages as possible. But, she added that it is not still possible to overcome the hegemony of English:

İngilizcenin hegemonyasını kesinlikle kıramıyoruz. Sitede farklı dillerden yapılan çevirileri İngilizceden yapılan çevirilerle dengelemek için herhalde iki sene boyunca İngilizceden hiç çeviri yayınlamamız ve sadece diğer dillere odaklanmamız lazım. Aslında daha önce pek çok kere çağrı da yaptık sosyal medya üzerinden: “Farklı dillerden çeviri yapabiliyorsanız lütfen bizimle iletişime geçin, bir fonumuz var ve komisyon ücreti ödüyoruz” diye. Ama ne yazık ki çok fazla dönüş olmadı (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

We absolutely cannot overcome the hegemony of English. To keep a balance between translations from different languages with translations from English, we probably have to publish no translations from English for two years and focus only on other languages. We announced many times on social media, asking: “If you can translate from different languages, please contact us. We have a fund and pay a commission fee.” But unfortunately, there were not many responses (The researcher’s back translation).

Despite the strong hegemony of English and the translators’ general tendency to translate from familiar sources mostly originating in North America and Western

Europe, 5Harfliler still strives to balance the situation and to publish translations from as many different sources, geographies and languages as possible and hence to make more women and different (feminist) discussions visible:

Mümkün olduğunca çok çeşitli coğrafyalardan çeviriler toplamaya çalışıyoruz. Örneğin Hindistan'dan, Mısır'dan, Lübnan'dan, Rusya'dan. Az önce de belirttiğim gibi farklı dillerden çeviri yapabilecek çevirmenler bulamıyoruz ne yazık ki. Bu yüzden kendimiz birşeyler yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Mesela ben Farsça öğrenmeye çalışıyorum yeni yeni. Farsça birtakım kaynaklardan faydalanarak bir iki yazı yazmaya başladım ama çeviri yapabilecek düzeyde değilim henüz. Bunun dışında, yine farklı coğrafyalardaki meselelere daha çok yer verebilmek için o coğrafyalarda yaşayan insanların yazdıkları İngilizce metinleri çeviriyoruz ya da o coğrafyalarda İngilizce yayın yapan sitelerini takip ediyoruz. Hindistan'da örneğin İngilizce feminist web siteleri var, onları takip ediyoruz. Çevirmenlere mümkün olduğunca farklı kaynaklardan topladığımız metinleri gönderiyoruz. Çünkü onların kendi seçip çevirdikleri ve bize gönderdikleri metinler genellikle çok bilinen the Guardian, New York Times gibi kaynaklardan oluyor. Bunu kırmak içinde olabildiğince farklı kaynaktan, websitesinden ve bloglardan metin seçmeye çalışıyoruz (5H E2, personal communication, October 31, 2009).

We try to collect translations from as many different geographies as possible. For example, from India, Egypt, Lebanon, and Russia. As I said earlier, we cannot find translators who can translate from different languages. So, we are trying to do something on our own. For example, I am just trying to learn Persian. I started to write a few articles using some sources in Persian, but I am not yet able to translate. Also, to give more space to the issues in different geographies, we translate English texts written by people living in those geographies or follow websites in English in those geographies. In India, for example, there are feminist websites in English, we follow them. We send to translators the texts that we collect from as many different sources as possible because the texts they select to translate and send to us often come from well-known sources such as The Guardian, and The New York Times. To overcome it, we try to select texts from as many different sources, websites, and blogs as possible (The researcher's back translation).

As may be understood from the excerpt, 5Harfliler makes great efforts to break the hegemony of English and to make more women and different (feminist) discussions visible. However, the analyses conducted within the scope of this dissertation revealed that only 7 (4,1%) out of 169 translated articles on 5Harfliler were translated from languages other than English. It was also seen that compared to 5Harfliler, Çatlak Zemin on which 10 (11,2%) out of 89 translated articles were translated from languages other than English is more successful in making different women and different feminist struggles visible.

When it comes to translation and translator conception of 5Harfliler, the editors' made statements supporting the findings of the paratext analysis made within the scope of this dissertation. They clearly stated that they consider the translation equal to the ST and the translator to the author. 5H T6/E1 expressed her views challenging the traditional hierarchy between translation and ST as follows:

Çevirinin feminism için ne kadar önemli ve değerli olduğu kesinlikle tartışılmaz. Bu anlamda çevirinin orijinal metin ile eşdeğer sayılabileceğini düşünüyorum. Fıttilediği tartışma, konuşma ve diyalog, bir yazının çeviri olup olmaması tarafından belirlenmiyor. Etkisi, dilinin gücü ve okuyucusunda tekabül ettiği yer tarafından belirleniyor, başka birçok şeyin yanında. Her çeviri

bir yeniden yazma ve mutabakat sürecidir. Özellikle feminist içerik bağlamında böyle bir hiyerarşik değer sistemi işletmenin iyi bir fikir olacağından emin değilim (personal communication, October 25, 2019).

It is absolutely indisputable how important and valuable translation is to feminism. In this sense, I believe the translation could be considered equivalent to the original text. The discussion, conversation, and dialogue that a text stimulates are not determined by whether it is translated or not. Its impact is determined by the power of its language and its place in its reader, among many other things. Each translation is a rewriting and reconciliation process. I am not sure it would be a good idea to have such a hierarchical value system, especially in the context of feminist content (The researcher back translation).

The other editor of 5Harfliler, 5H E2, explained that translation is indispensable for feminism, especially for transnational feminism. She also stated she attaches great importance to translator visibility. Indeed, her following statements clarify why on 5Harfliler the names and profile pictures of translators appear at the same place where the names and profile pictures of the authors appear in the original Turkish articles:

Çevirmen görünürlüğüne önem verdiğimiz için sitedeki çevir metinlerde çevirmenin adını, Türkçe metinlerde yazarın adının olduğu yere koyuyoruz. Çünkü çevirmenin ortaya koyduğu müthiş bir emek var. Dolayısıyla çevirmenin adı da bas bas bağırmalı ben burdayım diye. Ben mesela kitapların kapağında çevirmen adı yazmayınca da çok sinirleniyorum. Çevirmen o kadar emek vermiş, en azından kapağın altında bir yere adının yazılması gerekir diye düşünüyorum. Bazı kitapların, geçtim kapaklarını künyelerin de bile yazmıyor çevirmenin adı. Çok çok ayıp bir şey bence. Ben kendi çevirdiğim metinlerde böyle bir şey olduğunda çok üzülüyorum, alınıyorum, çünkü biliyorum ona ne kadar emek gittiğini (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

Because we care about the visibility of translators, we put the translator's name in the translated texts on the website in the same place as the author's name in the Turkish texts. This is because there is a big effort devoted by the translator. So, the translator's name has to clamour: "I am here". I get very angry, for example, when the translator's name does not appear on book covers. The translator works so hard to translate, so I think her or his name should be at least written somewhere on the bottom of the cover. Some books do not mention the translator's name even on the copyright page, let alone the cover. I think it is very, very rude. When something like this happens in the texts I translate, I get very upset, I get offended because I know how much effort went into it (The researcher's back translation).

In addition, paying translators and authors equally, 5Harfliler proves once again that it sees the translator equal to the author. 5H E2 confirmed this situation as follows:

Ben çeviri yapmakla yazı yazmayı birbirinden ayrı düşünemiyorum. Çeviri olmadan, çeviri metin analizi yapmadan, yazar olunabileceğini de çok düşünmüyorum. [...] Yani hem yazara, hem çevirmene aynı parayı verdiğimizden anlaşılacağı üzere biz bayağı eşit görüyoruz çevirmen ile yazarı (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

I cannot differentiate between writing and translating. I do not think that one can be a writer without translating, without analysing a translated text. [...] In other words, as it is clear from the same amount of money that we give to both the writer and the translator, we see them quite equally (The researcher's back translation).

As is understood from this excerpt, 5Harfliler pays the translators even equally with the authors. 5H E2 pointed out that no fees could be paid to translators and authors until 2014, and all contributions to 5Harfliler were voluntary until that time. However, she added that they have paid the translators and authors since 2014 when they began

to receive funding. She explained why 5Harfliler finds it important to pay women who write and translate:

Geçenlerde Çatlak Zemin ekibiyle bir panelde beraberdik. Onlar mesela yazarlara ve çevirmenlere ödeme yapılmasına karşı çıkıyorlar. Çünkü onlar kolektivitinin kesinlikle para içermemesi gerektiğini düşünüyorlar. Ama biz öyle düşünmüyoruz. Biz herkesin emeğinin karşılığını muhakkak alması gerektiğine inanıyoruz. 9. yüzyılda Irak’da bir kadın yazar, yazarlık yaparak geçinebiliyordu ya da Christine de Pizan ölmüş kocasının ardından çocuklarına sadece yazarlık yaparak bakabiliyordu. Bu çok önemli bir şey. Virginia Woolf “kendine ait bir oda” derken tam da bunu kastediyor bence. O kitaba bakarsanız Woolf bayağı paradan bahsediyor zaten. [...] Nasıl kahve yapmaktan para kazanıyorsanız, kumaş dikmekten, örgü örmekten, gözlük yapmaktan, bir şeyleri tamirden para kazanıyorsanız, yazmak da müthiş bir emek ve yatırım. Dolayısıyla tabiki yazarlık da para kazanacaksınız. Hele ki hayatınızı bunun üzerine kurmak istiyorsanız. Yani bence bunu bilakis desteklemek gerekiyor. Demek istediğim kadınların yazarlık ve/veya çevirerek hayatını devam ettirebilmesi çok önemli bir şey ve bunun desteklenmesi gerekiyor. Biz de bunu yapmaya çalışıyoruz (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

Recently, we were together with the Çatlak Zemin team on a panel. They, for example, oppose paying authors and translators because they think collectivity should definitely not involve money. But we do not think so. We believe that everyone should definitely receive the reward of their efforts. A woman author in Iraq in the 9th century could make a living by writing, or Christine de Pizan could look after her children after the death of her husband only by writing. This is very important. I think that is exactly what Virginia Woolf meant by “A Room of One’s Own”. If you look at that book, Woolf is talking about a lot of money. [...] Just as you make money making coffee, sewing, knitting, making glasses, and fixing things, writing is a tremendous effort and investment. So, of course, you will make money writing. Especially if you want to build your life around it. So, on the contrary, I think this must be supported. I mean it is very important that women can make a living by writing and/or translating, and this needs to be supported. That is what we are trying to do (The researcher’s back translation).

These statements of 5H E2 clearly shows how the translation policies of the websites are largely shaped and determined by their own ideological and political viewpoints.

5H E2 also stated that 5Harfliler supports the use of paratexts in translation just as they support the translator visibility. She argued that the translator could and should intervene in the ST by using paratext when necessary. She exemplified how she, as an editor, intervened in and changed the trans-exclusive expression in the ST by adding an editor note. Additionally, like FTS scholars, 5H E2 argued that the interventions and changes made by translators and/or editors should necessarily be explained in the paratexts:

Çevirmen kaynak metindeki kadın düşmanı, homofobik, transfobik bir ifadeyi ya da nefret söylemini sürdürmemek için gerektiğinde kaynak metne müdahale edebilir ve bu ifadeleri değiştirebilir. Ancak neyi değiştirdiğini ve neden değiştiğini söylemek ile yükümlü çevirmen. Yani sanki orijinal metin buymuş gibi de davranmamak gerekiyor. Hatta eğer feminist kaygılarla yapıyorsak bu değişiklikleri özellikle belirtmeliyiz yazdığımız notta ki insanlar da görsün nasıl bir kaygıyla o metni çevirdiğimizi ve yayınladığımızı. Bu sebeple paratext kullanımını ben bilakis öğretici buluyorum. Bizim editörler ve çevirmenler olarak bir sorumluluğumuz var. Biz bu tür dışlayıcı, nefret içeren sözleri yayınlamayız, yayınlamamız gerekir. Bence böyle durumlarda kesinlikle politik bir tavır alınmalı. Dolayısıyla, paratextlerin böylesi amaçlarla kullanılmasını sonuna kadar destekliyorum ve bence her yayın bunu yapmakla mesul (personal communication, October 31, 2019).



The translator may interfere with and change the source text when necessary to avoid retaining a misogynistic, homophobic, transphobic expression or hate speech in the source text. But the translator has to say what was changed and why it was changed. In other words, you should not act as if it was the original text. If we are doing it with feminist concerns, we should specifically mention these changes in the note we write so that people can see what concerns we have while translating and publishing that text. For this reason, I find the use of paratexts instructive. We, as editors and translators, have a responsibility. We cannot, we must not publish such exclusionary, hateful remarks. I think, in situations like this, there should be a political attitude. Therefore, I fully support the use of paratexts for such purposes, and I think every publication is responsible for doing so (The researcher's back translation).

At the end of the interview, 5H E2 summarized 5Harfliler's future plans and policies regarding translation as follows:

İlk olarak daha fazla çevirmen istiyoruz, daha fazla dilden düzenli olarak çeviri yayınlamak istiyoruz. Örneğin biri düzenli olarak Farsçadan, biri düzenli olarak Arapçadan çeviri yapın istiyoruz. Hele ki şu konjonktürde, ülkede yaşayan 4 milyon Suriyeli varken, Arapçadan düzenli çeviri yayınlamamak çok ayıp bence. Suriyeli kadınları, sorunlarını, deneyimlerini yeterince değil, hiç yansıtmıyoruz. Onları yansıtabilecek daha fazla röportaj ve röportaj çevirisi yayınlamak istiyoruz. Bizim hepimizin 5Harfliler olarak 4-5 senedir bayağı dertlendiğimiz bir mesele bu. İkinci olarak, sürekli olarak okuduğumuz online yayınlardan değil de, daha geçmişteki matbu yayınlardan bir şeyler alıp, dünyanın değişik yerlerinde yayınlanmış feminist dergilerin, feminist yayıncılığın bir takım örneklerini alıp, onları çevirmek istiyoruz. Örneğin 1988 yılında Almanya'da yayınlanan değerli gördüğümüz feminist bir yazıyı çevirip yayınlamak istiyoruz. Ama bunun için iyi çevirmenler gerekiyor ve ne yazık ki çok fazla bulamadık, çok az var. Üçüncü olarak ise, biliyorsunuz Türkiye'de Latin alfabesine geçildikten sonra uzun yıllar boyunca Osmanlıdaki feminist hareket görmezden gelindi. Latin alfabesinden evvelki metinler, feminist kadın yayınları, feminizmi terim olarak da kullanan yayınlar şimdilerde daha çok çalışılıyor. Biz de böylesi metinlerin transliterasyonunu ve dil içi çevirisini yapmak ve yayınlamak istiyoruz (personal communication, October 31, 2019).

First, we want more translators, we want to publish translations from more languages regularly. For example, we want one to translate from Persian regularly and one from Arabic regularly. Especially under the current circumstances, when four million Syrians are living in the country, I think it is a shame not to publish translations from Arabic regularly. We cannot reflect Syrian women, their problems, and their experiences, not a bit. We would like to publish more interviews and interview translations that can reflect them. It is a matter that we all, as 5Harfliler, have been worried about for 4 or 5 years. Second, we want to take and translate something from past printed publications, not from online publications that we constantly read, and translate some examples of feminist magazines and feminist publishing that have been published in different parts of the world. For example, we would like to translate and publish a feminist article published in Germany in 1988 that we believe valuable. But to do this, we need good translators. Unfortunately, we have not found many, there are very few translators. Third, after the introduction of the Latin alphabet in Turkey, the feminist movement in the Ottoman Empire was ignored for many years. Texts before the Latin alphabet, feminist women's publications, and publications that use feminism as a term are now studied much more. We also want to transliterate and publish intralingual translations of such texts (The researcher's back translation).

When it comes to Çatlak Zemin, like the editors of 5Harfliler, the editor, ÇZ T4/E1, emphasized that they basically pay attention to what the content should not be rather than what it should be:

Siteye konacak yazılar hakkında belli başlı bir takım kriterlerimiz var. Sadece çeviri metinler için değil, tüm yazılar için geçerli. Antifeminist, kadın düşmanı, milliyetçi, ırkçı, homofobik vs. içerikleri kesinlikle siteye koymuyoruz. Bu çeviriler için de geçerli. Dolayısıyla geriye kalan metinler zaten feminist metinler olmuş oluyor [...] (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

We have certain criteria for articles to publish on the website. Not only for translations, but they also apply to all articles. We certainly do not publish, on the website, anti-feminist, misogynist, nationalist content and so on. This is also true for translations. So, what remains is feminist texts [...] (The researcher's back translation).

The biggest difference between 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin is that unlike 5Harfliler which does not limit itself with feminist agenda, Çatlak Zemin attempts to follow a feminist agenda and selects the texts to be published on the website primarily in line with its own feminist concerns. ÇZ T4/E1 explained feminism- and women-oriented publishing policy of Çatlak Zemin and the ideology underlying this policy as follows:

Çatlak zemin feminist bir site. Kadınlar ve kadınlık dar değil, daha geniş bir tanım üzerinden buna yaklaşıyoruz ama her ne kadar güzel bir metin olsa da toplumsal cinsiyet, kadınlık, eşitsizlik vs. gibi şeyleri odağına almayan bir yazının yazı olarak ya da çeviri olarak bizim sitede çok yerinin olmadığını düşünüyoruz. Hani böyle çok solcu, sosyalist, çok olumlu çeşitli yazılar önümüze gelebiliyor ama hani bunun adresi bizim site değil diyoruz o zaman. Bizim kendimize biçtiğimiz yer belli. [...] Bağımsız bir kadın hareketine duyulan ihtiyaç hiçbir zaman ortadan kalkmadı. Çünkü kadın mücadelesini kendi altında eritmeye çalışan çok fazla sol, sosyalist vs. yapı zaten mevcut. SFK [Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif] kurulduğunda erkeklerden ve sermayeden bağımsız olmak, fon almamak, erkeklerle kişiler olarak beraber iş yapmanın dışında örgütsel olarak erkeklerinde bulunduğu bir yerde var olmak bizim büyük "hayır" larımızdı. Bence Çatlak Zemin de içerisinde bulunan insanlar itibarıyla o terbiyeyi çok almış bir yer. O bağımsızlık dediğim gibi bizim için çok önemli (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Çatlak Zemin is a feminist website. Women and femininity are not narrow, we approach them through a broader definition. But we think that there is not much room on our website for a piece of writing or translation that does not focus on gender, femininity, inequality, etc., no matter how beautiful it is. Sometimes we receive various articles, very leftist, socialist, very positive articles. But we say our website is not the place to publish them. We know where we stand. [...] The need for an independent women's movement has never disappeared because there are too many leftists, socialist constructs that are trying to dissolve the women's struggle within themselves. When the SFK [Socialist Feminist Collective] was founded, it was our primary "objective" to be independent of men and capital, not to receive funding, and to be in a place where men are organisationally present, apart from to work with men as individuals. I believe Çatlak Zemin is a site which, together with its community, has this typical manner quite a lot. That independence, as I said, is really important to us (The researcher's back translation).

Indeed, these statements of ÇZ T4/E1 highlighted another difference between the publishing (and translation) policies of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. As is understood from the excerpt above, unlike 5Harfliler which has received funding since 2014, Çatlak Zemin strongly opposes receiving funding in line with the socialist feminist ideology it adopts. ÇZ T4/E1 emphasized that:

Çatlak Zemin'de her şey gönüllülük esasına dayanıyor. Hiçbir yerden fon almıyoruz, tek kuruş para yok. Yazılan yazılara telif veremiyoruz. Çeviriler için telif ödeyemiyoruz. Yapılan işler tamamen gönüllülük üzerine yapılıyor (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Everything on Çatlak Zemin is voluntary. We do not get funding from anywhere, not a penny. We cannot make a royalty payment for articles. We cannot pay royalties for translations, either. All the work done is done entirely voluntarily (the researcher's back translation).

Additionally, ÇZ T4/E1 stated that the translator should adhere to the ST, especially to its content:

Kaynak metnin içeriğini değiştirecek, mesajlarını yontacak ya da tamamen ortadan kaldıracak bir müdahale bence kabul edilemez (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

An intervention that would change the content of the source text and partially or completely eliminate its messages is unacceptable in my opinion (The researcher's back translation).

She also argued that it is not very meaningful to translate a text that will require a (feminist) intervention:

Eğer niyetimiz yazarın sesini başkalarına duyurmak değilse, metnin içeriği de müdahale etmemizi gerektiyorsa neden o metni çevirelim ki? [...] Dediğim gibi zaten seçtiğimiz metinlerde kıstasımız antifeminist, kadın düşmanı bir içeriğin olmaması oluyor, dolayısıyla ayrıca bir müdahalede bulunmamıza gerek kalmıyor. Yani müdahale etmemiz gerekecek bir yazıyı biz zaten çevirelim demeyiz (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

If our intention is not to make the author's voice known to others and if the content of the text requires us to intervene, then why should we translate it? [...] As I said, for the texts we choose to translate, our criterion is that they have no anti-feminist, misogynistic content so that there will be no need to intervene. We would not translate a text at all that requires us to intervene (The researcher's back translation).

On the other hand, ÇZ T4/E1 said that the translators' use of self-reflexive paratexts is acceptable for Çatlak Zemin. However, she added that these paratexts should be meaningful:

Metnin içerisine değil de önüne arkasına yedirilen self-reflexive paratextler ve tartışmalar bence son derece kabul edilebilir. Ama bunun bir anlamı olması lazım değil mi. "Bu çeviriyi yapmak 3 günümü aldı" diye bir not yazmak kimseye bir şey kazandırmıyor (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Self-reflexive paratexts and discussions added to the beginning and end of the text, rather than those fused into the text, are, in my opinion, highly acceptable. But it has to mean something, right? Writing a note that "It took me three days to do this translation" does no good to anyone (The researcher's back translation).

Like the other interviewees, ÇZ T4/E1 acknowledged the importance of translation for the feminist movement. But she emphasized that writing and/or translating should not be the main focus of the feminist struggle:

Dediğim gibi ben kendim de feminizme tam da bu çeviri metinleri okuyarak geldiğim için çevirinin önemini tabi ki kavıyorum. Tabi ki de çok önemli, çünkü dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde bazı konularda bazen çok yol alınmış olunuyor ve biz bunları çeviri sayesinde öğreniyoruz. [...] Ama feminist mücadelenin odağı çeviri ya da yazılı metinler mi olmalı, hayır. Ben hala sokaktan yanayım (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

As I said, I myself came to feminism by reading translated texts, of course, I see the importance of translation. It is, for sure, very important because some issues in various parts of the world have sometimes come a long way and we learn them through translation. [...] Should the focus of the feminist struggle be translated or written texts? None of them. I am still for the Street (The researcher's back translation).

At the end of the interview, ÇZ T4/E1 explained the future plans and policies of Çatlak Zemin as follows:

Tabi ki bizim hedefimiz her zaman belli bir takım toplumsal deęişimlerin bir parçası olmak ve sokaęa geri dönmek bir noktada. Ama tabi buna çok yakın olmadığımızın da farkındayız. Dolayısıyla şu anda Çatlak Zemin kurulduęu zamankinden çok farklı bir misyonla ilerlemiyor. Hala en bir araya gelinebilir mecra olan dijital ortamda kadınları bir araya getirmek ve bunu yapmaya devam etmek şuanda bence öncelikli hedef (personal communication, November 16, 2019).

Our goal is always to be a part of a certain set of social changes and to go back on the street at some point. But, of course, we know that we are not close to that point. So, Çatlak Zemin does not have a very different mission from when it was established. It is still my primary goal to bring women together in the digital environment, which is still the most affordable medium and to keep doing it (The researcher's back translation).

All these statements of ÇZ T4/E1 revealed once more that like 5Harfliler, Çatlak Zemin determines its publishing (and translation) policy in line with its own feminist ideology.

#### **4.5.2. The Discussion of the Results of the Interview Analysis**

The 14 interviews conducted with the translators and editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin were analysed under 8 code labels determined in line with the research questions and theoretical and conceptual framework of the dissertation. The results of the interview analysis firstly showed that all interviewees are well-educated in different fields of social sciences, they know at least one foreign language and thus have high cultural capitals and hold high titles. Additionally, all interviewees describe themselves as feminists, therefore it can be said that all of them have feminist consciousness and, undoubtedly, their feminist consciousness, subjectivities and identities affect and shape their translation practices.

The results of the interview analysis also revealed that the agents met the websites thanks to their social capitals. It was seen that compared to the agents of 5Harfliler, the translators and editors of Çatlak Zemin have a more organized social capital and they came together thanks to the friendship they developed within the feminist groups and collectives.

Another important result of the interview analysis was that none of the interviewees had taken a course in feminist translation and only 5 translators (4 from 5Harfliler, 3 of whom hold BA in TS and 1 from Çatlak Zemin) had heard of the concept, feminist translation, before. However, it was also seen that all translators except two (ÇZ T1 and ÇZ T4/E1) could define and interpret feminist translation in a similar way to FTS despite their lack of official training and academic/theoretical knowledge on FTS.

The interviews also showed that the interviewees tend to adhere to the STs and they absolutely oppose hijacking and/or any translatorial intervention subverting the content and message of the STs. However, they welcome and support the use of paratext. They emphasized that a translatorial intervention if it is absolutely required, could (and should) be made through paratexts without subverting the content and message of the ST. They also said that they make use of paratexts to explain or justify their translation decisions and choices and mostly to enable the readers to contextualize the text but not to make themselves as a translator visible. Thus, the results of the paratextual analysis conducted within the scope of the dissertation were verified by the interviewees. Meanwhile, it should also be stated that the interviewees put special attention to the fluency and easy readability of the translations.

It was also found that although the interviewees disagree about whether translation can be seen equal to the ST or not and some translators still consider translation inferior and subordinate to the ST and hence maintaining the traditional hierarchy, they all agree that translation is indispensable for feminism.

Indeed, the interviews most importantly revealed how the publication and hence the translation policies of the websites are shaped and determined by their ideological and feminist standpoints. For instance, the editors of 5Harfliler emphasized that 5Harfliler is in pursuit of women's agenda and therefore the translated texts to be published on 5Harfliler are not always expected to carry out a feminist discussion. Thus, they verified the results of the thematic analysis. Additionally, they stated that they attach great importance to translator visibility and paying the translators. On the other hand, the editors of Çatlak Zemin stressed that Çatlak Zemin is a feminist website and hence any text to be published on the website should necessarily have a feminist viewpoint. They also said that they do not worry about being visible as a translator and/or an activist and do (could) not pay the translators because they argue that becoming collective requires being voluntary and invisible as an individual. It should also be stated that not only general (publishing) policies of the websites, but also the agents' (translators and editors) own dispositions, mindsets, personal interests, tastes and needs, and/or feminist concerns have a decisive effect on the translation policies of the websites. Given all these facts, it becomes clearer that feminist translation theory

should not be prescriptive, and each feminist translation and/or translator should be discussed and evaluated within its own specific context.

Finally, it needs to be restated that the researcher could interview only 11 translators (7 from 5Harfliler and 4 from Çatlak Zemin) out of 36 translators (24 from 5Harfliler and 12 from Çatlak Zemin) targeted to be interviewed. Therefore, the findings and results of the interview analysis cannot be generalized to all 36 translators. However, both the interviews made with the editors of the websites and the fact that the interviewed translators are among the translators who translate most feminist themed articles on the websites increase the validity of the findings and results of the interview analysis.



## 5. CONCLUSION

Feminism has gone through four waves since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when it first appeared. The first wave feminism demanded and struggled for equal rights and freedom for women. The first wave feminists were criticized for not tackling the inequalities rooted in the private sphere. The second wave feminism which put special emphasis on the inequalities and oppression in the private sphere was born in the 1960s. However, after a while, it began to be criticized for focusing only on heterosexual, middle-class and white women and ignoring the differences among women and thus the third wave feminism emerged in the 1990s. The third wave feminists criticized and challenged the essentialist conception of women and gender and highlighted the differences and power relations among women. Accordingly, feminism would not be expected to remain monolithic when going through these waves. Different feminisms began to emerge especially since the 1970s. Linguistic/French feminism, which also emerged in the 1970s, argued that women's subordination is rooted in the language itself, therefore women's liberation passes through language, too. In the 2000s, especially when the internet became widespread and women started to use the internet actively for their feminist/activist purposes, the fourth wave feminism (i.e. online feminism, hashtag feminism or twitter feminism) has come up. Women in Turkey, like all other women in the world, have begun to use the internet for campaigning, for sharing and disseminating their feminist thoughts, for making their voice heard, for strengthening the solidarity among women and hence creating a digital sisterhood.

Like feminism, Translation Studies (TS) has undergone various paradigm shifts (i.e. turns) since the 1970s. In the 1970s, the linguistic theories and approaches in TS which are generally prescriptive, source-oriented, and text-based began to be challenged and replaced by the cultural theories and approaches which are generally descriptive, target-oriented, corpus-based, functional and systemic. As a result, the cultural turn emerged in the 1990s. However, after a while, some TS scholars argued that the theories and approaches emerged during the cultural turn fail to integrate translational agents and institutions into their framework and to explain close interaction between agents and social structure. They emphasized that a sociological eye is required to explain the translational behaviour of the agents and to reveal the social forces that

shape and influence the translation process. Thus, translation sociology i.e. sociological turn in TS emerged. Translation sociology argues that translational agents are social agents and translation is a social activity that deeply affects, and is affected by, social configurations. TS scholars who think that translation phenomenon needs to be analysed sociologically, make use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the different sociologists. Pierre Bourdieu is one of the most prominent sociologists to whom TS scholars frequently refer. Bourdieu emphasizes the mutual interrelation between social and mental structures and his all central concepts (habitus, field, capital, *illusio*, and *doxa*) draw on this relationality. Therefore, Bourdieu's sociology is quite useful for TS scholars who attempt to reveal the relationship between translational agents and society, and the effect of this relationality on translation practice.

Indeed, FTS emerged as a result of the abovementioned paradigm shifts in both feminism and TS. The cultural turn in TS and the linguistic turn in feminism paved the way for fruitful interaction between feminism and TS and hence the emergence of FTS in the late 1970s and 1980s. FTS that emerged in bilingual Quebec in Canada during the translation of the interventionist and resistant feminist writing from French to English develops a new translation and translator conception. Canadian-based first paradigm of FTS radically challenges the concept of fidelity and claims that feminist translators should use every possible (subversive) translation strategy to make the feminine visible in translation and hence to subvert patriarchal language use. In other words, the first paradigm of FTS challenges the secondary status of both woman and translator and aim to make language speak for women. However, especially with the emergence of the third wave feminism and queer theory, the first paradigm of FTS has begun to be criticised by some FTS scholars and this criticism has led to the emergence of the second paradigm in FTS. The second paradigm of FTS argues that the scope of feminist translation should be expanded, and feminist translation needs to be "gender conscious" not simply "woman-centred". The second paradigm also emphasizes that Western-dominated perspective and the limited analytical focus on literary translation needs to be challenged and non-literary and non-western feminist translation practices should also be examined. Additionally, it is highlighted that feminist translation theory could (and should) not be a prescriptive theory and each feminist translation practice



should be analysed and discussed within its own specific context. All these criticisms actually point out the gaps in the field, FTS.

Paying attention to the paradigm shifts in both TS and FTS and keeping up with the digital transformation of feminism, this dissertation focuses on the translations published on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. This dissertation aims both to widen the horizon for FTS by examining online feminist translation practices in Turkey and to offer a sociological insight into FTS by scrutinizing the relationality between the online feminist translation practices and the translational agents who performed these practices.

To this end, all articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of May 2019 were chronologically compiled for each website. It was found out that 5Harfliler published 162, and Çatlak Zemin published 79 translated articles within the specified time interval.

Then, firstly, thematic analysis was conducted on the translated articles published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin to determine the texts the websites selected for translation, to find out what themes these translated texts centred on and around, and ultimately to reveal whether 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin perform feminist translation practices in terms of the themes that they selected to translate. During the thematic analysis, a 6-phase guide of Braun and Clarke (2006) was followed. The thematic map displaying the feminist themes addressed in the translated articles on the websites was generated. Given this map, feminist themed and non-feminist themed translated articles were determined. Then two sample excerpts (one from 5Harfliler and one from Çatlak Zemin) were presented and discussed for each of the 14 feminist themes displayed on the thematic map.

Secondly, given the results of the thematic analysis, a paratextual analysis was conducted on the feminist themed translated articles to see how and for what purposes the translational agents utilised paratexts. Given the theoretical discussions within FTS, the paratexts on the websites were categorized into two groups labelled as the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible and the contextualizing paratexts. To provide a better understanding of how the websites instrumentalised these two types of paratexts and what they discussed in these paratexts, the most striking 10

sample excerpts from 5Harfliler and 10 sample excerpts from Çatlak Zemin jointly selected by the researcher and her advisor were presented and analysed.

Thirdly, given the agency focus of both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology, the researcher made semi-structured interviews with 11 translators who translated at least two feminist themed translated articles on either 5Harfliler or Çatlak Zemin and with 3 editors from the websites so as to move the analyses conducted within the scope of the dissertation beyond the textual level, to scrutinize the relationality between the social and mental structures and hence to provide sociological insight into the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. The interviews were analysed under 8 code labels determined in line with the research questions and theoretical framework of the dissertation.

The interview analysis made this dissertation more comprehensive and holistic. It also enabled the researcher to verify and support the results of the thematic and paratextual analyses and hence to increase the overall reliability of the dissertation.

Focusing on both the feminist translation practices and the translational agents who perform these practices, this dissertation brought FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology together and showed how essential and useful the sociological perspective is for FTS.

In the following section, given the results and findings of the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses, the research questions of the dissertation will be answered respectively.

*1st research question:* In what ways and to what extent are 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin engaged in feminist translation practices?

FTS asserts that translation is not a natural, innocent, or apolitical act, but rather is a selective, deliberate, intentional and political act playing a decisive role in legitimizing or subverting existing gender hierarchies and inequalities. Accordingly, selecting and translating feminist texts and the texts that challenge and subvert the patriarchy, patriarchal taboos and language use or rejecting to translate misogynist, racist and/or homophobic texts can be considered as a feminist translation practice. Given these claims of FTS, the thematic analysis was conducted to reveal whether 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin perform feminist translation practices in terms of the texts and themes

that they select to translate. The results of the thematic analysis showed that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin perform feminist translation practices by publishing the feminist themed translated articles, albeit in varying degrees. It was found out that 131 (81%) out of 162 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 78 (99%) out of 79 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin are feminist themed and address at least one of the following 14 (feminist) themes:

1. Feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity
2. Feminist identity, being a feminist, living a feminist life
3. Different feminisms
4. Women (feminist) writers, poets, artists and their works
5. Women's labour
6. Female body
7. Women's health
8. Female sexuality
9. Women's herstory and successful women throughout herstory
10. Queer identities and sexual orientations
11. Sexual and gender-based violence, harassment, abuse, oppression, domination and exploitation
12. Gender norms and roles
13. Gender inequality/sexism
14. Intersectionality

Along with all the 14 feminist themes and the translated articles addressing these feminist themes, given FTS, the translations of a work, poem, letter, speech or an interview of women and/or feminist writers, poets, artists or thinkers were also considered as a feminist translation and hence they were included in the feminist themed translated articles even if they do not address the feminist themes discussed above. Additionally, the translated articles addressing and hence making visible the lives and experiences of different women were included in the feminist themed translated articles, too, even if they are not centred around one of the 14 feminist themes.

Considering the feminist themes addressed in the translated articles on the websites, it can be stated that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, although in different degrees,

make different women and queer identities visible; criticize and challenge patriarchy, patriarchal norms and roles, and gender-based violence and inequality; and support women's feminist struggle against patriarchy thanks to the translations they publish and hence perform feminist translation practices. Given the websites' focuses on different women and feminisms in different geographies, queer identities and intersectionality, it can be claimed that the feminist translation practices on the websites are more close to the second paradigm of FTS.

As discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin address the same 14 feminist themes but at different percentages. These differences between the websites become more meaningful when they are considered along with their general publishing policies and feminist standpoints. While on 5Harfliler which is in pursuit of women's agenda and does not limit itself to a strict feminist agenda, 131 (81%) out of 162 translated articles are feminist themed, on Çatlak Zemin which strives to strengthen feminist discourse 78 (99%) out of 79 translated articles are feminist themed. Additionally, it was seen that compared to 5Harfliler, Çatlak Zemin give more space to the theme of "feminist movement/struggle and feminist solidarity" and thus make very different feminist struggles in different corners of the world visible for the target readers. Undoubtedly, Çatlak Zemin's feminist standpoint that often stresses that the ties with the street should be kept alive, has a determining effect on this situation.

FTS scholars also assert that feminist translators basically use paratexts for two purposes: first, to make their femininity and feminist subjectivity, translation motivations, processes, and choices visible, thereby challenging the traditional invisibility of translators and subverting the hierarchal relationship between author and translator; secondly, to contextualize, explain and interpret the source text and the author from their own feminist point of view, thereby introducing and bringing them closer to the target reader. Therefore, given the results of the thematic analysis, a paratextual analysis was conducted on the feminist themed translated articles on the websites to reveal how and for what purposes the translational agents utilised paratexts. The results of the paratextual analysis showed that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin make use of both types of paratexts (i.e. the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible and the contextualizing paratexts) to address the translators'

motivations and to explain and justify their translation choices and decisions or to provide additional and contextual information about the source text and author and hence to bring them closer to the target text. Most importantly, the results of the paratextual analysis showed that both websites use the contextualizing paratexts more often than the paratexts making translation and/or translator visible and 5Harfliler makes use of both types of paratexts more frequently than Çatlak Zemin. In addition, it was seen that the places where the names and profile pictures of translators appear on 5Harfliler increase the translators' visibility and deconstruct their traditional inferior position by seeing them equal to the writers of the original Turkish articles. The last but not the least important result of the paratextual analysis was that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin provided some links in their paratexts to enable the target readers to better contextualize the translated texts. It can be claimed that these links, each one of which is actually a contextualizing paratext, are one of the most distinctive features of the online feminist translation practices. Compared to the paratextual elements in the printed feminist translations, these links provide the readers with much more detailed and enormous information that they can reach with just one click.

Given all these results of the thematic and paratextual analyses, it can be concluded that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin perform feminist translation practices both by selecting feminist texts and themes to translate and publish and by making use of paratextual feminist translation strategies.

*2<sup>nd</sup> research question:* What positions do the translational agents occupy in the digital publishing field? How do the agents' habitus, capital and *illusio* affect (and are affected by) their feminist translation practices on the websites? How can this effect be explained within the conceptual framework of Bourdieusian translation sociology?

Within FTS, the active and interventionist role of the translator comes to fore and traditional approaches arguing for translator's invisibility are challenged and feminist translators who see themselves working for the feminist cause, overstep the bounds of their traditional invisibility and stress their presence and feminist subjectivities by womanhandling the text. It means that for FTS, feminist translators are and even should be ideologically motivated and politically engaged. Accordingly, it can be said that FTS attaches great importance to the translator's subjectivity and agency.

In a similar way with FTS, Bourdieusian translation sociology puts a special emphasis on translational agencies, especially on translator agency and thus makes TS more “agent aware”. According to Bourdieu, there is a close and interwoven relationship between the agent (habitus and capitals) and objective structures (field). Habitus and field constantly and mutually construct each other, and agents’ practices arise from this relationality between habitus and field. Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) uses the following equation to explain this relationality:

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

Given this formula, a TS researcher needs to examine translational agents, especially translators, and their social trajectories, dispositions, habitus, capitals, and *illusio* besides translation norms and conventions to fully grasp any translation practice.

Drawing on the abovementioned agency focuses of both FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology, the researcher made interviews with the translators and editors of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin to reveal how the translators’ and editors’ habitus, capital and *illusio* affect (and are affected by) their feminist translation practices, what positions the agents occupy in the digital publishing field, whether the translators’ and editors’ translation practices reproduce or transform patriarchal doxa.

The interview analysis firstly revealed that all interviewees describe themselves as feminists. It means that the translational agents who perform the feminist translation practices on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin have feminist consciousness and concerns as FTS claims. The interviewees also stated that their feminist identities have a decisive effect on their text selection processes, therefore, they generally select feminist texts to translate and do not waste their time translating any misogynist, racist, or homophobic text.

The interview analysis also showed that all interviewees are well-educated in different fields of social sciences, they know at least one foreign language and thus have high cultural capitals and hold high titles besides being feminists. The translational agents who combine their feminist identities with their high cultural and social capitals come together on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin and perform feminist translation practices to challenge and change patriarchal doxa firstly in the digital publishing field and then in the whole society. Therefore, it can be concluded that interviewees’ feminist habitus and high cultural and social capitals enable them to occupy a resistant position in the

field and to attempt to subvert the patriarchal and heteronormative domination through translation and publication.

Another important result of the interview analysis was that despite their high cultural capitals, none of the interviewees had taken a course in feminist translation and only 5 translators had heard of the concept, feminist translation, before. However, it was also seen that all translators except two could define and interpret feminist translation in a similar way to FTS despite their lack of official training and academic/theoretical knowledge on FTS. It was also found out that the interviewees tend to adhere to the STs and they oppose hijacking and/or any translatorial intervention subverting the content and message of the STs. However, they welcome and support the use of paratext. They emphasized that a translatorial intervention if it is absolutely required, could (and should) be made through paratexts without subverting the content and message of the ST. They also said that they make use of paratexts to explain or justify their translation decisions and choices and mostly to enable the readers to contextualize the text but not to make themselves as a translator visible. Thus, the results of the paratextual analysis conducted within the scope of the dissertation were verified by the interviewees.

The interview analysis also revealed that although all interviewees agree that translation is indispensable for feminism, some interviewees still consider translation inferior and subordinate to the ST and hence reproducing the traditional hierarchy. This dissertation argues that the tendency to adhere to the ST and to maintain the traditional hierarchy that considers translation subordinate to ST results from the traditional translator habitus in Turkey which expects translators to remain faithful to STs.

Considering the results of the interview analysis, it can be concluded that like all social practices, feminist translation practice is affected and shaped by the agents' habitus, dispositions, mindsets, capitals, personal interests, tastes and needs, and feminist concerns.

*3<sup>rd</sup> research question:* What are the translation policies of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin? What political and ideological motivations lie behind the production of the translation on the websites? How do the websites instrumentalise the translation for their feminist goals?

Indeed, as the editors of the websites emphasized that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin do not follow a strict translation policy, but there are some basic criteria that they look for in translations to be published on the website. While some criteria of the websites are common, some criteria differ in accordance with the general publication policies of the websites. The main criteria they are commonly looking for is that the translated articles to be published on the website should (and could) not be misogynist, homophobic and racist, or not contain any hate speech. The biggest difference between the translation policies of the websites arises from the differences between their general publishing policies. As mentioned many times throughout the dissertation, 5Harfliler does not limit itself to a strict feminist agenda and thus the translated texts to be published on 5Harfliler are not always expected to carry out a feminist discussion as the thematic analysis revealed, too. However, Çatlak Zemin stresses that it is a feminist website and hence any translation to be published on Çatlak Zemin should necessarily have a feminist viewpoint.

Another difference between the translation policies of the two websites lies in their different opinions about translator visibility and voluntary translation. While 5Harfliler attaches great importance to translator visibility and paying the translators, Çatlak Zemin does not worry about translator visibility and does (could) not pay the translators because it argues that becoming collective requires being voluntary and invisible as an individual.

The results of the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses collectively revealed that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin instrumentalise translation to bring mind-opening and up-to-date foreign texts and discussions into Turkish, to enable the Turkish readers who do not foreign languages be aware of these texts and discussions and hence to challenge and subvert the patriarchal and heteronormative domination both in the field of digital publishing and in the society and also to enforce the transnational feminism and create a new digital sisterhood.

To conclude, this dissertation attempted to fill the gaps that emerge in FTS in line with the paradigm shifts in both feminism and TS. Paying attention to these paradigm shifts and keeping up with the digital transformation of feminism, this dissertation examined the online feminist translation practices on two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. Thus, it contributed to challenging the western-centred perspective



in FTS by examining the Turkish websites and it also showed that not only the literary texts but also non-literary ones could, and should, be analysed within the scope of FTS. This dissertation is the first in the field of FTS to examine online feminist translation practices and is among the first ones to bring FTS and Bourdieusian translation sociology together. However, it should be noted that the results of the thematic, paratextual and interview analyses conducted within the scope of this dissertation are limited to 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, thus could not be generalized to different online feminist translation practices on different platforms. Additionally, a further comparative textual analysis between the STs and TTs is required to see whether textual feminist translation strategies, i.e., supplementing and hijacking are used in the translated articles on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin and hence to support this study's findings. But despite its limitations, this dissertation is supposed to widen the horizon for FTS and pave the way for future studies that will analyse different online feminist translation practices, especially on non-western online platforms.



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## APPENDICES

### Appendix-1: The list of the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler from its establishment until the end of May 2019

Article No	The Date of Publication	The Title of TT	The Title of ST
1	May 31, 2019	Şiddeti Savuşturma Mücadelesinin Kıyısında Amerika’da Kadın Olmak	On Being a Woman in America While Trying to Avoid Being Assaulted
2	May 29, 2019	Erken Ergenliğin Sağlık Açısından Riskleri	The health risks of maturing early
3	May 28, 2019	Michael Phelps’i Genetik Farklılıkları için Kutladık, Caster Semenya’yı Neden Cezalandırıyoruz?	We celebrated Michael Phelps’s genetic differences. Why punish Caster Semenya for hers?
4	April 28, 2019	Nepal’in Dünyadaki Gizli Sağlık Krizini Çözmek İçin Attığı Adımlar	Many countries turn a blind eye to domestic abuse – but Nepal’s approach could be the model for a global solution.
5	March 14, 2019	Birini İfşa Etmenin Ardındaki Şiddet ve Kuir Sessizliğin Ölümçül Tehlikesi	The Violence Behind Outing Someone And The Fatality Of Queer Silence
6	February 19, 2019	Tüketimci ‘Feminizm’ Bizi Neden Yarı Yolda Bıraktı: Kapitalist Kültürü Anlamak	Why Consumerist ‘Feminism’ Fails Us: Understanding Capitalist Culture
7	February 12, 2019	Karton Manken Değil: Cyntoia Brown ve Bir Kurbanın Portresi	NOT A CARDBOARD CUT OUT: CYNTOIA BROWN AND THE FRAMING OF A VICTIM
8	January 30, 2019	Doğum Kanalları Kuvvetli Bir Evrimsel Teorinin Aksine Tüm Dünyada Farklılık Gösteriyor	Birth canals are different all over the world, countering a long-held evolutionary theory
9	January 29, 2019	El Salvador’da “Kızın mı Var Derdin Var”	In El Salvador, ‘Girls Are a Problem’
10	January 24, 2019	Am	Pussy
11	January 22, 2019	Tanrı Başından Beri Kadındı	God Has Been a Woman Since the Beginning of Time
12	January 17, 2019	Sinemada Bechdel Testinden Daha İyisini Yapabiliriz	We can do better than The Bechdel Test
13	January 10, 2019	Artık Gözden Kaçmayacak: Arama Motorlarının Temelini Atan Karen Sparck Jones	Overlooked No More: Karen Sparck Jones, Who Established the Basis for Search Engines
14	January 4, 2019	Cinsel İstismar, Sessizlik ve Virginia Woolf’un Yaktığı Işık	Abuse, Silence, and the Light that Virginia Woolf Switched On
15	December 21, 2018	50 yıl önce ilk Kelime İşlemcisini yaratan Evelyn Berezin 93 Yaşında Vefat Etti	Creator Of 1st Ever Word Processor 50 Years Ago, Evelyn Berezin Passes Away At Age 93
16	December 17, 2018	Bağımlılık Yaratan Romanların Püf Noktası	One Weird Trick That Makes a Novel Addictive

17	December 13, 2018	Vajinayla Mastürbasyon Nasıl Yapılır: Tek Kişilik Eğlenceniz için 28 İpucu ve Püf Noktası	How to Masturbate with a Vagina: 28 Tips and Tricks for Solo Play
18	December 10, 2018	Kürtaj Dizilerde ve Filmlerde Nasıl Gösteriliyor?	How abortion is portrayed on TV and in movies actually matters so much
19	December 6, 2018	“otuzsekiz Dakota eri niçin siyaset edildiler?”	Layli Long Soldier
20	December 3, 2018	Fransızca'yı Cinsiyetsizleştirmek: Dil Değişince Toplum da Değişir mi?	The Push to Make French Gender-Neutral
21	November 23, 2018	Kötü Feministin Manifestosu	Roxane Gay: the bad feminist manifesto
22	November 21, 2018	Ekofeminizm Nedir?	What Exactly Is Ecofeminism?
23	November 14, 2018	Gelir Eşitsizliğinin Diğer Yüzü	'A stunning chart shows the true cause of the gender wage gap'
24	November 8, 2018	Sorumluluk Alan Bir Özgürlük: Patti Smith'ten Küçük Kadınlar'a Dair	A Responsible Freedom: Patti Smith on 'Little Women'
25	November 5, 2018	Obezite Hakkında Bildiğimiz Her Şey Yanlış – 2	Everything You Know About Obesity Is Wrong
26	November 5, 2018	Obezite Hakkında Bildiğimiz Her Şey Yanlış	Everything You Know About Obesity Is Wrong
27	October 29, 2018	Orta Çağ'da cadılığın gelişimi	The evolution of the medieval witch – and why she's usually a woman
28	October 18, 2018	Louis C.K.'in tartışmalı geri dönüş teşebbüsü	Louis C.K.'s controversial comeback attempt, explained
29	October 15, 2018	Feminist Kitabevleri Tarihi Nasıl Değiştirdi?	How Feminist Bookstores Changed History
30	October 12, 2018	#MeToo Güncel Feminizm İçindeki Uçurumu Nasıl Ortaya Çıkardı	How #Metoo revealed the central rift within feminism today
31	October 10, 2018	Ev Hücreye Döndüğünde: Kadınların Ev Hapsi Beyanları	When Home is Another Cell: Women's Accounts of Domestic Detention
32	September 28, 2018	Taciz Hakkında Seksi Olmayan Bir Gerçek	The Unsexy Truth About Harassment
33	September 26, 2018	Hanımlar! Hemen İrileşip Şişmanlamamız Lazım	“Women Everywhere! We Need to Get Bigger and Fatter Right Now
34	September 24, 2018	#NedenİhbarEtmedim: Cinsel Saldırı Mağdurlarının Trump'a Cevabı	Sexual assault survivors tell Trump 'why I didn't report'
35	September 20, 2018	Yatağında Uyuyan Biri: Mısır'da Feminizm ve Evlilik Üzerine	Someone Sleeping in Your Bed: On Feminism and Marriage in Egypt
36	September 17, 2018	Feminist Hayatlar Yaşayan Kadınlar Neden Kendilerine Feminist Demiyor?	Why Do Women Living Feminist Lives Have A Problem With The Feminist Tag?
37	September 11, 2018	Kadınlara Nasıl Konuşacaklarını Söylemeyi Kesin	Stop Telling Women How They Should Talk
38	September 4, 2018	Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü'nü İptal Ettiren Çirkin Skandal	The Ugly Scandal That Cancelled the Nobel Prize
39	August 15, 2018	Suçlanan Bir Feminist Olunca #MeToo Hareketine Ne Olur?	What Happens to #MeToo When a Feminist Is the Accused?

40	August 9, 2018	Et endüstrisi kadınları nasıl nesneleştiriyor?	6 ways the meat industry objectifies women
41	July 24, 2018	Japonya’da Kiralık Aile Endüstrisi-2	Japan’s Rent-a-Family Industry
42	July 23, 2018	Japonya’da Kiralık Aile Endüstrisi	Japan’s Rent-a-Family Industry
43	June 21, 2018	Erotiğin Olanakları	The Uses of the Erotic
44	June 13, 2018	Demiseksüellik Nedir?	What is Demisexuality?
45	May 25, 2018	Neoliberalizm Feminizmi Nasıl Sömürüyor – Bu Konuda Ne Yapılabilir?	How neoliberalism colonized feminism and what you can do about it
46	April 18, 2018	Sessizlik: Çocukluk Travmasının Mirası	The Silence: The Legacy of Childhood Trauma
47	March 27, 2018	Neden Pakistanlı kadınlar akın akın kadın düşmanı ülkelerini terk ediyor?	Why droves of Pakistani women are leaving their misogynistic country?
48	March 6, 2018	Suistimalci Bir Partneri Terk Etmemenin Elli Yolu	50 Ways Not to Leave an Abusive Spouse
49	January 9, 2018	Oprah’nın Altın Küre Konuşması	Oprah Winfrey’s Golden Globes speech: the full text
50	October 11, 2017	Kazuo Ishiguro ile Röportaj: Kurgu Sanatı	Kazuo Ishiguro, The Art of Fiction No. 196
51	August 16, 2017	“Size Öyle Geliyor” Teşhisi Kadınların Sağlığına Mal Oluyor	The ‘it’s all in your head’ diagnosis is still a danger to women’s health
52	August 15, 2017	Oyunun Bir Parçası Olmak: Takılma Kültürü Kadınlara Ne Kazandırıyor?	Playing the Game
53	July 11, 2017	1920’lerde Berlin Gece Kulüplerinde Pnömatik Tüple Flört	People in 1920s Berlin Nightclubs Flirted via Pneumatic Tubes
54	June 22, 2017	Erkekler Sevdikleri Trans Kadınları Neden Öldürüyor?	Why Straight Men Kill The Trans Women They Love
55	June 19, 2017	Margaret Atwood’dan ‘The Handmaid’s Tale’ Notları	Margaret Atwood Annotates Season 1 of ‘The Handmaid’s Tale’
56	June 14, 2017	“Anamı Da Al Git Buradan”	Six reasons I am not your mother so fix your own damn self
57	June 8, 2017	Senenin Yemek Kitaplarından 25 Tüyo	33 Things I Learned From This Season’s Cookbooks
58	May 15, 2017	Bir Entelektüel Tarz Olarak Kalpsizlik	Heartlessness as an Intellectual Style
59	April 10, 2017	Erkek Öfkesi Neden Bu Kadar Ürkütücü?	Why Is Male Anger So Threatening?
60	April 9, 2017	Reklam Dünyasından Uzman İsimler Pepsi’nin Yediği Haltı Yorumluyor	Ad-World Insiders on How the Hell That Pepsi Ad Got Made
61	March 29, 2017	Beden Hackerları Her Yerde, Hem De Kadınlar	Bodyhackers are all around you, they’re called women
62	March 16, 2017	RuPaul’un Drag Yarışı ve Kendini Sevme Sanatı	‘RuPaul’s Drag Race’ and the Art of Self Love
63	March 15, 2017	Mary Beard: Gücün İçinde, Üzerinde, Peşinde Kadınlar	Women’s Power

64	March 10, 2017	Diktatörleri Nasıl Devirmeli?	How to Topple a Dictator?
65	March 8, 2017	Artık Seks Değil Aktivizm Satıyor (ve Markalar Bunun Farkında)	Sex doesn't sell any more, activism does. And don't the big brands know it
66	March 6, 2017	Plastiği Hayatımızdan Çıkarmanın 8 Yolu	8 bits of plastic you can quit right now
67	March 6, 2017	Ölüm Kadar Ciddi, Küfürlü bir Şaka: Renate Bertlmann	Renate Bertlmann
68	March 1, 2017	Aisha Eskiden Antilop Avlıyordu, Bugün Boko Haram'ın İzini Sürüyor	Meet Aisha, a former antelope hunter who now tracks Boko Haram
69	February 28, 2017	"Bir Tabunun Yıkılışı" – Çocuk Sahibi Olmaktan Pişmanlık Duyanlar	It's the breaking of a taboo' the parents who regret having children
70	February 23, 2017	Duvarlara Çarpa Çarpa: Violette Leduc'un Hikayesi	Violette Leduc: the great French feminist writer we need to remember
71	February 20, 2017	Elfriede Jelinek'in 2004 Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü Konuşması: "İnsana Ne Kalır?"	ST is video in the TT
72	February 5, 2017	Evden Çalışıyorum	Work from Home
73	January 6, 2017	Kesişimsellik Hemen Şimdi!	Why intersectionality can't wait
74	November 15, 2016	George Orwell: Parkın Hürriyeti	Freedom of the Park
75	November 14, 2016	Jane Vonnegut, Kurt Vonnegut'u Nasıl Yazar Yaptı?	How Jane Vonnegut Made Kurt Vonnegut a Writer
76	October 24, 2016	Neden Ölümsüz Değiliz?	According to the theory of evolution, why do we die?
77	October 18, 2016	Anneliğin Cinsiyeti Var Mı? Annelik cinsiyetsizleştirilebilir diyenler de var	Is motherhood gendered?"
78	September 9, 2016	"Küçülen Kadınlar"	Shrinking Women
79	June 20, 2016	Stanford Kampüsünde Cinsel Saldırıya Uğrayan Kadının Yazdığı Muhteşem Mektup	Stanford University rape case: Victim's letter in full
80	March 30, 2016	Bilim Tarihinde 5Harfliler	6 Women Scientists Who Were Snubbed Due to Sexism
81	March 28, 2016	Mahmud Derviş'ten Bir Avcı Şiiri	(could not be found)
82	February 23, 2016	Fotoğraftaki Kız Şimdi Nerede?	What Happened To The 9-Year-Old Smoking In Mary Ellen Mark's Photo
83	November 3, 2015	'Hayatını Nasıl İstiyorsan Öyle Yaşayacaksın'	This book is dedicated to you
84	October 15, 2015	Chantal Akerman'ın Ardından: Kimin Can Sıkıntısı?	Whose Boredom?
85	August 31, 2015	Aseksüellikle İlgili 6 Gerçek	6 Actual Facts About What It Means to Be Asexual

86	July 3, 2015	Âdet Gören Erkekler Olsaydı...	if men could menstruate
87	May 29, 2015	Seksle İlgili Bildiklerimizi Nereden Öğreniyoruz?	<a href="https://www.thisamericanlife.org/557/birds-bees-den-bir-Ses-kaydi">https://www.thisamericanlife.org/557/birds-bees-den-bir-Ses-kaydi</a>
88	March 16, 2015	Cinsel İlişkide Rıza Mefhumu: Anlamak Hiç de O Kadar Zor Değil	Consent not actually complicated
89	March 7, 2015	Gece ve Tehlike – Andrea Dworkin’in “Geceyi Geri Al” Yürüyüşü Konuşması	<a href="https://soundcloud.com/pacificaradioarchives/take-back-the-night-march-with-a-speech-by-andrea-dworkin">https://soundcloud.com/pacificaradioarchives/take-back-the-night-march-with-a-speech-by-andrea-dworkin</a>
90	February 27, 2015	Haykırışın Eli Kulağındaydı	Turkish outcry at murder of young woman has been a long time coming
91	February 26, 2015	En Acımasız Trolümle Yüzleştiğimde Neler Oldu	What happened when I confronted my cruellest troll
92	February 23, 2015	Sosyal Medyada Cinsiyetçilik Hikâyeleri Paylaşmak 21. Yüzyılın Aktivizmidir	Sharing stories of sexism on social media is 21st-century activism
93	February 20, 2015	Kadınlar İslam Devleti Denetimindeki Hayatlarını Anlatıyorlar	Double-layered veils and despair ... women describe life under Isis
94	January 22, 2015	Paris’te Eşit Miyiz? Baldwin ve Charlie Hebdo Üzerine	Equal in Paris
95	January 13, 2015	“Hepimiz Feminist Olmalıyız” – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’nin Konuşmasının	We all should be feminist
96	December 30, 2014	Orgazm: Zahmeti değerinden fazla mı?	When An Orgasm Is Just Not Worth It
97	December 17, 2014	İngiliz Hükümeti Porno Filmlerde Kadın Boşalmasını Yasakladı	UK Government bans Female Ejaculation from pornographic movies
98	December 15, 2014	Zeki Kızların Çıkmazı	The Trouble With Bright Girls
99	December 9, 2014	Montreal Katliamı Beni Feminist Yaptı	The Montreal Massacre Made Me a Feminist
100	October 31, 2014	Üzülerek bildiriyoruz ki “iki tarafın da dinlenmesi” talebiniz reddedildi	We Regret To Announce That Your Request Of “Gotta Hear Both Sides” Has Been Denied
101	August 18, 2014	Konuşmamız Gereken Bir Konu Var: Âdet Düzenimiz	PERIODS THE MENSTRUATION TABOO THAT WON’T GO AWAY
102	August 13, 2014	Robin Williams’la Yas Üretmek, Ünlülerin Ölümü ve Bademleşen Gözler Üzerine	Robin Williams ‘I was shameful, did stuff that caused disgust – that’s hard to recover from’
103	July 11, 2014	Angela Davis İnsan ve Hayvanların Kurtuluşunu Birbirine Bağlıyor	Vegan Angela Davis Connects Human and Animal Liberation
104	June 23, 2014	Gerçek Dedektif, Yetenekli Bayan Highsmith ile Sıradan Bir Gün	The Talented Miss Highsmith The Secret Life and Serious Art of Patricia Highsmith
105	June 18, 2014	Batı Sanatında Darlanan Kadınlar	Western Art History 500 Years of Women Ignoring Men
106	June 16, 2014	Eleştiriye Nasıl Cevap Vermeli	How to Respond to Criticism
107	June 2, 2014	Trablus’un ay döngüleri	(could not be found)

108	May 26, 2014	İnternette Açlık Oyunları: Elliott Rodger ve Kadın Nefreti	I'm tired of seeing losers with hot chicks - Bodybuilding.com Forums
109	May 11, 2014	Spermin Bir Gizemi Yok: Annelikle ilgili bir tavsiye mektubu	Strayed, Cheryl - Tiny beautiful things _ advice on love and life from Dear Sugar-Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group_Vintage Books (2012).epub
110	April 4, 2014	Lezbiyen Bir Başkan İstiyorum	i_want_a_president_original
111	March 24, 2014	Ji Yeo: Estetik cerrahinin ön saflarından	Ji Yeo dispatches from cosmetic surgery's frontline
112	February 25, 2014	Kapakları Ayarlama Enstitüsü	(could not be found)
113	February 13, 2014	Beatrix Potter'dan Resimli Mektuplar	My dear Noel
114	February 7, 2014	Lego Kız İnsanlar Nerede?	Dear Logo Company
115	January 5, 2014	Yanmak Kaçınılmazsa Zevk Almaya Bakılsın Mı?	Victim get revange on Rapist by setting him on fire
116	January 2, 2014	Memişleri değil, kadınları kurtarın!	Save the Women, Not the Boobies
117	December 20, 2013	Dünya nereye gidiyor?	<a href="http://acikradyo.com.tr/arsiv-icerigi/acik-gazetede-susan-buck-morssla-soylesi">http://acikradyo.com.tr/arsiv-icerigi/acik-gazetede-susan-buck-morssla-soylesi</a>
118	December 17, 2013	İnternetin Üzücü Mirası: Artık Sır Yok	Disruptions: Internet's Sad Legacy: No More Secrets
119	December 12, 2013	Çatının Karanlığında: V.C. Andrews'un Kitaplarını Yazan Adamla Röportaj	The Man Behind the Incest An Interview With V.C. Andrews' Ghostwriter
120	December 6, 2013	Stok Fotoğrafçılık ve Hayat: Gülümseyin, Sizin de Başınıza Gelebilir	(could not be found)
121	November 29, 2013	Sömürgecinin Dilini Konuşmak Kendininkini Reddetmek Anlamına Geldiğinde	Tongues When Speaking the Coloniser's Language Means Rejecting Your Own
122	November 29, 2013	Belgesel Ahlakı Üzerine...	Gregory Halpern On Documentary Ethics – Preoccupations, Subjectivity and Untruths (2013)
123	November 28, 2013	Kadınların Erkeklerden Daha Şehvetli Olduğu Zamanlar	When Women Wanted Sex Much More Than Men
124	November 4, 2013	Kadınlara Gülümsemelerini Söylemeyi Kesin	<a href="http://stoptellingwomentosmile.com/">http://stoptellingwomentosmile.com/</a>
125	October 28, 2013	No Woman No Cry şarkısına Suudi dokunuş: No Woman No Drive	ST is a video in the TT
126	October 4, 2013	Sinead O'Connor'dan Miley'e: "Müzik endüstrisi seni de umursamıyor, beni de..."	Sinead O'Connor Writes to Miley Cyrus, Warns Against 'Being Prostituted'
127	October 1, 2013	Bir Röportaj: Madonna (İnsan) ve Norman Mailer (Romancı)	(could not be found)
128	October 1, 2014	Erivan'dan Sevgiyle	(could not be found)

129	September 2, 2013	Gerassi'nin 1976 Tarihli Beauvoir Röportajı: 25. Yılında "İkinci Cins"	The second sex 25 years later
130	August 22, 2013	Laverne Cox: Ben Böyle İyiyim	"I'm Good with Myself" A Conversation with Laverne Cox
131	August 20, 2013	Lionel Shriver Şişman Kelimesini Kullanıyor	Warning I Will Employ the Word 'Fat'
132	August 19, 2013	Her Şey Mümkündü	Everything was possible
133	August 7, 2013	Michael Cunningham'den Saatler: Virginia Woolf, Bayan Dalloway ve Annem	Virginia Woolf, my mother and me
134	July 25, 2013	Kitap Kapağında Gerileme ve Çöküş Dönemi	The Decline and Fall of the Book Cover
135	July 21, 2013	15 Yaşına Bastığım Sene	Lionel Shriver the year I was 15
136	July 18, 2013	Hayvan Çiftliği: George Orwell Aslında Ne Kastetmişti?	'Animal Farm' What Orwell Really Meant
137	July 1, 2013	Shirley Jackson "Piyango"yu nasıl yazdı?	How Shirley Jackson Wrote "The Lottery"
138	May 22, 2013	Nina Kraviz Ofise Mini Etek mi Giymiş?	ST was received from Nina Kraviz's Facebook account
139	April 10, 2013	Echo ve Narcissus'un İkinci Hikayesi	(could not be found)
140	April 9, 2013	Demir Leydi'nin Ölümü Üzerine...	Margaret Thatcher: a feminist icon?
141	April 5, 2013	Yaşlardan Bir Gölde Aşk, Ömründen Süzülmüyor	ST is a video in the TT
142	April 2, 2013	Jane Eyre'in Yazarından Aşk Mektubu	The Love Letters of Charlotte Bronte
143	April 2, 2013	Neden Artık Gey Değilim	(could not be found)
144	April 2, 2013	Bu Sezon Hangi Ünlü Kadından Nefret Edeceğiz Tartışması	Women we love to love and women we love to hate
145	April 2, 2013	Vücut Geliştirme, Ulus Geliştirme ve Yoga	BODYBUILDING AND NATION-BUILDING
146	March 15, 2013	Carre Otis: Anoreksiyle Yaşamak	Living With Anorexia Carré Otis
147	March 7, 2013	İngiliz Yazar, Kate Middleton'a Kişiliksiz Deyince...	Royal Bodies
148	February 20, 2013	Sylvia Plath'in Ölümünün 50. Yılı Üzerine...	Sylvia Plath: reflections on her legacy
149	January 17, 2013	Yabancı Dilde Filmlerin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni	(could not be found)
150	January 12, 2013	Yaman Yalnızlık	The Lonely Ones
151	December 25, 2012	Cinsiyetler Arasında Yetişmek Üzerine	(could not be found)
152	December 20, 2012	Anne Frank'in Günlüğünden 'Uygunsuz' Yerlerin Çıkarılışı	Feminaissance Blog Project an Introduction
153	December 19, 2012	(Karşı Cinsin Kıyafetlerini) Giyinme Odası	The Crossdressing Room

154	November 16, 2012	Kurdelesiz Cevaplar İçin...	ST is a video in the TT
155	October 31, 2012	Odalar ve Merdivenler	ST is a video in the TT
156	October 5, 2012	Ben Demedim, Miki Dedi	ST is a letter in the TT
157	September 26, 2012	F. Scott Fitzgerald'dan Genç Kızlara Nasihatler	Things to worry about
158	September 24, 2012	Rüyalarda Buluşuruz	How could you go ahead of me
159	September 14, 2012	Philip Roth'tan Wikipedia'ya Mektup: "Benlen Akıl Yarıştırma"	(could not be found)
160	September 11, 2012	Stoya İle Ne Ortak Özelliğiniz Var?	(could not be found)
161	August 22, 2012	Başka Dünyanın Güzeli	ST is a video in the TT
162	August 17, 2012	Başlarınız Kaldığımız Yerden, Sen Benim Soyadımsın	ST is a letter in the TT



**Appendix-2: The list of the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on Çatlak Zemin from its establishment until the end of May 2019**

Article No	The Date of Publication	The Title of TT	The Title of ST
1	May 29, 2019	Cinsiyet belasından feminist bir yaşam sürmeye: Sara Ahmed'in Judith Butler'la söyleşisi	Interview with Judith Butler1 (The Interviewer: Sara Ahmed)
2	May 15, 2019	“Seks grevi”nin kürtaja erişimi artırma olasılığı neden düşük?	Why a ‘sex strike’ is unlikely to improve access to abortion
3	May 13, 2019	Feminizm olmadan devrim olmaz: Venezuela'nın feminist hareketlerini birleştirmek	No Revolution Without Feminism: Weaving Together Venezuela's Feminist Movements
4	May 2, 2019	İtalya, intikam pornosunu resmen suç olarak kabul etti ve altı yıla kadar hapis cezası öngördü	Italy criminalises revenge porn with prison sentences of up to six years
5	April 30, 2019	Bireysel farklılıklar bize daha fazla ne söyleyebilir?	The trouble with girls?
6	April 25, 2019	İklim eylemcileri, teşekkürler: Yaptığınız şey önemli ve gücü hissedilecek	Thank you, climate strikers. Your action matters and your power will be felt
7	April 16, 2019	İzin verin size Aurat Yürüyüşü'nü womansplain* edeyim	Let me womansplain the Aurat March to you
8	April 9, 2019	Verona nasıl aşırı sağ ve ultra-katolik ittifak için model bir şehir haline geldi?	Verona nasıl aşırı sağ ve ultra-katolik ittifak için model bir şehir haline geldi?
9	April 5, 2019	Yaşımdan küçük gösterdiğimi söylemeyi bırakın	Stop Telling Me I Look Younger Than My Age
10	March 29, 2019	Seksin seni devrimden uzaklaştırmasına izin verme!	Don't Let Sex Distract You From the Revolution
11	March 22, 2019	Toksik erkeklikle ilgili gerçek sorun yalnızca bir tür erkeklik olduğunu varsayması	The real problem with toxic masculinity is that it assumes there is only one way of being a man
12	March 4, 2019	‘Sosyal Cins: Kadınlar Arası Arkadaşlığın Bir Tarihi’	‘The Social Sex: A History of Female Friendship’
13	February 25, 2019	“Üreme baskısı*” istismardır, ama birçok kadın bunu bilmiyor bile...	Reproductive coercion is abuse. But many women don't even know it
14	December 24, 2018	Radikal feminizm, Güney Kore'de kadın hareketini diriltiyor	Radical feminism paves the way for a resurgent South Korean women's movement
15	November 30, 2018	Kadın edebiyatı için harika zamanlar—Ama neden hâlâ ikinci sınıf muamelesi görüyoruz?	This is a great time for writing by women – so why are we still considered second-rate?
16	November 23, 2018	Adını koyamadığımız istismarın hakkında nasıl konuşacağız?	How do we talk about the abuses that we can't name?
17	November 7, 2018	Doğal doğum yoksullar için nasıl ulaşılmaz hale geldi?	How Natural Birth Became Inaccessible to the Poor
18	October 29, 2018	Erkeklerden bundan daha iyisini beklerdim	I Thought Men Might Do Better Than This
19	October 17, 2018	Daphne Caruana Galizia cinayetinin yıldönümünde hala adalet yok	A year after her murder, where is the justice for Daphne Caruana Galizia?

20	October 15, 2018	Ağlamak erkek işidir	One of our most firmly entrenched ideas of masculinity is that men don't cry.
21	October 4, 2018	Brezilya Başkan Adayı Bolsonaro'ya karşı kadınlar ayakta: "Onu Seçmeyin"	Jair Bolsonaro, Candidate in Brazil, Faces Women's Calls: #NotHim
22	October 1, 2018	Güzel değiliz, çirkin değiliz, öfkeliyiz!	No More Miss America!
23	September 24, 2018	Cadı şarkıları: Haykırarak söyle	BITCHTAPES: SHOUT IT OUT
24	September 13, 2018	Arjantin'in antikapitalist feminizmi	Argentina's Anticapitalist Feminism
25	August 30, 2018	Günde zorla 16.000 kalori yedirilen kız çocukları	The Disturbing Reason These Young Girls Are Being Force-Fed 16,000 Calories A Day
26	August 28, 2019	Küresel bir enerji dönüşümü için kadınların aktif katılımı şart	Active Participation of Women Essential to the Global Energy Transformation
27	July 3, 2018	Feminist bir oğul yetiştirmek	How to Raise a Feminist Boy
28	June 27, 2018	Kadınlar neden maaşa zam isteyemez?	Katie Roiphe: 'Why am I being paid less than my male colleagues?'
29	May 18, 2018	Janelle Monáe'nin vajina pantolonu beni neden keyiflendirdi?	Why Janelle Monáe's vagina pants make me cheer
30	May 11, 2018	Feminist yaşam mücadelesi üzerine notlar	Notes on Feminist Survival
31	March 16, 2018	Brezilyalı feminist ve insan hakları aktivisti Marielle Franco suikaste yaşamını yitirdi	St nytimes ve the guardian'dan derlenmiş öyle çevrilmiş net bir metin yok elimizde
32	March 5, 2018	Elena Ferrante korkuyor	Elena Ferrante: 'The cat brought in a snake and left it under my bed. Screaming, I chased it out'
33	February 26, 2018	Piyasa feminizmi nedir? İşte beş örneği	What is Marketplace Feminism? Here are 5 Examples.
34	February 21, 2018	Sel durulmuyor!	Ni uno menos
35	February 20, 2018	Uluslararası bir grup sosyalist feministten İranlı kadınlarla dayanışma bildirisi	Statement from a group of international socialist feminists in solidarity with Iranian women
36	January 31, 2018	I Love Dick'te Bahsi Geçen Video Art ve Feminist Filmler Rehberi	Your Guide To The Feminist Films And Video Art Featured In 'I Love Dick'
37	January 29, 2018	Bir terapist terapiden en iyi nasıl yararlanır?	How can a therapist get the most out of therapy?
38	January 26, 2018	Margaret Atwood'un gözünden Ursula K. Le Guin: "20. yüzyıl edebiyatının ustalarından biri"	Ursula K Le Guin, by Margaret Atwood: 'One of the literary greats of the 20th century'
39	January 22, 2018	Tekrar ve tekrar öldürsün diye serbest bırakıldı: Theodore Johnson ve ev içi şiddetle ilgili gerçek	Freed to kill again – and again: Theodore Johnson and the truth about domestic violence
40	January 19, 2018	Kapitalist ataerkinin oluşumu: Silvia Federici ile söyleşi	(could not be found)

41	January 15, 2018	Hayatın her alanında erkeklerin ayrıcalıkları: İşte size 160'tan fazla örnek!	160+ Examples of Male Privilege in All Areas of Life
42	December 26, 2017	İyi kadına ne oldu peki?	But what about the good women?
43	December 4, 2017	Viagra ile sorunum mu ne? Erkeklerin maço performans takıntısını besliyor	My problem with Viagra? It feeds men's obsession with macho performance
44	November 27, 2017	Beğendiği bir erkek tacizle suçlanınca kadınlar ne yapmalı?	How should women respond when a man we like is accused of harassment?
45	November 17, 2017	Toplu taşımada cinsel tacizi hedef alan 'Ellerini Çek' kampanyası neden hedefi ıskaladı	Why the 'Hands Off' campaign targeting sexual harassment on public transport misses the mark
46	November 10, 2017	Mesele O'Reilly ve Weinstein meselesi değil: Cinsel şiddet bir 'küresel salgın'	It's not just O'Reilly and Weinstein: Sexual violence is a 'global pandemic'
47	October 11, 2017	20 haftayı geçen gebelikte kürtaj yasağı Beyaz Saray'dan geçti	House passes ban on abortion after 20 weeks of pregnancy
48	October 6, 2017	"Şemsiyelerimizi kapatmadık"	On anniversary of abortion ban protests, women take to the streets again: "We have not folded our umbrellas"
49	September 21, 2017	Aile, doğurganlık ve feminizm: Kadın haklarında mihenk taşları	Families, fertility and feminism: landmarks in women's rights
50	August 15, 2017	"Friend zone" diye bir şey yok ve kadınlar size bi' bok borçlu değil ∩_(ツ)_∩*	The Friend Zone Isn't a Thing and Women Don't Owe You Shit
51	August 10, 2017	'Bunlar hep cinsel zorlama (sextortion) ve intikam pornosu': Pakistan'da siber istismara karşı mücadele eden kadın	It's all sextortion and revenge porn': the woman fighting cyber abuse in Pakistan
52	August 3, 2017	Tek başına seyahat etmek daha iyi bir feminist olmanıza nasıl yardımcı olur?	How travelling alone will help you be a better feminist
53	July 25, 2017	Erkekler neden taciz eder? Cinsel tacizin 'motivasyonlarına' ışık tutan yeni bir çalışma	Why Do Men Harass Women? New Study Sheds Light On Motivations
54	July 18, 2017	Seks robotları: Erkek mastürbasyon fantezilerinden türeyen buluş devrim değil	Sex robots: innovation driven by male masturbatory fantasy is not a revolution
55	July 11, 2017	Günümüz seks işçisi kültürü	The contemporary cult of the 'sex worker'
56	June 21, 2017	Handmaid's Tale'deki gibi giyinen kadınlar, kürtaj karşıtı yasayı protesto etmek için Ohio eyalet meclisini bastı	Women Dressed As Handmaids Descend On Ohio Statehouse To Protest Anti-Abortion Law
57	May 31, 2017	Çalışma: Hetero kadınlar işe yaramaz partnerleri yüzünden daha az orgazm oluyorlar	Study: Straight Women Are Having Fewer Orgasms Because of Their Useless Partners
58	May 29, 2017	Ni Una Menos (Bir Kişi Daha Eksilmeyeceğiz)3 Haziran'da	(could not be found)

		yapılacak bir sonraki yürüyüşü planlamak üzere bildiri yayınladı	
59	May 26, 2017	Manchester bombalaması genç kadın ve kız çocuklarına karşı planlı bir saldırıydı	What's Current: Manchester bombing was a calculated attack on young women and girls
60	May 17, 2017	Anneannemin umutsuz seçimi	(could not be found)
61	May 8, 2017	İklim Değişikliği Feminist Bir Meseledir	Climate Change is a feminist issue
62	May 5, 2017	Sara Ahmed: "Birbirimizi yeniden bulduğumuzda diğer her şey çok daha mümkün hale gelecek"	SARA AHMED: "ONCE WE FIND EACH OTHER, SO MUCH ELSE BECOMES POSSIBLE"
63	April 25, 2017	Bu şehirde kadınlara anıt yok – bir sanatçıdan şehri renklendiren hareket	This city has no monuments to women so an artist did a colourful shake-up
64	April 24, 2017	Lübnan tecavüz yasası: Beyrut sahili boyunca asılı gelinliklerle protesto	Lebanon rape law: Wedding dresses hang in Beirut sea front protest
65	April 10, 2017	Çocuk düşünmez misiniz?	ST is a video in the TT
66	April 5, 2017	#DaktiloİçinTeşekkürler	this Hashtag Shows That Male Authors' Wives Are Unsung Heroes
67	April 3, 2017	İrlandalı kadınlardan #İptalİçinGrev	#Strike4Repeal: Ireland's Women's Strike
68	March 15, 2017	İşçi Sınıfı İçinden Çıkan Enternasyonalist Bir Feminizme Doğru	Towards an Internationalist Feminism Rooted in the Working Class
69	February 27, 2017	Japonya'da şirketlerden kadınlara kariyer teşviği	(could not be found)
70	February 22, 2017	Feminist Akademisyenlerden Donald Trump'ın ABD Başkanı Seçilmesine Dair Bildiri	(could not be found)
71	February 17, 2017	Putin bazı ev içi şiddet biçimlerini suç olmaktan çıkaran yasa değişikliğini onayladı	Putin approves legal change that decriminalises some domestic violence
72	February 15, 2017	Lean-In'den Öteye: %99'un Feminizmi ve 8 Mart'ta Militan Bir Uluslararası Grev İçin	(could not be found)
73	February 2, 2017	ABD'nin seyahat yasağı İranlı LGBT mültecileri arafta bıraktı	US travel ban leaves Iranian LGBT refugees in limbo
74	December 7, 2016	Paris'te Son Tango'da istismar ve 1970'lerin cinsel devriminin gerçekleşmeyen vaadi	Last Tango's abuse reveals the broken promise of the 1970s sexual revolution
75	December 7, 2017	#NONUNADIMENO: Uluslararası Feminist Hareketin Beklenmedik Gücü	#NONUNADIMENO: THE UNEXPECTED FORCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST MOVEMENT
76	December 5, 2016	'Kadınlar bu işleri çok daha iyi beceriyor': Feminizmin yeni cephesi duygusal emek mi?	Women are just better at this stuff': is emotional labor feminism's next frontier?
77	October 19, 2016	Arjantin: Yüzbinlerce kadın şiddete karşı eylem düzenliyor	Argentina: hundreds of thousands of women set to protest against violence

78	October 13, 2016	“Hayır hayır demektir kampanyası” sonrasında Almanya nihayet arkaik tecavüz yasasını deęiřtirdi	(could not be found)
79	October 13, 2016	Elena Ferrante’nin iğnenen mahremiyeti	Who cares who Elena Ferrante really is? She owes us nothing



## Appendix-3: The approval of the Ethics Committee

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 04/10/2019-E.30942



T.C.  
ANKARA HACI BAYRAM VELİ  
ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
Etik Komisyonu

Sayı : 11054618-302.08.01-  
Konu : Bilimsel ve Eğitim Amaçlı

### LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 06.08.2019 tarih ve E.23651 sayılı yazı.

İlgi yazınız ile göndermiş olduğunuz, Enstitünüz Çeviri ve Kültürel Çalışmalar (İngilizce) Bilim Dalı **Doktora öğrencisi Ayşe Saki DEMİREL, Doç.Dr. Aşlı Özlem TARAKÇIOĞLU'nun** danışmanlığında yürüttüğü "*A Sociological Approach to Feminist Translation Practices in Turkey: The Case of Feminist Websites*" adlı tez çalışması ile ilgili konu Komisyonumuzun 27.09.2019 tarih ve 13 sayılı toplantısında görüşülmüş olup,

Etik Komisyonunca onaylanan ilgilinin çalışmasının, ekte gönderilen Başvuru Değerlendirme Raporunda önerilen görüş doğrultusunda yapılması planlanan yerlerden izin alınması koşuluyla yapılmasında etik açıdan bir sakınca bulunmadığına oybirliği ile karar verilmiş; karara ilişkin imza listesi ve onaylanan çalışmalar ekte gönderilmiştir.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

e-İmzalıdır  
Prof. Dr. Aydın KARAPINAR  
Komisyon Başkanı

Araştırma Kod No: 2019/171

- Ek:  
1- İmza Listesi  
2- Başvuru Değerlendirme Raporu  
3- Onaylı Çalışma

Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Yücepete Mahallesi 85. Cadde No 8 06570 Çankaya /  
Ankara  
Tel:+90 (312) 231 73 60

Bilgi için : Saliha GEMALMAZ  
Genel Evrak Sorumlusu

## Appendix-4: The informed voluntary consent form both in Turkish and English

T.C.  
ANKARA HACI BAYRAM VELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
ETİK KOMİSYONU

### KATILIMCILAR İÇİN BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ GÖNÜLLÜ ONAM FORMU

Sayın katılımcı,

Sizi, **Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu**'ndan 04/10/2019 tarih, E.30942 sayı ile izin alınan ve Doç. Dr. Aslı Özlem TARAKCIOĞLU tarafından (danışmanlığında) yürütülen "A Sociological Approach to Feminist Translation Practices in Turkey: The Case of Feminist Websites" başlıklı araştırmaya katılmaya davet ediyorum.

Doktora tezi kapsamında yapılacak bu araştırmanın amacı, 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin isimli iki feminist internet sitesinin ne ölçüde ve hangi yollarla feminist çeviri yaptıklarını ve bu çevirileri yapan çevirmenlerin ve site editörlerinin feminist çeviriye ilişkin bilinç düzeylerini ve yaklaşımlarını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu araştırma Türkiye'de online mecralarda gerçekleştirilen feminist çeviri pratiklerini incelemesi bakımından alanında bir ilk olma özelliği taşımaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında, ilk olarak, İngilizceden Türkçeye çevrilerek 2019 yılının mayıs ayı sonuna kadar 5Harfliler ve Çatlak Zemin'de yayınlanan çeviri metinler derlenecek ve bu metinlerin tematik ve yan metinsel analizi yapılacaktır. Araştırma kapsamında ayrıca 5Harfliler veya Çatlak Zemin'de feminist temalı en az iki çevirisi bulunan çevirmenlerle (toplamda 5Harfliler'den (24), Çatlak Zemin'den (12) çevirmenle) ve her iki internet sitesinden birer editörle görüşme yapılması hedeflenmektedir. Görüşmeler görüşmecilerin uygunluk durumuna göre ya yüz-yüze (ses kaydı alınarak) ya da e-posta üzerinden gönderilen sorularla yapılacaktır.

Araştırmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Araştırmaya katılma kararı verdikten sonra araştırmanın herhangi bir aşamasında çalışmadan çıkma hakkına sahipsiniz. Bu araştırmaya katılımınız için sizden herhangi bir ücret istenmeyecek ve size de herhangi bir ödeme yapılmayacaktır. Araştırmadan elde edilecek bilgiler yukarıda "araştırma amacı" kısmında belirtilen amaç dışında kullanılmayacak ve kişisel bilgileriniz gizli tutulacaktır. Katılımınızla araştırmamıza yaptığınız destek için teşekkür ederim.

Doç. Dr. Aslı Özlem TARAKCIOĞLU

Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi  
Edebiyat Fakültesi Emniyet Mahallesi Abant  
1 Cad. No:10/2D Kat: 8 Yenimahalle/Ankara

asli.tarakcioglu@hbv.edu.tr

#### **KATILIMCI BEYANI**

*Yukarıda ayrıntıları belirtilen ve tarafıma aktarılan bu araştırma ile ilgili yapılan tüm bilgilendirmeleri ayrıntılarıyla anlamış bulunmaktayım. Gerek araştırma yürütülürken gerekse yayımlandığında katılımcı kimliğimin gizli tutulacağı konusunda güvence aldım. Ayrıca araştırma sonuçlarının eğitim ve bilimsel amaçlarla kullanımı sırasında kişisel bilgilerin dikkatle korunacağı konusunda bana yeterli güven verildi. Araştırma için yapılacak harcamalarla ilgili herhangi bir parasal sorumluluk altına girmiyorum ve bana herhangi bir ödeme de yapılamayacaktır. Araştırmanın yürütülmesi sırasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden çekilebilirim. Bu şartlar altında aşağıda adı soyadı yazılı şahsım, araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılıyorum. Bu formun bir kopyası bana verilecektir.*

#### Katılımcı

Adı ve Soyadı		Tarih ve İmza	
Adres		Telefon, eposta	

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**  
**ANKARA HACI BAYRAM VELI UNIVERSITY**  
**ETHICS COMMITTEE**

**INFORMED VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS**

Dear Participant,

I am asking for your voluntary participation in the research project titled “A Sociological Approach to Feminist Translation Practices in Turkey: The Case of Feminist Websites” conducted by Aslı Özlem TARAKCIOĞLU (under her supervision) with the approval of **Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University Ethics Committee** (Date: 04/10/2019 and No. E.30942).

The aim of this doctoral research is to investigate the extent and ways in which two feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, practice feminist translation and explore the level of awareness and approaches of the website translators and editors concerning feminist translations. This research appears to be the first attempt to study online feminist translation practices in Turkey. For the purpose of the research, translations from English to Turkish that were published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin by the end of May 2019 will be first compiled and then subjected to a thematic and paratextual analysis. The research also aims to interview translators (24 translators from 5Harfliler and 12 translators from Çatlak Zemin) who have at least two feminist-themed translations and one editor from each website. Interviews will be held either face-to-face (with audio recording) or via e-mail depending on the interviewers’ availability.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may stop participating at any time. You will not be charged any fee and you will not be paid for your participation. The information obtained from the research will not be used except for the purpose declared in the “research purpose” section above and your personal information will be kept confidential. Thank you for your participation and support in our research.

Assoc. Prof. Aslı Özlem TARAKCIOĞLU

Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi  
Edebiyat Fakültesi Emniyet Mahallesi Abant  
1 Cad. No:10/2D Kat: 8 Yenimahalle/Ankara

asli.tarakcioglu@hbv.edu.tr

***PARTICIPANT’S STATEMENT***

*By signing this form, I am attesting that I have read and understood all the information above and provided to me. I have been assured that participant identity will be kept confidential both during the research and when it is published. I have also been assured that personal information will be carefully protected during the use of research results for educational and scientific purposes. I take no monetary responsibility for the expenses for the research and I will receive no payment. I can stop participating at any time without giving any reason. Under these circumstances, I, the undersigned below, give my voluntary consent to participate in the research. I will receive a copy of this form.*

**Participant**

<b>Name and Surname</b>		<b>Date and Signature</b>	
<b>Address</b>		<b>Phone, e-mail</b>	



**Appendix-5: The interview questions prepared for the translators both in Turkish and English**

**TERCÜMANLAR İÇİN HAZIRLANAN GÖRÜŞME SORULARI**

1. Eğitim ve meslek hayatınızdan kısaca bahseder misiniz? Herhangi bir çeviri eğitimi aldınız mı?
2. Çeviri yapmaya ne zaman ve nasıl başladınız? Hangi dil ya da dillerden çeviriler yapıyorsunuz? Daha çok ne tür eserler, yazılar, kitaplar çeviriyorsunuz?
3. Farklı feminizmlerin ve farklı feministliklerin var olduğunun farkında olarak şu soruyu sormak istiyorum. Kendinizi feminist olarak tanımlıyor musunuz? Kendinizi feminist olarak tanımlıyorsanız, sizi feminizme götüren/yaklaştıran süreci biraz anlatır mısınız?
4. 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin ile nasıl tanıştınız?
5. 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin için yaptığınız çeviriler var. Bu çeviriler gönüllülük esasına mı dayanıyor? Çevirisini yapacağınız metinleri nasıl seçiyorsunuz? Nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? Seçimlerinizde feminist kimliğinizin (eğer kendinizi feminist olarak tanımlıyorsanız) belirleyici olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
6. Feminist çeviri kavramını daha önce duydunuz mu? (Çeviri eğitimi aldıysanız) Çeviri eğitiminiz sırasında feminist çeviriye ilişkin bir ders aldınız mı? Sizce feminist çeviri ya da feminist bir yaklaşımla çeviri yapmak ne anlama gelir?
7. Çeviri yaparken özellikle dikkat ettiğiniz, özen gösterdiğiniz hususlar neler? Çeviri sürecinde feminist kaygılarla kaynak metne müdahale ettiğiniz/kaynak metni değiştirdiğiniz oluyor mu (örneğin kaynak metindeki cinsiyetçi dil kullanımını değiştirmek gibi)? Sizce çevirmen ne ölçüde kaynak metne ve yazara sadık kalmalı? Çevirmen çeviri sürecinde kaynak metne ve yazara sadakati bir kenara bırakarak özgürce hareket edebilir mi?
8. Çevirmen olarak kendinizi ve yaptığınız çeviriyi görünür kılmak için çevirinize önsöz, dipnot ya da çevirmen notu ekleme ihtiyacı duyuyor musunuz?
9. Feminist bir metni çevirmenin feminist mücadeledeki yeri / feminizme katkısı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Feminist mücadele bağlamında feminist bir metni çevirmek feminist bir metni kaleme almakla eşdeğer görülebilir mi? Bu doğrultuda 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin için yaptığınız çevirileri nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
10. Son olarak eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR TRANSLATORS

1. Could you talk briefly about your education and career? Have you had any translation training?
2. When and how did you start translating? What language or languages do you translate? What kind of works, articles, books do you often translate?
3. I am aware that there are different feminisms and different feminist identities, I would like to ask: Do you describe yourself as a feminist? If you describe yourself as a feminist, could you tell a little bit about the process that led/took you to feminism?
4. How did you meet 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin?
5. You have translations on 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin. Are these translations voluntary? How do you select a text for translation? What do you pay attention to? Do you think your feminist identity (if you describe yourself as a feminist) is decisive in your choices?
6. Have you ever heard the concept of feminist translation? (If you studied translation) Did you take a course in feminist translation during your study? What do you think feminist translation or translating with a feminist approach means?
7. What do you particularly care and pay attention to while translating? Do you ever intervene in or change the ST with feminist concerns (such as changing the use of sexist language in the ST)? To what extent do you think the translator should adhere to the source text and author? Can the translator act freely in the translation process, leaving aside adherence to the source text and author?
8. Do you need to add a preface, footnote or translator note to your translation to make yourself as a translator and your translation visible?
9. What place do you think translating a feminist text has in the feminist struggle or what is its contribution to feminism? Can translating a feminist text be considered equivalent to writing a feminist text in the context of the feminist struggle? In this regard, how do you evaluate your translations for 5Harfliler/Çatlak Zemin? What do you think about the role, importance and contribution of translation in/to the feminist struggle? Can translating a feminist text be considered equal/equivalent to writing a feminist text?
10. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

## Appendix-6: The interview questions prepared for the editors both in Turkish and English

### EDİTÖR İÇİN HAZIRLANAN GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

1. Kadın gündeminin peşinde olan feminist bir internet sitesisiniz / Feminist bağları tazelemek, feminist söylemi ve kadınları güçlendirmek amacıyla yola çıkan feminist bir internet sitesisiniz. Sitenizi incelediğimizde pek çok metin çevirisiyle karşılaşyoruz. Sitenizde çevirisi yayınlanacak metinleri nasıl seçiyorsunuz? Nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? Hangi amaçlarla bu çevirileri yayınlıyorsunuz? İzlediğiniz bir çeviri politikası var mı?
2. Sitenizde yayınlanan çevirilerin çevirmenlerini nasıl seçiyorsunuz ya da bu çevirmenlerle nasıl tanışıyorsunuz? Metin seçimini internet sitesi olarak siz mi yapıyorsunuz yoksa seçimi çevirmenler mi yapıyor?
3. Feminist bir metni çevirmenin feminist mücadeledeki yeri / feminizme katkısı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Feminist mücadele bağlamında feminist bir metni çevirmek feminist bir metni kaleme almakla eşdeğer görülebilir mi? Bu doğrultuda sitenizde yayınlanan çevirileri nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
4. Feminist çeviri kavramını daha önce duydunuz mu? Sizce feminist çeviri ya da feminist bir yaklaşımla çeviri yapmak ne anlama gelir? Sitenizde yayınlanan çevirileri feminist çeviri bağlamında nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
5. Çevirmenin yaptığı çeviriye önsöz yazması, dipnot ya da çevirmen notu eklemesi veya kaynak metne feminist kaygılarla müdahale ederek değiştirmesi (örneğin kaynak metindeki cinsiyetçi dil kullanımını değiştirmek gibi) sizin için kabul edilebilir bir durum mudur? Sizce bu bağlamda çevirmenin sınırları var mıdır?
6. Size gelen çevirileri editörlük süzgecinden geçirirken nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? Yapılan çevirilere sonradan herhangi bir müdahalede bulunuyor musunuz? Örneğin çevirilerde feminist bakış açısına aykırı ifadeler dikkatinizi çeker mi? Söz konusu bu ifadeleri bir editör olarak değiştirir misiniz?
7. Sitenizin geleceğe ilişkin planları neler? Neler yapmayı hedefliyorsunuz? Nasıl bir yayın ve çeviri politikası izlemeyi planlıyorsunuz?
8. Son olarak eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR EDITORS

1. You are a feminist website which is in pursuit of women's agenda. / You are a feminist website that seeks to revive feminist ties and strengthen feminist discourse and women. There are many translated texts on your website. How do you select a text to translate for your website? What do you pay attention to? For what purposes do you publish these translations? Do you follow a translation policy?
2. How do you choose the translators of the translations published on your website or how do you meet them? Do you, as the website, make the selection of texts or do translators make it?
3. What place do you think translating a feminist text has in the feminist struggle or what is its contribution to feminism? Can translating a feminist text be considered equivalent to writing a feminist text in the context of the feminist struggle? How do you evaluate the translations published on your website?
4. Have you ever heard the concept of feminist translation? What do you think feminist translation or translating with a feminist approach means? How do you evaluate translations published on your site in the context of feminist translation?
5. Is it acceptable for you that a translator writes a preface to the translation, adds a footnote or translator note, or modifies the source text with feminist concerns (such as changing the use of sexist language in the source text)? Do you think translators have limitations in this regard?
6. What do you pay attention to when editing translations that you receive? Do you make any intervention in translations later? Do you notice, for example, expressions that are contrary to the feminist perspective in translations? Would you as an editor change such expressions?
7. What are the future plans for your website? What do you plan to do? What kind of publishing and translation policy do you plan to follow?
8. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

## ÖZGEÇMİŞ

### Kişisel Bilgiler

Soyadı, adı : SAKİ DEMİREL, Ayşe  
Uyruğu : Türkiye Cumhuriyeti  
Doğum tarihi ve yeri : 1989 - İzmir  
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### Eğitim

Derece	Eğitim Birimi	Mezuniyet tarihi
Doktora	Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi	
Yüksek Lisans	Hacettepe Üniversitesi	2014
Lisans	Hacettepe Üniversitesi	2011
Lise	Afyonkarahisar Anadolu Öğretmen Lisesi	2007

### İş Deneyimi

Yıl	Yer	Görev
2018-	Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi	Araştırma Görevlisi
2014-2018	Gazi Üniversitesi	Araştırma Görevlisi
2012-2014	Hacettepe Üniversitesi	Araştırma Görevlisi
2011-2012	Bartın Üniversitesi	Araştırma Görevlisi

### Yabancı Dil

İngilizce





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