

## Self-Orientalism and the Media's Role in Turkey Before 2000

DOI: 10.26466/opus.856102

\*

Tacettin Gökhan Özçelik\*

\*Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Niřantaşı Üniversitesi

E-Mail: [gokhan.ozcelik@nisantasi.edu.tr](mailto:gokhan.ozcelik@nisantasi.edu.tr)

ORCID: [0000-0002-0161-9230](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0161-9230)

### Abstract

*Self-orientalism stands out as a political strategy implemented voluntarily by modernizing leaders during the formation of modern-nation-states, and by intellectuals who are in contact with modern colonialists during the post-colonial period. In other words, orientalism has been internalized in post-colonial media and post-colonial state practices. In the age we live in, there is no orientalism apart from the phenomenon of self-orientalism. The internalization of orientalism during the dynamics of modernization has led to the transformation of orientalism into a hegemony-power relationship in today's sense. Self-orientalism is the individuals' and societies' understanding and interpretation of themselves through ideas that do not belong to them. In addition to the literature and inter-communal relations, the media plays an undeniably important role in the formation of the individuals' and societies' own false consciousness. This is a process of self-alienation and becoming the other of itself. In this study, the role of media in self-orientalism will be addressed.*

**Keywords:** Orientalism, Modernism, Civilization, Othering, Hegemony

## Self-Oryantalizm ve Türkiye'de 2000 Öncesi Medyanın Rolü

\*

### Öz

*Self-oryantalizm, modern-ulus devletlerin oluşması sırasında; iradi olarak modernleştirici liderler tarafından, post-kolonyal dönemde ise modern kolonyalistler ile temas halindeki entelektüeller tarafından kolonyalizm sonrası uygulanan bir politik strateji olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Bir başka ifadeyle post-kolonyal medya ve post-kolonyal devlet pratiklerinde oryantalizm içselleştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda modernleştirici liderler tarafından inşa edilen self-oryantalizm, modernist bir içselleştirme süreci sonucunda meydana gelmiştir. Doğulunun kurgulanmasında, Batılı yalnız değildir. Doğu'nun bu manadaki kurgulanması işinde, bir o kadar da Doğu'nun kendi payı bulunmaktadır. İçinde yaşadığımız çağda self-oryantalizm fenomeninin dışında oryantalizm diye bir uygulamanın varlığı söz konusu bile değildir. Modernleşme dinamikleri sırasında oryantalizmin içselleştirilmesi durumu, bugün ki manasında oryantalizmin bir hegemonya-güç ilişkisine dönüşmesine sebebiyet vermiştir. Kendi kendini oryantalize etmek bireylerin ve toplumların kendilerini, kendilerine ait olmayan fikirler aracılığıyla anlamaları ve anlamlandırmalarıdır. Bireylerde ve toplumlarda kendilerine ait yanlış bilincin oluşumunda edebiyat, toplumlararası ilişkiler ile birlikte medyanın da yadsınmaz önemde rolü bulunmaktadır. Bu bir kendine yabancılaşma ve kendi kendisinin ötekisi haline gelme sürecidir. Bu çalışmada self-oryantalizmde medyanın rolü incelenmeye çalışılacaktır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Oryantalizm, Modernizm, Medeniyet, Ötekileştirme, Hegemonya.

## Introduction

The West gained a distinct advantage over the East as a result of the great breakthroughs made in the fields of science and technology with the Enlightenment. This scientific and technological superiority has emerged in parallel to the West's colonization process of the East. The Enlightenment led the West to colonize the East using the technological superiority it achieved, causing this region of the world to fall behind and severely broke from the scientific-technological race. The East, which could not make the breakthroughs that the West achieved in the fields of science, technology and intellectuality, fell behind the West in terms of "rationalization", which means solving world problems with world methods. In time, this fact has prepared the climate for the West to shape and build the East according to its own lifestyle and interests, the West has begun to consider that it has the right to represent the East and to determine how the East should be (Kula, 2012, Preface 17-18).

Modern world history is an attempt to narrate the "antagonism" of Western modernity and the non-Western realm, which consists of traditional societies that should learn the desire to be modern, and transforming it into a discourse. Edward Said defined this fact as freezing the differences in history, and described it as imprisoning those encoded as non-Western cultures in the category of "traditional society" and establishing the "other" as a "cultural object" that should be controlled and transformed into a modern form, and named this understanding of history reading that aims to legitimize the cultural leadership and hegemony of Western modernity in the world, as "orientalism" (Kahraman-Keyman, 1998, p. 75-76).

The latent, open, and modern categories that describe orientalism are interconnected and they overlap; they include the whole given reality. No thinker who has made statements about the East and no time period is left out. Said, who redefines orientalism as a knowledge/power relationship in the Foucauldian sense, shows us how the ways of thinking and deep prejudices were formed, and how they were transformed into global power relations by articulating to political and military objectives (Çırakman, 2007, p. 107).

Regarding the marking attributed to orientalism or governing-ruling-directing actions and the subjectivity-objectivity positioning, "the hegemo-

ny of self-orientalism has given birth to orientalist hegemony". As a matter of fact, the carrier elites in societies that are the object of colonialism or in voluntary modern societies have suffered from the Westernism-modernity infection; in this sense, it can be said that this infection caused self-orientalism. From this point of view, the philosophy of orientalism emerged after modernization is actually self-orientalism in the sense that it is perceived around the world (Çifci, 2013, p. 30).

It is an undeniable fact that the history of non-Western countries cannot be handled independent from Western modernity and the awareness of underdevelopment compared to the West, and the desire for modernity have left deep traces in the historical and intellectual path of non-Western societies. In this context, the disengagement from the history and tradition in countries where effective voluntary authoritarian modernization projects are effective, such as Turkey, was more radical than colonial modernization like India. This approach clarifies the negative and exclusionary relationship of Turkish elites with tradition. The acceptance of the Ottomans as a problematic legacy that should be denied caused the process that accumulated over the centuries to be ignored, modernization efforts were assumed to be possible with a break with tradition and they were put into practice accordingly. Turkish elites and state administrators not only rejected the political structure of Ottoman heritage, but also tried to change every aspect of the social structure as well.

The media makes the voice of a narrow circle heard. In countries where self-orientalism is effective, the life emphasized in the media already describes the life of this narrow segment. Since there is a distance with the representations outside the dominant ideology, there is no other way than to orientalize these representations in the media. What is left out of this representation are the things unwanted to be seen. In any case, these are the stumbling blocks, the signs that are desired to be left behind, the indicators that are not modern, and that are the opposite of modernity. For this reason, everything that makes the Westernized Easterners feel that they are actually Easterners has become their worst nightmare. Westernism has become an escape in this respect. The images disincluded by the dominant modernist ideology can be excluded as a way of getting rid of the undesirable situation.

## **Orientalism**

The history of Orientalism is as old as the existence of East and West. In a study on the basis of orientalism, when the concepts of east and west are used, where is east and what is west is confused with each other, and it can be confused with the directional understandings of east and west. The words east and west express their meaning as a civilization, culture, and an identity belonging. Even in this context, the west in the east and many east in the west can take place. Today, even if it is said that the concept called the West originated in Western Europe, while Japan, America, Canada were West, Eastern Europe and the Balkans symbolize non-Western spaces trying to be Western. This approach, which is not suitable for geographical definition, reveals that restricting the West and the East with a geographical reference does not mean anything in itself. This historical process has given orientalism its various forms and features that we are familiar with. Regarding the development process, orientalism means, on one hand, the study of the East by the West, on the other hand, it is seen as the most important tool for the West to reach its own consciousness. Therefore, the images of the East presented by orientalism vary according to the changes in East-West relations and the developments occurring within the internal body of any of the parties (Bulut, 2002, p. 14).

Kahraman and Keyman (1998, p. 76) define orientalism as a discourse that builds and represents the other or the difference as a "non-Western" object. In other words, they say that orientalism is the name given to the historical understanding that established the discursive formation of the modernity's global hegemony. The lack of history of the different versus the history of the West; the reduction of the different to a generalized anthropological "cultural object" versus the subject position assumed by the West as "I am"; the non-progressive tradition of West, which symbolizes the underdevelopment of the other compared to the civilization of the West that acts on the basis of history/reason/development; the understanding of history reading that orientalism has established on a discursive level, and consequently the identification of world history with Western civilization. This tells us that modernity is not only inherent to the West but has essentially functioned as a "global hegemonic project" since its foundation. In this context, modern world history is the history of the West's epis-

temically and normatively privileged subject position and its historical development functioning as a universal reference point.

As discussed in Said's famous work "orientalism", the word orientalism is used in three different meanings, which are complementary. First of all, "Eastern" studies are academic studies that define an institution, discipline and set of activities specific to concerned Western universities involved in the study of oriental society and cultures. Second, it is a way of thinking based on a particular epistemology and ontology that creates a radical distinction between what is called the East and what is called the West. Finally, it is a legal institution to deal with the East, for describing and controlling the East (Okumuş, 1992, p. 253).

In defining orientalism, Said departs from the understanding that the dominant culture, which sees itself as superior and wants to preserve this superiority, and which is also fed by the military and economic objectives and institutions of colonialism, can't understand another culture and accept it as its equivalent. Applying the theoretical analysis of Michel Foucault, Said's view is based on the idea that all dominant cultures have created a "power" discourse suitable for them and they reflect other cultures as they wish within this discourse. This distorted projection is actually one of the ways one culture dominates another. Orientalism is the "effort to define the East, which has a special place in Europe's life". The East is not only the neighbor of the West, it is also the largest, richest, and oldest colony of the West. It is the source of languages and civilizations, its cultural rival and the deepest and most persistent symbol of "other than itself", that is, the "other". Orientalism is perceiving East via the cultural and ideological institutions of the West, and through a discourse embellished with the words, images and doctrines created by these institutions. West has founded and maintained this discourse, thanks to which it has established its unshakable authority by "making observations about the East, approving the views about the East, describing the East, and creating the East on paper, in short by dominating the East". However, in the shadow of this discourse created and sustained by orientalism, it is not possible to talk freely about the East. (Parla, 1985, p. 11).

### *East as an Oriental Object*

Said's definition of Orientalism shows us the description of "the epistemological and ontological distinction between East and West". Here the word "distinction" is marked with a power expressing cultural distinction, which signifies a privilege. In other words, what is mentioned here is an unequal relationship, a "cultural" difference determined within a power separation. The question to be asked here is "who made the distinction?". The answer to the question is that it is made by "the West". Orientalism does not begin by saying "Orientals are inferior to Westerners", but it starts by assuming and suggesting that the "East" as an object of knowledge, an object of knowing, studying and ruling. This establishes universality, marking a place called "East". This marking is made only by the West, but it is a move that simultaneously makes its position universal (for example, it also gives birth to an object called "culture"), in other words an epistemological and ontological distinction. If we take out Orientalism from being a "racist ideology" in the plain and simple sense and use Gramsci's term, this is what makes it "elaborated", that is, an imperial discourse that is refined, sophisticated, conforming to scientific, philosophical, cultural and intellectual norms and making those norms formative. Mutman describes it as "A marking, a stamping that can be done with power; an epistemological and ontological violence. The movement that makes the East the object of being known and ruled, makes the West the subject of knowing and ruling" (Mutman, 2002, p. 110).

Many thinkers stated that Europe needs "the other" in order to build an identity for itself. When orientalist-centered thought is put at the core, the "other" is marked as the East: an "image" of East that is different from the West, which is inferior to it, a barbaric and primitive East. According to Yavuz (1993, p. 59), this marking coincides with the history of Europe's building of its own identity. In other words, the orientalist history of the establishment (or marking) of the East as the "other" is a history determined by the Western subject by putting itself at the center.

The properties that are opposite to those of the subject are attributed to the other. In this way, the other is made an element with which the subject is compared, and on the other hand remains radically different from the subject. In this hearing, where the judge is also the prosecutor, the "other"

is born as a criminal: It lacks the properties of the subject, at the same time it poses a threat to the stable world of the subject because of the radical differences. This structure belonging to the subject is also valid for colonial and imperial discourse (Yeğenoğlu, 2003, p. 15).

Making the East an object of knowledge, examination and management and the functioning of this are taken by Enver Abdülmelik (1998: p. 14-15) in two levels, as problematic and status. At the problematic level, the traditional and modern orientalist discourse considers the East and the Eastern underlined as the "other" as the object of the research, where being the "subject" or "object" is of great importance. "This object of the research, as usual, exhibits a passive, non-interfering character, which is only historical, and above all it is unable to make a decision about itself, inactive and lacks autonomy. This East, Eastern, or "object" will ultimately admit that it is philosophically alienated from itself, in other words it is positioned, understood, defined and activated by others".

### *Latent, Explicit and Modern Orientalism*

As an academic discipline developed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, orientalism has been reinforced by history, philology and anthropology. The discipline of orientalism is not much different than the mentality of early orientalist studies, i.e. pre-18<sup>th</sup> century. Only its scope, methods and field of activity are improved. This type of orientalism is called "open orientalism". Orientalists in this category deliberately and willingly examine the differences between East and West to emphasize the superiority of the West over other cultures. Second, orientalism is a way of thinking. The ontological knowledge generated between East and West is based on theoretical (epistemological) distinctions. This category includes not only Orientalist academicians, but also all writers or thinkers who have made any statements about the East. The factor that brings various different names together is that they all assumed an essential difference between West and East. Such orientalist are called "latent orientalist". Because these orientalist unknowingly and unwillingly or unintentionally emphasized the difference between East and West. Finally, orientalism is a way of dealing and being intimate with the East, which is called modern orientalism. This trend started in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Modern orientalism is a way of domination,



reconstruction, and representation of the East and the Easterners by various practices and theories. The efforts of learning, observing, writing about, thinking, teaching, settling there and colonizing the East can be given as the examples of these practices, (Çırakman, 2002, p. 191-192).

Said states that the main factor in the formation of Orientalism is the belief that the Eastern geography is behind the West. This perception and understanding of underdevelopment prepared the transformation of Orientalism into a political doctrine. According to Said's interpretation, all these are "manifest Orientalism", which is the first of Said's two definitions of Orientalism. The other is "latent Orientalism". Said explains the difference between the two concepts as follows: "Manifest Orientalism is the views on oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and the like, in which an unconscious and even untouchable positivity is hidden. Whatever changes occur in the knowledge of the Orient, it is present in Manifest Orientalism" (Said, 1998, p. 281).

The visible content of orientalism is "various opinions suggested about Eastern societies, languages, literatures, history, sociology etc."; whereas latent orientalism points out "an almost unconscious (and absolutely untouchable) positivity" (Said, 1998: p. 281). Latent orientalism, then, reflects the unconscious space where dreams, images, desires, fantasies, and fears are kept. That's why orientalism talks about systematic knowledge production and unconscious desires and fantasies at the same time; It shows that the East is both an object of knowledge and an object of desire (Yeğenoğlu, 2003, p. 31).

Latent and manifest orientalism reflects the West's knowledge of the East and its representation, while modern orientalism covers these two areas and represents the cultural and political hegemony or dominance of the West over the East. At this point, modern orientalism shows the consistency of orientalism. The image of the East, which has been established for centuries, and the obtained knowledge initiates the strategies of owning and managing the East, verifies and legitimizes these actions, and serves to the acquisition of the East. For this reason, orientalism is defined as a knowledge/power relationship. On the other hand, the East of the Orientalism, which constitutes an intellectual and moral basis for imperialism and colonialism, should be analyzed as a discourse because it is an image

created by the Westerners, and it is perceived and envisioned through texts written in the West (Çırakman, 2007, p. 107).

### *Self-Orientalism*

Self-orientalism is the effort of individuals and societies to understand and interpret themselves through the ideas that do not belong to them. Literature, inter-communal relations and media have an undeniable role in the formation of the false consciousness of the individuals and societies. This is a process of self-alienation and becoming the other of itself. Self-orientalism, which can be expressed as individuals' thoughts that the meanings attached to their beliefs and social practices conflict with general validity and the condemnation of their differences by themselves, points out a strange situation in which the subjects having the same history see and act against each other as "the other".

The West(ern) is not alone in building the East(ern). The East has its own share in the formation of the East in this sense (Keyman et al., 1996: p. 14). Even today, there is no such practice as orientalism apart from the phenomenon of self-orientalism. The internalization of orientalism during the dynamics of modernization led to the transformation of orientalism into a hegemony-power relationship in today's sense (Bezci et al., p. 2012, 142).

Orientalism is often used to describe the relationships between states and broad cultures. But it also scenes itself further inside. In this context, when expressing self-orientalism, it is possible to reverse the order in the orientalist literature as follows (Çifci, 2013, p. 28):

Academic orientalism: subject is the West(ern) - object of study is the East(ern).

Self-orientalism: subject is the West(ern)alized East(ern) - the object is the authentic East(ern),

Orientalism: subject the West(ern) - object (still) the authentic East(ern).

Although this sequence is not considered as such in historiography, the voluntary use of self-orientalism as a method of modernization by the carrier elites makes this sequence possible.

According to Dirlik, in the marking attributed to orientalism or in the actions of governing-ruling-directing and the positioning of objectivity

and subjectivity" the hegemony of self-orientalism gave birth to orientalist hegemony". As a matter of fact, it can be said that carrier elites in colonialist societies or in voluntary modern societies suffered from Westernism-modernity infection and in this sense self-orientalism is caused by this infection. From this point of view, it can be said that the philosophy of orientalism, which emerged after modernization and is perceived worldwide, is actually self-orientalism (Çifci, 2013, p. 30).

### **The Distinction between Colonial-Post-Colonial Depiction/Voluntary Modernist Depiction**

Auto-colonization occurred during and after colonialism or as a result of volunteer efforts to be articulated to the modernity and orientalism/self-orientalism, which is seen as one of the general problematic of world societies that are globalizing or falling within the axis of global modernity (Dirlik, 2006: p. 61), points out colonialism and modernity. As a matter of fact, without colonialism, orientalism would look like a headless animal. The most important point here is that orientalism is internalized in post-colonial intellectual and state practices (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 145).

The world of perception, which Dirlik (2006, p.61-83) portrays as global modernity, refers to post-Eurocentrism modernity, a situation where the concepts of time and space inherited from modernity are pulped. It is true that modernity has been globalizing since its inception; but the formation of global modernity up to this day has been prevented by two products of capitalist modernity: colonialism and orientalism. The decolonization process after World War II caused the colonized ones to raise their voices, and it paved the way for the acceptance of the spatial and temporal coexistence of modern societies and the societies that Europe-centered discourse of modernity pushed to invisibility and backwardness.

Accordingly, in order to eliminate the slurry-like perception of time and space indicated by Dirlik; it was deemed appropriate to distinguish between colonialism and voluntary modernism while interpreting the concepts of orientalism and thus self-orientalism. In this context, self-orientalism is observed to commonly emerge in two different scenarios: Firstly, "it causes state-centered reification of key Eastern qualities that are mainly felt as cultural self-identification or the resistance to Western cul-

tural hegemony in the awakening of colonialism" and the second "the Western and transnational capital is still being governed and controlled by the colonialist or metropolitan view, which is quite tempting". As can be understood from this statement, one of the scenarios points out voluntary modernist self-orientalism, while the other points out colonialist self-orientalism (Çifci, 2013, p. 34).

### *Inner - Internal Otherness*

According to Kocatepe, building the other is actually the construction of the "selfdom" (its own). In other words, neither the other is outside nor the self is inside. The formation of the identity can be defined as the relationship between "selfdom" (self) and the other. In the identity building process, the "selfdom" emerges as a claim against the other. The selfdom sets the rules, norms. In this context, the core is strong; "the other" that forms the surrounding takes a less powerful position, and a break with the norms occurs. Moreover, marking the other brings a conflict of interest as well. As a matter of fact, when we look at the relationship between Asian countries and the West on the axis of self-orientalism, as Nihei stated, one's talk about the other's own region often results in an approach of look after its own interests (cited in Bezci et al. 2012, p. 147).

The basic starting point of self-orientalism is to say that the Easterner, who is transformed from an academic "object" into the object of a power discourse, carried out this objectification job alone. In this context, the emergence of the concept called inner otherness occurs with the metamorphosis created in "selfdom" (self). In this sense, Dirlik says that the incorrect representation of its own values and daily cultural transformation create the notion of inner-internal otherness (Çifci, 2013, p. 35).

According to Dirlik, considering the formation of inner otherness as one of the paradoxes of modernization and seeing it as a negative consequence of opposite cultures in the contact zone created by ontological and epistemological acceptances, can allow to reveal the results of self-orientalist logic. In this sense, the disease of the "Eurocentric subject" acquired by the carrier elites who are in contact, will bring the denial of history as well. Ultimately, self-orientalism will serve to legitimize existing privileges and power hierarchies in the South East Asia and in the East, by

the transformation of carrier elites that it has created into new elites. Consequently, the power hierarchy created by self-orientalism will constantly produce an internal other. Ultimately, this emerging inner otherness creates the concept of self-orientalism (Bezci et al. 2012, p. 147).

### *Tools of Self-Orientalism*

Certain tools are needed for self-orientalism to emerge and survive. These tools are the triangulation point in the internalization of self-orientalism of the relevant society. The analysis of these tools emerging with modernism will reveal the emergence process of self-orientalism in these communities and its complex connection with modernism (Çifci, 2013, p. 36-49).

***Creating Tools (Inventor):*** The tools that create self-orientalism, which are conceptualized as inventive tools, generally emerge as the societies outside Europe enter the modernization line. Contact zone elites are the main drivers of self-orientalism's inventive tools.

***Contact Zone: The Basis of Self-Orientalism:*** According to Dirlik, the carrier elites, who are in "circulation" in the contact zones, enter the axis of modernization "a unit of time ago" than their own societies, they compare modern value-norms-institutions with their own social value-norm-institutions, and ultimately believe that modern-Western value-norm-institutions are superior. Political-social-cultural and the East-West comparison of daily life, the first suspicion, the first admiration and the first wannabe begin in contact zones (Çifci, 2013, p. 37-38).

As a representative practice, self-orientalism privileges one or others from time to time. This privileged segment or the segment believed to be privileged, is formed in the contact zone that invented self-orientalism. In this context, the self-orientalist paradigm is internalized by the elites formed in the contact zone and used as a rhetoric on the way to modernity. Based on this proposition, it can be said that this idea does not result from a problem in European-American modernity and the orientalism fiction of Europeans within the (so-called) Asian construction, as Said suggests, but a result of Self-Orientalism (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 147-148).

***Intellectual Revival:*** The intellectual revival action is initiated by the question of "What is wrong in the West?" that the elites in the contact zones

asked themselves before they start to carry values-norms-institutions. As a matter of fact, both in societies with a voluntary modernist picture and in societies with a colonialist picture, "Intellectuals have sought an answer to this question desperately and they pursued the revitalized roles of the leaders and moral guardians of the nation that they set themselves". Undoubtedly, this will be followed by taking Western-centered values and institutions and creating policies in this sense (Çifci, 1013, p. 40-41).

According to Yu, the most important aspect of the intellectual revival that occurs in the contact zones appears to be: "unleashing the warm energy of modern institutions, organizing and reshaping the personality and individuality". According to Parant, the most important element in intellectual revival is the emergence of a "value hierarchy" and the acceptance of the superiority of Western values. During the intellectual revival, the so-called "carrier elites" "adopt the intellectual tools created in the West". The intellectual who is in the "intellectual revival" here constitutes the "Eastern subject who has accepted the hegemony of the West and voluntarily surrendered to the power of the West". In this direction, policies that do not reflect the realities of social authenticity are produced, and the segment called the "carrier elite" that plays a role in intellectual revival becomes a privileged subject in any case. The point to note here is that this segment uses West-centered values "as an ideology" (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 150).

***Cultural Essentialism and Social Homogeneity:*** The assumptions of cultural essence and homogeneity, which is one of the tools that invented the self-orientalist paradigm, are based on the origin of modernization like the other tools. In this context, the "cultural essence" assumption brings some paradoxes in societies that essentially belong to the East. As a matter of fact, although cultural essentialism provides homogeneity in the first stage, it will later reinforce Western ideological hegemony by internalizing the historical assumptions of orientalism (Çifci, 2013, p. 42).

Marvin mentions that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, modernity has exhibited an ambivalent attitude in terms of "preserving" the past. According to the author, new technologies and media emerging in this century were considered as the most suitable tools found for storing information. In this context, preserving culture meant guarding the truth. However, the sensitivity towards preservation brought a contradiction as well. On the one

hand, the preservation process itself ensured the homogeneity of "right thinking" by making different interpretations within the cultural fabric as objectified and standardized information and destroying them, but on the other hand, it was having the danger of "preserving" the overlooked and uncontrolled differences in an effort to protect it. This contradiction in modernity, experienced especially in preserving the past with archives, is observed to shape the "radio broadcasting" practice, which is one of the most important areas of modernity in Turkey. Representatives of the belated modernity took a more careful approach to the issue of preservation, taking lessons from this area in addition to many lessons derived from the West. The destruction of the archives in Turkey can be considered as a strategy to destroy the diversity of interpretation contained in the past, and to create the integrity of national truth. Accordingly, in order to fix and unify the past in imagination, the inheritors of the past destroyed the plurality of the past and created a narrative on the basis of absence. They preserved the archives by destroying them. Such an assessment can lead us to the conclusion that the history of radio in Turkey did not show a significant deviation from modernity as a format; preserving the past and separating the past from the present by "cleaning" is a modern attitude (Ahıska, 2005, p. 65).

In all societies where cultural essentialism occurs, a uniform life circle is formed, and action is taken to include all other differences in this circle. The point to note here is that this created circle is European-centered. On the other hand, this European-centered circle will include the origin/history of only one sociality of the relevant society, the name of only one sociality, only one of the religious doctrines in that society, and the common language that is spoken by the majority of that society as a homogenizing tool. Thus, a "dominant core" including the values covered in the circle will be invented. The assumption of dominant core will push sub-secondary socialities who do not want to abandon their religious-ethnic-philological identity to anonymity. This state of double bind can be considered as the identity crises created by self-orientalism (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 151).

***Nation State: Autonomy and Representation:***The Western-centered understanding of nationalism adopted by Third World countries has finalized the invention of self-orientalist paradigm and made it ready for approval. As a matter of fact, in the Third World countries, firstly the Western values were internalized by the carrier elites in the contact zones, followed by the western-style intellectual revival, then the emergence of the cultural self-metaphor was observed, and finally the nation, national autonomy and representation theses that are deemed necessary for political-social-economic progress and development have emerged. Accordingly, nationalist ideologies occurred in societies with voluntary modernist depictions, and hybrid nationalisms in societies with colonialist depictions. In this context, nationalist ideology has inevitably been accepted as the moral bond of the nation state (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 152).

The concepts of nation state and Self-Orientalism can be approached with the proposition "The nation state has registered Self-Orientalism", as well as with the proposition that "Self-Orientalism has been used as a strategy to consolidate nation-state narratives". Self-Orientalism, which is used strategically in this direction, can begin to act with the mission of "stripping indigenous peoples other than dominant core from their own cultures and civilizing them". In this context, the success of the nation state is inversely proportional to the existence of other (religious/ethnic/linguistic) social organisms that cannot be included in the invented dominant core. As a matter of fact, from a fragmentary perspective, we can say that the nation-state is a magnificent structurality in terms of economic development, progress and political stability, and that it constantly renews itself and is restructured by conforming to every situation and condition (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 154).

### ***Tools of Continuation: Sustaining Tools***

***Dominant core becoming the norm: Laws:***According to Ruskola, the orientalist perception of law can be explained by many different instruments. However, it would be more inclusive to explain the orientalizing of law in late-modernizing societies in four stages (Çifci, 2013, p. 49-51):

First stage: In Third World states, the West-centered nationalist paradigm that proceeds through one nation, one language and one religious



doctrine is became (made) a value in Eastern societies, subsequently, the establishment of institutions according to this value contributed to the orientalization of law and thus the continuation of self-orientalism. Second stage: The laws and constitutions in many Eastern societies were directly copied from Western states with a superstructural change. Turkey, Japan and China are the examples of this. The changes made in this sense have also ensured the continuity of self-orientalism. Third stage: As Ruskola stated, the societies that establish a modern nation-state and put Western values at the center, "characterize their (traditional) past as illegal" to legitimize the notion of the "dominant core" and to impose the impossibility of return to cognitive systems and to perpetuate the hierarchy of the values just invented. The last stage that ensures the continuity of the self-orientalist paradigm is the fact that the constitutions, which draw the social boundaries of nation states, which are the last stop of dominant core and homogeneity assumptions, protect the rights and freedoms of individuals within the "circle of dominant core"; they do not recognize the rights and freedoms of the individuals and groups outside the dominant core, they even put them through assimilation/integration in many societies instead of protecting them.

***Popular Enhancers: Television, Cinema, Newspaper and Fashion:***In Third World countries, the "secondary object" phenomenon that European-centered Eastern subjects, in other words, the carrier elites created in their own societies, can be expressed as a methodology that institutionalizes self-orientalism (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 156).

Communication, which means the exchange, transport, transfer, sharing of ideas, information, etc. by text, speech or other means, is the subject of mass media. Mass culture is popularized by conveying the mass products of the communication industry to the society through various channels. In this environment, let alone the fact that thinking begins with communication, communication starts to restrict and determine the thought. At some point in our age, mass media conditions people to think as those who own the mass media want, rather than promoting thinking people. As the dominance of mass media increases, the freedom of thinking of the masses is exposed to greater dangers (Doğan, 2012, p. 56-57).

In the new imagination of place and time that technology created, radio played an important role in bringing together the diverse concerns of the elites who undertook the task of defining, maintaining and guarding the national culture in Turkey. Radio has provided a mediation at the intersection of the aspects that appear to be incompatible in other cultural settings. Ahıska interprets them under the following headings: "Culture and civilization": as radio was trying to represent the Western modernity and development through a technological call, it was also seen as a propagation tool of national-cultural "messages" that were considered to belong only to the nation. "Education and Entertainment": radio was mainly treated as a mass education tool, but it had to be entertaining in order to have any impact on the listener. "The elite and the people": the definition of broadcasting includes the speech of the radio to the masses, but the elite wanted to spread their values and lifestyles as the criteria of modernity. "Private and Public": radio was considered as a device that would reorganize the public sphere by instilling modern values in society, but at the same time it had to contact with people mainly in their private lives, in the intimate areas of the it house (Ahıska, 2005, p. 103-104).

The structure (political-economic-financial-social-cultural-bureaucratic etc.), which is described as the "dominant core" and holds the national power as a whole in ethnic/religious/cultural terms, reaches all branches of society in institutional terms, which causes the current popular culture to be shaped in this sense. In this context, in societies that have entered (put) in the axis of modernization later, which are expressed as Third World countries, the existence of popular tools such as television, cinema and fashion, which ensure the continuation of the self-orientalist methodology that has been institutionalized with modern revolutions, seems to be a concrete reality. With these tools, differences such as language/religion/race other than the dominant core have been used pragmatically to reinforce the dominant core. Aggrandizing the dominant culture visually on the stage (motion pictures, television programs, news, advertisements, shows, etc.) and the "artistic manipulations" of other cultures are among the methods used in realizing this situation. On the other hand, the followings are applied for the consolidation of the "dominant core" in such visual tools; The use of excessive rituals and costumes in the representation of other ethnic/religious/cultural groups outside the domi-

nant core, the exaggerated dramatization of the tradition, and "the narration of the story with stylized realities "for sustaining the self-orientalist image. As a matter of fact, these cinematic and theatrical depictions constructed on the axis of "dominant core" are also called customized images (Çifci, 2013, p. 53).

According to Dogan, since the first Turkish newspaper, and even since the first printing press the mass media in Turkey were possessed by the bureaucracy, intellectuals who are in cultural and economic relations with the West and economic power owners. In this way, the bureaucracy was able to make forced westernizing attempts despite the public (Doğan, 2012, p. 57).

It is thought that the laws of the dominant core, which we refer as the sustaining tools of self-orientalism, and the tools such as television, cinema and fashion execute a social relief task. However, according to Yan, self-orientalism strategy has an oppressing and disabling nature rather than relaxing. Accordingly, these oppressive and preventive policies have created the second contact zone and sharpened different religious/racial/cultural understandings within the nation. As a matter of fact, many structures that emerged with the claim of representing different groups within the nation paved the way for the emergence of a secondary self-orientalist paradigm (Bezci et al., 2012, p. 159).

Dogan argues that in addition to mass media and journalism, radio, cinema, and television are also under the control of the bureaucracy in Turkey. Among these tools, radio was taken over by the state a while after the first concession, and the programs were determined by the government. In fact, Doğan states that Turkish music has been removed from radio programs for a long time, but then some Turkish music was allowed as the radio could not find an audience. In addition, the ban on broadcasting religious programs on radio continued for a longer period of time, but the ban was lifted on July 7, 1950 and some religious broadcasts were made available. In Western countries, the mass media was put in a framework suitable for the plurality, whereas in non-Western countries like Turkey they are driven to devote to a certain view. The bureaucracy, which holds the power, has developed mass media tools in line with its own mentality (alienation), not in the way the masses hear and think. Thus, in non-Western societies such as Turkey, the domination of massless

mass media has been the most important and effective institutionalization of bureaucracy on the road to power (Doğan, 2012, p. 61-62).

### **Turkish Media in the Context of Self Orientalism**

Before the 2000s, the effect of an American and European-oriented perspective was apparent in the news, especially in international news, with a monophonic reporting approach. In TV series, family life, dressing preferences, cars, eating and drinking culture, occupations of heroes, and the details about their daily life were presented with a Western understanding. We are talking about the TV series in which rich, well-educated, modern families live, and the events are presented in different ways in the triangle of love, money and intrigue. The areas where we can see more self-orientalist influences in the media are the presentations about those who are outside the current Western paradigm with their political and cultural preferences. By borrowing Gramsci's theory of hegemony, we better understand how the media use marginalizing language against those outside the dominant ideology. Since the Turkish media is fed by a secular tradition and ultimately emerged from the westernizing tradition, Westernism is represented as the dominant ideology at the core. Turkish media conveys the perspective of this ruling class/ideology to its readers and viewers with a Gramscian reading. The media's attitude is clear in this respect. Concepts that threaten and endanger this secularity cannot appear in the media.

The media makes heard the voice of the narrow and dominant segment. The life in the TV series also describes the life of this narrow segment. There is no other way than to orientalize these representations in the media, because of the distance put with the representations outside the dominant ideology. The things other than this representation are undesirable things to be seen. In any case, these indicators are impediments, desired to be left behind, not modern, and the opposite of modernity. For this reason, everything that makes the Westernized Easterner feel that it is also Eastern has become the worst nightmare. Westernism has become an escape in this respect. As a way of running from the undesirable situation, the images disincluded by the dominant modernity ideology can be excluded. When faced with negativity, if the perpetrator has representations

that fall outside the dominant view, these features are certainly emphasized. From time to time, those who are excluded from the representations owned by the dominant media may become targets in some media organs. Sometimes a woman's dress, sometimes the nation or culture to which an immigrant belongs, and sometimes a language targeting a particular race is excluded.

We also see latent orientalist influences in our political culture. Political differences can sometimes lead to surprising statements about citizens who support rival parties. Voters can be exposed to all kinds of insults and humiliations. Those who ask, "is the vote of a shepherd and my vote will be equal", attempt to put a distance between themselves and the other by placing themselves to the center. This understanding which assumes him/herself being well-educated, cultivated, and cultured, depicts the other with the underdevelopment of the East and pushes them into a narrow space.

The history of non-Western countries cannot be handled independently from Western modernity and the awareness of underdevelopment compared to the West and the desire for modernity have left deep traces in the historical and intellectual path of non-Western societies. In this context, in countries where voluntary authoritarian modernization projects are effective, such as Turkey, the break with the past and tradition occurred more radically than colonial modernization like India. This approach also sheds light on the negative and exclusionary relationship that Turkish elites established with tradition. The acceptance of the Ottomans as a problematic legacy that should be denied caused the process that accumulated over the centuries to be ignored, modernization efforts were put into practice by considering that they are only possible with a break with tradition. Turkish elites and state administrators not only rejected the Ottoman heritage because of its political structure, but also tried to change every aspect of the social structure it produced. Breaking ties with the past is an effective example of how problematic the past is perceived, similar to Tariq Bin Zeyyad burned ships on her way to Iberia. When considered in this context, the issue of orienting the East corresponds to a problematic area of Turkish modernization (Bayraklı, Yerlikaya, 2017, p. 58-59).

The concept that Edward Said expressed as the "Orientalization of the East" shows the practice that created and sustained Turkish moderniza-

tion. Turkish statesmen's and intellectuals' mission of transforming the society, which has been inspired by positivism, was realized in a self-orientalist style in this context. This approach, conceptualized by Arif Dirlik as "self-orientalization", offers a critical and original perspective to the policies of non-Western societies in the modernization process. The argument of "Indigenous peoples cannot govern themselves and needs to be governed", and its sloganization as "for the people, despite the people" with a populist content, can be accepted as the practice of self-orientalism policy in Turkey.

Before the 2000s, the effect of an American and European-oriented perspective was noticed in the news, especially in international news, with a monophonic reporting approach. In TV series, family life, dressing preferences, cars, eating and drinking culture, occupations of the heroes, and the details about their daily life were presented with a Western understanding. The areas where we can see self-orientalist influences more in the media are the presentations about those who are outside the current Western paradigm with their political and cultural preferences. Since the Turkish media is fed by a secular tradition at the moment and filtered from Westernizing tradition, Westernism is represented as the dominant ideology at the core. Turkish media conveys the perspective of this ruling class/ideology to its readers and viewers with a Gramscian reading. The media's attitude is clear in this respect. The understandings that threaten and endanger this secularity cannot appear in the media (Şirin, 2019, p. 63).

In this context, where the orientalist discourse is reproduced by Eastern Westerners and presented as self-orientalism, the advertisements are observed to have the power that can contribute to the Europeanization process and a privileged political and cultural power. That is, advertisements have an impact on social change as an auxiliary factor, if not primary. Advertisements are indicators of temporary and permanent changes in societies. Advertisements, which act as instrumentality against these changes, provoke social change and often wage war against the traditional. In Turkey, which was rebuilt during the transition to modernism, traditional values have been tried to be destroyed through advertisements (Şişli, 2017, p. 72-73).

An Easterner looking to the Eastern within itself through the eyes of the West with a western mind, produces the self-orientalist perspective through advertisements and tries to make its dominant ideology permanent and continuous. Mass media try to replace the old customs and traditions in the society that has traditional values with the new, modern and libertarian values. Based on the meaning attributed to mass media, advertisements were observed to also undertake the same task, since they are concerned with social relations, not objects. Therefore, the advertisements undertake the task of presenting the values of the West as modern, liberal and must-have in the way of transforming what is social. In Turkey, it can be seen that many advertisements of the Republican era tried to replace the new with the old one. For example, in the advertisement seen in Figure-1 below, Latin letters and Arabic letters are compared, as well as a veiled Muslim woman and a "modern" woman with no headscarf are compared.



Figure 1. Propaganda Advertisements of the Republican People's Party in the 1930s

Advertisements, which have the power of instilling awareness and sensitivity, have also the effect of creating social dilemmas and layers. The social layers were compared in the advertisements, a distinction was made between the villager and the city-dweller, the confident and comfortable state of the urban woman versus the embarrassed and worried state of the

peasant woman was reflected to the masses. For example, in Figure 2, regarding the advertising banners prepared for propaganda purposes in Turkey during the single-party era, a veiled Muslim woman was put against Kemalist Turkey's modern Western woman. Western modern woman represents the new model woman of the Republic with her confident, short hair and hat. The peasant woman who is represent traditional, on the other hand seems embarrassed and shy.



*Figure 2. Advertising Posters Designed by İhap Hulusi for Sümerbank Fabrics*

In Turkey, especially when considering caricatures in the journals, it is possible to talk about an orientalism that might be called as domestic Islamophobia. The caricatures which have been thought to carry a critical content for the sake of irony, has took the side of the dominant order in Turkey and has followed a publication policy in favor of the continuation of the wardship mechanism. As seen in Figure-3, in Turkey the caricaturists' productions always criticized the religious sensitivities of the conservative and Islamic segment, which are accepted as the other, and religious views that are considered as the opposite of modernity are humiliat-



ed. The reduction of freedom to a formal arrangement and the interpretation of the free woman as the bareheaded woman should be read as signs of problematic perceptions on the surface. The fact that some formal arrangements for modernization failed to find a significant response in the eyes of the public lies in the fact that such values are seen as primitive habits that can be eliminated by education and training. There is a significant amount of data, which has been accumulated for over 150 years, about this problematic perception in terms of conveying the modernization practice to visual consciousness (Bayraklı, Yerlikaya, 2017, p. 60, 63).

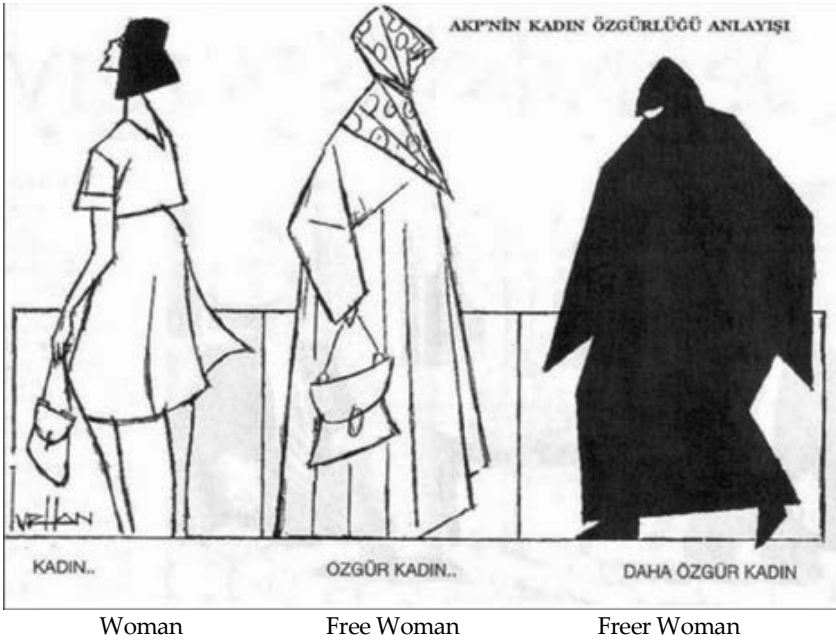


Figure-3. Caricature titled "AKP's Understanding of Women's Freedom", signed by Turhan Selçuk, published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper.

With the imperial edict of reorganization, literature became one of the areas where Westernization efforts are felt. Especially with the beginning of novel writing, Westernization has been started to be discussed in literary works. Berna Moran states that the emergence of novel in Turkey is different that West and draws attention to the problem of imitation. Turkish writers were not only influenced by the West in terms of their novel tech-

nique, but also took part in the issue of Westernization with the works they created. The types in the novels are generally formulated as Western and anti-Western, and the issue of Westernization has been discussed over these types. In the Republican era, the attitude of some elites in favor of a Western tendency had shown its effect on the works of the writers as well. The distance the Republic put between the Ottoman Empire also clarified the meaning attributed to the heroes of the novel. The typologies that have an Ottoman image in novels generally represent the "Past", "East" and even "underdevelopment", on the other hand the heroes molded with the westernizing approach aimed by the Republic draw a "contemporary", "civilized", "Western" portrait (Şirin, 2019, p. 58-59).

Newspapers and magazines are communication tools that reflect the political/social conditions of the period they are published and are effective in the formation of these terms. In the process lengthening from the Ottoman modernization process up to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the transformation process of the Islamic perception can be best read in newspapers. The historical perspective of the transformation of Islam in the political and social life of the Republican period and the following process has been presented within the framework of the media statements regarding the use of the concept of "reactionism" as a reference to Islam. It is possible to see how the concepts of "reaction", "reactionist" and "reactionary", which were frequently used especially before 2000, have been associated with Islam. In Turkey, which is living a troubled democratization process since the first day of the foundation of the Republic, opposition attempts of the Progressive Party (Terakkiperver Fırka) and then the Free Republic Party (Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası) were silenced with accusations of being "religious", "reactionary", "Islamist", although party programs and rulers were not anti-regime, because they were seen as an alternative power candidate by the government and the press. In addition, it is possible to say that the whole reading of Islam was made over some events/people and institutions of these periods. The reason for addressing these political movements is the discourses used by the press that can lead to the anti-Islamism, even though no political initiatives related to Islam, no act of threatening the regime, no change in the public appearance of Islam occurred.

Based on the signs of the historical process, it is possible to say that starting with the process of modernization, Islam in Turkey was desired to be formatted socially, politically and economically (Mardin, 2017, p. 142) and due to the active use of the press in this process, a politically oriented Islamophobic discourse was created by Turkish press. Islam, which is seen as an area to be shaped in the westernization process, is confined to a meaning that is marginalized and framed by the media. We can see the traces of this in the Republic period, when opposition movements against the government started, and afterwards. Republican administration in Turkey defined dissident circles in a negative way by using reactionism literature, abuse of religion and discourses that the regime is under threat in order to not to share power and not leave it under the control of different ideologies. Dissident political movements were described as "reactionary", "sharia", "regime-enemy", "traitor", "Islamist", and "anti-secular", in a way far from the democratic perspective; Many citizens with different ideologies who are annoyed of the policies of the government are imprisoned in a hate speech due to supporting opposition parties and the movements supporting different views are prevented.

In this context, the rhetoric of secularism was frequently used especially during the coup periods (Akın, 2016, p.43), the emphasis on secularism in these narratives was made over the religion of Islam; Islam was placed in an opposite position and a marginalizing language concerning Islam was built. This language, which is generated by ruling administrators and elites, has been constantly reconstructed by pulling political discourses to the center through the press. It is possible to see various examples of this in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and after the Republic. During Republican era, the pages of the Turkish press were decorated with fundamentalist files that are fictional or coming from somewhere, that are full of material errors, columns and cartoons (Temel, 2020, p. 50).

Unlike the interventions of May 27<sup>th</sup> (1960), March 12<sup>th</sup> (1971) and September 12<sup>th</sup> (1980), in the process of February 28<sup>th</sup>, the objective of the segment aiming to build democracy with coups was not seizing the government directly, but making civilian forces do it and on this occasion, the objective was to establish an institutionalization that protects democracy formally, disables the actors identified as politically objectionable and prevents them from gaining political power again (Özipek, 2005, p. 640). As a

result of this institutionalization, the discourse that people with an Islamic identity pose a threat to the political arena, and that these people should be excluded from politics and from society because they are "enemies of the regime and reactionary" has become a "myth" with the fictional efforts of the press. As if the press had a mission, the politicians and voters who have a democrat and republican ideological perspective and who possess Islamic rituals and habits have been interpreted as the enemy of the regime/ democracy while all kind of other ideas and thoughts are included in the domain of respect.

### **Conclusion**

In our study where we tried to reveal the reflections of the self-orientalism concept in the Turkish media, we saw that self-orientalism practices in the country have emerged in the Ottoman Empire era, with the efforts of transition to modernization, by defining itself as underdeveloped against the West. After the establishment of the Republic and the modern West was set as the sole target by the elite and intellectuals, the efforts of escaping from their own past, denying their Orientalism, and defining themselves as Western shows that open self-orientalism practices have been experienced in Turkey.

Media power, which is one of the popular enhancers, one of the sustaining tools of self-orientalism, has been used effectively for this purpose as stated above, and it has executed practices to change the structure and way of thinking of the society. However, when we look at the days we live in, the success of these practices is open to discussion, which may be the subject of another study. It will be correct to seek the reason of the limited effect of this practice in the problems of Turkish modernization.

However, regarding the review of the period until the 2000s, we can say that a negative image of devout, Islam, Muslim was built in Turkish press with similar expressions used in orientalist Western texts. Turkish press, which incorporates an orientalism that we can call internalized orientalism, has confined the public appearances of Islamic lifestyles to a set of meanings by finding a discourse zone for itself in the political arena. These productions have given birth to an Islamophobic rhetoric and in summary Islamophobia in Turkey failed to turn into social and community actions.

However, the Islamophobic language produced by the press may cause many problems.

## References

- Abdülmelik, E (1998). *Krizdeki oryantalizm*. İstanbul: Yöneliş Inc.
- Ahıska, M. (2005). *Radyonun sihirli kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve politik öznellik*, İstanbul: Metis Inc.
- Bayraklı, E. and Yerlikaya, T. (2017), Müslüman toplumlarda İslamafobi: Türkiye örneği. *Academic Ombudsman Journal*, 4(7), 51-70.
- Bezci, B. and Çiftçi, Y. (2012). Self oryantalizm: İçimizdeki modernite ve/veya içselleştirdiğimiz modernleşme. *Journal of Academic Inquiries*, 7(1), 139-161.
- Bulut, Y. (2002), Oryantalizmin tarihsel gelişimi üzerine bazı değerlendirmeler. *Marife Scientific Accumulation Journal*, 2 (3), 13-38.
- Çırakman, A. (2002). Oryantalizm ve Edward Said. *Journal of East-West Thought, Orientalism -I*, 5 (20), 189-208.
- Çırakman, A. (2007). Oryantalizmin batısı ve oryantalist söylemi. *International Orientalism Symposium 9-10 December 2006*, 105-118.
- Çiğçi, Y. (2013). *Selforyantalizm ve Türkiye'de Kürtler*. Ankara: Orient Inc.
- Dirlik, A. (2006). Üçüncü Dünya hayaleti. *Global Modernite ve Sosyalizm, Üçüncü Dünya Hayaleti, Globalite ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti*, İstanbul: Salyangoz Inc. Yayınları, 61-91.
- Doğan, D. M. (2012). *Batılılaşma ihaneti*, Ankara: Yazar Inc.
- Kahraman, H. B., Keyman, F. (1998), Kemalizm, oryantalizm ve modernite. *Journal of East-West Thought, East What? What is the West?*, 1(2), 75-88.
- Keyman, F., Mutman M., and Yeğenoğlu, M. (1996), *Oryantalizm, hegemonya ve kültürel fark*. İstanbul: İletişim Inc.
- Kula, O. B. (2012). *Batı felsefesinde oryantalizm ve Türk imgesi*. İstanbul: Turkey Isbank Cultural Publications.
- Mardin, Ş. (2017). *Türkiye'de din ve siyaset*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları
- Mutman, M. (2002), Şarkiyatçılık/oryantalizm. *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, (p.189-211). vol.3, İstanbul:İletişim Inc.
- Okumuş, E. (2002). Güncelliğini yitirmiş bir oryantalizmden global sosyolojiye geçiş imkânı. *Marife Scientific Accumulation Journal*, 2(3),253-260.
- Özipek, B. B. (2005). 28 Şubat ve islamcılar. In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: İslamcılık* (p.640-651), İstanbul: İletişim Inc,
- Parla, J. (1985). *Efendilik, şarkiyatçılık, kölelik*. İstanbul: İletişim Inc.
- Said, E. (1998). *Oryantalizm, sömürgeciliğin keşif kolu*. İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık.

- Şirin, Y. (2019). Oryantalizm bağlamında Ferzan Özpetek Sineması, *Maltepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi*.
- Şişli, F. (2017). *Reklamlarda oryantalizm ve oryantalist söylem: THY ve Coca Cola örneği*. İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- Temel, M. (2020). Türkiye'de basın-iktidar ilişkileri çerçevesinde islamofobik söylem. *Journal of Media and Religion Studies*, 3(1), 39-51.
- Yavuz, H. (1993). *Modernleşme, oryantalizm ve islam*. İstanbul: Boyut Inc.
- Yeğenoğlu, M. (2003), *Sömürgeci fanteziler, oryantalist söylemde kültürel ve cinsel fark*. İstanbul: Metis Inc.

### Kaynakça Bilgisi / Citation Information

- Özçelik, T. G. (2021). Self-orientalism and the media's role in Turkey before 2000. *OPUS-International Journal of Society Researches*, 17(35),2179-2208. DOI: 10.26466/opus.856102