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BOOKS AS FASHION ACCESSORIES: PARATEXTS AND TRANSLATION

MODA AKSESUARLARI OLARAK KİTAPLAR: YANMETİNLER VE ÇEVİRİ

İrem Ceren DOĞAN*

“More than ever, the cover is seen as packaging, the poster for a book.”

Kate Klimo

ABSTRACT

The rise of media culture in the 21st century paved the way for images to luster. This rise is especially noticeable through more visible channels. Recently, it has been observed that commodities are rendered more visible through social media and the fashion industry. In this context, literary works come into prominence with various media spectacles. These works, which emerged as cultural consumption products express various tastes as part of the "society of the spectacle". To understand the social dynamics of this century, the research on definitions and dynamics in many disciplines done by Guy Debord, Lev Manovich, and Pierre Bourdieu is utilized. The debate on books as fashion accessories start from the headlines of fashion magazines with regards to “the society of the spectacle”, “aesthetic society” and “cultural capital”. In this vein, the factors that are effective in the process of books being a part of fashion are examined by many researchers from a wide array of fields. As books are directly associated with the contents of the book covers and their designs as complementary accessories, the notion of paratext by Genette seems to be in a better position to present a framework of analysis in translated literature. Since the front and back pages of the books are considered paratexts, the cover design, especially for translated literature, is positioned as a crucial aspect as well as their literary value. The only focus

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of this study is not on the front covers of the books. It is also scrutinized that the visibility of the translated literature enabled by the fashion industry and social media reflects certain tastes and preferences of individuals. In addition to the reflection of these preferences on the cultural capital of the customers, the effect of the sales and marketing of the books is also examined.

Key Words: *Fashion, Translation, Paratext, Cultural Consumption*

ÖZ

21. yüzyılla beraber medya kültürünün yükselişi, imajların ön plana çıkmasının önünü açmıştır. Bu yükseliş, özellikle daha görünür mecralar üzerinden göze çarpar. Son yıllarda sosyal medya ve moda endüstrisi üzerinden metaların daha görünür kılınmaya çalışıldığı görülür. Edebiyat eserleri de bu bağlamda çeşitli medya araçları ile daha ön plana çıkar. Kültürel tüketim ürünleri olarak ortaya çıkan bu eserler, “gösteri toplumunun” bir parçası olarak çeşitli beğenileri simgeler. Bu yüzyılın toplumsal dinamiklerini anlamak üzere, Guy Debord, Lev Manovich ve Pierre Bourdieu gibi farklı disiplinlerden araştırmacıların tanım ve dinamiklere ilişkin araştırmalarından faydalanılır. “Gösteri toplumu”, “estetik toplumu” ve “kültürel sermaye” gibi kavramlar ışığında, kitapların birer moda aksesuarı olarak düşünüldüğü moda dergilerinde yer alan başlıklardan yola çıkılır. Bu bağlamda, kitapların modanın bir parçası haline gelmesinde etkili olan faktörler incelenir. Kitapların tamamlayıcı aksesuarlar olarak düşünülmesi doğrudan kitap kapakları ve tasarımlarıyla ilişkilendirildiğinden, çeviri eserler bağlamında Gerard Genette tarafından ileri sürülen “yanmetin” (“paratext”) kavramından yararlanır. Kitapların ön ve arka kapakları birer yanmetin sayıldığından, özellikle çeviri kitaplarda kapak tasarımı, eserin edebi niteliğinin yanında oldukça önemli bir yönü kabul edilir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, eserlerin sadece kapaklarına değil, aynı zamanda moda endüstrisi ve sosyal medya üzerinden görünür kılınmalarının kişilerin kitap seçimlerine ilişkin çeşitli zevk ve tercihleri yansıtmasına da odaklanılır. Bu tercihlerin kişilerin kültürel sermayelerini yansıtmasının yanında kitapların satış ve pazarlaması bağlamında etkisi de incelenir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Moda, Çeviri, Yanmetin, Kültürel Tüketim*

Introduction

Visual communication is accepted as the most prevalent communication tool of our age. In this context, it is undeniable that social media platforms have transformative power as parts of this visual network. These areas especially support the society's production of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2015). This consumption society and its dynamics have been the subject of many studies in recent years, especially in the field of

sociology. The common point of the research on the society of the 21st century is that in this society, social appreciation and acceptance are shaped through images. It can be argued that the media is extremely effective within this social structure where visual communication comes to the fore. The spectacle-oriented structure of the consumer society, in which the image is at the forefront, is revealed through media tools (Kellner, 2005: 59). In this context, it would not be wrong to say that literary works have also turned into the objects of consumption. However, the dynamics that are effective in the transformation process of these works into consumption objects are also to be scrutinized.

First of all, it is possible to state that these works do not come to the fore merely with their literary qualities, but especially with their symbolic values. Whereas reading and carrying books are interpreted as indicators of the intellectual level of the individual, it has been observed that such an individualist and closed activity as reading is presented to the public in recent years. This situation is directly related to the fact that books become more visible as consumption objects, as carried by celebrities and photographed by bloggers.

There is a strict connection between the culture industry and media culture as they both contribute to each other's ever-growing cycle. The visibility is also related to individuals exhibiting their cultural capital, following the tastes of a particular class and being accepted for that class, and feeling belonged. These popular culture products reach such a point that they are detected even by fashion magazines and interpreted as "fashion accessories" by them. The transformation of these works into "accessories" is related to the harmony of the book covers with the combinations or environments to which they are assumed to belong. In this context, the concept of "paratext" (Genette, 1997) including book covers, comes to the fore, in the context of translated literature. In this study, the dynamics that affect these covers, other than literary values, will be discussed while focusing especially on the front covers of the books as paratexts.

1) Books as Consumption Objects

In the consumer society, the economic values of the objects along with the values they symbolize stand out. In this context, the most important products that attract attention with their symbolic value may be literary works. The sale and circulation of books are directly linked to the symbolic value of the works. The preference for literary works by people who want to achieve an intellectual appearance within the scope of the "visibility" theme of the modern world cannot be explained by merely cultural consumption. The commodification of literary works in the capitalist system reveals that these works cannot be considered independently from the cultural and economic capital in Bourdieu's sense. In this media age, in which everything is tried to be rendered "visible", the visibility of books is related to status anxiety in our opinion. Although the act of reading, which reveals the cultural capital of people, is an individual act within the private sphere, this act has now moved to open and visible areas with the changing socio-cultural structure.

At the same time, it is possible to observe that more than one factor is active in the selection of books that show the cultural tastes of individuals. To look beneath the surface of the “visibility” of the 21st century, it is necessary to mention the definitions of society by various theoreticians in the macro framework and the factors that determine the cultural capital of individuals in the micro-framework.

In the 1960s, French theorist Guy Debord asserted the concept of the “society of the spectacle”. Debord described the spectacle as a term that “unifies and explains a great diversity of apparent phenomena” (Debord, 1967: 10). The term used to refer to consumer society including “the packaging, promotion, and display of commodities and the production and effects of all media” (Kellner, 2005: 59). According to Debord, sight is “the most abstract, the most mystified sense corresponds to the generalized abstraction of present-day society” (ibid: 18). Thus, the spectator is the main actor of the spectacle, with his both active and passive positions. The spectator is active as (s)he is also the consumer and an active viewer. (S)he is passive as being influenced by the spectacle itself. Douglas Kellner explains this binary nature of spectacle as:

“The concept of the spectacle, therefore, involves a distinction between passivity and activity and consumption and production, condemning lifeless consumption of spectacle as an alienation from human potentiality for creativity and imagination. The spectacular society spreads its wares mainly through the cultural mechanisms of leisure and consumption, services and entertainment, ruled by the dictates of advertising and commercialized media culture.” (Kellner, 2005: 60-61)

According to Debord, life turns into images in the society of spectacle and these images are seen via various mediations. These images are mediated by media culture. As the consumption-oriented capitalist society is felt through leisure activities, it is pretty common for people to imitate certain images of the producers. When we think of the target audience as consumers, then who are the spectators? Debord explains the spectator as “the active viewer and consumer of a social system” (Debord, 1967: 42). In this society, there is a passive spectator part whereas some people of the society are actively engaged in the production of cultural material. Therefore, Debord’s society of the spectacle is a society composed of dualisms as passive/ active, producer/ consumer (Kellner, 2005: 60).

Manovich (2016) asserts a different perspective regarding the society of the 21st century by describing it as an “aesthetic society”. He asserts that in this society, “aesthetic is the key property of commercial goods and services” (2016: 5). Therefore, in an aesthetic society, beautiful images are at the forefront. However, the processes regarding the composition are also crucial. “In such society, production and presentation of beautiful images, experiences, styles, and user interaction designs are central for its economic and social functioning” (ibid.). We understand from this definition that an aesthetic society requires making aesthetic choices to sustain certain trends in different fields. Form and appearance are crucial elements of this society. Regarding the actors of this society, it is possible to state that there are influencers and people who get influenced.

The term “influencer” goes far beyond social media. We can count stylists, architects, and designers as creating forces of the spectacle or aesthetics. Moreover, there is a certain people make these creations visible by sharing them on different media platforms including social ones. They can be supermodels, celebrities, social media influencers. In this study, we focus on supermodels and how they make reading “visible” as a part of fashion.

1.1 Cultural Capital

Karl Marx asserts that capitalist society is production-oriented. The materialism conditions the political, social and intellectual life processes. There are different means of production including cultural one. Based on this Marxian sense of cultural production, Bourdieu asserts the term “cultural capital”. In the frame of this concept, Bourdieu alleges that the likings and pleasures are culture-oriented and they are parts of different classes of the society. He mentions the “legitimate taste” of society and associates it with high culture products. These products are the trend-setters of cultural production. Fundamentally, this “legitimate taste” means following the taste of superior or ruling classes. Even if this idea is based on the class system, in the 21st century, the idea has a different basis. As the trend-setters change expeditiously, the taste of society also changes with them. Nowadays, legitimate taste turns into a general inclination to imitate the taste of the trendsetters, especially within the concept of media. These changes within the society are associated with aesthetics and spectacle by Debord and Manovich.

Bourdieu asserts another important concept affecting the relationship between aesthetics and appreciation. He uses “habitus” to explain this broad phenomenon. Habitus can be considered a person’s dispositions and expectations regarding social choices. It is also directly related to the resource of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1990). As an individual can not be thought free from the society and culture he lives in and knowledge is a crucial part of the culture, the vision of the individual is shaped by the dynamics of that society. The “class-based” approach of society may be obsolete; however, the worldview of the individual is directly related to the socio-economic status of him. Both education and socio-economic status of the individual affect the understanding, behaviour, and attitudes of the individual. The concept of habitus is used to refer to all these qualities of the individual. A formal definition regarding the term comes from Webb, Schirato, and Danaher:

“A concept that expresses, on the one hand, the way in which individuals ‘become themselves’ –develop attitudes and dispositions –and, on the other hand, the ways in which those individuals engage in practices. An artistic habitus, for example, disposes the individual artist to certain activities and perspectives that express the culturally and historically constituted values of the artistic field” (Webb et al., 2002, p. xii–xiii).

This definition shows that an individual's habitus is based on both uniqueness and imitation. Each individual has unique dispositions; however, in this media age, we all tend to get influenced by the prevalent trends and inclinations of the society that we live in. This effort is to be accepted as a part of that society. That is why people follow the trends of society and keep up with the rapid changes. Therefore, it is possible to assert that cultural capital, as a part of one's habitus is composed of tradition and innovation, imitation and individuality.

All of the concepts stated above is related to the modern world and its inclination to turn everything into a spectacle. Thus, in the macro frame, this world is called an "aesthetic society", "society of the spectacle", and "consumer society" in which cultural capital plays a crucial part. Even if the names change, the essence is still the same for all these scholars. They all try to attract attention to a view-oriented world. Moreover, in this world, literature has to be visible as well. Even the reading as an individual and implicit activity turns out to be an explicit one. In the next chapter, we will focus on the reflections of this society on literature and its marketing.

2) Book Covers as a Part of Fashion

In a consumer society or society of the spectacle, books have become more visible through media, especially social media platforms. Thanks to the photographs, posts and commentaries of celebrities and bloggers, more and more people get influenced day by day. Recently, there have been a lot of photographs of celebrities carrying books or of books in a very pleasant environment in harmony with them, interpreted as literature's handshaking with the fashion. These scenes turn reading into a fashionable activity. Famous fashion magazines like *Vogue* and *Elle* started to bring this issue forward via celebrities. *Elle Turkey* uses this headline in the issue of October 2022: "The Outrageous Flirt of Literature and Fashion". The basic idea of this article is that literature becomes more visible when it becomes a part of fashion in this modern world which is based on "appearances". As celebrities carry their books on the street, reading turns out to be a less elitist activity. The book clubs founded by celebrities make literature come closer to society (Elle, 2022).

Another magazine, *New York Post* uses the "Bella and Gigi Hadid make books the hot new accessory of 2019" (Laneri, 2019) headline with the pictures of supermodels carrying books, whereas *i-D* has a more interesting headline for the same situation: "Gigi Hadid was spotted with a book! We've not had such excitement since Britney Spears was spotted with a copy of Voltaire's 'Candid' " (Snow, 2019). All these headlines are from 2019, showing us the excitement created by the books carried by celebrities. The books are called as "new brainy accessories" by the same magazine. It is no doubt that this excitement is related to the visibility of literature which is seen as "old-fashioned" and "antiquated". This visibility shows the world that reading is "fun" and it is common even among super busy people.

Figure 1: Gigi Hadid with a copy of “Stranger”



Even though there has been strong opposition against the idea of considering books as accessories, another crucial point of the supermodels with books is that it shows “beauty and brain go together”. The message that supermodels are no longer thought all about their physical appearances, they are also literate people with intellectual pleasures is a very strong one in the frame of the modern world. While the physical appearance of not only women but also books is of importance in today’s world, books carried by these women are also strong signs of women's intellectuality.

It is possible to ask what makes reading, a private act on its own, visible. Why do people, especially celebrities, choose certain books to be photographed? In today’s world, all media sources including social media like Instagram serve as marketing devices. However, this situation is both the source and the result of the visibility of literature. The more the books are visible, the more they sell. On the other hand, publishers tend to follow trends while producing and translating literature. Thus, we can state that there is a cycle of supply and demand when it comes to popular literature. As a result, publishers tend to design books to have popular public appearances. These “instagrammable” books or the books carried as clutches by celebrities have specific qualities. Why do people choose certain books? What are the qualities? What makes some books “instagrammable” or “clutches”? To answer these questions, we should turn to “book covers” as the promotional part of literature.

Today’s world is a world of “images” in which everyone tries to be visible. In the world of appearances, the “cover” seems crucial. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable to judge a book by its cover. Being aware of this fact, publishers design covers to make them “eye-catching”. Therefore, the cover of a book becomes even more important than the content. The instance stated above about the Hadid sisters shows that the books carried by them are seen as a part of their styling. New York Post comments on the outfit completed by the book:

“Gigi has opted for a more fashion-forward spin on “serious dressing” — as befitting someone reading a book beloved by “French literature fiends” — pairing Camus’ existential classic with a deconstructed, slim-fit, chartreuse capris-pant suit and black boots. All she needs is a beret and a clove cigarette and her transformation from fashion influencer to book influencer will be complete!” (Laneri, 2019)

A similar comment on the style of Gigi Hadid comes from Vogue:

“She’s been seen carrying a copy of *The Stranger* by Albert Camus, a classic that has been on the must-read lists of philosophy nerds and French literature fiends for decades. Hadid was first seen flaunting a copy of the absurdist French novel, with its famous black and white graphic cover, en route to the Fendi show in Milan last month. It was just the right match for her fashion-forward suit, cut above the knee in the palest shade of yellow.” (Satenstein, 2019)

The common point of both comments is that they refer to *Stranger* of Albert Camus, a masterpiece; however, the main focus is on the design of its cover and how it is relatable to the rest of her outfit. Although these comments belong to fashion magazines, it can be asserted that considering books as accessories is still shallow even for them. However, these comments lead us to our main research question: What quality makes a book preferable to show a public face? In the frame of this study, we answer these questions with Gerard Genette’s term, “paratext”.

3) Paratexts and Marketing

French scholar Gérard Genette asserts the term “paratext” in his book *Seuils* (1987) which was translated into English as *Paratexts: The Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). “Paratexts” refer to presentational “verbal and other productions” accompanying and surrounding the text. These “accompanying productions” are “thresholds... enabling a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public” (1997:1). Based on the extratextual materials, paratexts cover “titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords” (Macksey 1997: xviii). The foremost aspect of paratexts is to attract the reader to enter into the texts while shaping the reader expectancy related to the book. Presenting the book as a whole to the reader also shows how to handle the book (Genette, 1997: 9). Paratext is an umbrella term covering both textual materials and the comments, interviews, and news on the text. As a consequence, Genette divides paratexts into subcategories as “peritexts” and “epitexts” (1997: 10-12). “Peritext” refers to all elements in and on the book like book cover, foreword, epilogue, book title, font and font size. “Epitext” includes the elements existing outside of the book. However, all these elements are related to the book. Epitexts cover talks, news, interviews, diaries, author’s self-notes about the book. Genette divides “peritexts” into two as “publishing peritext” and “authorial peritext”. “Publishing peritexts” include syle, index, book cover, inner cover, font and font size while “authorial peritexts” cover book titles, name of the author, preface, contents, subtitles and bywords. (Genette, 1997: 12).

In the frame of this study, we focus on the book covers as “peritexts”. The main focus is on “publishing peritexts” as they are the foremost qualities of books to attract readers’ attention. The aforementioned articles from different magazines view books as accessories only because of their cover. Thus, what makes the books attractive is the usage of right paratexts and peritexts in this context. Genette highlights this point as “for us, accordingly, the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers, and, more generally, to the public” (ibid: 3). Approaching the subject from the perspective of translations, “offering” the book to the public seems quite problematic in today’s world. When it comes to the translation of classics, there have been numerous different translations published by different houses. Thus, it is a problem of “grabability” (Yampbell, 2005: 349) which differs a translation from the others on the shelf of a bookstore. In a world of “visibility”, peritexts, especially book covers and spines are crucial. Wendy Armstrong, the special markets manager at Consortium Book Sales and Distribution states that “many times customers say that they need books with buttery yellow and moss green on the cover” (qtd. in Mutter, 2005). These choices show that books are considered as a part of puzzle completing a styling or a picture to be shared on social media. The rise of this trend coincides with the popularity of social media. As Twitter and Instagram becomes more prevalent, the design of the books comes into prominence. Thus, publishing peritexts reflect the deliberate choices regarding the book title, colour, font, font size.

Peritexts, especially book covers, have the potential of increasing or decreasing the marketability of translations as well. By the design of the book cover, the book turns into a marketing material in competition with other books available on the market. In this way, literature turns into materiality. Being aware of this fact, publishers and marketing experts “manipulate” the design of book covers (Yampbell, 2005).

4) Paratext and Translation

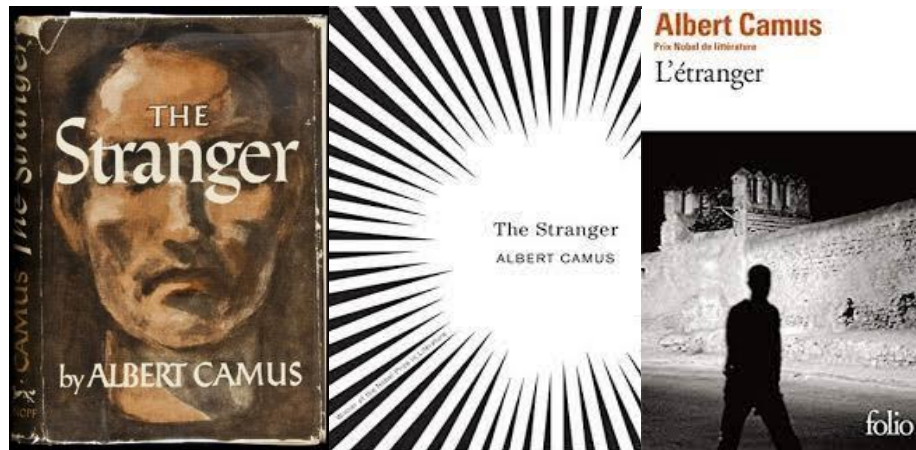
Approaching the subject through the example of the Hadid sisters, Gigi was carrying an English translation of Albert Camus’s *L’Étranger*. The comments on the book are all about the color of the cover and how it is suitable for her styling as mentioned before. Even if we cannot be sure if this is the reason why the model chooses that copy of the book, people tend to understand and interpret it as such. Thus, when it comes to the translation of classics, there are a lot of different covers of different translations. In such a competitive field, publishers tend to catch up with the latest trends to make their version more eye-catching than the others. Thus, the spine and cover of the book determine the success of the book as much as the content does. The cover may be one step ahead of the content when it comes to less popular authors and works. Especially the multitude of retranslations of the same book creates rivalry among the publishers. At this point, the covers should attract the reader at the first glance. Therefore, the book covers can be considered “promotional materials”.

The books carried or shared by celebrities are advertised by themselves. It is possible to question to what extent a book needs advertising; however, if the book is in a market with its various rivals, especially in the case of a multitude of retranslations, publishers feel obliged to promote or advertise their version. Kate Klimo states that “The marketplace is tougher today. You need every advantage when everybody is competing for the same customer, same shelf space. More than ever, the cover is seen as packaging the poster for a book” (qtd. in Maughan, 1998: 127). If the cover is that important, what do publishers do to make them more attractive? They reissue books with “new covers” or reformat the traditional size, especially for the classics. It is pretty common that a book is rejacketed within a year even if it is not outdated, as a part of marketing strategy. We should highlight that even if an attractive cover or high-quality print seems alluring, the name of a popular translator given on the front cover is also a criterion for customers. As a result, in a world of visibility, it is crucial to make the translator visible to a conscious audience.

Another issue about the book covers is the title of the book. It has been asserted that short titles and bright colours make books more remarkable. It is very common to change, generally shorten, the title during the translation process. A book that was translated into a target language with a long title can be shortened for reprints or retranslations. This translation strategy appears as a part of the marketing strategy of the publisher to deal with the competitive conditions of the market. It is possible that shorter titles are associate with fluent texts in the mind of the target audience. Moreover, sometimes the only part of the book visible to the reader is its spine. Due to the limit of the spine, it can be considered a smart move to shorten the title to present it with a bigger font size even for a thin book.

Designing the cover of the target text depends on different criteria besides marketability. These criteria can be categorized as the audience, subject matter, genre, and literary movement to which the book belongs. The content and literary movement are the foremost elements considering the design. The English translation of *L'Étranger* carried by Hadid has a modern cover to be considered as a part of her styling. The cover of the source text in French shows a facing back man in front of a castle, implying that his identity is unknown. However, the cover of the English translation is quite plain and modern with black stripes. The phrase “Winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature” is placed between two stripes in smaller font, implying that is not crucial for the advertisement of the book. The problematic part of the cover is that there is no information regarding the translator. Thus, the translator of the book is invisible on the cover. This may be considered as a part of the plain cover with little script or given that the book is a popular masterpiece, the audience can be aware of the fact that it is written in French. Another reason may be the will to make the cover similar to the original one with the same colours and script. Whichever the reason is, this cover prioritizes the author and places the translator into the secondary position, rendering him invisible.

Figure 2: The French and English Covers of “The Stranger”



The first cover of the book belongs to the 1946th edition, the first American edition of the novel. This has also been the first book to introduce Albert Camus to the American audience. The cover has the face of a man whose eyes are covered implying that he is a “stranger”. The sketches and watercolors were commonly used on book covers at that time. The covers change profoundly in 2000s when the covers turn to be less realistic and more representational. The second cover shows this transition from realistic to abstract. This second cover is the one carried by Gigi Hadid. It has transcendental lines on a white background. The third cover belongs to the original text in French titled *L'étranger*. There is also a mysterious man on the cover whose face can not be seen, emphasizing that he is a stranger just like the first English cover. Therefore, it is possible to state that the first English cover of the novel creates an equivalent effect to the original print in French. On the other hand, the second cover looks more “modern”, even “modern” enough to be carried as an accessory by a supermodel even if it does not give a clue regarding the theme of the novel. Based on this, we can assert that publishers do not tend to reflect the theme of the books via photographs or sketches which are thought to be obsolete. The recent cover seems to be more plain with one or two colours and font size is minimal in this example.

Conclusion

This study focuses on the effect of books on consumer culture as well as the dynamics that paved the way for books to be seen as consumption objects in the 21st century. In addition, the issue of "visibility" is scrutinized in the context of media as a part of considering books as accessories. In this discussion, the front covers of translated literature are at the center within the framework of Gerard Genette's concept of paratext. The design and function of these covers are also discussed in the context of the dynamics of the consumer society.

“The packaging, promotion and display of the commodities” within the concept of “consumer society” put forward by Kellner (2005) are in line with the peritextual features of the translations. The packaging refers to the book covers as peritexts. Promotion and display of the books are exemplified in the context of celebrities carrying books. The books made visible via celebrities or Instagrammers are displayed as “high-culture products” as well as promoted. Thus, the promotion of literature is directly related to the visibility of the works, while this visibility is enabled especially via media platforms. As life turns into images and appearances, all of them are mediated by the media culture. Another important proof of the importance of the images is that there has been no mention of the back cover texts. Only the front covers attract attention because of their design. Therefore, the “new brainy accessories” are handled just based on their front covers without needing any more information regarding the content. It is also possible to state in this case that form comes before the content.

Manovich’s term “aesthetic society” is also about the “beautiful images” and their display in the frame of economic and social functioning. In the context of the promotion of translated literature, both the production regarding peritexts and presentation are related to the aesthetic images to attract attention. Bourdieu’s “legitimate taste” is the taste of celebrities in today’s world, enabling their choices to be considered as “trend-setters” of cultural production. Following these choices also means that individuals possess a taste. As Bourdieu links the “class” status to the appreciation of art, following certain trends or “trend-setters” is a concern of belonging to a certain class or appearing as such. Therefore, the intellectual habitus of individuals is not just shaped by mere knowledge, aesthetics and appreciation also seem to be at the center.

Another important finding of this study in the context of shaping social and individual tastes is related to the translator’s visibility. While translating Camus’s masterpiece into English, it has been observed that the publisher tries to make the target text equivalent to the source one stylistically, but aims not to create the impression that the target text is a translation. The fact that the same colors are dominant on both covers, but the name of the translator is not included on the cover of the English target text, is an indication that the translator has secondary status. It is possible to state that when commercial concerns come to the fore, the visibility of the translator stays in the secondary status in the context of this translation.

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