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From The Editor

This issue of IJCML presents a variety of articles mostly from literature, culture and translation studies.

Article written by Aya Kayed and Veysel Kılıç explores the relationship between translation and conflict and examines the impact of translators during the invasion of Irak by Iraqi troops.

Güzide Uysal and Esma Tezcan's article "Surviving the Capital: A Darwinian Analysis of Elizabeth Gaskell's North and South," traces reflections of social turmoil in the Victorian era through Gaskell's novel and undertakes an analysis drawing on Marxist terms and Darwin's theory.

Müge Karayaylalı Bayraktar and Esma Tezcan in their article entitled "Docile Bodies, Subjectivity and Self-Constitution in Women On The Edge of Time," provide an insight on women's agency on their bodies drawing on Foucaldian concepts in the example of Marge Piercy's novel.

Figun Dinçer's article "Reflections of the Marshall Aid and the USA: Fakir Baykurt's Amerikan Sargısı (American Bandage) analyzes Turkish peasant's perception of Marshall aid as depicted in Fakir Baykurt's novel.

In his article entitled "The Migrations and the Mass Media; Conceptualization of the Freedom from Fear and Want Paradigm," Faruk Hadžić tackles current phenomenon of migration and suggests literaracy programs in order to counter hate speech emanating from migrant presence in the Balkans.

Lastly, Ayşe Gülsüm Karaalioğlu and Ferma Lekesizalın's article deals with the concept of family disfunction, a consequence of changes in the concept of American dream in American society, through analyzing Edward Albee's famous play The American Dream (1961) and it specifically dwells upon the verbal violence and its consequences.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Özgür Bülent Erdoğan

The Impact of Translators on Mainstream During Conflicts

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ABSTRACT

Translators and interpreters play different roles during conflicts which affect the narrative of the conflicts and public opinions. In today's world of conflicts and wars, the need for translators and interpreters has become necessary to perform different tasks including linguistic mediation between the parties of conflict. In this light, there is a need to study the role of translators during conflicts and its impact. The analysis of primary and secondary sources was the material of this qualitative paper. It investigates the role of Iraqi translators and interpreters who covered the US war on Iraq and/ or worked with the US forces in Iraq. It was found that translators largely contribute to the shaping of the conflict narrative in many ways including translation. Hence, their contribution leads the audience to certain interpretations which draw the public mainstream. It also argues that each decision – whether translational or acceptance of an assignment – translators made has consequences that affect their personal and professional lives, and that – in such situations – they cannot be neutral, i.e. they must position themselves.

Keywords: *Narrative, Translators and Interpreters, Conflict, Mainstream*

ÖZ

Çevirmenler, çatışmalarda, çatışmaların ve kamuoyu yoklamalarının dile getirilme şekli üzerinde büyük etkileri olan farklı roller üstlenmektedir. Günümüz dünyasının çatışma ve savaş ortamında, çatışan taraflar arasındaki sözlü veya yazılı iletişimin tesis edilmesi dâhil çok çeşitli görevlerde çevirmenler büyük

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önem kazanmaktadır. Bu bakımdan, çevirmenlerin çatışmalar sırasında üstlendikleri rolün ve bu rolün etkisinin araştırılması büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bu nitel çalışmada, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Irak'a yönelik harekâtı boyunca harekâtla ilgili çeviriler yapmış ve/veya Birleşik Devletler'in silahlı kuvvetleri için çalışmış Iraklı çevirmenler incelenmiş ve incelemede birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan faydalanılmış olup çevirmenlerin, çatışmaların dile getirilme şekline gerek çeviri yoluyla gerekse farklı yollarla katkıda bulundukları görülmüştür. Bu bakımdan, sundukları katkılar, dinleyici/okuyucu kitlesinin, ana akımın dikkatini çeken farklı yorumlarda bulunmasına neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca, ister çeviri ile ister bir görevin kabul edilmesi ile ilgili olsun, çevirmenlerin verdiği her kararın kişisel ve mesleki hayatlarını etkileyen sonuçlar doğurduğu ve bu gibi durumlarda tarafsız kalamadıkları, başka bir deyişle taraf seçtikleri görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Anlatı Teorisi, Çeviri, Savaş, Popüler Akım*

INTRODUCTION

Each war has its own actors, who control its path and narrative. From the moment the war is declared until it ends, it takes the form of a linguistic act. This includes the involvement of language mediators such as translators and interpreters. They are considered one of the parties involved in the war because of their role in building the narrative connecting the parties of the conflict, which the audience receives and reaches through the news or through daily events in real life. This participation defines the description of translators and attributing them to one of the two conflict camps. It has several implications - positive or negative - for them. A group of active translators who engage in this work in order to defend a cause may be classified using language and their various translation and linguistic skills. It is also possible through the narrative theory to trace the translation work and translated materials and analyze them politically, socially and linguistically to study this role.

Nowadays, the role of language mediators, namely translators and interpreters, has got great attention. Many studies investigate their impact on the public mainstream and their contribution to the elaboration of conflict narrative. Among the current researchers who studied the relationship between translation and conflicts is Mona Baker. Her works (2006, 2007) draw basically on the narrative theory and the notion of framing to study how translators and interpreters take part in the construction of social and political reality. However, in conflict zones, translators may not only perform translation tasks in its technical definition. They might be recruited to do other jobs using their translation and language skills, by which neutrality will be impossible (Palmer, 2007). Accordingly, whatever the

situation is, once the translators make a decision, they will be judged and labelled by all parties in a certain conflict arena (Inghilleri, 2010).

Language is considered as a basic tool in conflicts, as it is used in the discourse announcing the start of a conflict, and then comes the role of translation as a channel of communication between the parties through translators. Through this process, translators as language mediators participate in shaping certain narratives that compete with a dominant one. Studying the narrative theory, its definition, types, and applications can help understanding how they do so. However, this participation comes with a price: there is no place for neutrality in such situations, and translators to be belonging to one of the conflict camps. Yet, they still will be judged regardless of their decision or the circumstances that led to that decision.

Throughout contemporary history, translators and interpreters' role was hidden. Yet, they were major actors and moderators of warpath and its narrative. What are the different roles they played in conflict zones? How do these roles contribute to the drawing of conflict's narrative and labeling translators and classify them accordingly? There is an urgent need to study the tasks performed by translators and interpreters due to the expansion of the conflict zones around the world and the increasing number of translators who study translation or practice it on site. In this article we will look at the different roles of Iraqi translators who took part during the US invasion in Iraq, how they affect the story of conflict, and how their lives were effected as well. It also argues that the role of translators is not limited to the language mediation and coding and decoding of texts, but exceeds it to the actual participation in politics, activism, and documentation using their basic tool – i.e. language.

TRANSLATION AND CONFLICT

From the very beginning of a war, it takes a linguistic form. Its announcement is written and/ or declared in the languages of conflicting parties. This form of communication is both linguistic and verbal in its own (Chilton, 1997). That ensures the importance of language as one of the war tools. However, to process and understand this language, a kind of mediator is needed, especially when the conflicted parties are speakers of different languages. Mostly, they need a third party to communicate, such as translators and interpreters. Translation or the communication channel of translators or interpreters occupies a key position during wars and conflicts. They have unpredicted translational abilities in orienting the narration of war. They shape its story using linguistic strategies, that is why they are considered as actors in the war along with other parties who manage the conflict or align it.

Baker (2006) studied the relationship between translation and conflicts –armed and political ones – based on the narrative theory. She defines the word narrative as the detailed stories of our daily lives which we tell or write. These narratives or stories build our views of the world and the way we conceive it. In the context of conflicts, narrative involves our views of the actors in these conflicts or wars — particularly, translators and interpreters. From her point of view, language is the most powerful tool at all times. A competent translator knows when and how to use it whether for his/ her own favor, or even for the favor of the side he/ she represents — especially during conflicts. The result is an elaboration representing the conflict; translation is the linguistic monitor that modifies or adjusts the narrative to meet the target addressees implicitly (Briggs, 1996).

Narratives like social movements, have a specific cause that they defend or circulate at different levels, and both share almost similar topics during critical times. When a number of people find themselves having a common problem, they gather themselves to find a solution, or raise awareness on it in an automatic way. More importantly, those people, often, do not know each other, and they may have different backgrounds. This unintentional mobilization movement is considered one of the narratives' strengths (Baker, 2006). However, as our experiences change, narratives change. That reflects their crucial impact on translation in regards to the type of materials selected to be translated, for example, but not limited to them. The selected material also tells a lot about the translator, his/ her identity, thoughts, language attitudes, or political orientations.

Somers and Gibson (1994) divided narratives into four kinds:

1. Ontological narratives: are personal stories circulating around the "I" and "Me".

2. Public narratives: are stories at the level of a group of people rather than the individual. Such kind of narratives should answer the why, what, and when questions.

3. Conceptual narratives: are stories and explanations that have been constructed by scholars. These conceptual narratives or stories can have an impact on the world.

4. Meta narratives (master narratives): are the largest circle of stories. They involve all of us in the story where everyone plays a role in history.

"War on Terror" is a public narrative that has a direct impact on the world. It is considered a good example of the meta narrative (master). The word "terror" means a state of mind that can cross boundaries. It has meta-narrative characters with temporal and physical features. While the word "terrorism" means the use

of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims.[1] The choice of the word "terror" can fit easily with political agendas, and its impact is a good example of circulation and adoption of a narrative. However, a meta or master narrative has a direct relationship with language mediators. The more their number increases, the better the chances are to build an alternative narrative that can cross the world and compete with the dominant narratives. On the one hand protests, sit-ins, demonstrations, votes and rallies are forms of challenging domination on a local level, but on the other hand translation performs this role on a global level in the form of linguistics (Baker, 2006). In order for those ways of expressions to be circulated widely, they need to be translated to all possible spoken languages.

The activism communities of translators and interpreters reveal the importance of the narrative theory by examining the type of narrative they elaborate, and through asking how they mediate these narratives in terms of the selected materials to be translated and the adopted mode of translation (Baker, 2006). This examination also helps to inspect the interventions made by the translators, and to which degree their work is neutral and objective. Otherwise, translators may be labeled as "biased" and "untrustworthy" which affects the credibility of their own narratives. In this sense, accuracy becomes more important.

In today's world of conflict, it is challenging to be neutral. Translators and interpreters find themselves a part of this web of confrontations and in need of positioning themselves. In addition, they participate consciously or unconsciously in the circulation of narratives set out by activists and suppressed communities, shaping the public's mainstream. In this sense, translation empowers those language mediators — by using linguistic strategies — to reproduce alternative narratives that compete with the world dominant ones. Hence, they group together to cross global boundaries as they start to understand their crucial impact at a global level by controlling over the mainstream of public (Baker, 2006).

HOW DO PEOPLE CONCEIVE TRANSLATORS DURING CONFLICTS?

When translators and interpreters accept an assignment related to the conflict, they will be associated with one of the two conflicting camps: the *Us* camp or the *Other* camp (Baker, 2010). In addition, they will be considered as one of the war actors from different perspectives. Ethical questions about their role will be elaborated, and they, accordingly, will be judged based on the verbal and linguistic choices they make. The unwilling participation of language mediators

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1 Oxford dictionary of English

during conflicts and wartimes has consequences on their and their families' lives and safety. In the following part, we will see how did people conceive Iraqi translators who performed translation and other related tasks during the US invasion of Iraq, and how they had been treated.

On 19 March 2003, a combined force of troops, from the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, led by the US invaded Iraq with aims to disarm Iraq of mass destruction weapons, fight terrorism, and free Iraqi people according to the US former President George W. Bush. The US forces hired tens of thousands of Iraqis to work with them as interpreters or to do other jobs.[1] Hundreds of them have been killed, and many others have faced threats and attacks for working with the US forces – the enemy camp, even those who worked for international agencies that covered the war in Iraq. Some have been labeled as untrustworthy, traitors, collaborators, and many other names (BBC, 2007). Others fled Iraq to Europe to protect themselves as the US failed to keep its promise to grant them humanitarian and refugee visas to the country as the case with the Iraqi former interpreter Shaker Jeffrey, who fled to Germany awaiting the US visa for more than a decade.[2]

There are many stories of Iraqi interpreters like Jeffrey's, whose lives have been changed since then. From Iraqi interpreters' perspective, they were just doing their jobs as language mediators. While from the locals' point of view, working with that whom they consider an *enemy,* regardless of what kind of work one does, is an ethical and social matter, in which they will be judged accordingly. Indeed, many people and institutions including military personnel, the media, and the audience take part in drawing the general picture of these mediators labeling them as traitors, victims, heroes, or simply employees. In addition to the linguistic and cultural judgements, translators are facing ethical and political issues. Questions about their roles during conflicts in such positions come to the surface.

On the legal level, some translators and interpreters have been investigated for taking part during interrogations in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib in Iraq and witnessing abuses and violations to the Geneva Convention (Williams, 2006; Saar and Novak, 2005). They have been questioned about their role there. While others such as Adel Nakhla, an Egyptian-American translator was hired by Titan Corporation,[3] has never been prosecuted. Instead, he had been terminated by the company after the scandals of Abu Ghraib prison as he accused of humiliating

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1 Source: https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/only-2-iraqi-translators-who-worked-u-s-troops-got-n1035661
2 Source: Ibid
3 Titan Corporation, located in San Diego, received a contract awarded by the US Army to hire Arabic translators and provide translation services

abuses.[1] When it comes to a public concern within a society translators refer to, they cannot escape their social and ethical duty. They have to make a decision and position themselves even if they are not obliged to do so.

Yet, some positions are sensitive enough to make the decision obligatory. In order to overcome this issue, Levinas (1989) suggests that it is important to organize and put down a just structure by the law for making decisions, regarding sensitive cases, without interfering with one's ethics. That is having a code book related to such cases will help to mitigate the consequences. However, the professionality of a person becomes less important in comparison to the ethical questions in terms of sensitive issues. A translator has to resolve these issues alone, either by choosing to be with the "Other" camp or with the "Us" camp, where the two parties are on the stage. In the battlefield, a quick reaction is the only thing to do, instinctively. Thinking of what should be done appropriately is not a choice in the middle of a fight. Yet, whatever the decision is, it is still the one choice that can be taken and known at that very moment (Inghilleri, 2008).

THE IMPACT OF TRANSLATORS ON THE PUBLIC NARRATIVE OF WAR

Today, translators and interpreters are not just rendering texts. Indeed, they become actual actors in geopolitical arena by employing the language for different purposes. Their role is not just limited to the traditional and technical meaning of translation. They, now, influence the way the war is narrated, for they have a considerable space to perform their tasks immediately. As well, they have freedom to restate what others said briefly, as they understood. In addition, they may perform other kinds of tasks rather than linguistic mediation. However, despite all the ups and downs translators are being through during conflicts, they are still the ones who put the pieces of the puzzle together for history, media and narrators.

The international agencies that covered the war in Iraq hired Iraqi interpreters to work side by side with the foreign journalists there. This cooperation between foreign journalists and Iraqi interpreters affected the elaboration of the war narrative in many different ways but kept the control of its path within the hands of Iraqis as the translators reproduced and strengthened a certain narrative on the war. For example, the multiplicity of religious sects in Iraq and the sectarian division of cities have served the conflicting parties (Palmer, 2007). That led the journalists to different conclusions regarding the war in Iraq and its narrative by how translators stated this sectarian division. For instance, Sunnis could not enter some Shia's areas, where they could not feel safe and vice versa. Therefore, they

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1 Source: https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB108518649426918483

will have a restricted range of narratives. While refusing or accepting to cross some sectarian boundaries by interpreters emphasizes or diminishes the sectarian division in Iraq.

With the increased violence in Iraq since March 2003, 360 Iraqi translators and interpreters were killed, and more than 1200 wounded between 2003 and 2008.[1] In addition, 36 journalists were killed since the beginning of the war until October 2004 (Palmer, 2007). This makes the situation for foreign journalists too dangerous to work on site. Instead, they hired Iraqis with translation skills to work as sources or journalists for these agencies to ensure the flow of information. Questions about the reliability of the information transmitted have been raised. Many doubts the trustworthiness of Iraqi journalists and co-workers and misleading information they gave (Marting, 2004).

Concerning defining the role of translators, there are two suggested perspectives. The first one is how the participants in a war zone defines them - as discussed above. The second is how the translators and interpreters define their roles in these situations and to which extent they participate in elaborating public narratives according to Baker (2010). When the translators take a position, there is no in-between space, and there will always be consequences. She discussed the concepts of difference and homogeneity that characterize translators in terms of the camps they belong to during conflicts. These two concepts — difference and homogeneity — can have an effect on translators and interpreters at their workplace; how their co-workers and employers define them. Accordingly, this will have an impact on the elaboration of public narratives of wars. In other words, labeling translators during conflicts has an impact on the warpath and its narrative.

Translators and interpreters[2] are labeled as either "trustworthy" or a threat to security by the "enemy" camp or even by their societies. In terms of Iraqi translators and interpreters, they were judged for using their native language in favor of the enemy, when they had to shut down any chance of cooperation. The translators who chose to work in the interest of foreigners or with the invading forces are traitors — to locals — and deserve to be treated and judged like the invading army — namely they are not victims in this context (Rafael, 2007).

Moreover, the proficiency level of translators' own language is another factor that influences the public narrative, in addition to their professional experience in terms of their ability to deal with the subtle differences in meaning and linguistics. Translators and interpreters with very short experience may face difficulties in

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1 Source: Ibid

[2] Translators and interpreters of wars are widely known now as "fixers" due to the multiple tasks they perform

conveying the exact meaning. In this sense, different narratives of the war will come up, and the question is not about if it is true or false; rather, it is about how it will influence the path of war and mainstream.

CONCLUSION

Everyone is involved in the war machine, including translators and interpreters. In times of conflict, translators contribute significantly to shaping and building the narrative of war in many forms by using their translation skills to perform many tasks besides translation. They contribute, for example, to building a conscious or unconscious image for the reader about the barbarism of the other side, "the enemy's camp", and highlighting it as a criminal. On the other hand, it affects the reader by activating his/her feelings of sympathy for the victim (highlighted by the translation) and push the reader to adopt a specific view of who the victim and who the killer is. However, translators' perspectives may emerge through their translation choices, their linguistic level and skill, which is reflected in their texts and thus in the narrative. But despite these two important roles - narrative building and influencing the audience - translators pay a great price for this that may cost them their lives. It is possible for the community to call the translator a "hero" if he/she performs a task or completes a translation that matches the direction of the society. The translator could also be accused of treason and his/her life being threatened.

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Surviving the Capital: A Darwinian Analysis of Elizabeth Gaskell's North and South

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ABSTRACT

The rapid progression of industrialism and capitalism in the Victorian era influenced the authors to reflect the changing human condition in their literary works. Questions about the borders of the relationship between capital owners and their workers, terrible conditions of the workplaces and the insignificance of human life started to be discussed widely in the Victorian literature. Elizabeth Gaskell's North and South (1854) similarly reflects the radical contrast between the industrialized cities and the rural life through the eyes of the protagonist Margaret. Margaret's travel to an industrialized town and her curious gazes on the working-class people when she encounters them for the first time emphasize how industrialization trifles with human life, as Margaret and the working-class people observe each other as if they belong to different species. The confrontation of two alienated groups who examine each other in Gaskell's novel bears a resemblance to Charles Darwin's encounter with the indigenous people who live primitively and try to survive in the wild nature in The Voyage of the Beagle (1839). To provide reasons for the alienation effect between the two groups, Marxist terms base, superstructure and hegemony will be used and explained. Furthermore, depending on the parallelism between the indigenous people and the working-class people whose only concern is to survive under harsh conditions, this article is going to connect Darwin's theories of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest in On the Origin of Species (1859) with Gaskell's novel. In accordance with Darwin's theory, it will be pointed out that while physically weak characters cannot adapt to the harsh living conditions and gradually die one by one, Margaret and Thornton get married because they are

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preserved as the fittest members to create stronger offsprings for the next generation.

Key Words: *Victorian, North and South, Darwin, Marxism, Base and Superstructure, On the Origin of the Species*

ÖZ

Victoria döneminde sanayiciliğin ve kapitalizmin hızlı ilerlemesi, yazarları eserlerinde insanlığın değişen vaziyetini yansıtmaya teşvik etti. Sermaye sahipleri ve çalışanları arasındaki ilişkinin sınırları, iş yerlerinin korkunç koşulları ve insan yaşamının önemsizliği ile ilgili sorunlar Victoria dönemi edebiyatında yaygın olarak tartışılmaya başlandı. Elizabeth Gaskell'ın Kuzey ve Güney'i (1854) benzer şekilde, sanayileşmiş şehirler ile kırsal yaşam arasındaki radikal kontrastı kahramanı Margaret'in gözünden yansıtıyor. Margaret'in sanayileşmiş bir şehre taşınması ve ilk kez karşılaştıklarında işçi sınıfından insanlara karşı meraklı bakışları, Margaret ve işçilerin birbirlerini farklı türlere aitmiş gibi gözlemlemeleri sanayileşmenin insan yaşamını nasıl önemsizleştirdiğini vurgulamaktadır. Gaskell'ın romanında birbirlerini inceleyen iki yabancı grubun çatışması, Charles Darwin'in Tazı Yolculuğu (1839) eserinde seyahat grubunun vahşi doğada hayatta kalmaya çalışan yerli insanlarla karşılaşmasına benzer. İki grup arasındaki yabancılaşma etkisinin nedenlerini ortaya sunmak için, Marksist terimler altyapı, üstyapı ve hegemonya kullanılarak açıklanacaktır. Ayrıca, yerli halk ile işçi sınıfının hayatta kalma mücadelesi arasındaki paralelliğe dayanarak, Darwin'in en güçlünün hayatta kalması ve varoluş mücadelesi teorileri (1859) ile Gaskell'ın romanı arasında bağlantı kurulacaktır. Darwin'in teorisine paralel olarak, romanda fiziksel olarak zayıf karakterlerin sert yaşam koşullarına uyum sağlayamayıp tek tek yok olmalarına, Margaret ve Thornton'ın ise yaşam koşullarına en iyi ayak sağlayan bireyler olarak evlenmelerine ve gelecek nesil için daha güçlü yavrular üretebilecek olma potansiyellerine dikkat çekilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Victoria Dönemi, Kuzey ve Güney, Darwin, Marksizm, Altyapı ve Üstyapı, Türlerin Kökeni*

INTRODUCTION

The poverty and unemployment experienced in the Victorian Era have been popular issues which are widely discussed in many different literary works such as Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and *Hard Times*, George Eliot's *Felix Holt, the Radical* and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* and *North and South*. The rise of industrialism and capitalism caused enormous changes in people's lives and

influenced every aspect of life. The increase in population as opposed to the lack of employment opportunities urged people to move from the countryside to the industrial towns, which brought about new serious social concerns such as poor housing conditions and severe poverty. In *The Victorian World,* Emma Griffin similarly suggests that "considerable change was occurring in rural areas throughout the nineteenth century, with a pronounced shift of workers out of agriculture into the service sector of the economy." (Griffin, 2014, p. 103). In order to provide the daily needs of an ordinary family, even children had to work instead of going to school. The growing demand for jobs as opposed to the surplus population made it even harder for people to find a job and even if they did; they had to bear with grinding labour for very long hours. As stated by Jack Goldstone, in the 1800s the economy was significantly larger than the previous years, but there was a considerable rise in demographic growth too. "The outcome was an economy capable of feeding larger numbers, but not able to feed them very much better." (Goldstone, 2002). Moreover, the invention of engines and machinery was also a challenge to the existence of the poor citizens, leaving no other choice for them other than working in the factories and mills even though they were abused or underpaid.

While the poor was battling with life and trying to survive under harsh living conditions, capital owners relished the perks of holding the socioeconomic power on their own. Though industrialism created a poor working-class at one extreme, at the other it enabled social mobility and gave rise to a new rich middle-class, which acquired wealth and power through their success in manufacturing and trade. Royden Harrison suggests that the decline in domestic production increased the number of "unskilled mass" and the distinction between the classes was revived, which consequently caused the employers to "enjoy greater social security than labourers" and "better prospects for upward mobility." (Harrison, 1965, pp. 10-27). Such representation of the middle-class and their role in the expansion of the economy also marked a societal change, as the rise of the middle class depended on "the height and regularity of their earnings", rather than a privileged state acquired by birth. (Harrison, 1965). Nevertheless, the rising middle-class and their self-made man principles prompted an ambitious competition environment to earn more money and to achieve more economic and social success for an upward mobility in society. This ambition, therefore, seemed to be the very reason why the working-class suffered under tough working conditions, as the aggressive attitude of the capital owners was more focused on their personal achievement "as far as property ownership was concerned", rather than the conditions of the people working at their mills and factories (Harrison, 1965, pp. 33-34).

In *The Conditions of the Working-Class in England* (first published in 1845), Friedrich Engels demonstrates the pernicious human condition in England by

explaining his personal observations in order to draw attention to the social misery at the time. He claims that manufacture generates two different classes in general: the working-class and the middle class. However, he also adds that "the numerous petty middle-class of the 'good old times'" have either lost their privileged position against manufacture and become a part of the poor workers, or they have adapted to the new social structure and found a place for themselves among the rich capitalists. (Engels, 1987, pp. 101-102). In the industrial towns, the difference between the working-class and the rich capitalists is so great and the distribution of the economic welfare is so unfair that, they exist in the same town completely as strangers. They do not even glance at each other and their only concern is to "keep to [their] own side of pavement" when they walk past each other (Engels, 1987, p. 106).

Engels proceeds his argument by criticizing the capital state which values the people who hold the means of production as the source of social welfare, yet which does not have the slightest interest in the condition of the poor. He finds it ironic that the capital owners consider providing opportunities to work in their factories as a favor, though they need the workers to enrich themselves. There is a mutual dependence between the two groups, yet the plain truth is not vocalized by anyone. The workers remain poor, and the rich get even richer thanks to the labor of the working-class. To emphasize this "hypocrisy", Engels quotes a letter written to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian:*

> MR. EDITOR, For some time past our main streets are haunted by swarms of beggars, who try to awaken the pity of the passers-by in a most shameless and annoying manner, by exposing their tattered clothing, sickly aspect, and disgusting wounds and deformities…Why else do we pay such high rates for the maintenance of the municipal police, if they do not even protect us so far as to make it possible to go to or out of town in peace? I hope the publication of these lines in your widely- circulated paper may induce the authorities to remove this nuisance. (Engels, 1987, pp. 446-447)

As it is aptly written in the letter, the bourgeoisie regards it as a right not to see the condition of the poor in their towns, since they pay for the maintenance of the police. The harsh reality of the daily life on streets scares those who do not experience any financial difficulties. A certain part of bourgeoisie also seems to believe that the poor on the street can do anything to get financial help from the people they see outside, thus, they think that they are the ones who need protection, not the poor. The inhumane attitude towards the poor and the lack of philanthropy make it even harder for the poor to survive under these circumstances.

Although social issues, class struggles and the economic problems constitute a big portion of the daily life in the Victorian era, there were also other discoveries and developments that had a deep effect on science, knowledge, and philosophical thought in general. Through the mid-1800s Charles Darwin posited a theory which offered the idea that the physical world had been continuously changing and as the living beings on earth, we were the products of these changes. Even without any long explanation, the expanded title of his book on the origin of the species is very telling: "On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life" (Darwin, 1859). In other words, what he mainly argues in his book is that, in the continuous struggle for survival in the natural world, the species that are reproductively successful can be regarded as the fittest because they do not fall victim to natural selection. Charles Darwin explains the process as the following in his own words:

> We have reason to believe… that a change in the conditions of life, by specially acting on the reproductive system, causes or increases variability; and in the foregoing case the conditions of life are supposed to have undergone a change, and this would manifestly be favourable to natural selection, by giving a better chance of profitable variations occurring; and unless profitable variations do occur, natural selection can do nothing. (Darwin, 2009, p. 82)

In literature, one of the novels that reflects both the industrial Victorian society by emphasizing the difference between the two classes and the influence of the scientific developments of the era is Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1854). Gaskell's protagonist is a young woman named Margaret Hale, who moves from the countryside to an industrial town because of her father's financial state. Neither Margaret nor her parents belong to the working-class. Nevertheless, they cannot be ascribed as an upper middle-class family either. Margaret's in-between social status enables her to observe the two extremes in the industrial town Milton. Her first encounter with the working-class mirrors the alienation of the poor from the society, as Margaret and the workers observe each other as if they belong to different species. Similarly, Margaret's initial impression of the capital owner Thornton is mainly about how different they are; Thornton is arrogant and reckless towards the other people while Margaret genuinely cares about them.

In *North and South,* the detailed depiction of the exclusion of the poor from social welfare and the inability of the working-class members to survive under harsh living conditions stand as the social reality of the Victorian time. Depending on the description of the struggle for survival in the novel, it is possible to suggest that surviving in the new industrial world depends highly on being able to adapt to the new economic condition which replaces manual labor by mass production

in mills and factories. Accordingly, to establish the connection between the dominant narrative of class struggle and the strain for survival in *North and South*, this article is going to refer to Marxist theory and two of Charles Darwin's works: *The Voyage of the Beagle* and *On the Origin of the Species.* After pointing out the basis of the difference between classes using Marxist terms base, superstructure, and hegemony, it will be argued in the last chapter that it is possible to find parallelism between the alienation of the indigenous group to the voyage group in Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle,* and the alienation of the working class to Margaret in *North and South.* Moreover, it will be asserted that in *North and South*, it is possible to find traces of the theories proposed by Charles Darwin, such as the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. In the end, the analysis of the article will reveal that the narrative of the struggle for survival caused by the changing economic condition in the novel is a reflection of Darwin's biological theories on literature.

MARX'S CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

It is a well-known fact that Karl Marx shares Friedrich Engels' concerns on a society which have proliferated materialist interests after the Industrial Revolution. Marx and Engels have significantly contributed to sociology by their theory that society should not be studied with what humans think or say but rather with their economic conditions. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Marx argues that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." (Marx, 1859, p. 4). Therefore, according to Marx, consciousness does not depend on human nature. Instead, the economic conditions and the financial situation that a human being lives in constitute the human consciousness. In that sense, even the people living in the same society are constructed differently, depending on their financial power.

To explain his theory further, Marx introduces two terms he calls as base and superstructure. The term base corresponds to the economic structure of a society, including the means of production, changes in technology and industry, and how work is organized. Superstructure, on the other hand, is a term which refers to the human consciousness and all the ideological forms that influence human psyche such as literature, politics, art, or religion. In other words,

> For Marxism, getting and keeping economic power is the motive behind all social and political activities including education, philosophy, religion, government, the arts, science, technology, the media and so on. Thus economics is the *base* on which the *superstructure* of social/political/ideological realities is built. (Tyson, 2006, p. 51)

According to Marx's critique, therefore, the difference in people's economic reality, or their base, is the main factor that creates the variety in superstructure as well. Base influences every aspect of life, as Marx explains that "the changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure." (Marx, 1859, p. 4). To give an example from history, different modes of production created different types of societies such as the agricultural society or the feudal society based on their economic reality.

On the other hand, later Marxist Raymond Williams extends Marx's theory by suggesting that within a society, there might be multiple groups (hegemonies) that are in tension with each other. In his book *Marxism and Literature*, he defines three hegemonies: dominant, residual and emergent. As the name also suggests, the dominant hegemony refers to the ruling class, while the residual "by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process" (Williams, 1977, p. 122). In other words, residual hegemony embraces the reflections of the past. Finally, emergent hegemony means "new […] values, new practices, new relationships, and kinds of relationship are continually being created" (Williams, 1977, p. 123). Considering the Victorian society as an example, it would be possible to say that members of the middle-class belong to the dominant hegemony, while the members of the working-class who cannot get used to the change from artisanship to mass production belong to the residual hegemony. The prominent difference between the economic power of different hegemonies result in a class consciousness as well.

In short, each society or each group of people have their own methods to produce commodities. In capitalist societies like the Victorian society, however, the production of commodities requires a relationship between the working-class and the bourgeoisie. Owners of the capitals hire the labour power of the working-class in return for a weekly or monthly wage. Nonetheless, the amount of wage the workers receive in return for their labour is not an equal exchange. For most of the time, surviving on the wage that is received from the factory is not possible for a family. Therefore, while capital owners enjoy the highest profits, the working class go through a struggle for survival.

FROM NATURAL LAW TO SOCIAL LAW: DARWINISM AND MARXISM

As mentioned before, Charles Darwin and Karl Marx were each prominent figures in their own field during the Victorian era, and the influence of their theories on literature will be closely examined in this article. Although there is not much evidence of the private relationship between the two, there is a general belief that Marx and Darwin support distinct ideas that are disconnected with each

other. However in "Marxism and Charles Darwin", Gerald Runkle provides evidence that Darwin's biological theories are actually favorable for Marxist doctrines. He quotes from one of Marx's letters saying that Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* "serves me [Marx] as the basis in natural science for the class struggle in history" (Runkle, 1961, p. 114). The parallelism between the struggle in the nature and the society is pointed out by Runkle again when he highlights a passage from Marx's *Capital*, saying that "The social division of labour confronts [...] the coercion exercised upon them by the pressure of their reciprocal interests—just as in the animal kingdom the war of all against all maintains" (Runkle, 1961, p. 116).

Consequently, the suggested relationship between Darwinism and Marxism could be interpreted as the reflection of natural law on social law. While the theories of Darwin endeavors to enlighten the origin of species, Marxist theories make effort to reveal the bases of societies. Additionally, "the active power" for both of the theories is "the urge for survival: the organism seeks to preserve his life; man tries to wrest a living from nature" (Runkle, 1961, p. 118). As the species struggle in nature, different classes struggle with each other. These struggles end in new species and new social classes. Namely, "although Marxism was not significantly influenced by Darwin, it is *confirmed* by Darwin's work" (Runkle, 1961, p. 118).

SURVIVING THE CAPITAL: REFLECTIONS OF DARWINISM IN *NORTH AND SOUTH*

Aside from the important political changes in the Victorian era, the important discovery in science brought about by Charles Darwin contributed greatly to the understanding of human life: the theory of evolution and natural selection. According to Darwin, offsprings of living beings inherit different aspects of their parents. Therefore, it is not possible to mention stability and singularity in life. Over a period of time, these variations turn into a struggle for existence, since only the fittest ones can survive.

Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* can be regarded as a social problem novel about the political clash between classes, yet it can be also argued that the reason for this clash can be attributed to a financial struggle to survive, which demonstrates parallelism with the Darwinian struggle for existence in nature. In her article "Gaskell, Darwin and *North and South"*, Carol A. Martin states that "Gaskell was a cousin of Darwin, a fact to which she refers in a letter from 1851 in which she records his coming to dine and meet her." (Martin, 1983, p. 93). Therefore, depending on Gaskell's and Darwin's acquaitance it is not surprising to find traces of Darwinism in *North and South.*

One of the parallelisms between Darwin's writings and *North and South* is the encounter between two groups of people who are alienated from each other, which, depending on the reflection of their economic conditions on their social lives, breeds an environment of observation. Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle* narrates his journey to an untamed land, where he meets a group of indigenous people, whom he calls "savages" because of their animalistic aspects. (Darwin, 2008, p. 64). He writes about the tribal rituals of the people they meet, their mimicry skills and quick acquisition of the behaviours of the voyage group, their considerable strength and sharp sight. The reason why Darwin gives such detailed descriptions of the indigenous people is to emphasize the gap between the two groups. The visitors come from an industrial background, while the indigenous group leads a primitive life that depends on hunting and agriculture. In Marxist terms, their base is undoubtedly different from the tribe that lives on an untamed land, which results in two distinct superstructures. Darwin seems to be favoring their own superstructure over the other, as he comments on the capacity of the other group in a proud and arrogant manner, saying that Jemmy, a member of the tribe who starts to mimic the voyage group, "was throughly ashamed of his countrymen." and the "savages… immediately perceived the difference between… ourselves." (Darwin, 2008, p. 191). The lack of technological and industrial progress in the base of the indigenous group causes a sense of superiority in the visitors, feeling themselves modern and developed.

On the other hand, Margaret's voyage to Milton, which has nothing in common with her hometown Helstone, allows her to get to know a new group of people: the working-class. In her hometown, Margaret does not see a radical difference between the lives of people of Helstone. In Milton, however, the difference between the members of the dominant hegemony and the workers is huge. Margaret sympathizes with the working-class and though their living conditions are closer to Darwin's indigenous people, she does not consider them to be savages. Instead, she sees the masters of the capitals as more savage than the poor, as the capital owners are responsible for the poor people's bad living conditions. To exemplify, when Bessy, a girl from the working-class, shouts "I could go mad, and kill yo', I could" in a delirium, Margaret does not feel threatened at all. (Gaskell, 1973, p. 101). She just kneels down by her and says "Bessy-we have a father in Heaven." (Gaskell, 1973, p. 101). On the other hand, when Mrs. Thornton heroically describes how she would throw a stone to the rioters and advises Margaret to "learn to have a brave heart", Margaret answers her with a pale face, dreading Mrs. Thornton's savage ambition against the working-class: "I would do my best… I do not know whether I am brave or not till I am tried; but I am afraid I should be a coward." (Gaskell, 1973, p. 116). While she is frightened by Mrs. Thornton's strong ambition, she can emphatize with Bessy's

anger towards life, and witnessing the terrible conditions that Bessy and her family live in, Margaret understands that,

> The public and private spheres that seemed so clear cut in her southern life, with their demarkation of gendered behaviour and the class divide it implicitly supports, cannot be sustained. Whether for man, or woman or for middle class or for poor the world of work cannot be held apart from the domestic home in Milton (Dredge, 2012, p. 85).

Margaret's affection and understanding towards the working-class, and her willingness to have conversations with them creates a mutual observation environment. As the name of the book suggests, the North and the South of the country are as distinct as two opposite poles. Just as Margaret is a foreigner to Milton, the people of Milton are foreign to the Southerns as well. Therefore, when Margaret looks at the dresses of people of Milton, and observes their "loud spoken" and "boisterous" behaviours, at the same time people in Milton observe her manners and her style. (Gaskell, 1973, p. 131). They admire Margaret for her "bonny face" and fashionable clothes, which makes Margaret "glad to think that her looks, such as they were, should have had the power to call up a pleasant thought." (Gaskell, 1973, p. 72). However, Margaret does not claim to be superior than the working-class due to their admiration. On the contrary, their compliments create a bond between the two.

Darwin's voyage group also becomes the object of curious gazes. When the group arrives at the land, Darwin thinks the difference between the indigenous people and his own group "is greater than between wild and domesticated animal" (Darwin, 2008, p. 188). The group is always amazed by the animalistic aspects of the indigenous people, but it is important to note that while Darwin's group is performing the act of observation, they are also being observed. Although Darwin compares them with wild animals, they are human beings and curious as much as other people. They try to learn new things from the voyage group by mimicing their motions and speech, "view[ing] [their] dancing" and even trying to learn how to waltz. (Darwin, 2008, p. 189). Considering all the given details about Darwin's and Margaret's encounter with an alienated group of people, it might be suggested that the description of such otherness is an eminent part of both narratives, since it reveals the similarity between the variation in nature and the diversity in social constructions, which makes up the basis for Darwin's renowned theory, survival of the fittest.

Regarding Margaret's observations on Milton, the parallelism between Darwin's theories of survival of the fittest, struggle for existence and the lives of people in *North and South* is a crucial topic to elaborate. Darwin's terms are aimed to explain the natural phenomenon, but adapting these ideas to the industrial world and its influence on the lives of the poor is possible. Just like the animals which

strive to survive in their own ecology, in the industrial town, the working-class needs to battle for their basic needs in order to be able to survive. Furthermore, the state of the industrial town makes it even more difficult to survive with its filthy air, dirty streets and severe working conditions. Carol Martin agrees that the situation in the industrial town is "worse than the state of nature" (Martin, 1983, p. 95).

In Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species*, the term struggle for existence is used "in a large and metaphorical sense" to explain "dependence of one being on another". (Darwin, 2009, p. 62). To explain the term further, Darwin exemplifies what we see in the face of nature, "that the birds which are idly singing round us mostly live on insects or seeds, and […] their eggs, or their nestlings, are destroyed by birds and beasts of prey" (Darwin, 2009, p. 62). In such an industrial town as Milton, the struggle for existence in the meaning of mutual dependence can be observed in social life. Capital owners and the working-class need each other; without the workers there cannot be any production, and without production, the workers cannot receive their wages. Although the two classes are entirely co-dependent on each other, there is a complete lack of communication between them. Late Marxist Raymond Williams remarks that Gaskell "writes in a city in which industrial production and a dominant market are the determining features and in which… there is the new hard language of class against class." (Williams, 1973, p. 261). Depending on the difference between the economic circumstances of the middle-class and the working-class, they do not even see each other. In *The Condition of the Working Class in England,* Friedrich Engels argues that each class has its own specific territory to "remove [the poor] from the sight of happier class." (Engels, 1987, p. 24). Consequently, the lack of harmony between the capital owners and the working class reinforces the gap between them.

Margaret tries to reconcile the two classes in *North and South* by pointing out to the fact that they are co-dependent on each other. She emphasizes their mutual dependency with the farmers in the South. While talking to Higgins about what a strike is, Margaret asks:

> Suppose they could not, or would not do the last; they could not give up their farms all in a minute, however much they might wish to do so; but they would have no hay, no corn to sell that year; and where would the money come from to pay the labourers' wages the next? (Gaskell, 1973, pp. 32-33)

On the other hand, while talking to Mr. Thornton about his business, she offers another perspective to think about by saying "On the very face of it, I see two classes dependent on each other in every possible way, yet each evidently regarding the interests of the other as opposed to their own." (Gaskell, 1973, p.

118). Her speech is justified when Thornton's business radically changes and gets worse because of the strike, and Higgings remains unemployed for such a long time that he cannot even meet his family's basic needs.

Another important term from Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* is the survival of the fittest. Darwin defines this term in his book as follows:

> Variations… if they be in any degree profitable to the individuals of a species, in their infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to their physical conditions of life, will tend to the preservation of such individuals and will generally be inherited by the offspring. (Darwin, 2009, p. 61)

In other words, Darwin's definition of the term suggests that, among the members of the same species, the ones that can adapt to the living conditions in their environment best manage to survive. Because of the radical change in the world order due to industrialism, the drastic difference between the living conditions of the working-class and the capital owners, and the pollution of the cities, there is a parallelism between the term survival of the fittest with *North and South* from the beginning to the end of the novel. Depending on Darwin's definition, it would be possible to say that the weakest member among the people of Milton is Mrs. Hale. She is constantly ill for different reasons; the humid air, moving to a polluted town, living in bad conditions and more. She doesn't make any effort to adapt to the new environment, instead, she lingers in self pity and blames others for forcing her to move to Milton. Consequently, as the weakest link of the community she cannot escape the inevitable death in relation to Darwin's assertion that only the fittest may survive.

Similarly, Mr. Hale is a character who cannot remain strong against the radical changes in his life. In addition to the changes in his physical environment, Mr. Hale goes through a mental and psychological transformation due to his "smouldering doubts [about] the authorithy of the Church" (Gaskell, 1973, p. 34). Therefore, he leaves his title as the Vicar of Helstone, and moves to Milton with his family to work as a private tutor. With his resignation, Mr. Hale willingly embraces a new lifestyle, but at the same time he feels the burden of exposing his whole family to the same changes he needs to go through. After Mrs. Hale's death, he admits that "if [he] could have known how she would have suffered, [he] would undo it" but he does not think that "God endued [him] with over-much wisdom or strength" (Gaskell, 1973, p. 349). Not feeling strong enough to endure his suffering, he dies soon after his wife's decease.

Another weak character is Bessy. However, contrary to Mrs. Hale, Bessy endeavors to survive as she has a family to look after. Her working conditions affect her health poorly, her lungs are filled with the fluff that she inhales while

working. Though she is not fit for working in this kind of environment, she has no other choice since she needs to work to be able to help his father support their family. Additionally, she is so fed up with the life in Milton and she is so weak in spirit that she does not even feel sorry for her situation. Unfortunately her death occurs as obscurely as her life. Bessy's family do not even find a proper chance to lament for their daughter, as they have to return to work immediately.

On the other hand, Margaret and Thornton are the survivors of the industrial world. Although Margaret is as sad as her parents to move away from their calm, quite Southern town, she is capable of taking control over her emotions and making all the necessary organizations. Perhaps, Margaret's ability to control her emotions at critical times is her biggest strength. It provides her big advantages in various parts of the novel; when she deals with her sick mother, when she is stuck amongst the angry strikers, or when she is questioned by a police officer about Frederick's crime. She is actually concerned about all these things as much as anyone, but she can remain calm during the events, which would suggest from a Darwinistic perspective that she is more advantageous compared to the other members of her family. Her physical strength for struggle and her ability to keep herself vital make Margaret the fittest member of her family to endure problems.

Thornton's life is a harsher struggle for existence. As a young boy, his family's well-being depends on his survival, and later in his life, he also has to survive in the industrial world to rise amongst his rivals. He is successful in both, because Thornton is a hardworking man and he knows how to adapt to the changes in his life. When he tells the story of his early life, he says the reason why he could make himself a fortune is "no good luck, nor merit, nor talent, - but simply the habits of life which taught him to despise indulgences not thoroughly earned" (Gaskell, 1973, p. 85). So he suggests that if he could not adapt to the conditions of his new life and give up his indulgences, he would not be able to establish his own business, which is the source of his fortune. His flexibility for changing life conditions and strong will in business life renders him fit for survival. Similarly, Anderson argues that,

> Thornton, a self-made man assumes that every person has the ability to raise him-or herself to a better position. He has brough his family from poverty to success, and thus believes he has the right to do with his capital what he pleases. (Anderson & Satalino, 2013, p. 111)

As the strongest members of their own families, Thornton's and Margaret's marriage can be interpreted in parallel with Darwin's survival of the fittest theory. In his theory, Darwin mentions that "individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others would have the best chance of surviving and of procreating their kind", which means nature tends to preserve "favourable variations" and reject "injurious variations" (Darwin, 2009, p. 81). As the reflection of this

preservation in the Darwinian sense, it would be possible to argue that two fittest members of the novel are preserved and matched in order to create stronger offsprings for the next generation. Carol A. Martin similarly interprets this marriage as a part of the survival theory by writing that "Gaskell concludes her treatment of survival by hinting at the sexuality and fruitfulness of the union of these two powerful individuals... In the novel as in the struggle in nature, 'the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply. " (Martin, 1983, pp. 104-105). Although Margaret and Thornton seem distant towards each other at the beginning of the novel, their physical and psychological resistance against the adversities of life bring them together. They both reveal that they consider each other as the superior kind, when Margaret says "Oh, Mr. Thornton. I am not good enough", and Thornton replies by confessing his "deep feeling of unworthiness" (Gaskell, 1973, pp. 435-436). Accordingly, it could be argued that both Margaret and Thornton tend to match with someone whom they consider to be advantageous even though they are aware of the reaction they will get from their families, who will belittle their choice exclaiming "That man!" and "That woman!" (Gaskell, 1973, p. 436).

CONCLUSION

It would be possible to argue that Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* is a novel that is written under the influence of the prominent Victorian social and scientific issues. Gaskell reflects the gap between the working-class and the capital owners through the continuous clash between the two different hegemonies within the same society. The essence of the clash, however, depends on the inequality in the distribution of incomes. While the bourgeoisie enjoys getting the biggest piece of the cake, the working-class has to overcome a lot of hardships due to financial shortage. Moreover, lack of money affects all areas of life, including education, health and entertainment. Children of the working-class families can not receive proper education. They spend their childhood years working in the factories together with their parents.

In *North and South* as well, it is possible to observe how a typical working-class family lives, how they need to work as the whole family no matter how old they are, and how much their social lives are affected because of the poor working and living conditions. Thus, unintentionally, whether they are aware or not, every character in the book goes through a struggle for existence in their social lives just like the struggle for existence Darwin mentions in his theories. Based on the parallelism between the Darwinian survival efforts and the struggle for existence in social life, it is possible to say that Gaskell's novel can be analysed as a reflection of natural law in social life. Just as different species struggle with each other in nature, different classes also go through a struggle for survival in society.

Moreover, the survivors in Gaskell's novel are not simply strong because of their biological advantages, but also because "they acknowledge the necessity of struggle" (Martin, 1983, p. 105).

Since there is an acquaintance between Gaskell and Darwin, it wouldn't be wrong to say that Gaskell has been influenced by Darwin's theories before writing *North and South*, and this seems why there are clear links between them. It can be also explained by the fact that similar ideas are discussed in literary works concerning the issues of industrialism, of scientific progress, crisis of faith etc. in the Victorian era, which are specifically associated with this period of time, therefore, it is possible to regard them as Victorian convention. Gaskell's and Darwin's works are also parts of the Victorian convention, demonstrating how scientific texts and the fictional novels are greatly influenced by each other.

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Docile Bodies, Subjectivity and Self-Constitution in Women On The Edge of Time

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ABSTRACT

Michel Foucault's concept of docile bodies, in *Discipline and Punish,* draws on the theory that the docile body is a pliable object, in that, when disciplinary force is enforced through control and dependency, the subject becomes bound to the structure of such disciplinary practices. According to Foucault, the docile body "is something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body [from which] the machine required can be constructed" (Foucault, 1978/2012, p. 135). Foucault, therefore, suggests that the docile body is suited to being "manipulated, shaped, trained" willingly (Foucault, 1978/2012, p.136). In this regard, he underlines the process of training, as it becomes a crucial facet of mechanics of power to impose its dominancy on the docile body. Upon analysing the settings where individuals are trained to become docile and profitable as required -in places such as schools, hospitals, prisons and mental institutions- Foucault concludes that, the purpose of such institutions is to create willingly obedient individuals, who respond to the designated task, which is given to maintain the status quo, through normalising and the internalisation of surveillance. As a result, through the making of "docile, useful body", as Foucault argues, "the body becomes a 'political field,' inscribed and constituted by power relations". (Deveaux, 1996). On the subject of resistance, a rather controversial subject for feminist agenda, Foucault argues "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). The selected novel, namely *Women On The Edge of Time* (1976) by Marge Piercy, presents intriguing perspectives on the concept of power and speculates on women's agency regarding their

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bodies by implying the fact that socio-political agendas shape not only the technology but also the fields of medicine and science, leading to the ultimate manipulation of the female body. In this regard, one aim of this article is to explore feminist reactions to Foucault's theories on body, power and sexuality. Then, by utilising these theories as analytical tools, this article also aims to examine the treatment and objectification of the protagonist in the narrative by medical facilities. Finally, the extent of which she is able to maintain the control of her subjectivity when faced with disciplinary forces as well as her integrity in society will be analyzed.

ÖZ

Michel Foucault'nun Disipline and Punish'teki uysal bedenler kavramı, uysal bedenin esnek bir nesne olduğu teorisine dayanır, bu nedenle disiplin gücü kontrol ve bağımlılık yoluyla uygulandığında özne bu tür disiplin uygulamalarının yapısına bağlı hale gelir. Foucault'ya göre, uysal beden "yapılabilen bir şeydir; biçimsiz bir kilden, gerekli makinenin yapılabileceği uyumsuz bir vücuttur" (Foucault, 1978/2012: 135). Bu nedenle Foucault, uysal bedenin isteyerek "manipüle edilmeye, şekillendirilmeye, eğitilmeye" uygun olduğunu öne sürer (Foucault, 1978/2012, p. 136). Bu bağlamda, Foucault uysal bedene egemenliğini empoze etmek için iktidar mekaniğinin çok önemli bir yönü haline geldiğinden, eğitim sürecinin altını çizer. Foucault, bireylerin gerektiği kadar uysal ve kârlı olmak için eğitildiği ortamları -okullar, hastaneler, hapishaneler ve akıl hastaneleri gibi- analiz ettikten sonra, bu tür kurumların amacının gözetimi içselleştirerek, statükoyu korumak amacıyla belirlenenlere yanıt veren istekli, itaatkâr bireyler yaratmak olduğu sonucuna varır. Sonuç olarak, Foucault'nun öne sürdüğü gibi, "uysal, kullanışlı beden" inşası yoluyla, "beden, iktidar ilişkileri tarafından yazılan ve oluşturulan bir" politik alan haline gelir (Deveaux, 1996). Foucault, feminist gündem için oldukça tartışmalı bir konu olan direniş konusunda, "iktidarın olduğu yerde direniş vardır, ancak daha doğrusu bu direniş asla iktidarla ilişkili olarak bir dışsallık konumunda değildir" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). Marge Piercy'nin seçilen romanı, Zamanın Kıyısında Kadınlar (1976), sosyo-politik gündemlerin sadece teknolojiyi değil, aynı zamanda bilim ve tıp alanlarını da şekillendirdiği gerçeğini ima ederek, iktidar kavramı ve kadının kendi bedeni üzerindeki kontrolü hakkında ilginç bakış açıları sunarak, bunun, kadın vücudunun nihai manipülasyonuna yol açtığını belirtir. Bu bağlamda, bu makalenin amaçlarından biri, Foucault'nun beden, iktidar ve cinsellik üzerine kuramlarına feminist tepkileri incelemektir. Daha sonra, bu teorileri analitik araçlar olarak kullanarak, bu makale aynı zamanda anlatıda

kahramanın tıbbi tesisler tarafından ele alınması ve nesneleştirilme sürecini de incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Son olarak, disiplin güçleri ile karşı karşıya kaldığında öznelliğinin kontrolünü ve toplumdaki bütünlüğünü ne ölçüde sürdürebildiği analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Foucault, Uysal Bedenler, Zamanın Kenarındaki Kadınlar, Öznellik, Cinsellik, İktidar, Feminizm*

INTRODUCTION

Michel Foucault is one of the few thinkers whose theorisation on the themes of subject, power and sexuality has immensely influenced contemporary feminist studies. His influence seems so palpable that even scholars who refute Foucault's claims are obliged to endorse his contributions to feminist theory. Today, even more than three decades after his death, Foucault's work still seems to ignite debates over the efficacy of his ideas on feminist theory. While proponents of postmodernism embrace Foucault's thoughts, as they eschew from normative and traditional notions of freedom as well as unity and rights, proponents of progressive politics oppose Foucault's postmodern understanding of body and power, claiming that it undermines the significance of emancipatory politics.

At this point, before exploring feminist reactions to Foucault, it seems appropriate for the framework of this article to begin with a concise overview of his work. His work may be divided into three phases: archaeological, genealogical, and ethical. Margaret McLaren posits that these phases "roughly correspond to a chronological order of early (archaeological), middle (genealogical), and late (ethical)" (McLaren, 2002, p. 3). To begin with, his archaeologies consist of *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), *The Order of Things* (1966), and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969). Archaeology is related to the method applied by Foucault during what is referred to as his early days. The archaeological approach centres on the limitations of thought and knowledge, as it interrogates the underlying foundations behind these norms to ultimately claim that specific types of knowledge can only be known in specific historical eras. For Foucault, these shifts in thought and knowledge are discursive, that is, they constitute and govern what is allowed to be said in any given time. Foucault names these discursive constructions "epistemes." As such, archaeology aims to analyse how new disciplines come to light and how shifts in understanding present themselves. In this regard, as McLaren puts, archaeology is "static" in its method since "it seeks simply to uncover the structures of rationality that make such shifts" (McLaren, 2002, s. 3). In other words, Foucault, in this phase, does not generate any practice; instead, he emphasises the discursive facet of knowledge. Foucault's genealogical works, which include *Discipline and Punish* (1975) and *The History*

of Sexuality Volume One (1976), on the other hand, address ruptures and discontinuities in histories and consequently defy the notion of progress. For instance, Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish*, underlines "the unscientificity of human sciences", as he casts doubt on the scientific quality of myriads of disciplines such as criminology, psychiatry, pedagogy and psychology (Visker, 1995, p. 3). From this standpoint, Foucault, further defines the purpose of historical analysis as "exposing the unscientificity of science", and yet, for him, the real predicament is not the validity of sciences but, as Visker argues, it is "the understanding that the truth-effects of science are at the same time power-effects" (Visker, 1995, p. 3). Foucault elaborates on the effect of power on science by proposing the following:

> It is undoubtedly the following kinds of question that would need to be posed: What types of knowledge do you want to disqualify in the very instant of your demand: 'Is it a science'? Which speaking discoursing subjects… do you then want to 'diminish' when you say: 'I who conduct this discourse am conducting a scientific discourse, and I am a scientist'? (1980, p. 85).

As it may be inferred from the excerpt, Foucault's genealogies raise questions regarding existing practices of science as well as the construction of metanarratives by institutions adopting the dubious discourse of science to exercise power. Accordingly, Foucault begins to conceptualise the idea of power in his genealogical work. His conception of power, as McLaren contends, "is not unilateral; it is not negative, and it is not possessed by an individual or group of individuals"; instead, he argues, power may be "productive and positive" as it is -in fact- "a relationship" not "a thing" (McLaren, 2002, p. 4). This conceptualisation of power, which is also known as the concept of "docile bodies", has been the centre of criticism by some feminist spheres even though it has been effusively celebrated by others. Foucault posits that historical changes in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century in Europe have led to the disciplining of bodies dissimilarly than the days of the monarchy. He explains that the new system of control necessitated the best use of workers for the profit of the state. This new system also needed the obedience of its subjects, which was made possible through the integration of control systems such as schools, prisons and asylums. In the said institutions, Foucault argues, power was exercised as a discipline through techniques including surveillance, as the 'eye of power' in the disciplinary gaze which consequently turned individuals into docile bodies without agency (Foucault, 1978/2012). In other words, the advent of the modern era reflects a transformation from what Foucault calls "sovereign power" – domination through the use of force– to "disciplinary power" – domination through constant monitoring and disciplining of populations (Foucault, 1978/2012).

The third phase of Foucault's work, which is referred to as ethical work consists of the second and third volumes of *The History of Sexuality* series are entitled *The Use of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self* respectively. These works include some essays and interviews with titles such as "On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of a Work in Progress," "The Subject and Power," "The Ethics of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom," and "Technologies of the Self". These works mainly focus on subjectivity, as Foucault extrapolates on the possibility of the active constitution of the subject. In "Technologies of the Self", Foucault describes four technologies; the two which deal with the study of the sciences and linguistics are not included in this article. Analysing the technology of power and the technology of the self, on the other hand, seems plausible for the purpose of this study, as they focus on "the ways in which we relate ourselves to ourselves, to contribute to the forms in which our subjectivity is constituted and experienced" (Davidson, 1994, p. 119). Foucault argues that to contribute to our subjectivity and to move beyond the self, a meticulous self-examination is required. From this standpoint, Foucault insists on intersubjectivity as the core principle of ethics. He describes intersubjectivity as co-existence of self with others (Biesta, 1999). In other words, by finding consolation in others, Foucault demonstrates a way to "get free of oneself" (Bernauer & Michael, 1994, p. 141). He further explains ethics as the "process in which the individual delimits that part of himself that will form the object of his moral practice, defines his position relative to the precept he will follow, and decides on a certain mode of being that will serve as his moral goal" (Foucault, 1986, pp. 26-28). Videlicet, Foucault sees self-constitution as possible if the self is able to deconstruct the imposed structures of society upon them with the ultimate intention of ethical and aesthetic self-transformation. Although this conceptualisation of self appears in his late works, as McLaren puts it, when the work of his life is examined as a whole instead of separate phases, his theories may be read as "contributions" to "rethinking subjectivity", which has enabled many postmodern feminists, as in the case of Judith Butler, to develop theories regarding female subjectivity and its construction by society. (McLaren, 2002, p. 5).

Overall, in his archaeological works, he questions the subject of humanism by emphasising that the idea of unified subjectivity is elusive; in that, it is -in fact- a result of specific discursive constructions and linguistic practices. Foucault's genealogical works, on the other hand, deal with the notion of power regarding subjectivity. He contends that power is not something to be possessed; instead, it is exercised on individuals through norms, practices, and institutions. Finally, Foucault's ethical works address the issue of subjectivity explicitly; by asserting that active self-constitution is possible. All in all, Foucault declares the objective in his writings as:

> To create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. My work has dealt with three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects. For example, I have chosen the domain of sexuality-how men have learned to recognise themselves as subjects of "sexuality." Thus it is not power, but the subject, which is the general theme of my research" (Foucault, 1982, p. 778).

In this respect, it would not be wrong to articulate that the idea of subjectivity is central throughout his work, which is also a rather significant agenda of feminism.

COMING TO TERMS WITH FOUCAULT: A FEMINIST QUEST

Although Foucault did not set out to contribute to feminist theories, his work has challenged conventional ways of thinking about power and subjectivity so substantially that, his theories have become both a source of heated debate and have also provided an enhancement to the understandings of feminist thought regarding the construction of gender, body and sexuality. Therefore, in this section, the arguments of feminists identifying with progressive politics are explained in comparison to the claims of postmodernist feminists with the intent of reaching a more inclusive understanding of both sides.

Even though there has always been divergent approaches and positions to feminist theory, it seems appropriate to state that all of them are political. As Rosemary Tong explains, in *Feminist Thought*, feminist theory "is not one, but many, theories or perspectives and each feminist theory or perspective attempts to describe women's oppression, to explain its causes and consequences, and to prescribe strategies for women's liberation" (Tong, 1989, p. 1). Accordingly, despite distinctness, all feminist positions problematise women's subjugation and seek ways to liberate women from this subordination. From this standpoint, one reason why some feminists oppose postmodern approaches to feminism is that they think postmodernism may merely provide a discursive examination of social construction and that their approach lacks practicality. For instance, Martha Nussbaum, a contemporary liberal feminist, refutes Foucault's ideas on power by claiming that he has developed what she calls "the fatalistic idea that we are prisoners of an all-enveloping structure of power, and that real-life reform movements usually end up serving power in new and insidious ways" (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 38). In other words, she is concerned that the interpretations of Foucault may undermine the value of resistance and feminism's touch with material reality, as they may lead to a path of passivity instead of political activism. Nussbaum, further argues that Foucault's rejection of grand narratives,

his scepticism on the conceptions of history lead to what she calls a "narrow vision of the possibilities for change" (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 40). To a large extent, as a liberal feminist Nussbaum's criticism centres on Foucault's view of power, his concept of subject as well as his rejection of norms.

In a similar vein, radical feminists, too, oppose Foucauldian notions mostly in terms of sexuality, as they celebrate the very concept of womanhood and the body. In this regard, according to Somer Brodribb, a radical feminist, "Foucault's theories of discourse and his theories of power both originate in a notion of self-constructing structures and a conception of the social which has no notion of the individual" (Brodribb, 1992, p. 19) As it can be clearly understood from the quotation, Foucault's understanding of the subject threatens the notion of woman and individuality, which radical feminism depends on.

As for Marxist feminists, they perceive capitalism as the fundamental reason for women's oppression; in this sense, they refer to women's problems as inevitable consequences of capitalism and economic oppression. Foucault, on the other hand, overtly criticises Marxism for its solipsistic focus on the economy. Furthermore, he refutes the notion of historical progress which is highlighted in Marxism. Foucault also rejects Marxist understanding of economic base and superstructure. This is due to the fact that, for Foucault, power is mobilised and cannot be refined based on the notion of totality (Olssen, 2004). Marxist feminists, in return, contend Foucault's theories are not sufficient to explain class oppression and the subjugation of women. Hartsock, for instance, criticises Foucault's notion of power as "unable to account for pervasive, systematic asymmetries of power" (Hartsock, 1990, p. 158). Socialist feminists, similarly, adopt a Marxist understanding of the economy, yet they add the emphasis of sex to their framework (Tong, 1989). Socialist feminists claim that Marxist and feminist theories may help women overcome oppression, only when they are combined. Heidi Hartmann expresses the significance of this combination as such: "The categories of Marxism are sex-blind. Only a specifically feminist analysis reveals the systemic character of relations between men and women. Yet a feminist analysis by itself is inadequate because it has been blind to history and insufficiently materialist" (Hartmann, 1993, p. 191). As a result of this double emphasis on history and sex, socialists feminists share similar concerns with Marxist feminists regarding Foucault's theories, arguing that his focus on local institutions prevents the formation of a more general structural analysis. On that note, Seyla Benhabib, a socialist feminist, hints "The postmodernist position(s) may eliminate not only the specificity of feminist theory but question the very emancipatory ideals of the women's movements altogether" (Benhabib, 1987, p. 222). Suffice to say, she, too, highlights the fact that Foucault's notion of power does not leave any agency on the part of the subject for resistance. In this respect, Benhabib then adds: "For Michel Foucault, there is no history of the victims but

only a history of the construction of victimisation. . . for Foucault every act of resistance is but another manifestation of an omnipresent discourse–power complex" (Benhabib, 1987, p. 222).

In this account of concerns regarding Foucault's theories from different feminist approaches, it is possible to discern some commonalities. These critics take one aspect of many Foucauldian concepts, such as his ideas on subjectivity, power or his rejection of grand narratives and evaluate his approach accordingly. On the whole, there are three areas of controversy which fracture the potential unity between feminism and Foucault according to these critics: Foucault's ideas on subjectivity for undermining the capacity of the subject to resist; his androcentric approach as he avoids focusing on gender and female experiences; and finally, his notion of power as it cannot explain prevalent, systematic imbalances of power globally.

On the other hand, proponents of postmodernism, who embrace Foucault's theories to a great extent, defend them by developing several counter- arguments. To exemplify, for Sawicki, assuming the subjugation of women as merely a result of patriarchal social structures is "an oversimplified conception of power relations". He further states that Foucault's theory on power, instead, suggests power cannot be owned, but it can be exercised and it "circulates throughout the social body" (Sawicki, 1998, p. 164). Therefore, such an understanding of power, for Sawicki, has paved the way for feminists to analyse how women's self-understanding is constructed in relation to institutions which they are seeking to alter, rather than merely accusing patriarchy for owning power over women. Additionally, Foucault's redefinition of the relationship of subjects with power changed feminist understanding when he wrote: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere".

Nevertheless, he still attributes agency to individuals, as can be inferred from his response to a question concerning how freedom may even be possible if power is everywhere. Foucault answers the question as such: "If there are relations of power in every social field, this is because there is freedom everywhere. Of course, states of domination do indeed exist. In a great many cases, power relations are fixed in such a way that they are perpetually asymmetrical and allow an extremely limited margin of freedom" (Foucault, 1988, p. 1). As it can be seen from the excerpt, although Foucault articulates an "extremely limited margin of freedom", he does not rule out the possibility of resistance and mentions several forms of it: "violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation" (Foucault, 1988, p. 12). Accordingly, Foucault's formalisation of power and resistance lead postmodern feminists to seek local reversals of power rather than a universally emancipatory one.

Regarding the accusation of subjectivity, postmodern feminists argue that in his late work, Foucault revises his theoretical mindset to turn it into a more profitable project in the sense of providing more coherent politics. In a similar vein, Sawicki acknowledges that Foucault's later work on ethics "offers a more affirmative alternative to his earlier emphasis on the reactive strategy of resistance to normalisation" (Sawicki, 1998, p. 104). As mentioned before, Foucault has been accused of being androcentric and criticised for his approach on gender. At this point, postmodern feminists like Judith Butler draws on Foucault's work and argues that it provides a novel perspective for feminists to deconstruct the strictness of identity politics. She argues that:

> The premature insistence on a stable subject of feminism, understood as a seamless category of women inevitably generates multiple refusals to accept the category. These domains of exclusion reveal the coercive and regulatory consequences of that construction, even when the construction has been elaborated for emancipatory purposes. Indeed, the fragmentation within feminism and the paradoxical opposition to feminism from "women" whom feminism claims to represent the necessary limits of identity politics. (Butler, 1990, p. 4)

Seen in these terms, Butler seems to seek for an escape from naturalised female identity as, for her, insisting on the category of women, far from enabling an emancipatory cause, leads to the exclusion of those who do not identify themselves in relation to that identity. Butler also criticises liberal feminist approaches as they defend universal feminist identity politics that may appeal "to a fixed 'feminist subject,' 'presumes, fixes and constrains the very 'subjects' that it hopes to represent and liberate" (Butler, 1990, p. 148). Moreover, for Butler, Foucault's understanding of identity, unlike other feminist theories, enables feminists to ponder upon positions that are not fixed or essential. According to Butler, one advantage of Foucault's concept of constituted self is that it paves the way for feminism to "politicise the processes through which stereotypical forms of masculine and feminine identity are produced" (Butler, 1990, p. 33).

All in all, despite not having any interest in gender and receiving criticism from some feminist spheres, Foucault, seems to have offered new perspectives for feminist thought to understand the ways sexuality, identity and the body are controlled by also highlighting the possibility of resistance and social construction through deconstructing historical impositions on the self. In this respect, as a final thought on the much-heated debate concerning the usefulness of Foucauldian notions for feminist thought, Caroline Ramazanoglu poignantly states: "Feminists cannot afford to ignore Foucault, because the problems he addresses and the criticisms he makes of existing theories and their political

consequences identify problems in and for feminism" (Ramazanoglu, 1993/2003, p. 3).

A FOUCAULDIAN ANALYSIS: *WOMAN ON THE EDGE OF TIME*

As has been stated earlier, this article aims to examine the treatment and objectification of the protagonist in Piercy's *Woman on The Edge of Time* by several institutions and the process of self-constitution by utilising Foucault's theories on power, body and subjectivity. The novel presents an intriguing commentary concerning the position of marginalised women, by questioning their agency and subjectivity in the face of technologies and disciplines exercising power both in dystopian and utopian contexts. The narrative, in this sense, shares an aforementioned feminist scepticism on acknowledging Foucault's theories specifically on power and the subject by providing polarised perspectives about the issues of agency, resistance and total emancipation.

Piercy presents the arduous life of Connie Ramos to the reader. She is a second-generation Mexican woman living in New York in 1976. Throughout her life, she has been oppressed sexually and racially. The fact that she lives in poverty adds another dimension to her double burden. She has also been a victim of violence by the men in her life both psychologically and physically.

Moreover, as she is unemployed and uneducated, she is financially dependent on the men who abuse her. As a consequence of her miserable life, Connie develops a drinking problem which leads to violent behaviour on one occasion. Later on, in an attempt to protect her niece, Dolly, from her "pimp" Geraldo, Connie resorts to violence again. Her act of violence is not seen as self defence by the judge; thus, he finds her guilty and decides to send her to a mental hospital. Moreover, her only daughter is taken away from her on the grounds of being an unfit mother due to her diagnosis as mentally ill. In a sense, while critical decisions are being made about her, Connie has been silenced, as Connie is not even allowed to explain her own medical situation. The narrator depicts this as such:

> Man to man, pimp and doctor discussed her condition, while Dolly sobbed. The doctor asked her only her name and the date. First, she said it was the fourteenth and then she changed it to the fifteenth, thinking it must be after midnight. She had no idea how long she had been unconscious. (Piercy, 1976, p. 13)

Moreover, when Connie is admitted to hospital, her identity papers are taken from her in return for a "plastic identification bracelet sealed on her wrist" (Piercy, 1976, p. 15). During her time in the hospital, she gradually perceives that the authorities of the hospital celebrate and reward normative feminine behaviour.

Connie explains it as such: "The pressure was to say please and put on lipstick and sit at a table playing cards, to obey and work for nothing, cleaning the houses of the staff. To look away from graft and abuse. To keep quiet as you watched them beat other patients" (Piercy, 1976, p. 145). The violence represented in the narrative regarding the hospital does not end here; in the institution, the doctors experiment on Connie by inserting electro transmitters in her brain under the guise of helping her to keep violent thoughts under control.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the novel presents a modern society in which the reader observes several disciplinary techniques, which produce "knowledge", such as the court and the mental institution. In these institutions, as Foucault suggests, "power operates from the bottom up", (1976, p. 94) which means that power is a network including local exchanges. For instance, although Geraldo is a "pimp", the court rules in his favour, as he entails a superior rank on the disciplinary hierarchy of the society when compared to Connie who is a poor, marginalised woman. Ironically, Connie is institutionalised for being violent, while all the violence that has been imposed on her throughout her life goes unnoticed by the court, just like her act of sacrifice to protect another marginalised woman, Dolly. In a Foucauldian sense, therefore, it is possible to argue that the reader observes the role of power in producing the truth. According to Foucault, power cannot be manipulated or abused by "someone else". Instead, it is reinforced by every part of society, through "the types of discourse which [each society] accepts and makes function as true" (1980, p. 131). In this sense, Connie's consent on receiving the experimental treatment seems to be a result of the discourse labelling the medical field as "true". Also, the doctors' control over the thoughts of Connie further illustrates how the agency is taken away from her through the monitoring of her thoughts even before she acts upon them, which turns her into a docile body. Similarly, confiscating Connie's identity papers and giving her just a bracelet instead, may be read as the first step of constructing identity, as patients are eventually made to forget who they are in time. As can be inferred from Connie's remarks on femininity, the mental hospital represented in the novel may be an example of institutions adopting , what Foucault regards, a "dubious discourse of science" to exercise power. According to Foucault, scientific institutions manage to discipline bodies in several ways. As for the case of Connie, discipline is exercised by normalising "useful" behaviour, as well as by exercising repressive power to intercept agency ultimately.

Connie Ramos, then, stuck in a mental institution, telepathically transports to a futuristic society called Mattapoisett, with the help of Luciente, who is a resident of that society. This society does not, in any way, resemble Connie's society as it offers its citizens an ecologically sustainable and just life which is made possible through a revolution regarding reproductive technologies. Piercy's utopian society embraces the utilisation of techno-scientific tools to liberate women. As

a result of such technology, birth is taken outside the female body, paving the way for mothers to be equal with fathers. Such technology radically transforms the values of society and almost eradicates the notion of gender for both women and men. In Piercy's utopian society, the women are not reduced solely to their ability to reproduce and neither do they experience the physical disadvantages of being pregnant. The men, in a similar vein, assume the responsibility of the child in a way that has never been socially acceptable before such technological advancement, as they are now able to bond with their children through breastfeeding, too. Furthermore, in Mattapoisett, the purpose of technology and science are determined, just like all policies, by the residents with transparency. As each resident participates in the decision- making process, the possibility of one group to dominate another is eliminated. In this sense, Mattapoisett is introduced as a post-hierarchy, post-gender society, where violence cannot be traced.

Here, Piercy seems to agree with Foucault that change in power relations can only be possible by altering the discourse of institutions. Moreover, it is possible to state that the new reproductive technology represented in the narrative, constitutes what Foucault calls an episteme shift, as it revolutionises the entire society by transforming what is known. The fact that such transformation is reached through the elimination of sexual difference in Piercy's utopian society can be considered as an extension of feminist agenda. This overlaps with the Foucauldian understanding of subjectivity as construction. In this regard, it is possible to argue that when the residents in the utopian society were freed from the discursive constructions of gender, they were able to produce politics outside of a fixed essence, which also changed the division of labour and the social structure of the society. However, the ideal society Piercy presents is -from a Foucauldian perspective- at an impasse for its emphasis on emancipation from all kinds of power. For Foucault, as discussed earlier, the disciplinary network does not take its source from capitalism or any other singular source. In this regard, for Foucault, even when capitalism is eradicated from the globe as in the case of Mattapoiset, power continues to be "self-reinforcing". It contains "internal intelligibility", as he insists "no one can be outside of power" (1980, pp. 141-142). On that note, throughout the narrative, Piercy does not mention what happens if a woman chooses to give birth naturally for the sake of having that experience. Thus, it is possible to infer that to prevent such incidents; there may be a kind of intervention on women's body in Mattapoisett, which may be considered as an example of the invasiveness of technology as Foucault contends all technologies are.

Furthermore, even though Mattapoiset seems to be a transparent and harmonious society, the community is eventually polarised on the utilisation of reproductive technology. On the one hand, "mixers" defend the screening of only defective

genes and maintaining an integrated gene pool. On the other hand, "shapers" favour genetic intervention to create useful traits through selective breeding (Piercy, 1976, p. 171). Luciente, as a mixer, believes that the notion of selective breeding may lead to a "power surge", which in turn might bring about hierarchical structures within the society. Subsequently, Connie, while trying to reach Luciente, ends up in another alternative future where technology has transformed human life radically in a negative way. In this future, the reader is introduced to a woman called Gildina, living in a "segregated and guarded" (217) apartment in New York as a sex slave. This future is presented as totalitarian, sexist and hierarchal. Piercy emphasises that such a totalitarian future may be possible if Connie and Luciente do not resist oppressive domination systems in their present.

Even though Piercy depicts an idealistic and utopian society, she deems it necessary to underline the unrest within it. For Foucault, such unrest is inevitable as he perceives power to be "something which is performed, something more like a strategy than a possession" (Mills, 2003, p. 34). From this standpoint, it can be argued that although the people of Mattapoiset do not claim to have power over each other, they internalise it and use it as a strategy in a non-repressive way to create bodies that they believe to be more "beneficial" for the sake of their community. For Foucault, this constitutes one of the myriad forms of relations of power. Therefore, it seems plausible to assert that Mattapoiset -an ideal, utopian society- founded initially to resist normalisation, ironically, creates its own Foucauldian "docile bodies".

All in all, Connie, who has been oppressed and abused multiple times in her life, decides to resist and make a difference after experiencing the sorrowful universe of Gildina. In an act of retaliation, she poisons six doctors, who she believes to be responsible for many abusive treatments on patients. She, then, boastfully states: "I murdered them dead. Because they are the violence prone. Theirs is the money and the power, theirs the poisons that slow the mind and dull the heart. Theirs are the powers of life and death. I killed them because it is war" (Piercy, 1976, p. 282).

CONCLUSION

Foucault's notion of power is based on the premise that there has always been a dynamic web of relations, exercised by every social organism in society, making it impossible for individuals to remain aloof. These institutions, Foucault posits, dominate and discipline populations through constant monitoring, which consequently turns them into docile bodies without agency (Foucault, 1978/2012). Foucault's description of power as ineluctable, however, is criticised

by liberal, radical and Marxist feminists mainly for challenging the emancipatory agenda of feminist thought and undermining the capacity of the subject to resist.

Even though Foucault is criticised by these feminist spheres, his work on power, subjectivity and sexuality has provided feminist thought with novel theories on the female experience. Also, his theories have proven to be advantageous specifically for postmodern feminists, regarding their potential for developing politics. His understanding of power, for instance, has deconstructed the traditional understanding of the self and enabled women to perceive subjectivity in relation to institutions (Butler, 1990). This understanding of constituted subjectivity influenced several postmodern feminists like Judith Butler to oppose fixed or essential categories of women, which entirely altered identity politics for women. Additionally, in his later works, Foucault redefines the relationship of subjects with power by claiming that local reversals of power are possible (Foucault, 1988, p. 1). This recent definition has changed the agenda of postmodern feminists, as they began seeking local reversals of power rather than a universally emancipatory one (Sawicki, 1998, p. 164).

From this standpoint, although it seems that coming to terms with Foucault has never been a facile task for some strands of feminism, as explored earlier, this article argues that Foucault's conceptualisation of power, subjectivity and body may present crucial theoretical tools for feminists to analyse changing discourses regarding power, norms, identity along with the idea of subjectivity in society to ultimately contribute to the feminist agenda. In the light of this view, the aim of this paper was to analyse Piercy's *Women on The Edge of Time* considering Foucauldian concepts of power, docile bodies and self-constitution. Upon such examination, this article finally concludes that the protagonist, Connie, is not only a docile body who is victimised by disciplinary technologies but also proves to be a subject with the capacity to resist after going through what Foucault calls self-constitution. In this sense, it is possible to argue that Connie, just like Foucault has declared, is able to deconstruct the historical impositions made on her body through her experiences in two alternative universes. Furthermore, her realisation in the end of the novel can be read as a result of what Foucault calls "intersubjectivity". In other words, just like Foucault suggests, Connie seems to find consolation in the company of other female friends living in parallel universes, which helps her maintain her sanity in the institution. Accordingly, at the end of the book, she is able to fight back by murdering abusive doctors and having done this, feels liberated for it. However, it should be noted here that Connie merely succeeded to survive under the harsh conditions of the hospital. As such, it seems unlikely that her position as a poor and marginalized woman will change in the eyes of the society, which can also be read in alignment with Foucault, on the grounds of his claim concerning the impossibility of total emancipation of power. Nevertheless, as Foucault posits, it does not mean "one

is trapped and condemned to defeat no matter what" (1980, p. 141). Instead, it seems that- just like Foucault suggests- the battle of resistance and power will continue to co-exist in every society, at any given time. This was clearly the case for Connie who, regardless of her albeit violent actions to reverse the status quo, was not able to do so.

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*Reflections of the Marshall Aid and the USA: Fakir Baykurt's Amerikan Sargısı (American Bandage)**

Figun DİNÇER[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to analyze how Fakir Baykurt depicts his own ideas and feelings through the peasants' reactions in a village in Ankara, Turkey towards the aids provided by the Marshall Plan and American culture in his novel *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967). He draws the picture of Turkey in the 1960s which faces the Democratic Party ruling Turkey and the acceptance of the Marshall Plan, officially named the European Recovery Program within the scope of which Turkey was provided with assistance. Baykurt focuses on nationalism from his ideological perspective, and the importance of keeping national sources safe because he is worried about Turkey to become Americanized. He emphasizes the importance of maintaining Turkish national identity from the risk of dissolution in the American culture. Baykurt considers the Marshall Aid as a threat to the national values and independence of the country. The novel will be explored under the light of some major ideas of developmentalism and dependency theories and these concepts will be discussed. These theories, the Plan and the Party era will be briefly introduced to have a background for the discussion the novel.

Keywords: *Amerikan Sargısı, Fakir Baykurt, Developmentalism Theory, Dependency Theory, The Marshall Plan*

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Fakir Baykurt'un *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967) adlı romanında yer alan Amerika'nın Marshall Yardımı ile Türkiye'ye müdahale etmesi ve Amerikan

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kültürüne karşı duygu ve düşüncelerini, köylülerin bunlara verdiği tepkileri ile nasıl ele aldığını işlemiştir. Roman, iktidarda Demokrat Parti'nin olduğu ve resmi adı Avrupa Kurtarma Planı olan ve Türkiye'nin de yardım aldığı Marshall Plan'ının kabul edildiği önemli bir dönemde geçmektedir. Baykurt, roman boyunca ulusalcılık, kültür ve değerler gibi milli kaynakların önemine kendi ideolojik bakışı açısından dikkat çekmiştir. Bu sebeple, romanda Türk milli kimliğinin Amerikan kültürü içerisinde kaybolma riskinden alıkoymanın önemini vurgulamaktadır. Marshall Yardımı'nın, ülkenin milli değerlerine ve bağımsızlığına bir tehdit olarak görmüştür. Romanda yansıtılan bu noktalar, kalkınmacılık ve bağımlılık kuramlarının temel düşünceleri açısından incelenmiştir. Marshall Plan'ı ve Demokrat Parti dönemi de bu kuramlar ışığında romanın incelenmesi kapsamında kısaca ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Amerikan Sargısı, Fakir Baykurt, Kalkınmacılık Kuramı, Bağımlılık Kuramı, Marshall Planı*

INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to explore Fakir Baykurt's (1929-1999) novel *Amerikan Sargısı* (1967) (American Bandage/bondage) through the ideas of developmentalism and dependency theories. Baykurt, born in a village 'Akçaköy' in Burdur, is a leftist author. Due to most of his novels with leftist ideas, he made the government restless and was even arrested in 1972. Then, he was the head of the Turkish Teachers Union. He was familiar with village life and culture. He worked as a teacher for a while before working as an inspector for the government. Baykurt emphasizes the importance of being independent for his country; therefore, he reflects his ideas within this perspective in the novel, published after the 1960 revolution in Turkey. That period was still carrying the traces of the former Democratic Party. The main purpose of this study is to reveal how America and the Marshall Plan are considered by Baykurt. It is assumed that the exploration of the novel reveals Baykurt's perception of how the real inhabitants of a village near Ankara have reacted to being made the guinea pigs for an American 'pilot project' conducted in their midst. It might also have the potential to understand the perspectives of Turkish people towards the issue since there has not been much scholarly criticism on this matter in literature. There is no document on any project like the one stated in the novel in Turkey but the fiction gives an idea of how the author feels about the aids and reading it under the light of these two theories presents a different perspective.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ERA AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

We need to have a look at the rise of the Democratic Party in 1950 in Turkey to see the background of the novel. The Democratic Party won the election due to the problems caused by the Second World War and the one-party government that lasted decades. As mentioned before, the mobilization kept all men away from the fields and thus production decreased. The public put all blame upon the one-party government, the Republican People's Party. The economic, agricultural, and political problems in this post-war period help the Democratic party be seen as a savior. From 1950 up to 1960, the Party ruled Turkey when the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine were on the headlines in the country. Mechanization in the agricultural sector with the help of the aid funds and the increased number of tractors meant a kind of revolution with vital changes in the economy. All these changes began to happen in the 1940s.

During the period between 1950 and 1960, the newly accepted liberal economy is only observed in the agricultural sector because Turkey accepts one basic condition: to base the development model upon agriculture, not industry. Thus, by determining the obstacles in the sector, they focus on solving and improving them. So, the primary emphasis is given to modernizing Turkey's agrarian structure throughout 1948-1952. Last two years of this period the Democratic party participated in the program. While modern machinery, as well as modern farming methods, is introduced, foreign investment, private enterprises, credits, and loans entered the country's economy. Undoubtedly the Marshall Plan helps not only Turkey but also Europe recover in economic, political, and societal terms. However, all these changes and improvements are not always welcomed by many people in Turkey, and by some writers like Fakir Baykurt, they are seen as the USA's attempt to colonize Turkey.

Since Turkey's economy is based on agriculture, not industry, the recovery program focuses on agricultural development. Mechanization in agriculture, the USA, will foster Turkey's industrial development as well. Machinations of irrigation are given importance and a great number of heavy tractors are supplied and hectors of land are taken into a plan for irrigation to improve agriculture. Transportation is also given priority in the program because it provides transporting raw materials and productions from one part of Turkey to the other. Therefore, railways, roads, and ports are improved, which is called the rise of a new system of mobility. In 1946, there were not more than 1.000 tractors that could hardly run, while in 1955 the number increased up to 43.000 (Keyder, 2008, p. 162). The state-owned and state-built railroads are now ruled by the Western system expedited the country's invasion as Perin E. Gürel asserts (2017). She continues that "in 1948, the final foreign railroad line was nationalized. Yet, around the same time, Turkey's transportation policy took a US-directed shift, intended to integrate the country into the capitalist system in line with the

Marshall Plan…These highways and motor vehicles soon became some of the most visible symbols of US-accented modernization" (Gürel, 2017, p. 98). American-brand tractors pushed through the Marshall Plan a symbol for literary protest, as well.

The party conducts a liberal economy successfully during the first quarter of its government. While a rapid development is observed in the Turkish economy, indeed, Turkey increasingly depends on foreign sources, debts borrowed, legal and political policies like foreign investment revealed as economic dependence and a threat to Turkish freedom and nationalism. It can be asserted that Turkey goes under the control of the USA.

Agriculture, transportation, mining, and defense constituted the main parts of the aid program which led the way to the dependency relations with the USA. Gabriel Ignatow (2006) argues that "the economic dependence of developing nations on wealthier nations and international lending intuitions can substantially affect public opinion within developing nations" (p. 648). Fakir Baykurt unlike some scholars like M.J.Hogan (1987), Wexler (1983), Gimbel (1976), and Ertem (2009), who approach the Plan positively, implicitly criticizes it. He shows the other side of the coin. Most of the time, literature is a mirror that reflects the social realities of the time in which it is written. Baykurt's novel reveals how America is seen through the eyes of the public as much as the author considers. It depicts his and his people's awareness of their country's dependency on foreign investment and loans. Through developmentalism and dependency theories the novel can be best evaluated and account for how the economic processes through the Plan influence public opinion.

The Marshall Plan, also known as the European Recovery Program or European Reconstruction and Development Plan, was named after Secretary of State George C. Marshall. In 1947, he made a speech at Harvard University during which he announced the plan. From 1948 through 1952, the Plan assisted 16 countries in their economic recovery and gave them over $13 billion in aid to finance them. The immense destruction that had occurred during the Second World War caused such an urgent need for financial and military support. Although Turkey had followed a policy of neutrality during the war and succeeded in remaining outside it, the country's economy suffered as a consequence of the impacts of the war and was in great need of support from the recovery program. Hence, Turkey was included in the Plan later. The mobilization declared during the war resulted in the lack of labor on fields and therefore production had reduced considerably. Turkey faced famine, and many goods were bought or sold on the black market, which provided better prices than the government for the farmers.

Turkey received financial aid between 1948 and 1959 and spent that amount mainly on agriculture, army, and transportation. $62.376 million amount of it was a donation and $72.840 million was a loan. "Main short supply items tentatively estimated for distribution to Turkey for the first 15 months of the program starting in April included agricultural, mining and electrical equipment, trucks, freight cars, finished steel, petroleum products, and timber, which amounted to $58.9m in imports from the US and Western hemisphere" (FRUS, 1974, pp. 371-3).

Seven American specialists came to Turkey on March 28, 1950, to provide technical assistance in the Çukurova and Southeast, Marmara, Ege, and Trakya regions of the country for a better and modern agricultural program. Two months later, 800 kg hybrid zea mays seeds were imported from America to grow and chickens to breed in the Turkish fields. Raw materials, too, were supported by the USA as Avşaroğlu points out:

> "Mining industry was one of the most important areas created by the Marshall Plan for the USA and European companies. The process to accumulate capitals of the USA and Europe would be supported through the machines and turnover imported and raw material required by the countries in question would be thus supplied" (Avşaroğlu, 2008).

The USA controlled the use of sources according to the Agreement for Economic Cooperation by providing financial aid of 351 million and 700 thousand dollars in the scope of the Marshall Plan between 1948 and 1952 (Yücel, p. 67). Turkey eventually became an importer and thus the budget deficit between export and import gradually widened.

Tolga Tören (2006) and Serkan Şahin (2014) summarize the effects of the Marshall Plan on the Turkish economy and these explanations make it possible to understand better Baykurt's perception of the aids as depicted in the novel:

> "Turkey grew rapidly through the plan; however, this condition stimulated the increase in export. The sum spent on imports in Turkey exceeded the sum of export and the external deficit increased in the economy. Turkey that was deprived of economic policies to prevent this case couldn't pay off the debts and had to take a loan again. The devaluation practice of 1946 couldn't meet the foreign trade deficit. Any precaution was not taken even after this practice. Under these circumstances, the economic crisis started to reappear in Turkey from 1956. The USA that took the Turkish economy in hand stipulated to develop a system of economic stability and constituted an institution in the form of Public Debts to pay the debts. Turkey thus became foreign-dependent again, on the other hand, the USA started to intervene directly in internal affairs of Turkey" (Şahin, 2006, p. 164).

> "Marshall Plan appeared as a factor that forms a basis of the dynamic of internationalization of the productive capital. This mission undertaken required a plan to be built to accelerate the process of capital accumulation for Western

> European countries—in a way to create a demand in investment goods produced in the USA—and also create a safe zone for the direct investments of the USA capital through deepening (again) the whole of capitalist affairs in these countries. In other words, the Marshall Plan was built with a purpose to accelerate the process of capital accumulation in Western European countries as well as it created opportunities to utilize the capital of the USA... Capital issued through Marshall Plan opened the way to export of goods" (Tören, 2014, pp. 210-1).

Besides the war-related economic problems, there was another problem both for Turkey and the USA; it was the Soviet pressure and claims on Turkey. It was believed that the US was concerned about Soviet pressure on Turkey, who they feared might turn to the Soviet Union and join the socialist/communist regime. The US, therefore, did not wish to alienate Turkey. Under the Truman Doctrine, the US aimed to extend aid to Turkey for her industrial development, giving emergent priority to Greece (Akçakaya, pp. 81-2). The impacts of the plan as stated by these scholars help to see how and why Baykurt draws a restless picture of some of the peasants receiving American aids. He points out another fact that Turkey would become a dependent country and an exporter of raw material to the USA if she continues to live upon the plan. His worries about the cultural adverse effect are also reflected in the novel. During the time of receiving the American aid, the leftist section criticized that this badly affected social life in Turkey also feeling that the United States became popular in Turkish public. Using American products in Turkey became a sign of prosperity and prestige. In the primary schools, students were delivered cans of powdered milk, margarine, and orange juice for free and started to read American comics and stories of American superheroes, he is restless seeing that all these are new and American not Turkish.

DEVELOPMENTALISM AND DEPENDENCY THEORIES

Developmentalism is an economic theory emerged in the United States in the early 1940s which refers to shaping the future of the newly independent states. It is associated with American foreign policy issues. It focuses on the economic growth of the Third World countries. The idea of this theory is generally referred to as a post-World War II phenomenon (Erik S. Reinert 1). The ideology of developmentalism takes several different forms. The Soviet Union calls it instituting "socialism", later calls "communism". The USA calls it "economic development" according to Immanuel Wallerstein (1974). The US global expansionism and domination of the world find a place in developmentalist idea. The aid is a practical result of this concept by the developed country. Burcu Birinci states that "developmentalism is invented to transform traditional societies into modern societies. This perspective accepts the other as 'tradition' and has a superiority claim on it as a hegemonic system" (2007, p. 18). Then,

ethnocentrism makes up the core of this perspective. Kelley Johnson points out that "the biases and limitations of developmentalism and the Washington Consensus can be summed up with one word: ethnocentrism" (2010, p. 37). The assumption is that if the West's sequence of development work for them, then it should work for other societies, too.

Dependency theory is an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies" (Sunkel, 1969, p. 23, in Ferraro, 1996, p. 1). The theorists argue that there is an important relationship between dependency and developmentalism. Don Santos clarifies such a situation of the aid recipient countries within the dependency theory: "a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected" (p. 231). These concepts are argued through periphery-center terms, introduced by Prebish in the 50s and later used by Myrdal, Cardoso, Frank, Don Santos, Amin, and many others. The center or core as Immanuel Wallerstein asserts (1974) is referred to the developed nations like the USA, while the periphery is Turkey as described throughout the novel.

DISCUSSION

As noted at the outset, there is not any document for such a project in Turkey as stated in the novel; however, the novel gives an idea of how the author feels about the Marshall Plan and the independency of Turkey. Reading it under the light of these two theories presents a different perspective for a better understanding his worries about the country. Fakir Baykurt wrote *Amerikan Sargısı* in 1966 in Ankara while he was working as an inspector for the government. The novel ironically depicts the USA's efforts to help the underdeveloped countries through the Marshall Plan aid. It generally criticizes the implementations of the American aid project, which he thinks not appropriate for the Turkish society. It emphasizes that any attempt aimed to help Turkey develop should be done so under Turkish culture and conditions, not American.

Fakir Baykurt, through the novel *Amerikan Sargısı*, displays his ideas on how the USA is regarded by the Turkish public, as opposed to the claims in which the Marshall Plan and the USA are promoted as a savior for the aid recipient countries. Undoubtedly the success of the Marshall Plan cannot be denied, since the USA contributed to the recovery of post-war Europe, which rose to its pre-war level in a short period. However, the new world order established after the Second World War brought with it the concepts of the developmental economy and the dependency relationships. Using foreign aid, the construction of a new world order and decolonization were fostered by controlling the newly aided regions, including Turkey. It was these efforts at development on which Baykurt

clearly expressed his opposing ideas. He saw it as a threat to Turkish cultural and economic independence seeing that the American economic assistance was welcomed by some in Turkey at that time. He foresaw the possible results of the plan and thus he continued to emphasize nationalism and the value of national sources, including the culture and values. There was not any success reached in agriculture except that industrialization, and Turkey was turned into an agricultural importer after 1954 (Tören, p. 218). For this reason, he used the local dialect to emphasize the importance of maintaining national identity by protecting all aspects of Turkishness from dissolution in American culture.

Baykurt begins his novel by expressing his ideas and feelings about the USA. Introducing the States to the readers, he remarks that American society lives with the constant anxiety of a possible attack on their country at any moment. He talks about the industrialists, including Henry Ford, who are against the revolutionist ideas and movements. They did not hesitate to murder the workers who complained and protested horrible and unfair working conditions. These people also had a role in the exile and killing of the Native Americans. He asserts that President Kennedy was murdered because he wanted peace, and that this was against the interest of a certain group of people.

One of the main characters is Melih Dalyan, a businessman in Ankara. He becomes rich by shipping Turkish mines to the States. He cooperates with the States as a part of the Marshall Plan. He negotiates with Mr. Borger, who is a high-ranking bureaucrat and a representative of the Plan. The issue of the meeting is reconstructing and developing the villages in Turkey. They think that delivering powdered milk to kids is not enough. Some suggest to fly American flags in the coffee shops in the villages or to give them turkeys as a gift. Finally, Mr. Canata, who is Turkish, tells them to conduct a more lasting and effective project. According to this project, they start to work on a pilot village nearby Ankara named *Kızılöz*.

The peasants in Kızılöz not aware of their plans are suffering from poverty but still happy to earn their living honestly. The protagonist Temeloş is the watchman of the village. He is a strong character and not compliant. He welcomes the American guests thinking they will only visit their village not knowing they have a project in their minds. The fate of the village changes with a group of 70 people coming there. In the beginning, they are surprised, but immediately show hospitality to their guests. The local administrators accompany the American bureaucrats, who ask the peasants if they need anything. They reply that they require nothing. They say that the Turkish government is going to give them whatever they need, and they do not need help from any other country. However, Temeloş asks them to flatten the hill in the village. The Americans turn this area into a garden and construct a large gate on which they write "Turkish-American Friendship Garden". They even change the name of the village from *Kızılöz* to

Güzelöz, because the Americans are uncomfortable with the connotation of the word *Kızıl* (red) and its associations with the Soviet and communism.

As part of the project, chickens, cows, animal feed, seeds, agricultural machinery, and methods are brought from the States. In this way, they plan to reconstruct all the villages in Turkey and thus Americanize them. Some of the peasants are happy about this at the beginning, but with time they realize that these new implementations are not suitable with Turkish geography and agricultural traditions, and thus Turkish culture. Temeloş is a leading figure complaining about these new changes. The mukhtar İzzet, the head of the village, and the teacher Cemal share the same unsatisfactory feelings with Temeloş. They think that the best way of helping the peasants is to raise awareness and give them a proper education in all fields. Cemal, for instance, warns them that they might lose all underground treasures since America processes Turkish mines, sell them abroad even back to Turkey and make a great amount of money. The project conducted under the terms of the Plan proves the notion of the dependency theory; the resources flow from Turkey, which is a poor "periphery" country to the USA, a wealthy "core" country, enriching her more at the expense of the former. Americans and some local authorities who become Americanized try to squelch objectors like Cemal. Another teacher Ertan Bey is not like Cemal. He serves the Americans and earns a fortune by searching for mine beds in the country instead of teaching at school. Since Cemal is an opponent, he is relegated. The whole village becomes so much upset by his leaving the village for this unfair reason.

The project proves to be unsuccessful; all the animals die and the pineapples do not flourish. During a fight that breaks out between Temeloş and Danacı Arif, a watchman appointed by Americans, Temeloş is seriously wounded and taken to hospital. Temeloş feels alienated not belonging to the village because he is not let in the garden by his fellow. The doctors try to apply an American bandage, but Temeloş insists on having a Turkish dressing. Meanwhile back in the village, the peasants begin an uprise and destroy everything that has come from America. They change the name back to *Kızılöz*.

Developmentalist theorists "ignored the 'culture' variable, which proved to be a damning error. Probably, developmentalism's early thinkers did not believe they were making that mistake. Economists in general tend to be uninterested in cultural differences, assuming that the "laws of economics" will hold anywhere. The Marshall Plan poured money and resources into European countries that had been devastated by World War II… yet Rostow and his contemporaries did not distinguish between the regions" (Kelly, 2010, p. 37). The same mistake is observed in the results of the aids to Kızılöz people. The peasants demolished everything Americans built and made and even the bandage Temeloş is dressed with. He wanted to heal his wounds with something Turkish, not American. This is a symbolic irony used to show the aid's damage to Turkey. Temeloş's knee is

injured by a guard's American sneakers. Bobby drives him to the American hospital in Ankara. They use dressing and American bandage on which there is the same image of the Turkish-American handshake. This image is on everything including the powdered milk cans and pineapple trees garden gate. However, Temeloş feels alienated and does not feel that he is at home. He wants something his own culture not American. So, the title of the novel suggests that even a bandage used to bind up a wound or to protect an injured part of the body is American and the author, through Temeloş's reactions, indicates his own worries about dependency of his country. Baykurt, as Janset Günaydın (2019) states "emphasizes that Turkish peasants can do everything with their own strength" (p. 52).

The Marshall Plan gave a big amount of money and resources to European countries. "Germany, for instance, can recover economically and grow stronger socially and politically. However, the theorists failed to recognize that redeveloping was easy for these countries that had already developed before World War II" (Johnson, 2010, p. 37). Turkey, unlike Germany, as Baykurt depicts, is not able to develop as the nation is unhappy with the changes provided by the Plan. Samuel P. Huntington argues that quick economic and social change creates instability rather than stability and democratization (p. 38). The peasants are eventually unhappy with the quick and nonnative changes. Even the title of the novel is noteworthy to show this unhappiness: "American Bandage" is a material for dressing or splint not made in Turkey. Temeloş is restless to wear such foreign material: a different cultural one, he believes, cannot properly heal the wounds.

As a result of the Marshall Plan, Baykurt believes that Turkey becomes dependent on the US economically and politically. His feelings might be better explained by the dependent theory developed in the late 1950s by Raul Prebisch (1901-1986), an Argentine economist and the director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. According to the theory, the underdeveloped countries are exploited due to capitalism and this makes them dependent on the developed countries that cause exploitative rules for trade production. "Poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries that then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The 'Value Added' by manufacturing a usable product always costs more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports" (Zulkufli, p. 4).

Samir Amin (1974) states that with foreign investment, it causes a big problem: "foreign capital is invested not in local production designed for the local market but in producing for the external market" (p. 160). His view is elaborately illustrated in the conversation among the peasants when they see the Americans

extract mines in the area and send them to the USA to produce related goods. The narrator satirically states:

> "Since Turkey and America are best friends ever in the world, they do a favor and obtain our mines. They want the poor in the town to get rich. They ship all mines they find and obtain to the States and come back the same ship full of goods cheap there but expensive here…This ambition for the mine is American's not ours. They will keep us away from cultivating and leave us unemployed. When you fall to the ground, embrace the earth because lords do not give you what land of one-acre gives" (p. 103).

Fakir Baykurt's feelings of the social problems that might be caused by American aids might be another example for the notions of the dependency theory. The idea criticizes the relations between the center and the periphery countries. It is a form of unequal international relationship between two countries, one of which is center America, and the other is a satellite or periphery. Turkey is seemed to be a satellite country from a perspective of this idea. The novel tells us that Turkey, as a less developed country, is "conditioned by the external force which is the central capitalism" (Ghosh, 2019, p. 8).

The following conversation among Mr. Borger, the muhktar, and Temeloş is another example from the novel that reveals the basic notion of the dependency theory; receiving financial aids will make the poor country dependent and poorer. Günaydın points out that "the novel reflects that Turkey will pay the price for the Marshall AidsThe peasants are worried about that price, afraid of being in great debt in return " (2019, p. 81): "-I mean agricultural production! Tractor, selector…/-These are expensive things, Sir!/-But you will not be indebted!/-If we will not, then our government will! We manage to live with these plows. We do not need your machines…" (Baykurt, pp. 76-77).

Baykurt states that it is grounded on imperialism, and he asserts that the covert purpose of the foreign aids including the Marshall Plan is to enslave them within their economic grip, dominate and exploit them. The novel is a critique of these relations within the theories mentioned. Baykurt shows that the plan does not work as expected and turns out to be unsuccessful. He uses the village as a metaphor for this idea of cultural and economic imperialism as being a leftist author. The novel depicts how American aid cannot meet its promises and turned Turkey into an unsuccessful attempt because America neglects the local conditions and culture. What's worse, the peasants strongly react to American acculturation attempts. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. This concept is observed in a conversation among the American and Turkish officers during a meeting. Melih Dalyan explains his ideas about the aids and the politics and strategy under them to Mr. Borger. It seems that he draws a picture of notions of the dependency theory:

> "Generally speaking, there is a basic mistake in dividing people into two groups: the helping ones and the helped ones. There unavoidably establishes superiority in the helping ones and inferiority in the helped ones. Because of this mistake, it is hard to make the helped ones happy. Human relations certainly depend on mutual benefits. A country who sacrifices millions of dollars to support aids to others should get some benefits so that she can find strength to keep helping…In this case, aid should be a happy beginning to use underground and ground source potentials of the underdeveloped countries" (p. 19).

America conducts her plans to create a modernized little American model in Kızılöz. It is a typical Turkish village with its people having a traditional agricultural way of living. However, American efforts for the model village project fail, and eventually, the peasants demolish all US buildings and burn down all American crops and pineapple trees even the fields where American seeds are used to plant. The imported chickens lay only empty eggs and the pineapple trees do not bear fruits. In addition to this, the pineapple trees are tropical plants not native to Turkey. Turkey's climate is not suitable for it just like the American attempts to create a new Turkey. The bare eggs, seeds, and trees are metaphors to suggest the bareness of the foreign aid in this country. They clean up everything American in the village and rebuild the hill with the ashes and the remaining from the fire. Baykurt suggests that there is no financial and political benefit in the American aid but damages in all aspects. Some of the peasants tend to behave against their cultural values when they see the American representatives are having wives and mistresses. The tendency to degeneration worries the author saying also the feelings of some peasants who visit the USA. They are taken to a church and introduced to the American's religion and way of life but the narrator is so much restless for their intention of acculturation, saying: "They want us to forget about our traditions and values and convert to theirs and be like them. Is this possible? Who will do it? No way, nobody will do it even Hadji Kadir" (p. 125). Baykurt indirectly warns his people not to be westernized. Being westernized might eventually lead the peasants, the country indeed, to degeneration and lose their roots and origin.

Baykurt foresees the danger in the future describing the peasants' lack of access to their own lands. They are even not allowed to enter the garden where they grow the pineapple trees and build the poultry house full of chickens imported from the States. He points out his predictions by focusing on the Turkish government selling control over Turkey's lands to the Americans in the form of mining rights. Gradually Turkey would lose her independence and national strength. The peasants, in this sense, are disturbed by so-called friendship. Therefore, they ironically keep calling Americans "the Turk's American friends" worrying about being under the sway of them. Baykurt reflects cynicism toward this false friendship: "İzzet said, "We knew Our Aktepe (hill) area became The Garden of

Friendship it's not. They made it American Garden, but we should have known it in the very beginning!" (p. 184).

It can be assumed that he points out America's covert intention of imperialism with the so-called friendship and continuous cynicism that Turkey is not the only country for them. Mr. Canata, the American expert and representative, is finished with the project in the village and now will go to Jamaica. He says: "I am going to Camayka (Jamaica in the local dialect). I will work there…" That is to say, they will make it friend now! In this way, they will make the whole world friend." (p. 178).

Baykurt uses "friend" as a metaphor suggesting American invasion through the aid plan and sees it as a part of the new world order. He is worried about the country being colonized by the States as seeing the other countries suffered from a similar threat and the possible results due to the Marshall aids. Both economy and politics, he asserts, are affected by Turkey's dependent relationship with America.

CONCLUSION

The Marshall Plan is still the subject of much discussion, and its effects have also taken the attention of the scholars mentioned before in the current paper. The majority of the studies on this issue are mainly focused on Germany and Great Britain: there is less research that has been carried out in the Turkish context. The literature review has revealed that the Plan had had a great healing impact on the postwar economic, political, and agricultural reformations of the recipient countries. Regarding the implementation of the Plan in Germany and Great Britain, M. J. Hogan (1987), Wexler (1983), and Gimbel (1976) approach the issue from the economic and political aspects. In Turkey, many scholars have also dealt with the matter from the same aspect, usually underlining the positive impacts of the Plan. For example, Erhan (1996) points out that the US had made a great contribution to the economic development of European countries. More recently, Ertem (2009) discusses the reasons which pushed Turkey to ask for the aid and the positive result ending in economic development and a new agricultural and economic structure.

Amerikan Sargısı, however, uses allegory and irony to criticize the heavy dependence on American aid, with a fear that it could lead to the country's invasion. Both the Republican People's Party and the Democratic Party are found guilty for not being sensitive to Turkey's future. Feroz Ahmad states that "the rulers are criticized for lacking the determination to preserve the country's true

independence"[2]. It is in such an atmosphere that Baykurt seems to feel obliged to raise the Turkish public's awareness of the possible consequences of foreign aid. His worries can be understood well when we look at the novel in the light of the theories of developmentalism and dependency, which have been discussed earlier in this paper. Turkish agriculture, transportation, defense system, and foreign investment had fallen into the hands of the foreign aid tools. The novel mainly reflects anti-American, in fact anti-foreign, feelings across the country. Baykurt, for this purpose, uses an allegorical tone and metaphors to criticize the penetration of foreign capital which will turn Turkey into a compliant ward of American sovereignty. Toward the end of the novel, collective hindsight is observed. He uses it as a didactic lesson for the readers: to appreciate one's own sources and strength. As part of the project supported by the Marshall Plan, chickens, cows, animal feed, seeds, agricultural machinery, and American methods are brought from the States. In this way, they think that they will reconstruct all the villages in Turkey and thus Americanize them. However, most of the peasants are happy about this at the beginning, but with time they realize that these new implementations are not suitable with Turkish geography and agricultural traditions, and thus Turkish culture.

Even the novel's title can be interpreted as a symbol of Baykurt's perspective on the independency of his country. Günaydın interprets Temeloş's response to Dorothy, the nurse: "it alludes to the situation Turkey is in because of the Marshall Aids. The bandage on Temeloş's knee and the hospital he is in seem to symbolize Turkey's situation due to America" (2019, p. 90). Temeloş says to the nurse: "I used to be a strong man like steel, iron and atom! Neither a bandage on my knee nor a drill on my head! Just because of you, I am now wrapped with a bandage and I get roped into your hospital!" (p. 264).

The emphasis on nationalism and the need to preserve national values are reflected throughout the novel. Here the term "nationalism" should be clarified to avoid any confusion. The term has two meanings in the Turkish language to define two opponents; one for the left-wing nationalists (*ulusalcılık*) and the other one for the right-wing nationalists (*milliyetçilik*). Baykurt as being a member of the left group shares nationalist opinions. "Despite philosophical differences within the group, three fundamental elements in Ulusalcı thought can be identified: uncompromising anti-Westernism; externalization of Islam from Turkish nationalism; and ethnic exclusionism" (Uslu, 2008, p. 73). Therefore, Baykurt never suggests that Turkish culture is unique or superior to others as the right-wing nationalists' state. On the contrary, Baykurt puts forward his ideas of the opposition to cultural imperialism and determination to prevent the imposition -by economic pressure- of the culture of a stronger foreign power on a weaker

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[2] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. (Routledge, 1993), p. 141.

country. In his novel, America has denoted the stronger power in Turkey as a weaker country. Foreign aids, like the one offered within the Marshall Plan, function as a means of economic development and globalization. *Amerikan Sargısı* shares the same idea with Amin, who suggests that "the only way for peripheral societies to develop is they must sever all ties with the (capitalist) center" (p. 210). Baykurt shares the same opinion with the Leftists and focuses on Turkish independence.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan from Baykurt's perspective are explained quite differently from the literature on these concepts. His criticism is directed only at a small group of rich industrialists, not the whole American nation. Baykurt defines this system and the Marshall Plan in the introduction part of the novel:

> "Later, in the election they (the trusts) made people put into office Harry Truman, who is cunning like a fox and meek like a domestic cat. And they began to carry out his doctrines and plans. They attempted to renew their (third world countries') defense systems, military uniforms, combat vehicles, and armament by deluding the poor countries with experts, funds, and equipment. The poor countries are becoming armed at an extraordinary speed. They kept 25% or 35% of their budget for defense and left no budget for other services. The countries in which the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan penetrated are storing and storing battle wares produced by these trusts as if they went barking mad".

Baykurt's definition of the Plan summarizes the purpose of this paper. His dissatisfaction with foreign investment and aids is vividly depicted. He notably allegorizes the fact that an important outcome of the Marshall Plan is that Turkey has to pay a price for it. In order not to pay an irreversible price, his characters in the novel destroy everything the Americans build according to the covert aims of the Plan as Baykurt asserts. Baykurt uses Temeloş, the watchman and the protagonist, as an opposing voice to indicate and warn the Turkish society that Americans coming to the village are not "saviors". Temeloş sees them as the enemy when they first visit them. Baykurt's other characters are American-sided and do not give any importance or sensitivity to Turkish interests. In this way, the author tells the reader that there may always be people who care about their interests more than those of their own country.

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The Migrations and the Mass Media; Conceptualization of the Freedom from Fear and Want Paradigm

Faruk HADŽIĆ[1]

ABSTRACT

The paper explores migrations and media concerning the human security conceptualization dilemma. Prevention programs of media propaganda as a separate phenomenon based on proper longitudinal, multidisciplinary research into the etiology and consequences can contribute to human rights. Migration is an essential factor of human and international security, and the lack of adequate normative dynamics neglects human rights accelerating new conflicts. The term migrant, and such homogenization in which a group of people tries to portray themselves as a mass in which all have the same characteristics, goals are fertile ground for expanding hate speech, incitement, and various forms of generalization. Migrants are not recognized as relevant and valuable sections of the assembly with particular needs. Viewing members of other cultures as "enemies" or "others" that can harm collective identity is not a liberal principle but a nationalist one and a significant portion of anti-migrant attitudes are interpreted from a cultural perspective. Discrimination and economic inequality jeopardize the human security paradigm impacting psychological well-being within moderators' influence and in mind attending actual conflicts. The fight against hate speech must be reactive (sanctioning) and proactive media education and literacy programs aimed at the general population. Minimizing sensationalism journalism undermines the quality of public debate and thus, in a way, legitimizes its low level of communication culture in the public space from which it develops, and inappropriate speech flourishes uncontrollably. By accepting liberal principles, states should promote equality and respect for society's identity.

Keywords: *Mass media, Propaganda, Migrations, Human rights, Human security, Freedom from fear, Freedom from want*

ÖZ

Bu çalışma insan güvenliğinin kavramsallaşmasına ilişkin olarak göç ve medyayı incelemektedir. Etiyoloji ve sonuçları üzerine uzunlamasına ve çok disiplinli araştırmalara dayanan ayrı bir fenomen olarak medya propagandalarını önleme programları insan haklarına katkıda bulunabilir. Göç, insan güvenliği ve uluslararası güvenlik için önemli bir etkendir. Yeterli normatif dinamiklerin eksikliği, insan haklarının yeni zıtlıklar yaratmasını göz ardı etmektedir. Göçmen terimi ve kendilerini aynı özelliklere, amaçlara sahip bir kitle olarak göstermeye çalışan bir grup insanın oluşturduğu bu homojenizasyon nefret söyleminin, tahrikin ve türlü genelleştirme biçimlerinin türemesi için verimli bir alandır. Göçmenler toplumun belirli ihtiyaçlara sahip, toplumla bağlantılı ve toplumun değerli bir kesimi olarak görülmemektedir. Diğer kültürlerin bireylerini kolektif kimliğe zarar verebilecek "düşman" ya da "öteki" olarak görmek liberal değil milliyetçi bir ilkedir ve göçmen karşıtı tutumların önemli bir çoğunluğu kültürel bir bakış açısından ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ayrımcılık ve ekonomik eşitsizlik, moderatörlerin etkisi dâhilinde ve gerçek çatışmalara katılma konusunda psikolojik refahı etkileyen insan güvenliği paradigmasını tehlikeye atmaktadır. Nefret söylemine karşı verilen mücadele, nüfusun geneline yönelik reaktif (yaptırımlı) ve proaktif medya eğitimi, okuryazarlık programlarıyla yapılmalıdır. Gazetecilikte sansasyonalizmi asgari düzeye indirmek toplumsal tartışmanın kalitesini düşürür ve böylece içinde geliştiği kamusal alandaki düşük iletişim kültürünü meşrulaştırır, uygunsuz söylemler kontrol edilemez bir şekilde artar. Devletler liberal ilkeleri kabul ederek toplumun kimliğine yönelik eşitliği ve saygıyı teşvik etmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kitle İletişim, Propaganda, Göç, İnsan Hakları, İnsan Güvenliği, Korkudan Kurtulma, Yoksunluktan Kurtulma*

INTRODUCTION

Globalization theorists believe that migrations are just a logical sequence of globalization events and that demographic imbalance and inequalities in life chances are their primary cause. (Cocker, 2006) The 21st century will be a "century of migration," and, in support of that, I emphasize the fact that it is at its beginning there were more migrants than ever before in history, unlike the 20th century, which is larger was partly characterized by refugees as carriers of migration processes.

The media as facilitators of public debate are an essential tool for managing society's enlarging diversity. However, when reporting on refugees and migrants' arrival in Europe during 2015-2016, the media played a central role in shaping these issues as crisis events. This kind of perspective contributed to the public's

negative and sometimes hostile attitudes towards newcomers. Several Council of Europe confirmed it reports an examination of the media's role, the expectations and needs in the communication domain of migrants and refugees themselves, and the community's media responses. Both reports contain recommendations for an inclusive media policy towards migrants and refugees. The studies highlighted the demand for shared action at all levels; policymakers, civil society organizations, public services, commercial and community media.

Simultaneously, the refugee crisis has stimulated radical nationalism, political narratives, xenophobic intolerance towards immigrants globally. Therefore, we can say that the refugee crisis has spurred the rise of populism, that is, that migration is a crucial factor responsible for the growing popularity of the right-wing political option. It can be concluded, based on scientific articles and publications, daily newspapers, websites, and blogs deal with this topic, which was published in 2015-2020, that the notable media role is in the rise of right-wing populism discourses. Although some authors point out that media are the main culprits for this rise, this cannot be argued with certainty because there are not enough empirical analyzes about this connection. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to call media principal "accomplices," co-responsible for empowering populism and prejudice. Thus, the dominant tone in the media indicates a suspicious attitude towards migrants' rationality.

The negative dynamics of the relationship between groups in conflict, except which has implications for functioning at the state union level, leads to psychological consequences on an individual level. In particular, perception of intergroup threat, which is perceived as real, economic threat, a threat of a political nature, where the entry of representatives external groups in the legislative and political structures of the state is perceived as a danger to the survival of one's group, or a symbolic threat, at individuals who feel it leads to negative psychological consequences welfare. The issue of the immigrant is also the sociological problem of the "foreigner." A foreigner is not just a psycho-social category but an ontological category - what makes a man a foreigner? Being a foreigner is a social status that combines the affiliation and non-affiliation of a foreigner. The stranger embodies in himself the unity of detachment (eviction from a particular space) and fixation (attachment to a new spatial framework). However, this unity or synthesis creates new constellations - the distance within the stranger's relationship means that "proximity" is far, and "distance" is close. The stranger always maintains a certain distance from the new spatial framework and people. This internal and external distance cannot be removed entirely.

Given that most of the immigrant population is of the Islamic faith, there are views that Muslim culture conflicts with the West on issues such as freedom of expression, women's rights, and the separation of state and church. Europeans

expect a strict separation of the secular from the religious, and some Muslims find it difficult to comprehend the difference between the secular and the religious (the Qur'an prescribes everything). Europeans demand freedom of expression and tolerance of diversity (and therefore openly criticize religions), and Islam often strongly condemns any encroachment on its truths. There are differences regarding women's rights, but (studying the Qur'an), we can conclude that the position of women in Arab countries is primarily the result of long-inherited customs rather than the regulations of the Qur'an.

If there is more news about terrorist, physical, and sexual attacks by Muslims during the immigration wave in Europe, the public creates a negative image of immigrants. Terrorism usually gets ample media coverage by presenting terrorist violence through horrific images on T.V. and photographs in the press, such as images of corpses, funerals, bereaved relatives, and the destruction of buildings. Globalization and media development have influenced the development of terrorism. Thus Islam is often left with a place in the black chronicles. Migration in the most liberal democracies experienced the cultural threat, with the intensity and content of attitudes depending on the national context and several contextual factors. The rhetoric of political actors and media reports marked with Islamophobic tones dramatically influences citizens' perception of Islam as a unified and militant religion.

In the era of fundamental values, the very notions of trans-nationality and post-nationality are called into question. Such a trend should not hide that the nation-state model has undergone remarkable changes in the era of globalization, becoming less sustainable and less critical for multiculturalism processes. Social identity theory states that greater identification with one's nation is associated with a more significant positive bias towards one's own and a negative one towards an outside group (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Thus, preserving a positive national identity. As an ideology, multiculturalism seeks to strike a balance between unity and diversity in society. This ideology implies the promotion of cultural diversity and insists on equality and respect for all cultural groups. Therefore, it is accepted as a political solution in many Western countries, but empirical research shows that it is more accepted at the political than at the civilian level (Citrin et al., 2001).

Media "hate behind the curtain," through the concept of "mass psychology," regardless of the category of migrants, contributes to dehumanization, loss of identity, even gender orientation through the frame of collective illegal border crossing. (Hadžić, 2020, p. 24) The loud public within mass psychology discourse often reflects the power structures and aided by the detection, external and internal enemies. The migrant crisis triggered xenophobia and the dispersion of anti-immigrant sentiments that became a reference matrix for radical politics.

Anti-immigrant discourse appears in parallel as a form of language use and a form of social and political interaction and the threat of terrorism, which is regularly associated with Islam. The antagonistic stereotypical narrative about migrants starts from the thesis that they constitute a retrograde social group representing an economic and security threat to the domicile population. It is not capable of cultural assimilation in the countries of transit, reception, and final destination.

A new security paradigm in the 21st century deepens from the state to non-state reference facilities. It is how concepts like economic, societal, ecological, political, human, collectives, and global security, putting the individual at the center of events. As a people-centered approach, the human security concept has gained considerable attention recently. The author favors a broad definition; the human security concept provides the means to assess the root causes of conflict, propose adequate crisis management policies, and provide the means to build sustainable peace. (Taylor, 2004) Moreover, human security concept focuses on social and economic issues as they affect the individual, arguing that security depends on the broader and diverse framework of factors that require a comprehensive approach effectively. The Social Report, the UN Development Program (UNDP) in 1994 expanded the conceptualization of security and rehabilitated two fundamental freedoms of the 1945 UN Charter: "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear." Moreover, we can single out seven related human security elements: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, social security, and political security. The democracy, in its arrival, as a promise in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, implies everyone, without restrictions. Everyone who is not the same and not related, but on the contrary, is singular in his human form. This promise is deeply connected with the belief in a different social and international order that will enable the world to be equally developed, be ruled by peace and the absence of poverty, and that everyone has the right to such an order to have the right to rights. It is up to us to ask ourselves seventy two years later why this promise seems not only unbelievable but almost ironic today. In the spirit of that, even earlier recognized right of the individual to "freedom from fear," the author maintains that the media propaganda as a separate phenomenon, deserves to be scientifically researched and recognized.

AIMS AND METHOD

The paper explores migrations and mass media propaganda concerning human security conceptualization dilemma. The multidisciplinary approach to canalysis aims to understand how migrations and mass media are being addressed as essential for the human security paradigm. The literature review highlights knowledge and research gaps and identifies relevant initiatives. The study

problematizes insights into the importance of global awareness and refinement of normative solutions.

MIGRATIONS

Demographic imbalance, wars, and social vulnerability of individual peoples in a world of contradictions between the poor and the rich will continue to result in waves the migration of one people to another. Today's disturbing social and racial reactions may be minor compared to what will happen in the forthcoming future. These migrations are large-scale, they cause social and security shocks, so they are often referred to as "migration of peoples." Migrations are most often caused by wars and then unbearable and inhumane living conditions. Explosive population growth, with declining resources in underdeveloped countries and countries in development, wars, and the widening gap between rich and poor, in addition to the danger from internal migrations and various conflicts, led to mass migrations to other countries and regions. Such an objective state is from individual center power in the West and is instrumentalized by managing migrant flows and waves.

In a short time, from a vain discourse on the need for solidarity, we have societies in which various forms of discrimination are openly accepted, all to preserve "our" identity. An atmosphere of hatred towards foreigners was created. Thus, protests with messages have been held in Poland for years, with messages such as: "Islamic hordes rape, beat, kill. Do not let that happen to you either. Poland must remain Catholic." (Al Jazeera, 2018) In the US, this policy began to be vigorously pursued after Donald Trump took office. Thus, statements, such as that of prominent American right-winger R. Spencer, about how Latin Americans threaten US national identity have become common. The rise of militant and radical right-wing groups in the US is an undoubted fact. (Beirich & Buchanan, 2018) Accordingly, new organizations have emerged, such as the Patriot Front, the Fraternal Order of Alt Knights, which have created new leaders like Mike Enoch or Richard Spencer, who screamed, "Hail Trump!" While European right-wingers' anger is directed at Syrians, Iraqis, Libyans, and everyone else, in the United States, the right has directed its anger at Latin Americans, who, in line with Eurocentric policies, are almost entirely ignored in the local and European media.

Perception of an intergroup threat as a stressor and effect on psychological well-being was a topic explored by groups of researchers in the once very politically unstable and still vulnerable region of Northern Ireland, on the group respondents of the Protestant and Catholic faiths history. It was found that perceived discrimination by an outside group or political experience conflict as a variant of

threat from an outside group leads to reduced psychological well-being in respondents due to increased stress. Simultaneously, this does not necessarily mean real perceived threat, rather than just the threat's perception, which indicates the power of psychological perception of conflict. The presence of stressors related to intergroup threat and witnessing intergroup conflicts led to more robust social identifications with their group, which are the authors interpreted as a mechanism of coping with psychological distress, and what in context socially - psychological interpretation of prejudice, code minority, and majority groups can lead to isolation from the external group and even greater tensions in a particular social context. (Schmid & Muldoon, 2015)

According to the Integrated treat theory, an intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them some form of harm. (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) Constructing immigrants as a group, whether they are migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, tends to encourage the perception that "their "interests, values, and traditions are competing with "ours." It is an ambitious vision stimulating negative emotions, such as fear, and negative attitudes, in the form of prejudice. (Hadžić, 2020) Social identity and the internalization of group values and the external group's perception as a threat, and in the political aspect, the acceptance of more conservative political ideologies that propagate the protection of these same group values, are the primary sociopsychological mechanisms of prejudice. The literature dealing with migration provides an unlimited source of information; however, any research on a phenomenon within the concept of migration is an individual story.

Ethnic discrimination leaves a strong mark on migrants' psychological state, even when controlling other well-known factors that lead to psychological difficulties. Research conducted in Germany on a sample of citizens of Turkish origin (who make up a significant minority in German society) indicates that there is ethnic discrimination and affected psychological difficulties like anxiety and depression, even when they are controlled factors such as marital status, employment, status in the state and personal factors. The disproportion between the acculturation process dominant in the dominant culture and personal preferences of the individual basis is ethnic discrimination in Germany. It leaves traces on Turkish immigrants, indicating the devastating impact of discriminatory behavior migrants even in the case of a relatively orderly and stable community of Turks in Germany, in which new and old Turkish migrants live (Aichberger et al., 2015).

Given the importance of situational and environmental factors on the occurrence of depressive and anxiety spectrum disorders, it is clear that refugees face much more complicated risk factors than general populations, such as institutionalized prejudices, especially in the field of mental health care, disproportionate social

exclusion and economic hardship, and discrimination. Refugees often must accept jobs that do not suit their education level, and in this domain, they experience psychological distress that can lead to mental difficulties (Close et al., 2016). To similar results, Giacco and associates are coming in their review work, finding that for higher risk of PTSD in migrants than domicile populations exists for several reasons. Some of them are variously traumatic events before the migration process, in the country from which they come, like abuse, scenes of violence, war events, and the like, and the process itself transit to the country of asylum and stay until asylum is granted.

We can problematize that society is possible only when people consider a large number of cases from the same aspect; when they have the same opinion about a large number of cases when the same facts give rise to the same impressions and thoughts." (Tocqueville, 1999, p. 368) In every democratic community, one must find the embodiment of the media of state integration and supranational solidarity necessary to form a collective political will for the legitimacy of power. Thus, the state must exist with a human and social fabric consistent with it, as a political entity, within the established solidarity factors. Moreover, "transnational civic solidarity expansion depends on learning processes, and the current migrant crisis can stimulate the perception of the state of needs in which the economy and politics of countries find themselves." (Habermas, 2013, p. 76) It is also undisputed that the degree of tolerance of diversity cannot be unlimited, especially if there is a risk of undermining Western culture's fundamental characteristics, starting with democracy and liberal freedoms.

THE MASS MEDIA

The media presentation of the refugee crisis and human tragedy emphasizes the humanitarian dimension of the events, ignoring the causes and relativizing the security issue. It represents a communication model or media strategy that obscures the model of presenting events (event causes and security issues), consciously mixing cause and effect in programmed manipulation of "confusing" the public. We have the following strategies: distraction (inversion of the issue), producing problems, then offering solutions, gradual strategy in terms of continuous production of free consent, then delay strategy or announcement of unpopular changes, the infantilization of the public - delusion, then emotional strategies (manipulation of fears and emotions), ignorance and mediocrity in which the less educated are the vulnerable target of manipulation and production of consent. In this self-blam, the individual feels that he is guilty of their position and strategy of "getting to know individuals better than themselves to establish control and power over human behavior.

When we talk about the media's action as a mirror of society, we would conclude that the media literally shows us what is happening, without adding information and embellishment, but is it always so? We could problematize that the phrase "media as a mirror of society" can be justified, but not in the sense of its literal interpretation. Thus, media that would transmit or mirror some objective reality, the factual truth about society. This phrase can serve as a guide to a more sophisticated understanding of media forms, organizational and editorial policies of media institutions, program contents, and production-consumption matrices produced through them and understanding the society itself within which economic, political and cultural preconditions for media functioning arise. (Hromadžić, 2014, p. 20) The vital question arises: what exactly do the media publish about Islam, and what impact does it have on the public? To answer that question, we need to pay attention to the wide selection of news in the media. If we connect this with publishing about Islam, we can conclude that we will hear only negative things about Islam in the American and European media, because even the little positive/good news that is published, it is expected that it will be published from the "domestic" area.

There is no policy that is not dependent on the media. Mass media, if prone to populist actors, can facilitate their action and strengthening. Contemporary trends in policy reporting amplify populist speech and create a basis for the rise of populist options (Grbeša & Šalaj, 2018, p. 140). Due to the "intrusion" of the media, media coverage contributes to the creation of a sense of irrational fear of newcomers and harm to refugees, which is criminalized and labeled as a social, cultural, economic, social, security, territorial, health, demographic and other threat. For example, after New Year's Eve in Cologne in 2015, when immigrants allegedly sexually harassed and raped hundreds of girls and women, the event's news became groundbreaking. A subsequent police investigation determined that only three of the 58 suspected perpetrators were immigrants. (De Correspondent, 2016) The results of the investigation arrived too late. Within the migrant wave, all immigrants were considered Muslims, and after the terrorist attack in Paris and Cologne, they have been equated with rapists. It is deliberately creating a parallel reality and even a particular language. So they placed the word refuges, which is a combination of two words - rape and refugee. By addressing like-minded people through profiled media, they created an explosive and antagonistic atmosphere.

One of the possible approaches in analyzing the media's role is dehumanizing migrants as a theoretical framework. "Dehumanization involves denying other people's full humanity and their exclusion from species." (Esses et. al., 2013) In this article's context, the presentation must play the connection between the process of dehumanization and the media role, the most crucial role immigrants as health threats. However, there was little direct evidence for this claim. As a

goal in their research, they set out to determine the possible causal relationship between the negatives media descriptions of immigrants and refugees and the dehumanization of these groups. By observing earlier literature, one could conclude that immigrants' and refugees' negative media coverage is likely to lead to certain groups' dehumanization. Experiments investigated the potential consequences of threat-focused media coverage that immigrants and refugees represent to the receiving countries' members. The threats they made dealt with those that, in their opinion, predominate in the media immigrants are the source and transmitters of various diseases; asylum seekers are, in fact, false asylum seekers and attempt this fraud take advantage of the system and refugee status to enter Western countries; terrorists are trying to enter western countries as asylum seekers. (Esses et. al., 2013)

This study confirmed that exposure to depictions of immigrants as vectors of disease is associated with a more robust perception of immigrants as health threats, which has resulted in the dehumanization of immigrants in participants in the experiment. Furthermore, for the second type of threat, the experiment of content exposure (which portray immigrants as false refugees) significantly increased the degree of dehumanization of immigrants as a group. Furthermore, the third assumption was confirmed and established that participants in the third experiment also intensively dehumanized immigrants after exposure information on refugees and asylum seekers as a group to which to some belonged to terrorist organizations.

The media construction of "hate behind the curtain" on the Balkan route, often unverified information, civic passivity, the indifference of the state, and inefficient system towards the problem of migrants and control mechanisms, as a person without identity, create a "feeling of intolerance." (EU Council, 2015) The media practically create opinions and attitudes on certain topics by emphasizing specific values, facts, or other aspects to which they attach greater relevance than would be done in a different context. In other words, they shape opinions by merely highlighting the problem's specific features as more critical than others, which is why they ultimately carry more weight in the final position (Nelson, 1997).

The media in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) was mostly pessimistic and written in "fighting" against migrants and the migrant crisis. Some of the news had a milder and more humane connotation, such as stories about severe living conditions from which migrants fled and the hope they have for a better life in the countries they went to (Sokolović, 2019), and some expressed concern about severe conditions in by which migrants stay in reception centers and the state and the E.U. do not care for this population. The excessive use of the name "migrant" is also problematic. It depersonalizes a person further, diminishes human

qualities, and views those who came from different parts of the world as some homogeneous mass without a name, surname, and past. "Migrants fought," Migrants robbed," "Fight of migrants," and similar media headlines as if they want to be further deprived of human qualities and dignity. Individual media constantly repeat the word migrant, which is mostly mentioned in a highly negative or victimization context. As reminders, in 2018 year sheet, Dnevni Avaz took the lead in negative announcements on account of migrants, accusing them of uncivilized behavior, use of narcotics, traumatizing the local population, constant fights, and robberies citizens.

On the other hand, many media avoid use refugee terms, thus disregarding the possibility of persons leaving their own homes for fear of endangering human rights or fear for life and security. Let us also remember two articles published in 2018 in the notable Bosnian newspaper Dnevni Avaz. In one, the Prosecutor of the Prosecutor's Office of B&H G.B. told the independent newspaper that a migrant robbed her in a shop in the center of Sarajevo. Although she could not confirm that it was a migrant because the police missed her the perpetrator, the plaintiff corroborated such a claim with a description of the robbers, stating that she is dark-skinned. Other media quickly spread the news in B&H. Another text was published in Dnevni Avaz in July 2018 citizens are informed that migrants from Afghanistan have "the latest hobby "- hunting and grilling wild ducks. The source for such a claim is two citizens who wished to remain anonymous.

The antagonistic stereotypical narrative about migrants starts from the thesis that they constitute a retrograde social group representing an economic and security threat to the domicile population. It is not capable of cultural assimilation in the countries of transit, reception, and final destination. One of the biggest problems in intercultural relations is the experience of intergroup threat. Although the experience of threat may arise from conflicts over limited resources, this experience does not have to be firmly grounded in objective reality or arise from real conflict within the theory of threat. A realistic threat encompasses a threat to the group's economic or political power and its physical well-being, while a symbolic one poses a threat to the group's identity. On the other hand, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes create a sense of threat because they imply negative expectations about the interaction (anxiety) and the behavior of members of the outside group (stereotypes). Stereotypes arise when people are not sufficiently informed about certain groups of people or specific cultures.tabstaStereotypes develop in almost all situations, and one such example is a series of stereotypes that degenerated towards Jews during World War II and Hitler's rule in Germany. Stereotypes always exist, and they arise due to the non-acceptance of specific individuals or groups due to different actions and functioning. According to ethnicity and religion, classification should not exist in any situation, let alone in crises. It is wrong to list any ethnic or religious epithet such as Arab, Muslim, or

Syrian next to the refugee's name. These types of threats lead to prejudice and discriminatory behavior towards members of the outside group, and according to Integrated treat theory, an intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them some form of harm. (Stephan & Stephan, 2020) Thus, constructing immigrants as a group tends to encourage the perception that "their "interests, values, and traditions are competing with "ours." (Hadžić, 2020)

FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND WANT PARADIGM

The Universal Declaration represents the sum of various rights that have historically received their testimonies in the struggle for greater freedoms and a wider equality field. It also contains excellent hopes of that time: that the rule of law is achievable, that no one (anymore) should be subjected to torture, that national and international frameworks are permeable, that people have the right to migration, to a nationality. It is also a list of freedoms that human beings should enjoy in conditions that were believed to occur after 1945, in conditions of lasting peace necessarily.

The most significant causes of large population migrations are, for the most part, security, social and economic-propaganda nature. These causes are mostly induced through crises, wars, and military interventions of leading countries Of the West, guided exclusively by neoliberal capitalism's values and logic. The ultimate value in that system is money (capital), not man. The chaos caused in many world regions has moved millions of poor, displaced, disenfranchised, and vulnerable to leave their home countries searching for a new life. The principle of non-refoulment is a fundamental principle defined by the Convention Relating to Refugees 1951. Protects refugees outside the country of origin from being forcibly returned to an area is the likelihood of being persecuted, tortured, or killed. Article 33 of the Convention reads: "No Contracting State may expel or return a refugee, to an area where his or her life or liberty would be endangered by care- not racial, religious, or national affiliation or because of belonging to a particular social group or a political one opinions." While it is rightly held that poverty is one of the leading causes of human rights threats and that development can break the vicious circle of poverty, in many African, Latin American, and Asian countries, development is seen as a source of violence against human rights. In many development policies of the countries there, development is equated with the following negative phenomena: depletion of non-renewable natural resources; appropriation of the goods of poor peoples; excessive use of chemicals in agriculture leading to soil and water pollution and in some cases disruption of food chains; accelerated industrialization of imported technologies and waste; development of tourism based on the construction of large hotel

complexes that deprive the local population of space and resources, mostly water; prostitution, including children; population displacement, especially of indigenous tribes; mega-development projects that bring countries into debt; increasing injustice and corruption.

There are currently numerous armed conflicts in the world that sample victims and destroy infrastructure and economic losses. Economic inequality is truly globalized and can be seen in every aspect of society, in all sectors and categories. Economic inequality has also increased significantly in all rich countries since 1975, except Germany. Nearly 690 million people worldwide are malnourished. One hundred forty-four million children have slowed growth due to malnutrition. Forty-seven million children are starving, and 5.3 million children died before their fifth birthday, often due to malnutrition. The poverty rate or social exclusion fell again on the level at which it was formerly financial crisis 2008— approximately 118 million people, or 23.5% of the European Union population. In 2016, the proportion of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion in the EU amounted to 25%. (EU Commission, 2017) COVID-19 pandemic with all economic consequences could double the number of people at risk of acute food production and supply crises.

All the above examples indicate that there is a discrimination climate against migrants and refugees. The Trump politics or the French legislative solution restricting the right to express one's religious affiliation in public is another argument. It is hard to believe in the credibility of the argument that dressing members of one religious community violate the rights of other members of society, and the argument about preventing possible terrorism speaks of two things: on the one hand, that society's right to freedom from fear is institutionally questioned. Prejudices and stereotypes about a community are given priority over the concept of social integration. It extends the principle of restricting freedom from France to the entire European political space as legitimate, which will, in the long run, hinder the political integration of the minority religious community into society while pushing freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and even building societies free from fear. By no means do these actions not contribute to society's development.

Democracy is a broad concept. Chomsky speaks of two conceptions of democracy. One conception of democracy considers it democratic society is one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the resolution in their jobs, and media are open. The second conception of democracy is that the public must be prevented from managing its affairs, and the media must be kept under strict and close control. (Chomsky, 2014) What is hiding behind the word democracy is difficult to decipher and, it seems that today everyone tailors democracy as he thinks is right. Democracy concept solely should be

realized fundamental freedoms and human rights. However, is it like that? The call for discrimination is just one segment that shows that man is not yet civilized enough and not ready to accept humanism principles.

The author maintains that national security is an issue facing all people, and national security is the security of a nation that, along with society and the state's security and the state, is a universal good. Grizold (1998) states that national security is an integral part of international security, which consists of generally accepted values by which international entities regulate their mutual relations. In his address to Congress on January 6, 1941, US President Roosevelt listed four fundamental human freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from scarcity, and freedom from fear of arms. This Roosevelt speech served as a fundamental principle of defining human security in the 1994 UNDP report. In this report, it is possible to single out seven related human security elements: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, social security, and political security. (UNDP, 1994) What keeps the Universal Declaration in the form of a promise? In addition to the fact that it has never become a legally binding document, it could be said that its spirit, rather than its word, is what is left as a pledge to the world that is yet to come. Its implicit assumption, caused by the specific circumstances in which it arises, is that world peace is necessary so that everyone in the human community can have the right to life. To have the right to life, live it, is a condition of the possibility of any other right, and then of any duty towards the communities we elect and to which we belong.

The Universal Declaration is often presented as the last in a series of great charters of liberties. Its language and framework lean on the aspirations that first took shape in the Magna Carta and were further articulated by the 17th and 18th centuries' famous declarations. The preamble confirms this: in it, we find various strongholds of previous attempts to reach binding formulations of freedom and equality - equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family which are taken as the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world; the right to rebel against tyranny and oppression and the demand that human rights be protected by the rule of law; belief in the inherent dignity and value of the human person and the equal rights of men and women. (Singh, 2015) The context in which the Universal Declaration was drafted causes the preamble to emphasize the necessity of friendly relations between nations and freedom from fear and scarcity, which should belong to every human being.

However, we should raise the question of the importance of human security and determine whether it is functional. Namely, today, most of the world's armed conflicts are fought in sub-Saharan Africa, challenging to control or end. Rising poverty, declining GDP, and minimal aid do not provide much peace, especially

given the abundance of cheap weapons and experiences from previous wars. Besides, the rise in wars exacerbates the conditions that led to the conflict's onset, creating a classic "conflict trap" that poses a significant challenge to maintaining peace treaties (Kerr, 2010, p. 116). We need to seeks to present current issues related to the definition of human security. "If human security applies to everything, it does not apply to anything." (Starcevic, 2015) The already mentioned controversies regarding the definition of human security have led to the following dilemma: should migration be considered a security issue, or is it a natural phenomenon? Namely, the whole concept is insufficiently defined, precise, and incorrect, so it encompasses almost everything and does not imply anything. When we talk about liberation from need, we want to look for ways to keep and deny access to basic needs. Moreover, relieving fear means that no one should be afraid of their government, armed forces, unduly acting police, or even their neighbors.

CONCLUSION

It is important to emphasize that migration is an essential factor of human and international security, and the lack of adequate normative dynamics neglects human rights and accelerate new conflicts. Social identity and the internalization of group values and the external group's perception as a threat, and in the political aspect, the acceptance of more conservative political ideologies that propagate the protection of these same group values, are the primary sociopsychological mechanisms of prejudice. The dominant tone in the media indicates a suspicious attitude towards migrants' rationality. The term migrant, and such homogenization in which a group of people tries to portray themselves as a mass in which all have the same characteristics, goals are fertile ground for expanding hate speech, incitement, and various forms of generalization.

Refugees and migrants are not recognized as relevant and valuable sections of the assembly with particular interests and needs (e.g., concerning information on rights, resources, and duties, and the opportunity to develop a voice that can be heard). Everyone is a political subject because the right to life is a political right, regardless of socioeconomic status within the right to a good life concept, which implies a list of possibilities and privileges that are named and recognized by the Universal Declaration. Viewing members of other cultures as "enemies" or "others" that can harm collective identity is not a liberal principle but a nationalist one, and a significant portion of anti-migrant attitudes are interpreted from a cultural perspective. In addition to the threat of terrorism, which is regularly associated with Islam, general decline in citizens' feelings of security, and anti-immigration attitudes and prejudices are often reflected through contextually and

group- specific stereotypes. We have a rise of stereotypes that represent a generalization based on limited experience.

Ethnic discrimination and economic inequality jeopardize the human security paradigm impacting psychological well-being within moderators' influence and in mind attending actual conflicts. This type of stress further undermines the individual's psychological stability. The fight against hate speech must be reactive (sanctioning hate speech in public space and removal malicious content from the media and social networks) and proactive media education and media literacy programs aimed at the general population. The freedom of expression does not include the right to hate speech. In parallel with the prevention of hate speech, raising quality standards, and social responsibility, media should be imperative. Minimizing sensationalism journalism undermines the quality of public debate and thus, in a way, legitimizes its low level of communication culture in the public space from which it develops and inappropriate speech, even hate speech, flourishes uncontrollably.

Prevention programs of media propaganda as a separate phenomenon based on proper longitudinal, multidisciplinary research into the etiology and consequences can contribute to human rights and human security. By accepting liberal principles, states should promote equality and respect for society's identity. Public policies should promote not only economic but also cultural and intangible equality. The initiative to begin affirmative actions and migrants' participation in socio-economic and political systems means realizing the preconditions for cultural integration, which is critical.

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Language and Violence in Edward Albee's The American Dream

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ABSTRACT

Family dysfunction has been a recurrent dramatic theme which has attracted a great deal of attention in both the modern and the postmodern era. In an unfortunate sort of way, most of the families in the 20th century plays are unable to function the way they are supposed to. The family members to whom the audience is introduced cannot attain peace and harmony; they are entangled in a seemingly endless struggle for power and control; and, at times, it gets closer to a Machiavellian world where one pitilessly deceives the other, following a series of dishonest strategies and tactics. Alps on alps arise when one can find no single character who might be referred to as an 'ideal person', as 'an example of who and what individuals should all aspire to be'. Being in the presence of others, being with the other human beings, which is the actual basis of social life, is what becomes problematic as an existentiale. Hell is nothing, but being with the other or the others, in Jean Paul Sartre's terms. The apparently stuck characters, who struggle to acquire an identity by avoiding victimization and nothingness, are not able to move forward in the existential hell of self-conscious paralysis. Moreover, due to the disappearance of individualism in a mechanized and standardized society, individuals tend to show extreme kind of behaviours. The old and honest American Dream is replaced by a new society concerned with consumerism; and, as a matter of fact, 'language and violence' comes to the forefront as an important point worthy of attention. The issue of verbal violence, which revolves around statements with negative connotations, brings with itself domestic problems waiting to be solved. The actions, reactions and interactions, which stand in stark

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contrast to the socially acceptable norms and values, are important, as they constitute the material to dig and delve deep into the deeds done for dominance, and as they are rich enough materials to bring out the diversions from the ideal family picture. This study focuses on one of Edward Albee's most famous works, *The American Dream*, examines the family, the paradoxical union, as portrayed in a modern wasteland, and explains the forms and consequences of violence, most specifically the verbal violence.

Keywords: Family, Language, Violence, Existentialism

ÖZ

Aile disfonksiyonelliği, hem modern hem de modern-sonrası çağda üzerinde yaygın olarak durulan bir tema olmuştur. 20. yüzyıl oyunlarında öne çıkan ailelerin çoğu, talihsiz bir şekilde, olması gerektiği gibi işleyememektedir. İzleyici karşısındaki aile fertleri, barış ve uyum sağlayabilme konusunda yetkin değillerdir; güç ve kontrolü ele geçirebilmek için, sonu gelmeyen bir savaşa tutulmuşlardır; ve, yaşamakta oldukları dünya, zaman zaman, birinin bir diğerini, birtakım aldatıcı stratejiler ve taktikler kullanarak acımasızca kandırdığı Makyavelci bir dünyaya doğru yaklaşır. Oyunlarda, 'ideal bir kişi', 'kim ve nasıl bir insan olunması gerektiğini gösteren bir örnek' bulunmadığı hallerde, durum daha da ciddi bir şekil alır. Bir var oluş hali olarak sorun teşkil eden şey, sosyal yaşamın temelini oluşturan, başka bireylerin huzurunda olma, başka insanlarla bir arada olma durumunun kendisinden başka bir şey değildir. Jean Paul Sartre'a göre, cehennem, diğer kişi ya da kişilerle bir arada olma halidir. Esaretten ve hiçlik duygusundan sakınarak, bir kimlik edinme çabasında olan, kilitlenip kaldıkları aşikâr olan karakterler, bilinçlerinin adeta felç olduğu varoluşsal cehennemde yol alamamaktadırlar. Ayrıca, makineleştirilmiş ve standardize edilmiş bir toplumda bireyselliğin yerle bir edilmesiyle bağlantılı olarak, insanlar uç noktalarda olan davranışlar sergileme eğilimindedirler. Eski, dürüst Amerikan Rüyası'nın yerini, tüketicilikle meşgul yeni bir toplum almıştır; ve, doğal olarak, 'dil ve şiddet' üzerinde durulması gereken bir konu olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Negatif çağrışım yüklü ifadeler etrafında dönüp dolaşan, sözsel şiddet konusu, beraberinde çözülmesi gereken ailevi problemler getirmektedir. Baskın karakter olmak için başvurulan davranış modellerini irdeleyebilme, ve ideal aile tablosundan sapmaları ortaya koyabilmeleri açısından yararlı malzemeler sağladıkları için, toplum tarafından kabul gören norm ve değerlere tezat teşkil eden eylemler, tepkiler ve etkileşimler araştırılması gereken bir konudur. Bu çalışma, Edward Albee'nin en ünlü eserlerinden olan *The American Dream* adlı oyuna odaklanarak, paradoksal bir birlik haline dönüşen aile kurumunu, modern ancak çoraklaşmış ortamında incelemektedir ve büyük ölçüde, söze dayalı olan şiddetin şekillerini ve sonuçlarını ele almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile, Dil, Şiddet, Varoluşçuluk

INTRODUCTION

Modern American drama has frequently dealt with families that stand in stark contrast to traditional ones. Since reciprocal responsibilities are sometimes disregarded, individuals living under the same roof come face to face with nothing, but problems. Successions of empty clichés, which under normal circumstances are considered as disturbing utterances, are heard; and, ideal qualities – such as democracy, honesty, morality, standards, conventional values, acceptable behaviours, positive feelings, liberality of spirit, and peace and generosity of mind – no longer reign. What is significant about some of the 20th century plays is that no healthy connection can be maintained among family members. What subsequently turns everything upside down is the impaired functioning within the unit; and, families which exist outside the clear-cut 'normal' boundaries, which do not act by following a shared commitment to the mutual relationship, cannot escape the risk of being doomed to failure. There is a common fallacy about the ideal American family; and, the family members are only united due to the compelling force of habit; and, the familial unit is, simultaneously and paradoxically, the source of both pain and consolation.

In the plays which are labeled 'modern', the standard or naturalistic conventions of plot, characterization, and thematic structure are distorted for the sole purpose of conveying the irrational or fictitious nature of reality, and the essential and inevitable isolation of humanity in a senseless world. The major aim behind all these is to examine the absurdity of the human condition and expose the experiences of alienation, insanity, and despair inherent in modernity. To achieve the desired dramatic effect, the futility of human struggle is portrayed by bizarre or fantastic means, deliberately confusing actions, and disjointed and repetitive kind of dialogues. Encompassing the work of playwrights as divergent as Samuel Beckett, Eugène Ionesco, Jean Genet, and Harold Pinter, the dramatic movement of 'absurdism' is greatly influenced by Existentialism; and, belonging to the category of the 'theatre of the absurd', Edward Albee incorporates ridiculous, incongruous, and inappropriate elements – details contrary to all reason or common sense – into his plays which, at certain stages, prove Jean Paul Sartre's conviction that "Hell is – other people!" (Sartre, n.d., p. 47).

As in Eugene O'Neill's and Sam Shepard's family plays, an aspect that attracts attention in Albee's *The American Dream* is the victimization of the other, and thus, man's struggle to avoid victimization by the other. Man desperately tries to find something to hold on to, something to cling to, something that can count as a raison d'être in an age of loneliness, alienation, dehumanization, and estrangement. To be able to escape the victimization of the other – the other man, or the society in general – one has no alternative apart from victimizing the other, and thus, hell becomes nothing, but the other or the others, in Sartre's terminology. With the intention of avoiding non-being, the characters rebel to be

victimized by external forces, by threats coming from outside. They, heart and soul, struggle to establish an identity to avoid nothingness. The family's mutually destructive dependency on one another is the symbiotic nightmare of the family. Between the members of the family, there is an essential relationship of dependence; each provides for the other the conditions which are necessary for a continued existence.

Although the name of the monster is never explicitly stated, or verbalized in the plays, its characteristics indicate that it is capitalism, which is the economic, political and social system based on private ownership of property, business and industry to make the greatest possible profits. The ruthless economic system, the quest for higher profit margins, the excessively greedy mindsets, the extreme wish for material gain, the revealing of the materialistic side, the lust for money, and the idolization of wealth all combine to create a numb society, which is devoid of feeling; and, the callous individuals in the dominant roles struggle to have the utmost power and privilege. What is more, the ideological differences between generations have the tendency to take the matter to different dimensions; and, the extent of the American Dream – a dream which inherently prioritizes liberty, justice, fairness, and equality over money – may differ for each member of a family, and eventually lead to disagreements, and verbal fights in domestic environments. Instead of struggling to encapsulate and pursue the American Dream, individuals with exaggerated entrepreneurial spirits tend to head towards some other directions. The result is the complete distortion, the perverted version of the American Dream. With the circumstances being so, the ones who are under pressure choose to speak in the language of violence.

THE MATRIARCHAL COMPLEX AND THE STRATEGIES FOR DOMINANCE

Drama is nothing, but "a mimesis of real life"; "[t]he theatre is a simulacrum" of the actual world and actual life; and, this is the reason why Antonin Artaud, the Surrealist 'prophet', "called his book *The Theatre and Its Double*" (Esslin, 1988, p. 176). According to Artaud, who is one of the main inspirations of the theatre of the absurd, and who is known for his 'theatre of cruelty', it is a fatal mistake to separate theatre from life. Likewise, in his play *The American Dream* – which was first produced at the York Playhouse, New York City, on January 24, 1961 (Albee, 2007, p. 97) – Albee presents the audience with a broad canvas of real life, the sacrosanct fraud of an American family, a picture of modern times which shows the anguish of all; and, as a matter of fact, 'language and violence' emerges as a defining theme which deserves considerable attention. In Albee's work, it is possible to sense the ideas of Artaud, who – in an open letter to the schools of Buddha – rejects logic and reason as "the chains that bind us in a petrifying

imbecility of the mind" (as cited in Innes, 2005, p. 59). In the play under scrutiny, misdeeds spring from mistaken mentalities; and, one exerts strong authoritarian control over the others, and keeps on carrying out verbal violence, in a quite determined way.

The moment *The American Dream* – which is a play in one, uninterrupted scene – opens, the audience is invited into the house of three cartoonishly exaggerated characters: A terribly efficient, selfish, catty, dominant, and sadistic Mommy; a vague, inept, enfeebled, and emasculated Daddy; and, a witty, wise-cracking, and embittered Grandma, who is the only sensible character who gives a semblance of meaning to the rest, and who later reveals herself as an enlightened critic. Their comical use and abuse of language is not a consequence of linguistic incompetence at all; it is a planned and "concerted effort" to free their selves from the "human obligations" which are "implied by communication" (Berkowitz, 1992, p. 128). What is unusual about the names of the characters is that the married duo has no proper names; the nameless characters are defined by their place within the family structure, which also adds gravity to the chaotic atmosphere of the play, perhaps hinting at or highlighting the lack of genuine intimacy between the members of the family. The situation of having no specific names provides the audience with a certain clue, with a certain impression, from the very beginning that the story is to be unfolded and told from their child's perspective.

Throughout the play, what catches most of the attention is Grandma's defenses against the violence of social intercourse. Mommy makes Grandma's life nearly impossible in the "stuffy apartment of Ionesco motifs", somewhere within which Albee "places a family in the American grain, with its areas for senior citizens, and its focus on money" (Cohn, 1969, p. 12). It is a play where talks of "twenty-five thousand smackerolas" can be heard; it is a play where, instead of words of affection, a statement like "Money talks" can echo (Albee, 2007, p. 137). During the encounter with Mommy's sadism, one can do nothing apart from accepting her as she is, because it seems to be the only way out. Even when there is some kind of logic in her mania, which is seldom, it is not easy to ignore her monster-like attitudes, and the sadistic pleasure she gets from being the one who is in control of the situation. In order to check how carefully Daddy listens to the nonsense she talks, she repeats the same pair of questions: "What did I say? What did I just say?" (pp. 100-101). She does all these just to cause trouble for Daddy.

With language being "employed as dialectic" and as a way of "exorcism", new positions are reached by testing some opposing views against each other. The metaphysics of cliché is used to show "the sterile and outworn lives" of the couple (Oberg, 1966, p. 142). The apartment is "an emotional void", a blank space which "sterilizes and petrifies the manners and ceremonies of human life"; and, the couple's "vague [and] cliché-filled" dialogue is "a measure of the vacuum" in

which they are condemned to live, "of the absence of essential contact" between two people "reduced to suffering" each other's presence (Debusscher, 1967, pp. 37-38). In this context, Sartre's ideas about the look and the perpetual ontological fight of being caused to see oneself as an object from the eyes, from the view, of another consciousness, and his *Huis Clos (No Exit)* – the predecessor of the theatre of the absurd, and the source of his famous quotation about the source of 'hell'– constitute another point of departure for the explanation of the relationships in the play. Being squeezed into a claustrophobic room with some others, Sartre's hero, Garcin, takes it from an existential standpoint, and concludes with the key statement of the play:

> I'm looking at this thing . . . and I understand that I'm in hell . . . [E]verything's been thought out beforehand . . . [A]ll those eyes intent on me. Devouring me . . . Only two of you? I thought there were more; many more. So this is hell. . . . You remember all we were told about the torture-chambers, the fire and brimstone, the 'burning marl.' Old wives' tales! There's no need for red-hot pokers. Hell is – other people! (Sartre, n.d., pp. 46-47)

In parallelism with these explanations, in Albee's play, Mommy creates a hell-like living environment for both her mother and her husband. Because of its strident – loud and forceful – tone, exaggerated sarcasm, shrillness, and even derision, Mommy's way of talking distinguishes itself as the most aggressive one in the house. Her speech, which is utterly unpleasant and painful to listen to, has an incredible capacity for violence. As in Sartre's play, their hell is not a fiery furnace with flames, but a hell of psyche, a hell of their imprisoning mind.

The polarity embodied in Mommy and her mother reaches unprecedented heights. With her plots, intrigues, and sheer egotism, the disciplinarian and tyrannical Mommy frequently threatens Grandma with a man in a van – an imaginary, 'made-up' figure – who will cart her away, to a nursing home: "Well, why don't you call a van and have her taken away?" (Albee, 2007, p. 120) "Away you'll go; in a van" (p. 130). Underneath her skin is her murderous malice. Her speech is shaped by hyperbole; she speaks in such a misleading way that she makes herself sound bigger than everyone else, better than everyone else, and much more important than her real self. She wants to make life convenient for herself, even if this means getting rid of Grandma, who has become nothing, but a nuisance in her eyes. Mommy rebukes Grandma for reading her "book club selections" (p. 104), stubbornly devalues her words, and generally attacks her with her imperative kind of sentences. Mommy, who cannot stand Grandma's constant "housework" (p. 105), exists just to exert her will on others, and gets

satisfaction by insisting on her own ways. Mommy, whose unswerving intentions are disturbing to the senses, has a natural talent for asserting her will. She discusses Grandma's toilet habits, worries about her vocabulary, and comments on the borrowed language she uses and says, "I don't know where she gets the words; on the television, maybe" (p. 121). Her violence is crystal clear when she says, "Daddy, go break her television" (p. 123); and, from this quotation, one can infer that the mother-daughter relationship is rotten to the core. The audience is confronted with repetition as a kind of hell.

In Albee's words, *The American Dream* is "an examination of the American Scene, an attack on the substitution of artificial for real values in our society, a condemnation of complacency, cruelty, emasculation, and vacuity; it is a stand against the fiction that everything in this slipping land of ours is peachy-keen" (as cited in Shiach, 2007, p. 43). In this critique of the American way of life, Mommy – the archetypal, consummate 'bad mother' – not only dismisses her mother, but also infantilizes and emasculates Daddy, who is a man stranded in a house of women. Mommy and Daddy seated on either side of the living room, talking aimlessly, obviously reminds the audience of the setting and the dialogue of Mr. and Mrs. Smith at the beginning of Eugène Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano*. Some details which call to mind the Ionescoean techniques – the use of props, the proliferation of objects such as Grandma's innumerable boxes, the act of toying with the language, the pointless anecdotes and refrains, and the meaningless nuances such as "beige", "wheat" or "cream" – unite to create an atmosphere of violence. With her self-indulgence in triviality, the phobic Mommy forces Daddy to echo her banal and seemingly pointless story about the "beige hat", reduces him to her diligent listener, chastises him for his inattentive listening, tells him to "[p]ay attention" while listening, prompts and repeats his speech in a patronizing manner, turns him into an acoustic mirror, terrorizes him into obedience, tries to reduce him to unmanly impotence, bullies him, dismisses and makes fun of him with a laugh, and always uses forceful speech to rule him (Albee, 2007, pp. 99-101). What she wants is getting satisfaction in being heard. She quite well knows that the hat she took back to the shop and the hat she was given in exchange for it are the same, but this is no problem for her, as all that matters is the act of acting, the act itself. She avoids taking chances, and carefully watches for signs of regression. There is much beneath the surface of the perverse reversal of the side of authority, and the matriarchal complex, which reduces the head of the family to someone so ineffective and so insignificant. Mommy's ruthless attacks on Daddy absolutely show a disregard for his personality.

The liberation movements in the mid-century legitimized various kinds of personal expression. "Women's position in society was [altogether] transformed . . . because of changes in employment . . . and the demands of feminism" (Unwin, in Unwin & Woddis, 2001, p. ix). The institution of the family, which was the

narrowly defined basic unit of society, transformed into something multi-formed and diverse. In the house where they have to live under the same roof, Grandma even calls Mommy "a tramp and a trollop". It is such a chaotic place that she even expresses her disapproval about Daddy's marriage to her demonic daughter (Albee, 2007, p. 107). Mommy, who has a pathological obsession with authority, continuously assaults Daddy, mocks his aspirations, and ridicules his manliness with her encouragement. For instance, when the doorbell rings, the sentence uttered by Mommy – "Open the door" (p. 110) – is one sign of Mommy's domination in the house. Having withdrawn into a self-absorption from which they stir themselves only with intense difficulty, it takes the masochistic Daddy – who waffles on whether or not to open the door, and who in so many ways acts as Mommy's subordinate – several pages to gather up the energy, determination, and doggedness to head towards the door, and answer the ringing doorbell. His pathetic attempt to prove his oppressed masculinity is quite obvious when he goes to open the door, and when he says, "Was I firm about it?", "[W]as I decisive?" "And masculine? Was I really masculine?" Mommy's praising of Daddy's 'firm' masculinity – "[Y]ou were masculine. . . . [S]o masculine" (pp. 110-111) – is nothing other than a nauseating flattery. There is a hypnotic quality about the dialogue; and, the hysterical wife's extended form, or possibly storm, of encouragement to open the door and demonstrate his strength and masculinity is an attempt which emasculates the father further and further. While opening the door, his masochism is made even more explicit; he submits to the particular demonstration of manliness that his wife stubbornly demands. This ritual of demonstration and the humiliation which follows are typical of masochistic fantasy.

The reason behind Mommy's selfishness is her perverted sexual instincts. She castrates Daddy's masculine superiority as delicately as "the doctors took out something that was there and put in something that wasn't there" (Albee, 2007, p. 117). Just because Grandma calls Daddy "a hedgehog" (p. 120), Mommy – who thinks that she picked up the word from nowhere, but television – orders Daddy to shake her television's tubes loose. This latter point also includes elements of violence within itself; the reason becomes clear when Daddy reacts by telling her not to "mention tubes to [him]". Daddy "has tubes now", where he once had tracts (p. 121). Related to this poignant reminder, related to the destructive capacity of language, there is a further point on which emphasis needs to be placed: In order to torture their guest, Mrs. Barker, a number of conversational games are staged; and, resembling the ways of a maniac, Mommy not only insists that Mrs. Barker not smoke, but also sarcastically muses on her good fortune in marriage. Mommy could have married a man "who was poor", "argumentative", or consigned to "a wheelchair". Obviously, recalling Mrs. Barker's invalid husband, and thus, causing a sharp feeling of sadness, Mommy feels horror deep inside; and, Mrs. Barker, "forcing a smile", tells her to forget

about it. The sudden crude revelations of unspoken impulses make the place even more hell-like. While commenting on the random words she used about not having a husband sitting in a wheelchair, Mommy switches to another language which involves blood and savagery: The audience is exposed to totally violent imagery when she says, "I could cut my tongue out!" (p. 123). As a reaction to this, Mrs. Barker, an ingenuous outsider who apparently cannot stand games, becomes frail and almost faints, as a result (p. 124). Feeling obliged, the immature Daddy, who never has anything important to say, tries in his own way to be a kind and adorable husband. He has almost succeeded in doing that; however, "psychologically, he is already in a 'wheel chair'" (Paolucci, 1972, p. 30). There is always the understanding that, in the domestic sense, a surgically emasculated Daddy cannot be the head of the family. What Daddy wants to hear is that he is masculine; it is what he specifically wants to hear, as it is what he is not.

A phenomenon like the 'theatre of the absurd' does not intend to show despair, but it aims at demonstrating modern man's efforts to come to terms with the world in which he is condemned to live. It tries to make him come face to face with the human condition as it really is. Despite the neatly wrapped lunch boxes Grandma prepared for Mommy in the past, and all the deprivation she suffered – she denied herself dinner to provide her daughter with the following day's lunch – Mommy behaves like a monster, resisting to each and every word Grandma utters. Being innately sly and hypocritical, Mommy has always known how to make her way through the difficulties and obstacles of life. She was even successful in getting her classmates to give her their own snacks, which can be referred to as another version or extension of violence. She used to say, "Oh, look at my lovely lunch box; it's so nicely wrapped it would break my heart to open it." And, because she did not open the beautifully wrapped 'gift', she, playing the deprived child to her classmates, fed herself on the other children's food (Albee, 2007, p. 105).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE VERBAL VIOLENCE

While dispossession gives human beings something, a valid enough reason, to fight against, the instinctive need for security and recognition gives them something to fight for; and, the desire to fight, in a way, becomes synonymous with the desire to live. Confronting anxiety is what gives the individual the strength, the power, to confront the human condition, naturally breeding the vitality which is essential to come to terms with the world in which he is struggling to live. In Sartre's *No Exit* – where the mistreatment of a wife, the seduction by a manipulative and misandrist sadist, the act of asphyxiating oneself, the 'on purpose' flooding of a room with gas, the killing of a child who was born as a result of an unfortunate affair, and the suicide committed are all forms and symptoms of violence – man is condemned to stay within the surrounding walls

till the end of his life. Even though the degree, the extent, of the violence varies, *The American Dream*, likewise, is full of moments of aggression; and, Daddy and Grandma have to endure the heartlessness and the blatant mistreatments of Mommy, who always causes needless problems, and creates a series of seemingly unbearable conditions in the house. The effect Mommy's enthralling sadism generates is one of passivity, a masochistic submission to the violence she stages. The qualities of ineffectualness and resignation in the father's character are so interwoven, and so interconnected that "Oh dear; oh dear" becomes his typical response, his only reaction to whatever happens (Albee, 2007, p. 110).

Existential man ought to find some social or political cause to be able to acquire some dignity and purpose, to bolster his identity. In this context, a great deal is revealed in Albee's play; and, it has something in common with Sartre's *No Exit*, which is "about the manoeuvring of . . . people" who are "forced to share a small room together in hell" (Styan, 1996, p. 118). As in Sartre's existential hell of self-conscious paralysis in *No Exit*, the characters in Albee's play, who are exposed to the presence of each other in a closed and shared area, seem unable to move forward. Each and every behaviour takes the form of a problem, turns into attitudes which result in unwanted consequences, and eventually transforms the house into a soul-sucking living environment, that is, into hell. In his play, the title of which is already an indication that the work deals with some kind of hermetically sealed space, Sartre puts forward his view that "life in society is hell", and points out that "hell is a 'drawing room in Second Empire style.'" (Szondi, 1987, p. 61). Resonances of these aspects can be seen and sensed in *The American Dream*. The utterly transcendental situation of hell hints at the picture where one becomes the other's torturer. The moment identity breaks down and one face becomes indistinguishable from another face, the other altogether dissolves, like a solid being absorbed by a liquid. It disappears, goes out of sight, as it is consumed by the force which comes from outside. Hell is then, by necessity, oneself.

The fundamental focus in *The American Dream* is the inevitable "collapse of communality, the [o]ther as threat"; and, the subject matter is "loss, desolation, [and] spiritual depletion" (Bigsby, 2000, p. 125). With the tempestuous argument scenes in front of her eyes, and in her tortured mind, Grandma – whose character is "based . . . on [Albee's] own (adoptive) maternal grandmother" (Albee, 2006, p. 168) – tries to protect, armor, herself against the violence her daughter stages. The mother-daughter relationship is a long scene of cruel bullying insult. According to Grandma, elder people, who are marginalized within the 'American Scene', are the targets and victims of violent social intercourse. Her epigrammatic wit, memory lapses, on-purpose deafness, crudity, and senility help her a lot when dealing with that kind of verbal violence. Grandma is the one who continuously comes up with sardonic epigrams on the position of the elderly individuals:

> When you get old, you can't talk to people because [they] snap at you. . . . That's why you become deaf, so you won't be able to hear people talking to you that way. And that's why you go and hide under the covers in the big soft bed, so you won't feel the house shaking from people talking to you that way. (Albee, 2007, p. 104)

It is the annoying speech of the others which results in their passing away, and, perhaps, the best defense mechanism the elderly ones have, and thus Grandma has, is pretending to be deaf. It is her deafness which removes, which detaches her from the fatal intercourse. The implication behind the repetitive use of the clichés of middle-class America is that such kind of utterances will have a direct effect on the death of Grandma, who represents the strong, "vigorous old frontier spirit". It is her daughter who "delivers the punches", but she cannot literally kill Grandma, who, due to her age, has become crafty, and has learnt how to "roll with the punches" which come quite frequently (Cohn, 1969, p. 11).

Being a down-to-earth sort of woman, Grandma quite remarkably underlines the severity of the violence, which is staged against the elderly, in social intercourse: "I suppose I deserve being talked to that way. . . . Most people think that when you get so old, you either freeze to death, or you burn up" (Albee, 2007, p. 104). Being in the grips of the childlike quality of senility, she pathetically says that "[o]ld people have nothing to say", and that, "if [they] did have something to say", unfortunately, no one would listen to them (p. 119). It is the usage of the emphasis 'do' and the unreal conditional in the latter quotation which shows her anger at the cruel way she is treated. According to what she says, old people are reduced to whimpers, cries, belches, and the rumblings of their stomach, which, she implies, is unfair (p. 107). Grandma is highly tormented by what she continually hears, and her interruption of the others' speech shows her ethical resistance to the violent arena she has to keep staying in. What attracts attention is the treatment she is subjected to on account of being nothing other than a useless old woman waiting for the end, which is death. Her comic hooting – "Who? Who?" (p. 109) – deserves emphasis since it forces the audience to suppose or assume menacing proportions of the others whom the house waits for. Grandma's situation – her apparent reluctance in being carted off, by some vehicle people, to some unknown locations, directions, and destinations – is disturbing to the senses.

With the obstruction of the gateways for empathy, sympathy, and understanding, and with the euphemistic, baby-talk tone, *The American Dream* ferociously, uproariously, "fairly and squarely" attacks the distinct "ideals of progress, optimism, and faith in the national mission", criticizes the newly-formed values, and heaps scorn on sentimental ideals such as family life, togetherness, the

pleasant feeling of being united, and physical fitness (Esslin, 2004, p. 312). Knowing that her end is near, Grandma has lovingly wrapped her boxes which contain such disparate things as "some old letters, a couple of regrets . . . [a blind] Pekinese . . . the television . . . [her] Sunday teeth . . . eighty-six years of living . . . some sounds . . . [and] a few images" (Albee, 2007, p. 143). The boxes, which house her life and her memories, are "the emptiness around which [one] wrap[s] [his or her] illusions" (Paolucci, 1972, p. 35). The time left to her becomes less and less, while the beautifully wrapped boxes, the witnesses to much better days, accumulate. The feeling of being on the threshold of the ultimate end, which is death, and the thought, retrospection, that death makes possible gives expression to the particular process whereby one's own life becomes an absolute object which is worthy of examination. During moments of violent social intercourse, the audience sees Grandma setting apart from the spectacle before her, due to her marginality.

Lack of identity in modern man results in many complications, many social and psychological problems, and ends up with the intensification of the motif of the meaninglessness of life. In the various definitions of hell, Sartre proposes, a pattern shows itself: Hell is intrinsically related to existence and one's particular idea of oneself; and therefore, the key element of hell in Sartre's play is the absence of certain "mirrors" or reflective surfaces (Sartre, n.d., p. 2). The characters have no other alternative apart from relying on each other to create their identities; thus, Estelle asks Inez to describe her beauty, while Inez begs Estelle to love her, and Garcin wants Inez to tell him that he is not a coward. Although they at first wanted to be alone, the characters definitely need each other; and, the play is essentially a map of their thwarted desires, of their inability to control their personal image. And, it is this lack of ability which paves the way for the climactic paradox. When finally free to leave, Garcin refuses to do so; and, according to what he says, he has to stay just because of Inez. Unable to live with each other and unable to live without each other, the characters are trapped not only physically, but also emotionally and morally. In *The American Dream*, one can feel the echoes of these: Since she married Daddy and let him "bump [his] uglies" (Albee, 2007, p. 106), Mommy – whose emotions are all rooted in undiluted selfishness – feels she has the right to his money when he dies. Regardless of the feelings of the others around her, she is capable of casual cruelty. Being direct in accomplishing the purpose she has in her mind, she insults in her self-righteousness. This again shows the violent nature of the 'American Scene' by highlighting what must remain unspoken in social intercourse: The meaning is that Mommy – who seems to be a gold digger kind of person – used to provide Daddy with sex, and this leads to the issue of the obscene. Their need for each other is further exemplified in Mommy's words, which she utters after Grandma's disappearance, while feeling anxious about her whereabouts, and

while struggling not to cry: "There's no such thing as the van man. . . . [W]e made him up. Grandma? Grandma?" (p. 144).

Related to the very specific point of the obscene, a crucial clarification has to be made: The etymology of 'obscene' is 'off scene', which means 'out of sight'. Grandma's conscious anti-social behaviour, generally involving ironic commentary on the events before, prefigures, foreshadows, her final leave, and thus, her transformation into the director: "[L]et's leave things as they are right now . . . while everybody's happy . . . while everybody's got what he wants . . . or everybody's got what he thinks he wants. Good night, dears." (Albee, 2007, p. 148). She sets herself apart from the intercourse to comment on it; and, her escape from the frame of action is, in a way, something unavoidable. Grandma leaves upon finding, upon devising a solution for the dilemma of the family. Most important of all, her ultimate exit removes her from the violent, and sometimes almost unendurable, power games in the house. And, by her intentional act of stepping out of the action, she not only reveals but also proves herself as the only character who is capable of staying away from the general collapse of individual identity and moral purpose. Interrupting the communicative function of speech is one of her defenses against the waves of violence. Furthermore, the "baking contest" (p. 136) which Grandma mentions at an earlier point in the play is worthy of highlighting, as it represents her plan by which she wants to "escape her dependence" on the others; and, it is the $25,000 prize of the contest which eventually helps her in her endeavours to get out of the violent frame of action (Canaday, 1966, p. 32).

THE ACT OF MUTILATION AND THE PERVERSION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

The consumerism of a mass society leads to a mindless pursuit of wealth which, by giving less importance to social values, and by undermining the need for socially acceptable behaviours, creates an atmosphere stripped of emotions. In *The American Dream*, Albee deals with American materialism, conformity, and the ideal of conventional family life as an essential part of that Dream. He depicts the dehumanizing effect by providing the audience with his upsetting condemnation of American values. He condemns a hollowness in American values which is not the result of inadequacy at all, but of some sort of deliberate choice. The world is portrayed as a problematic, arbitrary place where nothing seems to make much sense. Exchange value has taken the place of human value; "appearance is mistaken for substance"; and, authentic, genuine, values can only be "inferred from their absence" (Bigsby, 2000, p. 129). The parody of the conventional American life, which enhouses layers of meaning between the lines, shows the superficiality of much of life.

The American Dream was not that kind of an ideology that could survive on its own. In the play, the current situation, the status quo, of the American family is shown by their withdrawal to pursue material things, forgetting all about their responsibilities in realizing the Dream. At one stage, Mommy and Daddy – both of whom represent the people of society – cannot find anything in the apartment. Daddy even loses "Grandma's room"; and, Mommy cannot find "the water" (Albee, 2007, p. 129), which itself shows the pureness of the old American Dream going away, fading away, and perhaps, ultimately becoming history.

Grandma, who is treated like a naughty child, tells the horrific story of the child to Mrs. Barker who delivered the "bumble of joy" (Albee, 2007, p. 126) to Mommy and Daddy two decades ago. The absurd failure of Mrs. Barker – who is the volunteer from the Bye-Bye Adoption Service which clearly puns on Buy-Buy, and who stands for government, corporations, and "organizations" (Canaday, 1966, p. 30) – to understand Grandma's thinly veiled story is among the various defenses which are built against bringing the traumatic origin and purpose of her visit forward. The audience is presented with the information that Mommy, in the course of disciplining, has mutilated a child without pity, showing her malign side. The child was chopped off, and now that it has shown its unsatisfactory way by dying, Mommy and Daddy want compensation, a suitable replacement for the faulty product which they had purchased years ago, an eternal "satisfaction" although it is "the way things are today; you just can't get satisfaction" (Albee, 2007, p. 102). It takes the form of a dilemma, a source of conflict and violence, when there is a huge discrepancy between what one wants and what one gets. The controlling, but at the same time uncaring ways and attitudes of Mrs. Barker – a caricature of the socially responsible American housewife – stand for what the majority of American society is transforming into (p. 113).

Since the parents never feel fully satisfied with the things they have, they even go so far as to destroy something in their greedy quest to improve what they have. According to the story Grandma tells the audience, one night, the child "cried its heart out". Since the child "only had eyes for its Daddy" (Albee, 2007, p. 127), Mommy, in a moment of inhumanity, gouged its eyes out; since it called Mommy a dirty name, they cut its tongue out; and, since "it began to develop an interest in its you-know-what", they castrated it, and cut its hands off at the wrists. Perhaps, more painful than the physical mutilations and tortures are the verbal ailments: "[I]t didn't have a head on its shoulders, it had no guts, it was spineless, its feet were made of clay . . . just dreadful things" (p. 128). Due to acting out on its desires, the child had to suffer a progressive disfigurement as its punishment; and, the punishments chosen for him were specifically directed at his bodily excesses and infantile desires. The fierce picture of the massacre of the adopted infant is nothing, but bloodcurdling. In addition to these conspicuous accounts of

the violent actions which were performed in the past, verbal violence succeeds in taking the matter to new and multi-layered dimensions.

The dismemberment of the child calls to mind Sigmund Freud's well-known notion of the hypochondriac's 'organ speech', in which some irritating, vexing, ideas are translated into bodily effects. In accordance with the idea behind Freud's 'organ speech' – a kind of linguistic disturbance seen in schizophrenia which consists of expressing a particular relationship to a bodily organ or function – Mommy not only violates the child's body physically, but also disfigures language, violently literalizing a certain figure of speech and collapsing it onto the human body. The schizophrenic speech, which has a hypochondriac quality, becomes organ language; and, the relation to the bodily organ takes the place of all "thought[s]" (Freud, 1963, p. 144). In the play, where there is a parallelism between the language used and the violence perpetrated on the child, the language and the body are simultaneously disfigured in only a single movement, in only a single gesture. The corporeal disfigurements all involve a disfigurement of language; there is disfigurement both corporeally and rhetorically.

When the figurative language of *The American Dream* involves a turn to the human body, the individual speech act gains a greater and greater importance, and language's performative potential for violence becomes much more apparent. For instance, related to the operation he had, Daddy talks about "misgivings" and "definite qualms" (Albee, 2007, p. 116), like a hypochondriac. Grandma laments that people think old people just complain because old people are "gnarled and sagged and twisted into the shape of a complaint" (p. 117): Due to the fact that the bodies mime what they say, it is right to assert that language, in a quite violent way, manifests itself on the body. The disfigurement of language results in the disfigurement of the child: Right after Mommy discovers that the child only has eyes for his father, she blinds him, only because of his affection for his father. Thus, turning directly to the body, she makes the figure of speech come true. Mommy is frightening because she disrupts not only the homosocial kind of bonds, son-father, but also the fraternal relation within the family in question. The violence she performs on the particular figure of speech involves a violent linguistic mechanism.

Needless to say, Mommy's mutilation, massacre, of the boy for his bodily excesses and infantile desires is violence at its most extreme form. The situation being so, the arrival of the Young Man, a negative entity of sorts, is far from surprising, as he can be interpreted as the direct result of Mommy's violent act of dismemberment. Grandma's assertions about old people becoming 'twisted' and their living "in the age of deformity" (Albee, 2007, p. 119) set the scene for conversations that are even more obsessed with shapes, and that revolve around the issue of appearances, and thus, can be considered as multi-dimensional pieces of language. The Young Man's twin brother bears every kind of deformation; as

a result of the "difficult delivery", Mommy came into existence with a banana-shaped head (p. 120); and, Daddy is disfigured through emasculation. In the play, where emasculation, impotence and incomplete sexual gestures are specifically used as a metaphor for unfulfilled aspirations, desires, and misdirected social powers and personal energies, the disfigurations and deformities symbolize what Albee calls the 'slipping land' that the nation has become. The corporeal disfigurements, within themselves, contain a disfigurement of language, and these issues again lead to the theme of language and violence. When Grandma says that what she intends to say might not accord with what she means, she, once more, shows language's endless capacity for violence: "I don't know if that's what I meant or not. It's certainly not what I thought I meant" (p. 116).

Whereas the child is mutilated physically, the American Dream is mutilated emotionally. When the iconic, "almost insultingly good-looking" Young Man, whom Grandma calls "the American Dream" (Albee, 2007, p. 133), appears on the stage, the audience concludes that the American Dream is not an ideology, or something which one lives out. Simultaneous with the appearance of the gorgeous Young Man, who is not only the personification of the American Dream, but also a prospective son, a hiatus, a pause, is introduced into the violent intercourse and the careening conversational games of the house. After the killing of his twin, the Young Man is nothing but – according to his self-description – "a type" (p. 137) in his physiognomy, outwardly perfect, but robbed of his inner life and real substance. He is made up of only muscles; he has a healthy exterior, but is dead inside, devoid of real feelings and capacity for any kind of lively experience.

Starting with his "identical", "not fraternal", twin with whom he lied "in the placenta" and shared an unfathomable kinship, the Young Man – whose double image is nothing other than the fragmented bits and pieces of a perverted identity – makes a long speech about the story of his countless losses, talks about his brother's blindness which ended his ability to see with pity (Albee, 2007, p. 138), and about a pain in his "groin" which left him unable to love anyone with his body. He arouses intense feelings of sympathy when he says that he "no longer [has] the capacity to feel anything". And, he goes on to say that he "[has] no emotions", and that he "[has] been drained, torn asunder . . . [and] disemboweled" (p. 139). He might be referred to as the paragon of all the superficial characteristics Americans favoured; however, inside his handsome – seemingly anaesthetized – shell, there is nothing, but a void: Being deprived of all excitements, his infirmity is indescribable. With his emotional life being smothered and extinguished, he is left as a cripple, whose warmth has been taken away. He is a person who has been tortured by continuous mutilation of his soul and his spirit, and the deadening of his 'feeling' flesh. He is aware of his own predicament; and, he is, in a way, an abstraction. His incomprehensible mutilations coincide with those suffered by the baby who was adopted and

destroyed mercilessly by Mommy. His twin, by whose mutilation the Young Man has been sympathetically affected, had to suffer a progressive sort of disfigurement under the inhumane dictates and discipline of Mommy, whose obnoxiously unpleasant manners offends and infuriates the audience. As opposed to all the battle-like talk going on, Grandma's words – to the Young Man, who instinctively recognizes her as a beautiful soul and kindred spirit – "Oh, my child; my child" (p. 139) attracts considerable attention: Her line is the only noticeable sign of familial affection within the boundaries, within the violent atmosphere of *The American Dream*.

In the 20th century American way of life, which is characterized by an emptiness of spirit that absolutely requires emptiness to surround it, individuals go through the ritualistic motions of loving and caring for one another; however, in reality, there is no genuine feeling, as normal feelings and relationships have become deprived of meaning. In a place where an externally perfect, superficially attractive and flawless Young Man turns into a child who gives 'satisfaction', it may be quite right to consider Mommy and Daddy's focus on the boxes' wrapping as a sign of their satisfaction with surfaces. Grandma, whose boxes signify the contents of the old American Dream, realizes that the Young Man is an excellent replacement for the adopted child, so she introduces him to the family, intending to restore the long-lost sense of domestic bliss. Ironically, the Young Man eventually becomes the long-desired child that Mommy believes will provide her with much satisfaction. The Young Man, the symbol of incommunicability and the impossibility of human contact, represents the new age American Dream. The old version of the Dream is imagined as a mask disemboweled of man and his excesses; and, there is the frustration which springs from the disparity, dissimilarity, between things as they are and things as they ought to be. In this sense, the Young Man is no one other than "the existential question made flesh" (Paolucci, 1972, p. 34).

Becoming the venal foster son, and willing to do "anything that pays", "anything for money", anything provided that "there's money in it", the Young Man is, in a way, their commodity, the merchandise, the 'replaceable' product, which they have greedily dreamt of all along. The Young Man's insatiable appetite for money – "Do you have any money?" (Albee, 2007, p. 135), "I do what I'm paid to do. I don't ask any questions" (p. 140) – and the play's constant emphasis on the word 'satisfaction' in fact show the substitution of material things for the most important values in life. With echoes of capitalism, an extension of cruelty, in the background, it is possible to sense the unattainable satisfaction and the violence inherent in the 20th century American family. What remains in the house is "a family of marionettes . . . as absurd as the American Dream itself". Albee is far from recommending the beautiful or sexually attractive "Adonis as an ideal." He does not intend to glorify narcissism, vanity or egocentrism; however, he intends

to show them "as the fruits of an upbringing" by a certain type of woman (Debusscher, 1967, p. 41).

CONCLUSION

In the light of all the crucial points which have been taken into consideration so far, it is possible to assert that a culture with waning values and weakening norms can no longer provide peaceful living environments for individuals. The misconceptions which surround the valuable Dream and the emergence of new ideals in the mid-century America – at the expense of the conventional, traditional, values – prepare the undesirable conditions for domestic unrest, and by extension, violence. It becomes apparent that the apathetic characters, who are presented as symbols more than as individuals, are rather opposing states of the human mind/conscience of guilt and indifference; and, they unite to create a Sartrean existential hell for each other. The superimposition of meaning on appearance and the lack of sincere conversation contribute to an air of mistrust, and thus trust erosion, which is embodied in the peevish and dishonest attitudes, power struggles, querulous tones, and brawls. In a society that relies on euphemisms, societal expressions which purposefully cover and conceal reality, artificiality reigns; and, in case of artificiality, individuals turn to words of aggression, and thus, resort to violent expressions of speech. The irrelevant nature of the language reflects the meaninglessness of life and shows that language as gesture has taken the place of language as communication. The fatuousness of the dialogues and the arid language used not only reflect, but also amplify a conviction that some social conventions and some public myths have corrupted the individual self; and, as a result, a threat is directed against individual freedom. It is such an era of conformity that it is as if American values are processed, insistently mass produced, and less individualized; and, people, who are powerless to act as individuals, choose to follow the crowds, and are dragged towards a violent language, a language in which harmony of rhythm and content cannot be achieved. Instead of being fixated on their roles – as mother, father, etc. – in the family structure, the family members are fixated on their roles as consumers; and, this is one of the reasons which gives rise to the violent language used in the living environment. The reversal of the matriarchal and patriarchal roles, the act of mutilation which rocks the middle-class morality and ethics to its very foundations, and the dual action of the corporeal and rhetorical disfigurement can only transform a house into a violent arena, where it is difficult to even breathe. Due to continuously clashing over societal expectations, most of the characters cannot succeed in getting back on their feet; and, to make things even worse, while waiting for a beacon of hope, it is hope itself which fades into the background.

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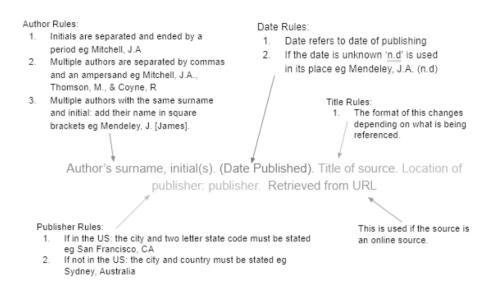
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REFERENCE PRINCIPLES

Author Rules:
1. Initials are separated and ended by a period eg Mitchell, J.A
2. Multiple authors are separated by commas and an ampersand eg Mitchell, J.A., Thomson, M., & Coyne, R
3. Multiple authors with the same surname and initial: add their name in square brackets eg Mendeley, J. [James].

Date Rules:
1. Date refers to date of publishing
2. If the date is unknown 'n.d' is used in its place eg Mendeley, J.A. (n.d)

Title Rules:
1. The format of this changes depending on what is being referenced.

Author's surname, initial(s). (Date Published). Title of source. Location of publisher: publisher. Retrieved from URL

Publisher Rules:
1. If in the US: the city and two letter state code must be stated eg San Francisco, CA
2. If not in the US: the city and country must be stated eg Sydney, Australia

This is used if the source is an online source.

In the reference part, only referred sources in the article should be included and the alphabetical order should be followed according to the surname of the author.

In-Text Resource Display:

In the works, the opinions of others should be shown as quotation or reference. Short quotes should be shown in quotation marks. Quotes longer than 4 lines should be written as a separate paragraph, 1 cm inside and 11 pt. In this case, quotation marks should not be used.

In the references, surnames, date of publication, and page number information must be given in parentheses. In the case of one and two authored publications, the surnames of both authors should be included in parentheses. With more than two author references, only the first author's surname should be given and 'and others' statement should be used for other authors. In publications written by legal entities, the abbreviation can be made after the first reference if the legal entity name is too long or the abbreviated form is very known,. If it is decided to use the abbreviation, the name of the institution should

be written in the first submission and the abbreviation should be given in square brackets next to it. If it is referred
to different publications published on the same date, the words "a, b, c, …" should be used in order to distinguish the publications from each other, and this usage should be included both in the bibliography section and the references in the text.

Reference Examples

Reference to books and articles of a single author:

In text (book): (McQuail, 1987: 55).

• Reference to more than one work of same writer in the same year:

(McQuail, 1987a: 55; 1987b: 40).

If the writer has quoted from another author:

(Transcribed by McQuail, 1987a: 55).

In Bibliography: McQuail, Denis, (1987). Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Pulication Inc.

Cavit, Binbaşıoğlu, (1988a). General Teaching Methods, Ankara: Binbaşıoğlu Publishing House.

Cavit, Binbaşıoğlu, (1988b). "The Impact of Homework on Learning", Education, 65, 362-369.