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Contents

Research Article

Syrian Refugees and Community Interpreting: An Attempt at a Sociology of Translation in the Example of Sultanbeyli

Özgür Bülent ERDOĞAN, Prof. Dr. Emine BOĞENÇ DEMİREL.....97

Transition to online learning due to the outbreak of Coronavirus: students' perceptions and perspectives

Dilfuza BAKHTIYAROVA, Prof. Dr. Veysel KILIÇ.....125

Censorship and Circumvention in China: How Danmei Writers 'Drive a Car' on Jinjiang

Dr. Aiqing WANG.....137

Paranoia and Multiple Personalities In Postmodern Fiction

Lect. Nurten ŞEN.....169

An Exploration of Students' Perceived Sources of Speaking Anxiety

Lect. Sinem DOYMAN, Assist. Prof. Dr. Hülya YUMRU.....189

The Role of Students' Motivation When Attending Higher Education Institutions

Sonia LEITE.....201

DOI Numbers

Genel DOI: 10.17932/IAU.IJMCL.2015.014

IJMCL Aralık 2020 Cilt 6 Sayı 2 **DOI:** 10.17932/IAU.IJMCL.2015.014/2020.602

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Sonia LEITE

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From The Editor

This issue of IJMCL brings together a heterogeneous group of articles based on empirical studies on the fields of English language education, higher education, and translation studies, as well as studies of culture and literature.

In the article, “An exploration of students’ perceived sources of speaking anxiety”, Sinem Doyman and Hülya Yumru investigate the factors that lead to foreign language speaking anxiety. Their research conducted with the learners of English shows that anxieties stem from fear of evaluation and making mistakes.

In “Transition to online learning due to the outbreak of Coronavirus: students’ perceptions and perspectives”, Dilfuza Bakhtiyarova and VeySEL Kılıç discuss Turkish students’ experiences of online learning.

Sonia Leite, in “The Role of Students’ Motivation When Attending Higher Education Institutions,” explores the motivation of those students who attend technical courses in higher education conducting an empirical study based on “Self-Determination Theory.”

Aiqing Wang’s “Censorship and Circumvention in China: How Danmei Writers ‘Drive a Car’ on Jinjiang” is about online censorship imposed on the subcultures of China. She argues that “Danmei”—a popular online medium--, which gives expression to the subculture of homosexual dating scene, has faced severe censorship. In her article, she investigates those encryptions adopted by “Danmei” users who wish to avoid online censorship imposed by authorities.

In “Paranoia and multiple personalities in postmodern fiction,” Nurten Şen looks at paranoia and multiple personality symptoms that afflict the protagonists of City of Glass, The Locked Room and Fight Club. In her investigation, she explores transformations that have taken place in the perceptions of truth and knowledge with the advent of the postmodern age.

The last article of the present issue, “Syrian refugees and community interpreting: an attempt at a sociology of translation in the example of Sultanbeyli” sheds light on the problems faced by Turkish and Arabic speaking community interpreters who interpret for Syrian refugees. Özgür Bülent Erdoğan and Emine Bogenç Demirel examine the role of interpreters in the refugees’ access to health, education and the means for satisfying their psychosocial needs such as integration into Turkish society. They use Pierre Bourdieu’s key concepts in their study on community interpreting practices in Sultanbeyli in an attempt to understand personal histories and linguistic dispositions of community interpreters as well as their interactions with NGOs.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ferma LEKESİZALIN

Syrian Refugees and Community Interpreting: An Attempt at a Sociology of Translation in the Example of Sultanbeyli

Özgür Bülent ERDOĞAN¹

Prof. Dr. Emine BOGENÇ DEMİREL²

ABSTRACT

The mass arrival of refugees in Turkey from Syria since 2011 has created a growing demand for Turkish and Arabic speaking community interpreters in order to fulfill their health, educational and psychosocial needs and to facilitate their integration into Turkish society.

The district of Sultanbeyli in the periphery of Istanbul has been formed through successive waves of migration and is now home to the most important Syrian population on the Asian part of Istanbul. National and international NGOs, municipal authorities and public institutions collaborate so that Syrian refugees can benefit from psycho-social assistance and health services. Furthermore, they realize projects aiming their integration into the host society. Community interpreters play a major role in helping Syrian refugees benefit from these services and overcome linguistic and cultural barriers. Based on Bourdieu's key concepts in the sociology of translation (*habitus, field, capital, illusio, doxa, self-reflexivity*), our study focuses on community interpreting practices in Sultanbeyli in order to understand personal histories and linguistic dispositions of community interpreters, their

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roles and interactions with service providers who work at various NGOs. Ethnographic and qualitative methods were used to reveal the relationship between migration and translation.

This study is an attempt to test the above-mentioned concepts of Bourdieu forged during his experiences in Algeria and developed in France in the dynamism and fluidity of Sultanbeyli.

Keywords: *Syrian refugees, Pierre Bourdieu, community interpreters, sociology of translation, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations)*

ÖZ

2011'den itibaren Suriye'den Türkiye'ye olan kitlesel mülteci akınıyla birlikte mültecilerin sağlık, eğitim ve psikososyal gereksinimlerinin karşılanması ve Türk toplumuna entegrasyonlarının kolaylaştırılması açısından Türkçe ve Arapça bilen toplum çevirmenlerine acil bir ihtiyaç oluştu.

İstanbul'un çeperlerinde bulunan Sultanbeyli, göç dalgalarıyla oluşmuş ve halen Anadolu yakasında en yoğun Suriyeli nüfusun yaşadığı ilçedir. Ulusal ve uluslararası STK'lar, belediye ve diğer kurumlar Suriyeli mültecilerin psikososyal ve sağlık hizmetlerinden yararlanmaları için birlikte çalışmakta, mültecilerin ev sahibi topluma uyumlarını sağlamak için projeler gerçekleştirmektedir. Suriyeli mültecilerin bu hizmetlerden yararlanmaları, dilsel ve kültürel engellerin aşılması açısından toplum çevirmenleri önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Çalışmamız Bourdieu'nün çeviri sosyolojisinde anahtar kavramlar olarak kabul edilen (*habitus, alan, sermaye, illusio, doksa, özdeşünümsellik*) kavramlarını temel alarak Sultanbeyli'deki toplum çevirmenliği uygulamalarına odaklanmaktadır. Toplum çevirmenlerinin kişisel tarihlerini, dilsel yatkınlıklarını, rollerini ve çeşitli STK'larda çalışan hizmet sağlayıcılarla olan etkileşimlerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Göç ve çeviri arasındaki ilişkiselliğin ortaya çıkarılabilmesi için etnografik ve nitel yaklaşımlar kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma, Bourdieu'nün Cezayir deneyimleriyle oluşturduğu ve Fransa'da

geliştirdiği bahsi geçen kavramların Sultanbeyli devingenliği ve akışkanlığında denenmesi girişimidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli mülteciler, Pierre Bourdieu, toplum çevirmenleri, çeviri sosyolojisi, STK'lar (sivil toplum kuruluşları)

INTRODUCTION

Migration issues today occupy the centre stage in national and international public, linking everything in the political sense. We are currently witnessing another revolution in our age: Refugee revolution, the one which brings about fundamental changes in society just like other revolutions did in the past (Engelhardt, 2020: 322)³. Yet these changes and transformations are also manifest in their linguistic dimension as mass migration results in the creation of different concepts and definitions about migration. The term “refugee” in Turkish is expressed synonymously with two words: *sığınmacı* and *mülteci*, whereas *göçmen* and *muhacir* refers to “migrant.” To give a definition of Syrian refugees in Turkey, Turkey has officially adopted the term “refugees under temporary protection” in 2014.

After 8 years of mass migration from Syria, Turkey is now the country that hosts the largest number of refugees worldwide⁴. The protests triggered by the Arab Spring in 2011 were heavily suppressed and led to the civil war in Syria. As a result, 7 million Syrians were displaced within the country and 5 million Syrians took refuge in the neighboring countries (Canefe, 2017: 33). Immediately after the outbreak of the civil war, mass migration movements from Syria into Turkey took place. This increase was felt especially in border provinces. During the first year of migration from Syria, Turkey followed an open-door policy and refugees were hosted in camps established near the border. Authorities focused mostly on emergency relief and disaster management. In the second phase of the influx, authorities started to follow

³ All English translations are mine unless indicated.

⁴ As reported by the UNHCR Global Report 2019, Turkey hosts 3.6 million refugees.

a rather controlled entrance policy. As a result, refugees started to settle in large cities of the country. This situation occasionally creates tensions between the local population and Syrian refugees. This article discusses the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's core concepts in the sociology of translation to elucidate the newly emerging community interpreting⁵ profession in Turkey as a result of the influx of Syrian refugees, specifically interpreters who are employed by local NGOs in Sultanbeyli, a conservative settlement on the outskirts of Istanbul.

In Translation studies, which is already seen as an interdisciplinary subject, has taken a sociological turn since the early 2000s and it is evolving into an even more interdisciplinary direction as a result of current migration movements around the world. As a result of this paradigm shift in translation studies, sociological approaches have been taken up by numerous scholars from France. Pierre Bourdieu's social theory was particularly influent on these scholars who contributed to a new approach in translation studies under the name "sociology of translation". This approach takes into account multiple actors, multiple decisions taken in the making of translation, institutional constraints and the impact of global networks in translation. Methodologically, the sociology of translation views translation not merely as a textual production, but also as a product created by external and internal stakeholders. This involves a translatorial research combining internal and external sociological aspects of translation. While external sociology describes all the actors taking part in the translation process, internal sociology makes an analysis of this process. Meanwhile, it takes into account the dialectical relationship between the two (Bogenç Demirel, 2014: 40). This mass arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey has led to a lot of mobilization in the health sector: Particularly, AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management

⁵ *Community interpreting is the type of interpreting that takes place between people who in the same community, society, or country but who do not share the same language (Hale, 2015: 65).*

Authority) made considerable efforts in this regard, but mostly concentrated on refugees living in the camps. Therefore, these gaps have since been filled by national NGOs and INGOs: In 2016, there were 42 national and 14 international NGOs supporting Syrian refugees in Turkey.⁶

According to the Association of Turkish Doctors' Alliance, health needs of the refugees are mainly centered on health issues such as malnutrition, problems in protective services and psychosocial needs: Posttraumatic stress disorders for women and children, depression and anxiety disorders.⁷ In addition to these problems, research conducted in Turkey recently on refugees reveals that the language barrier remains one of the most important issues, especially for women.⁸ Because of this situation, the demand of Arabic-Turkish speaking interpreters has been high in recent years to bridge the gap between service providers and refugees. It has been estimated that hundreds of them are employed by local NGOs all around Turkey. However, statistics on their exact numbers are unavailable.

Most interpreter positions seem to be filled in *ad hoc*, and appear to be closer to non-professional interpreting. This kind of interpreting is also known as 'natural interpreting' in which one does not need to receive formal interpreter education. Being bilingual is sufficient (Toury, 1995: 241).

That being said, efforts have been made in these organizations toward professionalization via in-house training: Community interpreting training workshops organized by other NGOs, as in the example of VHS-DVV International, affiliated to the German Adult Education Association, and its local counterpart, Beraberce in Sultanbeyli. The most recent example is the three-day workshop organized by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in

6 www/medium.com/@melihcilga/suriyeli-m%C3%BClteciler-ve-stk-lar-12909ae7b121 (Syrian Refugees and NGO Network Map 2015), SİTAP Mülteci Destek Programı STK listesi 2016. (SİTAP Refugee Support Program NGO list) [retrieved 31.01.2018]

7 Türk Tabipleri Birliği Suriyeli Sığınmacılar ve Sağlık Hizmetleri Raporu 2014. (Turkish Doctors' Alliance Report on Syrian Refugees and Health Services), 64.

8 www/birartibir.org/goc-ve-multecilik/402-hastanede-dil-bariyeri (language barrier in hospital). [retrieved 12.06.2019]

collaboration with the Ardiç Solidarity Association in Istanbul.

In addition to community interpreting training, Turkish language classes are given to Arabic native speaker interpreters by the Association for Refugees (MD) in Sultanbeyli is an important step towards professionalization of community interpreters, and it is a proof that institutions pay attention to the quality of interpreting services.⁹

Hence, when it comes to interpreter training, the situation in Sultanbeyli seems to fit into a psycholinguistic developmental scheme. According to Whyatt, this scheme comprises of natural predisposition to language, untrained ability, trained skill, competence, and expertise. (Antonini, 2012: 49)

As seen in numerous examples of community interpreters in Sultanbeyli, encountered during our fieldwork, be it Syrian Turkmen or Syrian Arabic interpreters, both are predisposed to Turkish and Arabic languages. Turkmen interpreters have learned these languages in their childhood and although they did not receive any formal interpreting training in Syria, at least they tried to improve their Turkish, especially their writing skills. As reported by one of the Syrian Turkmen interpreters, it was possible for him to follow Turkish language classes in Damascus before coming to Sultanbeyli (Interview with a 34-year-old Syrian interpreter, 14.12.2017). Regarding the interpreters whose first language is Arabic, they learned Turkish in Turkey during different circumstances such as interaction with their colleagues at work.

In migrant narratives, learning the language of the host country is seen as a test to overcome and an important step in their migration process (Deprez, 2002: 48). Learning Turkish or improving their Turkish skills stands out as a common theme highlighted in the interviews with Syrian interpreters; obviously, it is a threshold in their post-migration period in Turkey.

⁹ *Arabic native speaker interpreters at the MD are to attend Turkish classes at the institution after working hours and expected to attain B2 level proficiency in Turkish language (Interview with the Project Assistant. August 2018).*

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *capital*, *reflexivity* and *self-reflexivity* are considered to be the core concepts in the sociology of translation. In addition to these, *illusio* and *doxa* were also included in our analysis of data. There were overflows from translation studies into sociolinguistics and semiotics in our analysis. Yet, a sociolinguistic analysis of our data exceeds the scope of this study.

According to Bourdieu, *habitus* is:

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

Bourdieu developed his social theory based on his ethnographic observations in Algeria and France. In his theory of practice, Bourdieu aimed to end the duality between agency and structure. Therefore, one should question the utility of Bourdieu's concepts when applied to Sultanbeyli, a conservative suburban settlement that was formed through different layers of migration from eastern and north eastern Turkey and most recently from Syria. Do Bourdieu's concepts work in Sultanbeyli? This needs to be tested.

Getting to know these community interpreters was our first concern. In this regard, *habitus* was a useful concept to get to know the past, present and future of them. As Bourdieu maintains:

“The ‘practical sense’ precognizes; it reads in the present state the possible future states with which the field is pregnant. For in habitus the past, the present and the future intersect and interpenetrate one another” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 22).

Another essential point is to know how professional were these community interpreters, how well integrated they are to the host society, if they assume the role of cultural mediators or the link between the two communities.

VOICES FROM THE FIELD: *SULTANBEYLI*

The greatest hope is hidden in tomorrows which are being structured actively by the support of those who have joined our ranks as refugees (Engelhardt, 2020:330).

It is important to hear the voices in the field without which it is impossible to get a glimpse of the migration phenomenon. Therefore, we have chosen the district of Sultanbeyli, given the fact that it hosts a high number of refugees in Istanbul, attracted to the area for different reasons: affordable living, similarity of life style, social networks.

The study essentially draws on data collected during a 12-month ethnographic study which involved fieldwork including in-depth interviews with interpreters, NGO employees, refugees, some of whom are employed as full-time interpreters in these NGOs. In-depth interviews, participant observations, digital and visual materials constitute the research corpus. Fieldwork is complemented by an ethnographic analysis.

Amongst 30 persons interviewed, 14 were interpreters. The majority of them were Syrian refugees under temporary protection status. Only 3 interpreters held Turkish nationality. All data were evaluated according to Figure 1.

FIGURE 1. *Factual identity of community interpreters in Sultanbeyli*

Sütun1	M.M.	T.Ç.	Y.S.	D.M	W.D.	S.N.	H.C	A.H.	M.E.	M.H.	R.H.	B.B	A.C	M.K
Age	25	20	34	20	32	23	24	33	23	28	30	20	27	33
Gender	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M
Native	Turkish	Turkish	Turkish	Kurdish	Arabic	Turkish	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Turkish	Arabic
Nationality	Syria	Turkish	Syria	Syria	Syria	Turkish	Syria	Syria	Syria	Syria	Syria	Syria	Turkish	Turkish
City	Şam	Aleppo	Şam	Aleppo	Aleppo	Şam	Aleppo	Urfa	Aleppo	Raqqa	Aleppo	Şam	Lazkiye	Urfa
Languages	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-KR-AR	TR-AR-RU	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-AR-ENTR	AR-EN	TR-AR	TR-AR	TR-AR
Work bef.	Designer	Student	Interpret	Worker	Student	Student	Student	Teacher	Student	Teacher	Teacher	Student	Student	Student
In Turkey	6 yrs.	2 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.		4 yrs.	3 yrs.	5 yrs.	3 yrs.	5 yrs.	
Sultanbeyli	3 yrs.	4 m.	3.5 yrs.	1 y.	3 years	1 y.	4 y.	1 y.	3 yrs.	6 m.	3 m.	1 y.	1 y.	1 y.
Education	Secondary	Secondary	University	Secondary	University	Secondary	Secondary	University	Secondary	University	University	Secondary	University	University

FIGURE 2. *Location of Sultanbeyli in Istanbul province*



In the following pages, we will discover the migration zone of Sultanbeyli and its peculiar migration history within the history of Istanbul.

SULTANBEYLİ AS A MIGRATION ZONE

The fieldwork mainly concentrated on the district of Sultanbeyli, a suburban settlement on the Asian side of Istanbul, approximately 35 km from the city center. According to SUKOM¹⁰ statistics, 32,000 Syrian refugees live in Sultanbeyli.

Our impressions in Sultanbeyli lead us to consider it as a fluid structure: Its

¹⁰ SUKOM is a software developed by the MD. It collects and registers data on the refugee population in Sultanbeyli.

architecture and urban landscape changing almost every 5 years.

The history of Sultanbeyli is interesting in that it is made up of several layers of migration, involving different successive cultural influences. The area which now hosts 328,000 inhabitants, once belonged to one of Sultan Abdulhamid II's Ministers in the 19th century, then was bought by a Belgian Levantine called Philipson. The land was chosen as a settlement zone by Bulgarian immigrants in the 1950s, then rural migrants from North Eastern and Turkey, and Kurdish migrants from Eastern and South Eastern Turkey (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2009). The most recent wave of immigration since 2011 mostly came from Aleppo region in Syria.

Although one may find some similarities when compared to suburban settlements in the western world, such as the suburbs of Chicago or Turin, (Wacquant, 2008: 270) it can be said that Sultanbeyli is a unique settlement where an Islamic conservative lifestyle coexists with modern lifestyles. During our fieldwork, we have witnessed youngsters skating on the main boulevard of the city. French balcony style modern apartment buildings, as well as a replica of a Parisian café were visible on the main boulevard. 12 years after Işık & Pınarcıoğlu's observations, we have witnessed an astonishing urban landscape during our field visits to Sultanbeyli:

The first time I arrived here I felt like I was in an Anatolian town. On my second visit, I've had mixed feelings of confusion and surprise. The number of malls has increased. I saw youngsters skating on the main boulevard. I immediately asked myself: Where do they belong to? To a conservative Islamic settlement? Are they from Istanbul? Maybe refugees? Also, I realized that Syrian refugees opened new stores. I saw groups of Syrian women dressed in black who were talking to each other (field notes, 07.08.2018).

There are three malls in the city with signs of international corporations

visible from outside. It should be noted that ethnic and religious differentiation exclusive to Turkish society is also existent in Sultanbeyli. For example, there is an important Alevite community with two prayer places-Cem Houses. Tuğal asserts that Sultanbeyli went through a spatial organization from an Islamic outlook to a modern one with the accession to power of AKP since 2014. The transformation of urban landscape coincides with neoliberal orientation of the latter (Tuğal, 2015). In 2006, a modern boulevard was built in the city, where more and more women were being seen (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2009: 98).

SULTANBEYLİ AS A TRANSLATION ZONE

“Translation zone” concept has been used by translation scholars in different contexts. Sherry Simon sees translation as a medium by which it allows the introduction of languages into the public sphere and emphasis is more on interaction than multiplicity (Simon, 2011). Similarly, Cronin emphasizes the role translation plays in urban planning and education. It is important to see multilingual and multiethnic urban space as a translation space (Cronin, 2006). Inghillieri (2017) in her study on the relationship between migration and translation gives the example of Koreatown in Los Angeles. It is well-known that multilingual signs are visible on the urban landscape of big cities of the western world.

In Sultanbeyli, signs indicating the Anatolian roots of its inhabitants are everywhere in the form of hometown associations. As for the Syrian refugees, a street named by local residents as ‘Little Aleppo’ is full of stores with Arabic signs. Numerous stores owned by them are found near Turkish Red Crescent Community Center and the MD.

FIGURE 3. *Multilingual signs in Sultanbeyli*



The story of Rashad Coffee like other stores in Sultanbeyli is interesting in that it shows a perfect example of how a cultural commodity like coffee travels between transnational networks involving different languages and cultures. In this case, between Syria, Brazil and Sultanbeyli. The owner of Rashad Café is from Damascus and has been living in Istanbul for 7 years. He speaks good Turkish and has obtained Turkish nationality recently. The café owner said that the coffee comes from a Syrian family who immigrated to Brazil from Syria a long time ago. He claims that his coffee brand will exceed other well-known coffee chains and become number one in Istanbul (field notes, 31.08.2018).

THE FUNCTIONING OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETING SERVICES IN SULTANBEYLI

In Sultanbeyli, three NGOs work with community interpreters: The Association for Refugees (MD), Turkish Red Crescent Community Center, International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation (IBC).

The first one (MD) is a structure set up with the assistance of the municipality and financed by international donors. As for the Turkish Red Crescent, it is a “not-for-profit, volunteer-based social service institution, and is a corporate body governed by special legal provisions¹¹. Community centers were founded in 2015 and there are 16 of them all around the country.

¹¹ www.kizilay.org.tr/Kurumsal/history [retrieved 07.11.2019]

In the MD, interpreters are exposed to random interactions within the building and some work outside. They frequently go on field visits or to hospitals. They are supposed to be present in the building from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. and work in different departments that are divided according to specializations: legal and psychological counseling, social services, and physiotherapy. Most interpreters work in Arabic-Turkish language pairs. Kurdish, Russian, French are also spoken.

The situation in these NGOs more closely resembles the beginnings of community interpreting in some western countries, which initially set up interpreting services for migrants, then improved the system through trial and error.

INTERPRETER'S HABITUS IN SULTANBEYLI

In Bourdieu's social theory, a social space is an arena of conflict and competition where actors compete against each other to strengthen their positions in a given field. In this conflicting arena, language is one of the instances where symbolic power is manifested. Bourdieu uses concepts such as linguistic habitus and linguistic market to draw attention to the relationship between language and power relations in the social space. He describes everyday linguistic exchanges as situated encounters between actors endowed with socially structured resources and competencies (Bourdieu, 1991: 2). Therefore, every linguistic interaction carries evidence of social structure. Since interpreting occurs mostly in the form of triadic interaction, each speaker's utterance bears a trace of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce.

Since interpreters are mostly bilingual professionals, their habitus determines their roles. This also means deciding which strategy they would use during interpreting sessions. Empirical research on community interpreting launched a series of discussions about interpreter roles. Institutional expectations about community interpreters tend to see them as passive and invisible individuals

subservient to institutional norms who only translate utterances from one language to another. This is usually referred to as “conduit interpreter” model. However, in practice, community interpreters take up rather different roles. They don’t always conform with these norms and move on a variable ground. Indeed, empirical studies conducted in the U.S.A. (Angelelli, 2003), Canada (Barsky, 1996) and Sweden (Wadensjö, 1998), questioned the invisibility of interpreters, and revealed their intercultural mediator roles.

Data collected through interviews indicate that those who are Turkish native speakers are well aware of not only the Turkish laws, but also regional customs which may be close to those of Syrians, whereas Syrian Arabic interpreters claim that they are knowledgeable about it, and if they aren’t, they strive to inform themselves by listening to Turkish social workers, or sometimes calling a friend. One interpreter said he had a friend who was a member of the Police force and called him during and after the interpreting session. It is obvious in this example that interpreter develops a translation strategy by making use of his social capital:

I know Turkey’s laws and rules. I have been learning about them. I have police friends. Those I don’t know; I ask them after the interview is over. Social worker knows about this situation. For example, I know that polygamy is forbidden in Turkey. I know this. I tell this to Syrian family (Interview with a 23-year-old Syrian interpreter, 29.08.2018).

Example above indicates that habitus is expanding towards different fields. Interpreter is able to step into other fields thanks to his social capital. Interpreter’s social capital gained in the course of his postmigration period in Turkey has an impact on his interpreting practices. Next section will exemplify how political fields affect interpreter’s habitus during his/her pre-migration period.

IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL FIELD ON THE FORMATION OF INTERPRETER'S HABITUS

If we consider the geopolitical context in Syria before the interpreter's pre-migration period as a reflection of the political field, namely the external structures weighing on social actors, one can easily assert that it has an impact on the interpreter's habitus. It is a well-known fact that global and regional geopolitical developments in the world can completely change people's lives. Surely, the Syrian civil war led to the displacement of almost all of the interviewees. While starting a new life in a safer country, like Turkey, they started working as community interpreters as a strategy of survival pushed by economic necessities.

At the same time, community interpreting can be considered as a profession that allows most interviewees to be beneficial to the society in which they live. Individuals with an engineering or medical degree in Syria, may warm to the idea of working as an interpreter rather than taking a more low-profile job in Turkey. Many didn't have the idea of working as an interpreter before coming to Turkey. It seems that they stepped into this profession by chance, by accompanying other refugee families in hospitals or community centers and serving as volunteers. Some interviewees even said that they continue to work as volunteer interpreters in addition to their full-time interpreter positions.

On the other hand, the life story of Y.S. (34), one of the interviewees of Turkmen origin, is an exception to the situation of interpreters who stated that they entered into the interpreting field as volunteers. Y.S. is one of those rare refugees who started to work as an interpreter while he was a student in Damascus. He pursued his profession after he immigrated to Turkey. While Turkey-Syria relations were good, he began to accompany Turkish businessmen who regularly visited fairs in Damascus and translated for them. By doing so, he has achieved very good financial gains, because he was paid in USD. After the war broke out, he emigrated to Turkey, has started

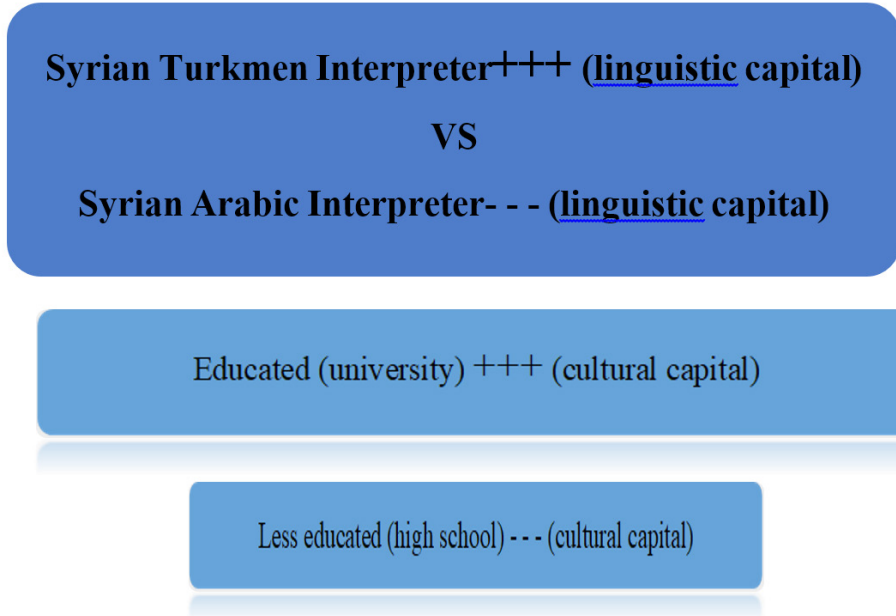
a new life with the help of a local businessman in Sultanbeyli (Interview with the interpreter, 14.12.2017). His social capital has been transformed into economic capital and he has gained considerable symbolic capital as an interpreter in NGOs. As can be seen from this example, there are individuals who continue to do the same work that they had started in their country professionally in Turkey. In addition, it is a concrete example showing the transformation of social networks into economic gains.

According to another interpreter, learning Russian was more important than learning Turkish while he was in Syria. He learned Turkish after emigrating to Turkey because of necessity. (Interview with the interpreter, 23.02.2018). In summary, geopolitical changes and imperatives affect which language individuals learn.

LINGUISTIC HABITUS OF INTERPRETERS

Bourdieu asserts that linguistic habitus is a by-product of social conditions and is related to a certain linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1993: 78). Moreover, it is a subset of the dispositions which comprise the habitus (Bourdieu, 1991: 17). In other words, it is only one of the dimensions of the habitus understood as a system of schemes for generating and perceiving practices (Bourdieu, 1993: 87). It should therefore be understood in relation to other schemes of practices, not separate from them. In this regard, when we look at linguistic habitus of Syrian interpreters, it is possible to identify a stratification based on their education, language skills and ethnic origin:

FIGURE 4. Positioning of interpreters in the field



Syrians of Turkmen origin seem to be better positioned in the interpreting and translation field on the basis of their cultural capital, which also includes the linguistic capital. Those who hold Turkish nationality are positioned higher in the social space. This is confirmed by NGO employees who openly state that they prefer working with them as interpreters. On the other hand, less educated interpreters, i.e., with high school diplomas as well as Arabic mother tongue Syrian interpreters seem to hold weaker positions in the field. We believe that Bourdieu's social theory can be better understood when the whole set of his concepts are taken into consideration. In other words, *habitus*, *field*, *capital*, *illusio*, *doxa*, *self-reflexivity* all have a conceptual relationship between them and it makes more sense to use them holistically. With this in mind, we conducted a content analysis with MAXQDA 2018 software as well as word frequency of recorded interviews using *Word Cloud*. Consequently, some elements indicating asymmetrical power relations

between other NGO employees and interpreters have appeared.

Examples below concern analysis of word frequencies used in interviews with NGO employees. In this case, with a Human Resources employee as can be seen below:

Example 1:

'Interpreters need to...' *'They are given.'* *'We give interpreters...'*, *'they are privileged here'*.

(23.02.2018)

In this example, NGO employee attempts to use an institutional language. Hence, this bears witness to the fragmentation of habitus and field and the emergence of *doxa*. Bourdieu defines *doxa* as a kind of unquestioned truth (Bourdieu, 1972: 164).

Example 2:

(Psychologist): Frequent use of 'I' (Interpreter) *understands, to keep quiet, interpreter(s), I am trying to...*

The psychologist prefers that the interpreter should keep quiet; the interpreter understands that she should keep quiet. She prefers that the interpreter should remain 'subordinate.' The emphasis on the use of *I* and *them* shows an opposition between the psychologist and the interpreter. This shows the existence of asymmetrical power relations between the psychologist and the interpreter as well as class distinctions.

In addition to differences in status, we believe that immigrant identity enters into question here. In the literature on community interpreting, it has been shown that one of the roles of the interpreter is to level out uneven power relationships in the triangular communication taking place between the service provider, patient and the interpreter (Lesch, 1993, cited in Garces & Blasi, 2010: 3). However, as seen in this example, uneven power relations persist in the communication between Syrian interpreter and Turkish psychologist.

Example 3:

(Interpreter: Syrian Turkmen): Frequently used words: *Health, medical, Turkey, Arabic, social worker, we do., we saw, we took.* etc.

Focus on ‘we’: This indicates the importance of teamwork between social workers, doctors and interpreters.

Example 4:

(Interpreter: Syrian Arabic): *Turkish, helper, education, medicine, doctors, Arabic, Russian.* Use of the first singular (*I am..*)

Emphasis on his education (cultural and linguistic capital): Learning Turkish is an important threshold in his life in Turkey.

INTERPRETER’S ILLUSIO IN SULTANBEYLI

Another concept which should be understood in relation to Bourdieu’s key concepts is *illusio*. Bourdieu uses the game metaphor in order to explain the struggles going on in the social space. In this game, players are endowed with a belief that it’s worth entering the game. This “worthiness” is what motivates actors to enter into the game. In other words, *illusio* is the commitment of players of the game in any field to invest in its stakes.

Interpreters in Sultanbeyli entered the game in the field of translation and interpreting in NGO settings with different *illusio*: For some, it’s a step towards a higher-level position. For another one, it is about learning languages and being multilingual in an ever-changing, fluid world:

*I studied English Interpreting and Translation in Syria.
My husband is Turkish. We have met here in Turkey.
After coming to Turkey, I worked in International NGOs,
in the field of finance. I earned a lot of money thanks
to my knowledge of languages. My child was born in
Turkey...*

...In translation job, it helped me to learn more Turkish

words, about life. That's why I will learn more Turkish for my daughter. I want her to learn four languages. Because the future is about languages (Interview with a 30-year-old Syrian interpreter, 08.05.2018).

In addition to the aforementioned examples, particular mention should be made of the spiritual illusion of being an interpreter, as quoted by other interpreters. For example, in this interpreter's narrative, interpreting to members of his community yields a certain spiritual power to the interpreter which takes the form of a reward (*ecir*) and good deed (*sevap*):

*Interpreter finds a solution; the doctor also finds a solution... You help the patient while you translate. You improve your language skills, too. This gives me *ecir* and *sevap*. Besides, you understand that your education is not wasted... Interpreter is a mediator. He calls and assists people who are suffering. I am contacting Syrian families and helping the manager to find out which family is really in need of assistance (Interview with a 30-year-old Syrian interpreter. 13.11.2017).*

This situation reminds that of a Shaman. Similarly, a Shaman starts his spiritual session with his assistant, who interprets somehow what the spirits say (Eliade, 2004: 336). In this regard, one can think of an interpreter as a spiritual assistant of the patient. The interpreter is not only a transmitter of words, but acts as a spiritual assistant. In the words of a medical interpreter interviewed, the patient is seen as an *amanat*. In other words, the patient is entrusted to him. He advocates the patient's rights in face of doctor's quick treatment as he feels responsible for the patient.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETERS IN EASING THE TENSIONS

As our research findings indicated in previous sections, asymmetrical power

relationships existed between NGO employees and interpreters who were positioned at the very bottom of the hierarchy. When asymmetrical power relationships exist in a given place, tensions of various kinds become inevitable. These tensions have been observed on both macro and micro levels in Sultanbeyli.

Bourdieu pointed out that struggles and conflict can exist in a field between newcomers and those who defend monopoly of the field and dominants trying to eliminate any kind of competition:

“A field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition, the analogy here being with a battlefield, in which participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in it” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 17).

As mentioned earlier, there is a stratification between interpreters working in the NGO based on their linguistic capital, a part of their cultural capital. This leads to tensions between them. For example, Syrian Turkmen interpreters, Turkish forming the basis of their linguistic capital tend to think that their Turkish is better than the Arabic origin Syrian interpreters, although tensions between Turkmen interpreters exist, too. In the meantime, NGO employees working with interpreters show a preference to work with them as there is less risk of misunderstanding and they possess a better knowledge of terminology.

As for the NGOs in general, a struggle for funds and visibility can be observed in NGOs assisting Syrian refugees: First, between those NGOs in competition for foreign funds, in order to get more funds, NGOs resort to public relations strategies to gain more visibility and to increase their symbolic capital.

On a smaller scale, we observe a similar situation between different NGOs in Sultanbeyli. We have come across striking examples from social media accounts of these NGOs. For example, the MD invited a famous Brazilian

actress, Dani Suzuki, to Sultanbeyli. She said in a quote to a local newspaper that

‘Sultanbeyli’s refugee policy will be a model for Brazil.’¹²

Whereas other NGOs are less visible, as in the example of Association of Bridging Peoples, in Izmir, which also uses community interpreters but only on a voluntary basis, it is clearly stated in its website that this NGO absolutely rejects any kind of foreign donors.¹³

Frequent reports of tension between Syrian refugees and the local population can be found on Turkish media. Numerous cases related to language tensions are also mentioned regarding the use of Arabic advertising billboards on stores. It seems that even in Sultanbeyli, where its religious conservative fabric might at first seem to be more hospitable and open towards Syrian refugees, several signs of unease towards their presence in the city reveals the “limits of hospitality” (Danış & Nazlı, 2018: 6). Many examples proving this situation emerge in the narratives of Syrian community interpreters, as well.

For example, a medical interpreter of Syrian Arabic origin, M.H. related various discriminatory remarks coming from Turkish doctors with whom he worked: *Some doctors keep asking me: “When will you leave here? I reply to them: Don’t worry, we will leave. Just do your job* (Interview with the interpreter (27) 31.08.2018).

This kind of discriminatory discourse is also heard from local shopkeepers. Syrian refugees who reside in Sultanbeyli seem to get bored with the question: *Why did you come here?*¹⁴

It is worth mentioning that there are conflict and competition for the distribution of limited economic resources in the city. So, it can be said that actors in

¹² www.haberler.com/brezilyali-unlu-aktris-daniele-suzuki-sultanbeyli-9652165-haberi/ [retrieved 15.06.2017]

¹³ www.halklarinkoprusu.org/en/who-are-we/ [retrieved 18.10.2018]

¹⁴ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2018/08/16/ev-arayan-suriyeliler-soruyor-nereye-gidelim/> [retrieved 16.07.2019]

the migration field have entered into a struggle in the economic field based on the amount of economic capital they have. We see that new immigrants of Sultanbeyli have implemented their survival strategies thanks to their common class habitus. New immigrants are in competition with immigrants who came to Sultanbeyli decades ago.

In this context, the role of community interpreters as cultural mediators should be underlined. Their work seems to be primordial in easing tensions, eliminating prejudices and increasing mutual understanding between the host population and refugees. Although Syrian community interpreters make efforts to integrate into Turkish society not only by improving their Turkish skills but also by learning about laws, norms and customs of the host society, they are at times faced with prejudices and discriminatory remarks. This kind of profiling on the part of the established population might have an impact on the interpreter's own translation practices, however, it was impossible to measure the extent to which their interpreting job was affected by this. One thing is certain, community interpreters are mediators in the sense that they transmit Sultanbeyli's distinctive immigration history to newcomers. As "structured actors", their habitus is transformed and they are themselves translated into the social fabric of their new city.

As for the Association for Refugees in Sultanbeyli (MD), it is a positive example where translation functions as an 'intermediate field.' This is a translational space where different languages and cultures intermingle. Translation exists in different strata in the organization: At first sight, this is highly visible in the entrance of the building. Arabic, Turkish, and German posters welcome the visitor as examples of signifiers in the building. The MD organizes activities and twinning projects aiming for mutual contacts between local residents and Syrian refugees. (Refugee assemblies, breakfast activities, tours of Istanbul, etc.).

Despite the negative examples cited above, we witnessed on various occasions that communication was possible between Turkish social workers and Syrian

refugees in the building without the mediation of an interpreter. We have also witnessed some moments of effective communication between Sultanbeyli residents and Syrian refugees in public spaces such as restaurants and public transports. Therefore, there is room to believe that this was because they shared similar social and cultural references with similar habitus.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Community interpreting in NGO settings is considered to be a newly emerging profession in Turkey, as it is understood from the explosion of job advertisements on specialized websites such as *gelbasla.com* looking for Turkish-Arabic interpreters. Their role is primordial in eliminating language barriers of refugees, especially given the actual climate of tension between the established population and Syrian refugees. Yet their visibility is still minimal.

Efforts are currently being made by other NGOs in providing training in community interpreting on the spot. Nevertheless, given the high number of Syrian refugees in Turkey, and the language barriers they face, it seems that there is not sufficient training for community interpreters, and this is a major challenge for the future.

This study focused on the district of Sultanbeyli, in the periphery of Istanbul hosting the largest number of Syrian refugees on the Asian side of the metropolis. At first glance, any visitor to Sultanbeyli could feel himself/herself in an Anatolian city. The multilingual atmosphere of the city starts to be felt while on the bus from the center of Istanbul. Apart from different dialects of Turkish, it is likely that Arabic and Kurdish is heard. Seen from this perspective, Sultanbeyli is a migration zone. Since migration brings different cultures and languages into contact, it can also be considered as a translation zone.

In our study, sociology of translation provided a road map which included Bourdieu's core concepts (*habitus, field, capital, illusio, doxa, self-reflexivity*)

as well as a glance into conditions and the actors who structured relational networks. We encountered frequent use of *doxa* in every phase of the research process. These included NGO employees' *doxa* about migration. Self-reflexivity allowed us to question our preconceived ideas about the research object, our position as a researcher in the power relations as well as the choice of research methodology. In addition to these concepts, another concept, "fluid modernity" as formulated by Zygmunt Bauman, could be useful in explaining the ever-changing nature of Sultanbeyli as a migration zone.

On a macro-level, NGOs compete against each other on the resources available to them. They are in need of funding, i.e. economic capital to be able to thrive in the NGO sector. They rely on translators in writing projects without which they wouldn't be able to function fully. Every institution enters the game with a different *illusio*.

On a micro-level, the building which hosts the Association for Refugees (MD) can be seen as a part of this larger translation space where different actors struggle for a place in the translation field. Each actor's position depends on the amount of linguistic capital he/she has.

In this sense, Bourdieu's approach proves to be useful. However, on a much larger scale, his concepts seem to be insufficient in explaining our current state of the world, particularly the dynamism of migration and fluidity of a metropolis like Istanbul.

This study is an attempt to provide a clear picture of community interpreting practices in peripheral Istanbul between 2017-2018 through concrete examples coming from the field. Of course, without denying the historicity of habitus, it is necessary to question the slippery and fluid aspect of this concept. Therefore, it is prudent to carry out other localized empirical research on community interpreting services in different cities in Turkey. By doing so, one may obtain a more complete picture of the current state of language needs of the refugee population and hope for a better organization

of community interpreting services in Turkey.

In order to smooth out the blurriness of information about Syrian refugees, first of all, it is necessary to raise awareness about their status and living conditions by increasing “migration literacy” amongst the local population. This will certainly lead to fluidity between locals and newcomers. Along with the proliferation of migration in Turkey, the mass has already entered into fluidity with “migration literate” citizens. As in the example of MD in Sultanbeyli, this takes the form of performances such as breakfast activities which aim to mingle local citizens with newcomers. Migration literacy would equip local population with knowledge, prepare society so that it can cope with the migration phenomenon and eventually reduce tensions. However, further research is needed to update and complement our findings in Sultanbeyli to discover the extent to which locals hold awareness of activities carried out by local NGOs to reduce tensions.

Social cohesion can be accomplished by organizing more and more artistic performances and workshops. Moreover, translation can be instrumental in breaking prejudices between cultures. Sustainable translation projects involving all actors, each acting in a reflexive and relational manner is essential to assuring mutual exchanges between people and reducing social inequalities (Bogenç Demirel, 2012: 172). NGOs can act as cultural mediators, as in the example of NGOs assisting Turkish migrants in France, this could be done by promoting and researching about the culture of the country of origin, encouraging artistic and literary production of migrant youth (Bogenç Demirel & Bilir Ataseven, 2008: 23). Other interdisciplinary projects could be steps towards achieving migration literacy. Thus, different actors’ habitus can be used in a useful manner and this would prepare the ground for better integration.

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Transition to online learning due to the outbreak of Coronavirus: students' perceptions and perspectives

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to present findings of a survey conducted on Turkish students' experiences of online learning in the wake of the outbreak of new coronavirus (COVID-19) around the globe. In the aftermath of the new coronavirus epidemic and the declaration of it as a pandemic by the World Health Organization on March 11 (Iwai, 2020), universities across Turkey were closed in an attempt to slow down its spread. Education was shortly resumed, yet in new settings, as the learning was shifted to virtual classrooms. This was a sudden and unprecedented change for many learners in Turkey. Therefore, this paper intends to examine students' perceptions as well as reactions to such an unforeseen and rapid transition to remote learning. The data obtained from 135 undergraduate students across different universities in Istanbul suggest mixed results. The negative experiences were mainly associated with technical issues, lack of real communication and difficulty with staying focused during online lessons. While convenience and flexibility were reported to as the biggest benefits to this mode of study.

Key words: COVID-19, remote learning, virtual classroom, online learning, online platform

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Coronavirüs'ün Ortaya Çıkması Nedeniyle Çevrimiçi Öğrenmeye Geçiş: Öğrencilerin Algıları Ve Bakış Açıları

ÖZ

Bu makale, Türk öğrencilerin dünya çapında yeni koronavirüsün (COVID-19) ortaya çıkması sonucunda internet üzeri (online) öğrenme deneyimleri üzerine yapılan bir araştırmanın bulgularını sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yeni koronavirüs salgınının yayılmasından ve bunun 11 Mart'ta Dünya Sağlık Örgütü tarafından pandemi olarak ilan edilmesinden sonra (Iwai, 2020), Türkiye genelindeki üniversiteler yayılmasını yavaşlatmak amacıyla kapatıldı. Eğitim yeni ortama geçilerek, sanal sınıflara taşınarak kısa süre içerisinde devam etti. Bu, Türkiye'deki birçok öğrenci için ani ve benzeri görülmemiş bir değişiklikti. Bu nedenle, bu makale öğrencilerin bu öngörülemez hızlı bir geçişe karşı olan tepkilerini ve algılarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. İstanbul'daki farklı üniversitelerdeki 135 lisans öğrencisinden elde edilen veriler karışık sonuçlar vermektedir. Olumsuz yönler temel olarak teknik konular, gerçek iletişim eksikliği ve çevrimiçi derslerde odaklanmada zorluk yaşamak ile ilgiliydi. Buna karşın zaman uyumu ve esnekliğin bu çalışma biçiminin en büyük faydaları olduğu bildirilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *COVID-19, uzaktan öğrenme, sanal sınıf, çevrimiçi öğrenme, çevrimiçi platform*

INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) was first registered in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China in December 2019 (McLeod, 2020). However, it didn't take too long for other countries to get affected as the virus proved to be fast spreading, and in just a few months the infection spread around the globe and became a pandemic.

Typical coronavirus patient develops symptoms very similar to flu which include fever and dry cough. Although these symptoms are quite common,

they may not manifest themselves at all and the incubation period may last up to 14 days (Mahbubani, 2020). According to the research by Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) an infected person may transmit the virus during this time and may spread it to on average 2.2 others. To limit this spread many states have declared national lockdowns and severely restricted travelling. This has produced a profound effect on people worldwide and it won't be an exaggeration to say that every single being on Earth has been affected to a certain extent. Industries such as tourism, airline, finance and entrepreneurship, etc. have suffered the most resulting in billions of profits lost.

Brief Chronology of the Events in Turkey

Turkey's Health Minister Fahrettin Koca officially announced the first case of coronavirus on March 11, 2020 (Turkish Health Ministry). Following this disclosure, the Minister of National Education in Turkey- Ziya Selcuk announced that all schools would undergo a thorough disinfection. It then (on March 16, 2002) was decided that all schools (primary, secondary and high) would be closed for a week and that all universities would be closed for 3 weeks. Starting on 23 March 2020 it was officially announced that further education in all schools and universities would need to be carried online (from home).

THE PURPOSE

It's been 8 weeks now since education across all levels in Turkey has been being delivered remotely. While it is not a very long-time span, I think some meaningful conclusions based on students' experiences with remote learning can be drawn. From these conclusions, possible recommendations could also be made.

PARTICIPANTS and CONTEXT

This study comprised 135 students from different universities around Istanbul at an undergraduate level. An electronic survey (via Google Forms) was sent to all students asking about their experiences with online learning. Below are the survey questions that were sent to students.

Survey Questions

A Google Form survey in English was sent (emailed) to all students to collect their responses.

Below are the questions that the survey asked. All of the questions can be divided into 4 categories namely: Technology, Learning Online and Instructors.

Technology:

Which online platform is being used for your lessons? (Zoom, Google Meets, BB Collaborate, Other).

How often do you have technical problems? (Never, Sometimes, Often, Always).

Do you prefer your camera on or off during lessons? (On, Off).

Learning Online:

How do you prefer your classes to be? (Fully Online, Face-to-Face, Mixed: online with face-to-face)

Do you think online lessons are as effective as classroom lessons? (No, not at all/ Sometimes/ Most of the time/ Yes, online lessons are as effective as classroom lessons/ Yes, online lessons are more effective than classroom lessons).

Do you find it difficult to focus when learning online? (Always, Sometimes, Often, Never)

Are the online learning materials easy to use? (Yes, very easy, Yes, somewhat easy, No, not easy at all.)

Do you agree that exams online are easier than exams in the classroom?
(Yes, No, I don't know).

What do you think is the biggest advantage of learning online? (Open ended)

What do you think is the biggest disadvantage of learning online? (Open ended)

Instructors:

Are you getting the right amount of communication and support from your instructor(s)? (Yes, No).

Do you find it easy to understand your instructor during the lessons online?
(Yes very easy, Yes, fairly easy, No, not easy at all).

RESULTS

This section presents the results of the survey.

Question 1: Which online platform is being used for your lessons?

The options to this question included the following commonly used online platforms: Zoom, Google Meet, BB Collaborate and Other. The results reveal that Zoom is by far the most popular online tool currently being used to facilitate remote learning (58.5% or 79 respondents chose this). 30.4% (41) of the responses were given to "Other". BB Collaborate was cited by 8.1% (11) respondents, while Google Meet was chosen by only 3% (4) of students.

Question 2: How often do you have technical problems?

The majority of students 67.4% (91) said that they sometimes experience technical problems. A further 18.5% of the respondents (25) reported that they never have these problems. 11.9 % of those surveyed (16) said that they often have such problems, and a mere 2.2% (3 students) expressed that technical issues are always a problem for them.

Question 3: Do you prefer your camera “on” or “off” during lessons?

The vast majority of the votes 71.9% (97) were given to the “camera off” option, with 28.1% (38) to “camera on”.

Option 4: How do you prefer your classes to be?

This question offered three alternatives: fully online, face-to-face or a mixed (online with face-to-face) mode. The results were mixed. 42.2% of those surveyed (57) opted for a face-to-face option, with 34.1% (46) choosing mixed and the rest (23.7%) voting for online only mode.

Question 5: Do you think online lessons are as effective as classroom lessons?

Just above a third of all respondents (34.8%) found online lessons not at all as effective as classroom lessons. A slightly higher proportion 37% (50) ranked them as sometimes effective, with a further 22.2% (30) saying that online lessons were equally effective to online lessons most of the time. The remaining 5.9% (8) of the students maintained that lessons online are always effective.

Question 6: Do you find it difficult to focus when learning online?

Again, the most commonly picked option was “sometimes” (54.8% or 74 students). For 18.5% (25) of the respondents staying focused is often a problem. Similarly, 17% (23) said that it is always a problem. 9.6% (13) of those surveyed said that it is never difficult to focus when studying online.

Question 7: Are the online learning materials easy to use?

For 54.8% (74) of the students surveyed, online materials are somewhat easy to use. However, 39.3% (53) find them very easy to use with only 5.9% (8) stating that using online materials is not easy at all.

Question 8: Do you agree that exams online are easier than exams in the classroom?

This question produced mixed results with the biggest proportion (39.3%) of students agreeing with the question (53). 33.3% (45) students disagreed and 27.4% (37) said that they don't know yet.

Question 9: Do you find it easy to understand your instructor during the lessons online?

For almost a half of all respondents (48.9%) it's fairly easy, with additional 33.3% (45) for whom it is very easy. 17.8% (24) think that it isn't easy to understand their teacher.

Question 10: Are you getting the right amount of communication and support from your instructor(s)?

55.6% of all responses (75) were positive with only 7.4% (10) negative and the remaining 37% (50) neutral.

Question 11: What do you think is the biggest advantage of learning online?

Given the open-ended nature of this question, the responses varied. However, the most commonly cited advantages related to convenience and flexibility that online learning can provide. Another very popular benefit was its time saving potential. Quite a few of the respondents saw absolutely no advantages of online learning.

Some of the responses included: "easier to concentrate", "no other student disturbs me".

A few other recurring responses were "easier" than face-to-face learning as students experienced "less anxiety", it was "easier to participate" and "easier to communicate"

Other responses were non-recurring and included: "it's a new skill", "I can sleep longer", "safe environment", "it saves our energy because of not

going to school”.

Question 12: What do you think is the biggest disadvantage of learning online?

This was another open-ended question which yielded various results. The range of answers was extensive as students picked up on many different shortcomings of online learning. Some of the most frequently mentioned ones were related to connectivity issues and other technical problems. Lack of real communication and external distractions and limited interaction were among other common downsides referred to by students.

Instructors' inability to control class appropriately and unpreparedness to use technology resulting in students' time wasted were also mentioned as some of the drawbacks related to online learning.

Other cited disadvantages included: “being at home is boring”, “inability to teamwork”, “teacher-centeredness”, “a lot of homework”.

Discussion of Results

Based on the data gathered it could be concluded that the students who took part in this survey had different experiences with online learning. This is predictable as the participants were all from various universities around Istanbul and were exposed to different teaching methods.

Overall, it can be said that students didn't express strong preference to either online or face-to-face learning. It is obvious that online education, although associated with certain difficulties, has a great potential and if managed appropriately might be as effective as a brick-and-mortar classroom. What's more, it could be inferred from the data that there's a lean away from the physical classroom, as the majority (57.8%) would prefer their studies to be either mixed (online with face-to-face) or fully online.

Flexibility and time-saving factors were cited as the major benefits to studying online. These are crucial given the increased pace of life. With

online classes, students have an opportunity to fit their learning into their busy schedule and save a great amount of time- the perks which a traditional face-to-face education doesn't offer (Brooks, 2019). Besides, many students maintained that it was easier for them to express themselves, as they didn't feel any pressure neither from their teacher nor from peers.

It's also worth noticing that although lack of real communication was cited as a drawback of studying online, the majority said that they found it easy to understand their instructors. Similarly, just over a half thought that they were receiving enough support from their teachers. What's more, virtually all students said that learning materials were fairly easy to use. This is particularly reassuring giving the fact that for many educators across Istanbul this has also been a new experience. This implies that teachers managed to swiftly transit into a new realm and continue to do their best to provide the most favourable outcome and support to their learners.

Despite the clear advantages, connectivity issues and other technical problems seem to be the major stumbling blocks of online education. It is frustrating to get disconnected or be unable to join a classroom because of poor or unstable connection. This creates additional problems and makes online learning experience unsettling to many students.

In addition, "lack of real interaction" was among recurring dissatisfactions with online learning. This is totally understandable as students suddenly were "forced" to switch into remote learning, which gave them only little time to adjust to the new "classroom". Furthermore, students' frustration aggravated due to the fact that they had to stay at home as a quarantine measure, which contributed to the feeling of loneliness and possible boredom. Had the students had the opportunity to socialize and meet their friends during that time, the "lack of interaction" might have been less frequently reported.

Some other commonly reported problems with learning online were difficulty to concentrate and stay focused. Students often have to stay in front of the screen for several consecutive hours trying to concentrate. This is both mentally

and physically tiring resulting in students' level of concentration receding and motivation dwindling. Although it is hard to deny that concentration is a big issue in online learning and that many learners genuinely struggle with it, some students knowingly undermine their potential to stay focused by studying "from bed". "Studying without having to leave the bed" or "eating while studying" were given as some of the positives of online learning. If that is the case, the concentration issues are not surprising.

CONCLUSION

The outbreak of coronavirus that we are yet to overcome has changed education around the globe dramatically. Online learning isn't always perfect for everyone as it requires a certain degree of self-motivation and autonomy. Inability to manage time and take control of learning won't turn out a positive online experience for anyone. However, one trend is obvious, online education is evolving rapidly and has already reached the turning point when it can challenge the physical classroom by offering greater flexibility and requiring less time investment. This means that further research into e-learning should be our priority. Investing time and money into educational technologies to increase online learning efficiency is definitely worthwhile and the pandemic that we are all living through has proven that.

Present survey has demonstrated that despite developments in technology the very technology remains to be the biggest obstacle. This suggests that improving the Internet technologies have to be our primary priority if our aim is to continue with education online (which is a very likely scenario). On top of that, course designs need to be revisited with the learning material being digitized to better suit online delivery. One more suggestion may be for the teachers to make their students turn their cameras "on" during the sessions, which may alleviate problems related to concentration and lack of participation. Finally, it may be worthwhile to conduct more surveys on students' online experiences when the situation with the COVID-19 stabilizes

and life gets back to normal. The results may be surprisingly different.

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Censorship and Circumvention in China: How Danmei Writers ‘Drive a Car’ on Jinjiang

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ABSTRACT

Danmei, aka Boys Love or BL, denotes a literature genre featuring male-male romantic or erotic relationships, predominantly created by and for heterosexual women who are referred to as ‘rotten girls’. This subculture is characterised by explicit depiction of sexual encounters and erotic spectacles, which is metaphorically represented by a newly coined Internet neologism *kaiche* ‘to drive a car’ in China. As a consequence of its dual connection with homosexuality and pornography, as well as its accused transgression of traditional norms, danmei is subject to severe moral scrutiny and state censorship in China. As a leading danmei website with the largest readership and prominent commercial success, Jinjiang has been sensitive to government policy shifts and anti-pornography campaigns, and hence has enforced strict self-censorship standards comprising both automatic detection of transgressive keywords and multiple rounds of manual review. Consequently, writers at Jinjiang adopt a variety of circumvention tactics, including metaphor, code-switching and satire strategies, so as to accommodate readers’ requirement for homoerotic depictions. More significantly, erotic representations illustrate writers’ sexual desires and identity as ‘rotten girls’, as well as illuminate writers’ rebellion against online censorship and restriction on freedom of creation imposed by authorities.

Keywords: *China, danmei, boys love, censorship, circumvention, eroticism, fan-fiction, social taboo*

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ÖZ

Danmei, çoğunlukla *'fujoshi'* (edebiyatta erkekler arasındaki romantik ilişkiden hoşlanan kadın hayranlara verilen isim) olarak adlandırılan heteroseksüel kadınlar tarafından ve onlar için yaratılan erkek erkeğe yaşanan romantik ya da erotik edebi türü ifade eder. Bu alt kültür, internet ortamında yeni ortaya çıkan Çince *'kaiche'* yani araba sürmek anlamına gelen kelime ile metaforik olarak temsil edilen cinsel yakınlaşmanın ve erotik sahnelerin açıkça işlenmesi olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Danmei hem homoseksüellik hem de pornografi ile olan bağlantısının yanı sıra geleneksel normları da aştığı için Çin'de ahlaki denetime ve sansüre maruz kalmıştır. En geniş okuyucu kitlesi ve dikkat çeken ticari başarısı ile önde gelen bir danmei websitesi olan Jinjiang, hükümet politikasında değişime ve pornografiye karşı kampanyalara karşı duyarlı olmuş ve bu nedenle hem suç teşkil eden anahtar kelimelerin otomatik olarak algılanmasını sağlayan hem de birçok incelemeyi gerektiren katı bir otosansür uygulaması getirmiştir. Sonuç olarak ise Jinjian yazarları, okurların homoerotik tasvir isteklerini karşılamak için metafor, diller arası geçiş, satirik dil kullanmak gibi pek çok taktik kullanmaya başladılar. Daha da önemlisi, erotik tasvirler, yazarların cinsel arzularını ve kimliklerini *'fujoshi'* olarak göstermenin yanı sıra, yazarların çevrimiçi sansüre karşı isyanını ve yetkililer tarafından dayatılan yaratma özgürlüğü kısıtlamasını aydınlatıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin, danmei, sansür, erotizm, kurgu, sosyal tabu

1. INTRODUCTION

'Slash fiction', or 'male/male slash', refers to a productive strand of female-fan-generated literature in which same-sex (usually male) television or film characters are subversively converted into queer subjects (Dhaenens et al 2008, Keft-Kennedy 2008, Willis 2016). 耽美 danmei is China's version of slash fiction, and it denotes a literature genre featuring and romanticising male-male homoerotic desire and romantic relationships, predominantly for

mass circulation and consumption by female audiences, the vast majority of whom are heterosexual (Feng 2009, Fujimoto 2015, Hartley 2015, Yang and Xu 2016). With its provenance in Japan that significantly impinges on Chinese subcultures, danmei, originally *tanbi*, pertains to aestheticism and thus its literal meaning ‘addicted to beauty’ or ‘indulgence in beauty’. Since being borrowed into the Chinese language, this terminology has adopted the definition of *yaoi*, aka Boys Love or BL, and ‘beauty’ is hence limited to that of young male characters in BL narratives exclusively (McLelland 2000, 2009, 2017, Wood 2006, McLelland and Welker 2015, Welker 2015, Chen 2017, Yang and Xu 2017a, 2017b, Wang 2019, Sun 2020).

Danmei literature is marked by distinctive characteristics: protagonists are bestowed with attractive appearance, charisma and sentiment—although being called ‘Boys Love’, the danmei genre pertains to relationships involving pubescent or mature men, the majority of whom do not identify their sexual orientation as homosexual. Moreover, the saccharine romantic fantasies exhibit exciting plots and exotic settings, appearing in anime, manga, as well as textual and visual pieces (Leech 2012, Suzuki 2015, The Economist 2015, Zsila and Demetrovics 2017a, 2017b).

Since entering China’s comic market in the mid-1990s as a Japanese cultural export, danmei works and subculture have attracted a prodigious fangirl readership, among whom it is not uncommon to participate in producing homosexual love stories themselves. In China, this cohort is referred to as 腐女 *fuvv* ‘rotten girl’ which is borrowed from the Japanese term *fujoshi*, viz. heterosexual adolescent girls and adult women who are fascinated with female-oriented narratives concerning male-male romantic and erotic relationships, and have deviated from social rules and responsibilities defining women (Berry 2007, Feng 2009, Xu and Yang 2013, Galbraith 2015, Hester 2015, Nagaike 2015, Chao 2016, 2017).

2. Danmei in China

Nevertheless, in tandem with its surging popularity among Chinese 'rotten girls', the genre has also been subject to moral scrutiny and fallen prey to government censorship due to sexual depictions (Suzuki 1998, Nagaike 2003). Owing to the fact that danmei literature is unprofitable in theory, it lacks commercial power and representation that can enforce its legitimacy (Zheng 2019).

A salient attribute of the danmei genre is that some BL works are flooded with explicit sexual representations. It is noteworthy that BL literature enriched by erotic or pornographic stimuli as entertaining elements should not be treated liberatorily as autoerotic female pornography, in that the pornographic aspects are inextricably intertwined with the portrayal of mutual romantic attachment between characters. BL works present sexual pleasure of both lovers and they may perform either the seme (top) or uke (bottom) role according to their personality traits, which functions as a parody of heterosexual paradigm by means of unravelling the possibilities embedded in gender performativity (Otsuka 2004, Nagakubo 2005, Mori 2010, Nagaike and Aoyama 2015, Otomo 2015). In Japan, policymakers are lobbied by international agencies to comply with international standards restricting fantasy sex and impose stricter regulations on contents involving and/or targeting at young people, and 'rotten girls' also increasingly come under official scrutiny (McLelland 2015, 2016).

Analogous to its status in Japan, danmei literature in China is also one of the easiest targets for moral scrutiny and the severe control and regulation of the party-state, owing to its dual association with homosexuality and pornography, as well as its presumed desecration of the conservative traditional norms prescribing that women must be chaste and subservient to men (Ng 2015, McLelland 2016, Zhang 2017, He and Zhang 2018). Although male same-sex intimacy used to be embraced by pre-modern elite culture, gay-themed media representation has been a social taboo since the Chinese

Communist Party became the ruling party (Hinsch 1992, Song 2004, Wu 2004, Dong 2005, Lim 2006, Wang 2019).

The majority of Chinese danmei narratives are in the form of fiction, published on online websites such as Jinjiang (see discussion below), yet several anti-pornography campaigns launched by the government have disastrously impinged upon them in the past decade (Yang and Xu 2016, 2017a, 2017b, Wang 2019). On 13 April 2014, the National Office against Pornographic and Illegal Publications, in collaboration with other government departments, jointly announced a nationwide crackdown on pornographic content on the Internet, named ‘Jingwang Xingdong’ (‘Internet Cleansing Movement’). The campaign was carried out from mid-April to November, aiming to eradicate all online pornographic texts, images, videos and advertisements, and to rectify websites involved in production or dissemination of pornographic information; consequences included the removal of potentially inappropriate works from most literature websites and the shutting down of an online literature channel of Sina.com (Ji and Long 2014, Ning 2014, Yang and Xu 2017a). In 2018, posts with pornographic and homosexual implications were deleted from Weibo, China’s largest social media platform (Kwong 2018, Wu 2019). In 2019, Chinese authorities further intensified the crackdown on pornography and illegal publications, thereby maintaining the market order of publication and a clean social and cultural environment (Xinhua News 2019). Moreover, on 22 May 2020, the Cyberspace Administration of China announced the launch of a dedicated Qinglang ‘clear and bright’ action lasting for eight months, with a mission to establish a healthy Internet space in China (Cyberspace Administration of China 2020, Qin 2020).

There have been cases where danmei writers were subject to the anti-pornography campaigns and penalties. In 2011, the Zhengzhou police bureau busted a commercial BL website with 600,000 registered users and arrested over ten writers under the charge of spreading obscene articles (Shen and Li 2011); in 2014, a Jinjiang pseudonymous author ‘big grey wolf’ was

arrested in Jiangsu and later sentenced for imprisonment of three years and half (Peng 2015); in 2018, an author of a self-published homoerotic book that 'obscenely and in detail described gay male-male acts' was found guilty by Wuhu county court and was given a ten-year jail term (He and Zhang 2018, Shepherd 2018); in 2019, eight danmei writers and practitioners in Wuhan were involved in illegal business crimes, and a writer was sentenced for four-year imprisonment and fined 120,000 RMB (Yang 2019, Yang and Teng 2019).

Furthermore, the discussion concerning danmei-related censorship would not be complete without mentioning two phenomenal works, viz. a film titled *藍宇 Lan Yu* and a TV drama called *上癮 Shangyin*, both of which are adapted from online danmei novels. The former has been banned in Mainland China, despite its positive reviews and considerable number of awards from outside Mainland China (Friess 2002); the latter was removed from all streaming websites by the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television, in accordance with the cultural crackdown on 'vulgar, immoral and unhealthy content' that 'exaggerates the dark side of society' (Ellis-Petersen 2016).

3. Jinjiang and Censorship

Jinjiang Literature City (www.jjwxc.net), known as Jinjiang, is one of the earliest and most influential women's literature websites in China. Since launched in 2003, Jinjiang has established an almost exclusively female readership well-known for enthusiasm, loyalty and power of articulation (Yin 2005), and has developed into an elaborate organisation constituted of an e-bookstore, a discussion forum, a users' feedback forum, as well as a website to obtain entertainment, satisfy creative impulses and derive emotional nurturance (Feng 2009).

Statistics show that 93% of Jinjiang users are female, and 83% of them are aged between 18 and 35 (Linder 2005, Xu and Yang 2013), who are perceived

as possessing ‘three highs’, viz. high salary, high level of education and high social status (Yang 2009); a significant amount of users reside outside China (Xu 2002). Among Jinjiang’s contracted and paid writers, only a small proportion of them are full-time, while the vast majority of authors have occupations outside writing (Feng 2009). Though most of them are part-time, these writers still manage to produce an impressive amount of fiction: in February 2012, approximately 199,100 BL stories were published on Jinjiang, among which 145,600 are original, i.e. non-fanfic. The popularity of Jinjiang is partially attributed to its easy access serves that efficiently disseminate danmei to a broader fanbase and mainstream the previously marginalised subculture (Feng 2009, Xu and Yang 2013).

In China, supposedly offensive content must be removed from officially approved print versions of danmei fictional writing before passing censorship and getting published, yet previously, web versions of Jinjiang works were permitted to contain sex scenes portrayed in detail and to demonstrate authors’ exploration of forbidden themes and non-normative sexualities (Feng 2009, Wang 2019). Some earlier ‘abuse’ novels on Jinjiang, e.g. *不能动* *Buneng Dong* and *活着就是恶心* *Huozhe Jiushi Exin*, abound in contentious plots such as rape, incest, sadomasochism, imprisonment, underage sex, etc. Of course, graphic description of sexual encounters has been strictly disallowed since anti-pornography campaigns launched by the government.

As a website with the biggest readership base and the most developed commercial connections, Jinjiang has always been under surveillance. Moreover, although the crackdown jointly mandated by multiple authorities applies to heterosexual romance genres as well, the danmei genre has been more severely affected (Wang 2019), resulting in Jinjiang’s vigilance. In order to circumvent being an easy target, Jinjiang coined a euphemistic tag to substitute danmei, namely, *纯爱* *chunai* ‘pure love’ (Zheng 2019), which, however, does not seem to work.

Since 2014, Jinjiang has been censured and fined for several times.

Furthermore, Jinjiang's management was taken to the police bureau for investigation due to the legal case concerning 'big grey wolf'. Afterwards, as proactive reactions to government regulations, Jinjiang issued a 'stricter-than-government' self-censorship standard banning 'any depiction of body parts below the neck' and started a reporting system encouraging readers to flag transgression of rules to government censors. Additionally, Jinjiang announced a policy to manually check all online publications by multiple reviewers and in potentially more than one round, yet due to the tremendous quantity of works, the promised review is suspected to be 'a publicity stunt, a gesture of kowtowing to the government, than a serious, long-term commitment' (Guancha 2014, Southern Daily 2015, Yang and Xu 2017a: 174, Zheng 2019).

The prediction made by Yang and Xu (2017a) is indeed borne out: although Jinjiang claimed to employ netizens to review its prodigious amount of fictional writing (Southern Daily 2015), according to my observation, the current review procedure is partially conducted by auto-detection software, rather than human reviewers. Potentially caused by lack of a proper and effective reviewing process, in 2019, Jinjiang was rectified twice within two months: it was forced to remove pornographic publications, stop updating content and conducting business operations, as well as publish notifications of corrective actions on the homepage (Ma 2019, Xinhua News 2019).

A preposterous consequence triggered by automatic detection is that currently text on Jinjiang is replete with little boxes replacing 'indecent' words and phrases. Adjacent characters belonging to distinctive words may unexpectedly and unintentionally form new words that happen to be on the blacklist, so the software automatically substitutes these characters with little boxes, without investigating their real meanings in context. For instance, 奶奶头疼 *nai nai tou teng* 'grandma has a headache' is altered into 奶□□疼, because the two characters next to each other in the middle, *nai* 'grandma' and *tou* 'head', form a new word *naitou* which means 'nipple'. As a body part that

is ‘below the neck’, *naitou* is banned by Jinjiang, so the two characters are blocked, generating 奶□□疼. Another unexpected example is 量□□温 derived from 量下体温 *liang xia ti wen* ‘to check body temperature’, because the two characters in the middle accidentally form a new word *xiati* ‘lower body’. From a linguistic perspective, Chinese characters are predominantly polysemous and there is lack of space separating characters, so semantic judgement of Chinese discourse heavily depends on contextual information and syntactic analysis, rather than simply lexicon. This feature of the Chinese language accounts for the fact that such miscomprehension is ubiquitous in the written form, if lexicon is used as the sole criterion to decide meaning. Therefore, the oversimplified automatic detection and substitution ineluctably cause confusion, impede understanding and sabotage reading experience. As a consequence, readers seriously or jokingly complain that reading novels at Jinjiang is like doing reading comprehension exercises or playing crossword puzzles.

There is no denying the fact that Jinjiang still enforces a manual review process to eradicate eroticism. That is to say, the current review procedure is a combination of both automatic detection of sensitive keywords and manual review of several rounds. After being castigated for charging writers for revising their works after review, Jinjiang removed the restriction on revision, whereas as pointed out by Jie (2019), the process of manual review took longer and some works had to undergo four rounds of harsh review, causing authors’ dissatisfaction.

4. Circumvention Strategies Adopted by Jinjiang Writers

Despite the strict censorship, ‘rotten girls’ still expect writers to 开车 *kai che* ‘to drive a car’ which is an Internet neologism implicitly indicating ‘to write/say erotic content’. In order to accommodate their readers, Jinjiang writers apply a range of strategies to circumvent the regulations.

It is notable that apart from erotic depictions that can be conveyed implicitly,

eroticism-related terms can be euphemised as well. 'Rotten girls' have coined neologisms to denote eroticism-related terms in an innovative fashion. A representative paradigm related to *kai che* is 肉 *rou* 'flesh; meat' that is frequently employed in expressions such as 吃肉 *chi rou* 'to eat meat' ('to read erotic content') and 肉文 *rou wen* 'erotic text'. Another euphemistic term for *rou wen* is H文 *H wen* 'H text', in that H is the initial letter of the word 黄 *huang* 'yellow' which is an equivalent of the English word 'blue' as in 'blue story'; and since H is a letter, *H wen* is also euphemistically called 字母文 *zimu wen* 'letter text'. The antonym of *rou/H/zimu wen* is 清水文 *qingshui wen* 'clear water text'. These neologisms integrate a fecundity of imagination and a richness of innovative humour.

4.1. Metaphor

One of the most typical and frequently utilised tactics adopted by Jinjiang writers is metaphor which can be lyrically or visually expressed. Metaphors are completely void of expressions that are potentially pornographic, so they are able to portray sexual behaviours in a lyrical fashion or vividly. For instance, Example (1) contains a metaphor conveyed in a lyrical manner, elegantly comparing sexual intercourse to rainfall. Such rhetorical strategy is referred to as 移情于物 *yiqingyuwu* 'transferring emotions to objects' in the field of traditional Chinese poetry. This depiction is easily comprehensible to educated Chinese-speaking readers, as 云雨 *yun yu* 'cloud and rain' is an archaic term for sex coined in the Warring States period (5th-3rdc BC). Similarly, Example (2) deploys farming to describe sexual intercourse, which is understandable to readers as well.

(1) 雨还在下着，没有因为叶子的脆弱而停下，叶片上的雨滴汇聚在一起，压迫得叶子不停颤抖，最终叶子支撑不住弯折下去，雨水全部滴落进了泥土里。

Yu haizai xiazhe, meiyou yinwei yezi de cuiruo er tingxia, yepian shang de

yudi huijuzai yiqi, yapo de yazi
buting chadou, zuizhong yezi zhicheng buzhu wanzhe xiaqu, yushui quanbu
diluo jin le nitu li.

‘The rain was still going on and did not stop because of the leaf’s fragility.
The raindrops on the leaf converged
together, rendering the leaf to shiver continuously. Eventually, the leaf could
not bear and bent down—the
rainwater all dropped into the mud.’

(两小无嫌猜 *Liangxiao Wu Xiancai*)

(2) 种田的动作似乎都是单调重复的,好在营养剂的确是个好东西,让栽种的过程都变得轻松了许多,轻易就能破除土壤的阻碍,把农作物深深地埋进地里去。

*Zhongtian de dongzuo sihu dou shi dandiao chongfu de, haozai yingyangji
dique shi ge hao dongxi, rang
zaizhong de guocheng dou biande qingsong le xuduo, qingyi jiu neng pochu
tulang de zuai, ba nongzuowu
shenshende mai jin di li qu.*

‘The action of farming seemed to be monotonous and repetitive, but luckily
the nutrient was a good thing that
made the planting a lot easier—the barrier from earth could be easily
overcome and crops could be deeply
buried into earth.’

(怱怱 *Song Song*)

Example (3a) regarding mathematics, however, is extraordinary and requires more imagination and knowledge. To facilitate readers’ comprehension, the author has provided a note to explain the meaning, as in (3b).

(3) a. 现在有一个圆B, 它的方程式是 $x^2 + y^2 = 0.01$, 这时有一个动点P1, 在圆内沿直线 $y=0$ 做往复运动, 请问动点P1需要多长时间, 可以把圆的方程变成 $x^2 + y^2 = 1$?

Xianzai you yi ge yuan B, ta de fangchengshi shi $x^2 + y^2 = 0.01$, zheshi

you yi ge dongdian P1, zai yuan nei

*yan zhixian $y=0$ zuo wangfu yundong, qingwen dongdian P1 xuyao
duochang shijian, keyi ba yuan de*

fangcheng biancheng $x^2 y^2=1$?

‘Now there is a Circle B, whose formula is $x^2 y^2=0.01$; there is a Moving point P1 that is making a

reciprocating motion along Line $y=0$ within Circle B. Question: How long does it take for the Moving point

P1 to turn the formula of Circle B into $x^2 y^2=1$?’

b. 我给大家友情翻译一下... 圆B=菊花, 动点P、Q=手指...

Wo gei dajia youqing fanyi yixia... Yuan B=juhua, dongdian P、Q=shouzhi...

‘Let me provide a friendly translation for everybody... Circle B=anus, Moving point P/Q=fingers...’

(残疾后我雇了个保镖 *Canji Hou Wo Gule Ge Baobiao*)

Apart from metaphors that are conveyed lyrically, there are visual metaphors which evoke imagery by means of comparing one object/act to another due to their visual resemblance. For example, Example (4) is regarding an imagery-evoking visual metaphor that compares making love to feeding rice porridge with a spoon, and in Example (5) the images of water tap and spanner are vividly used. There are, of course, an enormous amount of other paradigms involving visual metaphors, such as planting strawberries for making love bites (in *Song Song*), practicing archery for making love (in *Siduitou Shi Maobohe Er Wo Shi Mao Zenmepo*), a green dragon for a male reproductive organ (in *Wode Fujun Shi Fu Heng*), etc. The author of *Ni Zhende Bushi Haizi Tadie* even wittily utilises symbols to form a cartoon car in the main text to represent ‘driving a car’.

(4) 余年饿了，谢游是第一次喂他吃米糊，开始时掌握不好力道，勺子太大，总是喂不进去。

Yu Nian e le, Xie You shi diyici wei ta chi mi hu, kaishi shi zhangwo bu hao
lidao, shaozi tai da, zongshi wei
bu jin qu.

‘Yu Nian was hungry. It was the first time that Xie You fed him with rice
porridge: at the beginning, Xie could
not manage well, as the spoon was too big for Yu.’

(听说我很穷 *Tingshuo Wo Hen Qiong*)

(5) 对水龙头这种器械而言, 出水速度果然还是分人的。阚泽的扳手没动
几下, 已经有温热的水珠滴了出
来...

*Dui shui longtou zhe zhong qixie eryan, chu shui sudu guoran hai shi fen
ren de. Kan Ze de banshou mei dong
ji xia, yijing you wenre de shuizhu di le chulai...*

‘For gadgets like water taps, the speed of generating water indeed depended
on individuals. Soon after Kan

Ze’s spanner moved a few times, there was warm water drops dripping out...’
(死对头是猫薄荷而我是猫怎么破 *Siduitou Shi Maobohe Er Wo Shi Mao Zenmepo*)

4.2. Code-switching

Another representative approach adopted by Jinjiang writers when ‘driving a
car’ is Chinese-English code-switching. Taking Example (6) as an example:
the sensitive verb 摸 *mo* ‘to touch’ has been substituted by its English
counterpart, thereby escaping automatic detection. As for the word 伟brother
wei brother, its normal version is actually 伟哥 *weige* which is a nickname
for Viagra; the author replaces *ge* ‘brother’ with the English equivalent, so
that the whole word would not be detected.

(6) ‘你别touch我, 别touch我!’ ... 那一晚上, 王洵跟吃了伟brother一样...

‘Ni bie touch wo, bie touch wo!’ Na yi wanshang, Wang Xun gen chi le
wei.brother yiyang...

“Don’t touch me! Don’t touch me!” That night, it was like Wang Xun had

taken Viagra...’

(我和隔壁老王 *Wo He Gebi Lao Wang*)

In terms of Example (7), it contains whole English sentences extracted from a paragraph depicting sexual intercourse. Although there are noticeable grammatical errors, the author has satisfactorily completed their writing task.

(7) ...Xinshan is such a pervert, how come this function can be figured out. Meng of course won't let him go, he does some strange things that Jinjiang don't let me say. Meng crosses the dangerous line, Lu has to beg for mercy...

(群雄逐鹿 *Qun Xiong Zhu Lu*)

4.3. Satire

As can be seen from Example (7), there is a phrase that has mentioned Jinjiang, i.e. ‘some strange things that Jinjiang don't let me say’. This is a significant strategy I would like to analyse, namely, the satire strategy. It is not uncommon for writers to roast the censorship and review of Jinjiang in their works, mostly humorously. For instance, in Example (8-9), the writers jokingly roast Jinjiang for preventing them from creating erotic content. As for (10), its sarcastic tone is more obvious; ‘green’ not only illustrates the colour of Jinjiang's homepage, but also the non-obscene implication of the green colour in Chinese culture.

(8)沈浮白认真道:‘你再继续下去,放晋江是要被锁文的。’

Shen Fubai renzhen dao: 'Ni zai jixu xiaqu, fang Jinjiang shi yao bei suo wen de.'

‘Shen Fubai said seriously: “If you continue, this work will be locked at Jinjiang.”

(和影帝互粉那些年 *He Yingdi Hufen Naxie Nian*)

(9) 微微掀开被子，想往下看，又怕过不了审。

Weimei xiankai beizi, xiang wangxia kankan, you pa guobuliao shen.

‘She drew the quilt slightly and wanted to have a look, but was afraid that this work would not pass review.’

(为我称臣 *Wei Wo Cheng Chen*)

(10) 仅仅是一个吻，什么脖子以下的事都没做，谨守绿晋江社会主义核心价值观。

Jinjin shi yi ge wen, shenme bozi yixia de shi dou mei zuo, jin shou lv Jinjiang shehui zhuyi hexin jiazhi guan.

‘It was just a kiss and nothing below the neck was involved—it strictly observed the core socialist values of the “green” Jinjiang.’

(小行星 *Xiao Xingxing*)

Some more rebellious writers, however, choose to retain sexual scenes in their works, but they have to resort to euphemistic expressions. In Example (11), the author uses ‘indescribable’, ‘indescribability’ and ‘to be indescribable’, and draws on ‘indescribable part below the neck’ to sarcastically echo Jinjiang’s policy banning ‘any depiction of body parts below the neck’. Consequently, the text demands more processing effort from readers, yet it is still comprehensible. Similarly, Example (12) amusingly roasts the restriction of Jinjiang and ridicules it with a nickname ‘Ah Jin’.

(11) 用脖子以下不能描述的部位，狠狠不能描写了锴哥脖子以下不能描写的部位。两人在不能描写中火辣地不能描写起来。

Yong bozi yixia bu neng miaoshu de buwei, henhen bu neng miaoxie le Kai Ge bozi yixia bu neng miaoxie

de buwei. Liang ren zai bu neng miaoxie zhong huoladi bu neng miaoxie qilai.

‘He used an indescribable body part below his neck to roughly “get indescribable” an indescribable body part

below Kai's neck. They hotly started "to be indescribable" in indescribability.'

(哎我刀呢 *Ai Wo Dao Ne*)

(12) 整个卧室充斥着阿晋不许出现的声音，房间的每个角落，都留下了阿晋禁止那项运动的痕迹。

Zhengge woshi chongchi zhe Ah Jin bu xu chuxian de shengyin, fangjian de mei ge jiaoluo, dou liuxia le Ah

Jin jinzhi na xiang yundong de henji.

'The whole bedroom was filled with sounds that were forbidden by Ah Jin, and in every corner of the room

there were traces of activities that were forbidden by Ah Jin.'

(婚后每天都在吃醋 *Hunhou Meitian Dou Zai Chicu*)

As can be seen from Example (10) above, the author not only complains about Jinjiang, but also mentions the core socialist values in a lighthearted manner. This kind of lampoon-like writing concerning ideology can be attested in some danmei novels. For instance, in Example (13), the protagonist's actions of unbuttoning his lover's clothes and flirting are abruptly followed by a four-line rhymed satirical verse, in which the former half is quoted from a signature line of President Xi Jinping. As for Example (14), it teasingly uses the unmanned Shenzhou-8 capsule and the mini spacelab Tiangong-1 as metaphors, yet the success of the venture paves the way for manned missions and hence has political significance.

(13) 费原抬手去解他的扣子: '我看看，怎么那么金贵。'

人民有信仰，民族有希望。

开车上晋江，想都不要想。

Fei Yuan tai shou qu jie tade kouzi: 'Wo kankan, zenme name jingui.'

Renmin you xinyang, minzu you xiwang.

Kaiche shang Jinjiang, xiang dou bu yao xiang.

'Fei Yuan raised his hand to unbutton his clothes: "Let me have a look. How

can you be so delicate?” The
people have faith; the nation has hope. Driving a car on Jinjiang—Don’t
even think about it.’

(原路看斜阳 *Yuanlu Kan Xieyang*)

(14) 扩张充分后把陈循的腰往下一按，像神州八号和天宫一号一样，对接
了！

*Kuozhang chongfen hou ba Chen Xun de yao wang xia yi an, xiang
Shenzhou Bahao he Tiangong Yihao
yiyang, duijie le!*

‘After complete dilation, he pressed Chen Xun’s waist down—It was like
Shenzhou-8 that had rendezvoused
with Tiangong 1!’

(不装B *Bu Zhuang B*)

Under the circumstances that writers refrain from ‘driving a car’, they may
also imply their satirical perspectives on ideology and politics. In Example
(15), the author draws on the ideal of Harmony (和 *he*) which is a carefully
constructed normative complex prescribing social virtues and maintaining
morality and ethics. Serving as a language policy in China, ‘harmony’ is
derived from the third phase of Confucianist ‘renaissance’ and inextricably
intertwined with the state doctrine of Socialist Harmonious Society (社会
主义和谐社会 *shehuizhuyi hexie shehui*) propounded in 2005 (Fan 2011,
Louie 2011, Wang et al 2016).

(15) 当晚，一夜春风，差点做不和谐运动的最后一步...季朗默念了三遍‘和
谐和谐和谐’然后忍住了。

*Dang wan, yi ye chunfeng, chadian zuo bu hexie yundong de zuihou
yi bu... Ji Lang mo nian le san bian
'hexie hexie hexie' ranhou renzhu le.*

‘There was spring wind during the night, and they almost reached the last
step of an inharmonious activity...

Ji Lang repeated 'harmony' for three times in mind and refrained himself.'

(辣鸡室友总撩我 *Laji Shiyou Zong Liao Wo*)

5. DISCUSSION

Although writers tactically employ a range of strategies so as to circumvent the review and censorship, Jinjiang is fully aware of their tricks and a member of the management team warned such behaviours in 2019 (Guancha 2019):

(16) 我个人体感，只要你写了性行为性心理或其它涉及性器官的任何描写，无论是字数多少，无论是不是意

识流，无论是不是用了各种形容词代称粉饰，是不是用了各种比喻，是一个人的行为还是两个人的交互，

只要让人看出你这是写了性相关，就属于高风险。被封文章中有一段不足四百字描写，没有具体器官

名称，没有交互动作，已经被鉴定中心鉴定为色情等级最高的淫秽描写。

Wo geren tigan, zhiyao ni xie le xing xingwei xing xinli huo qita sheji xing qiguan de renhe miaoxie, wulun

shi zishu duoshao, wulun shi bu shi yishiliu, wulun shibushi yong le gezhong xingrongci daicheng fenshi, shi

bu shi yong le gezhong biyu, shi yi ge ren de xingwei haishi liang ge ren de jiaohu, zhiyao rang ren kanchu

ni zhe shi xie le xing xiangguan, jiu shuyu gao fengxian. Bei feng wenzhang zhong you yi duan bu zu sibai zi

miaoxie, meiyou juti qiguan mingcheng, meiyou jiaohu dongzuo, yijing bei jianding zhongxin jianding wei

seqing dengji zuigao de yinhui miaoxie.

'My personal experience and feeling is that as long as you depict sexual behaviours, psychology or organs,

which can be perceived, your work will be categorised as "high risk", regardless of word count or whether

you use a “stream of consciousness” style or various metaphors—this applies to both solo and interactive acts.

There is locked novel that contains a paragraph of description with less than 400 characters without specific organs or interaction, but it has been reviewed as “pornographic depiction of the highest eroticism level”.’

Therefore, there is a cohort of writers who avoid producing any potentially transgressive content and count on readers to inspire their own imagination. An archetypical example is a prolific author whose pseudonym is ‘Priest.’ This author does not explore forbidden themes or non-normative sexualities yet still manages to attract a legion of loyal fans by means of labyrinthine plots. In Priest’s hit detective-style danmei novel 默读 *Mo Du* that has been adopted into a radio play, in which a sexual encounter is implicitly portrayed through a cat’s perspective:

(17) 突然，它听见有人短促难耐地‘啊’了一声...

Turan, ta tingjian youren duancu nannaide ‘a’ le yisheng...

‘Suddenly, it heard someone’s short, eager “ah”...’

(默读 *Mo Du*)

Since there is only one character that is vaguely correlated with sexual implication, this ‘erotic content’ is referred to by readers as 一字豪车 *zìyì haochē* ‘one-character posh car’ to joke about the conciseness of the description. Due to the writer’s popularity and the hilariousness of her depiction, the expression ‘one-character posh car’ expeditiously became a gag in the danmei circle. Another precautious author is 西子绪 *Xizixu*, who writes 再然后，一切都不可描述 *zairanhou, yiqie dou bukemiaoshu* (‘then everything was indescribable’) in her novel *Kuaichuan Zhi Wanmei Mingyun*, similar to Example (11).

According to Wang (2019), in sharp contrast with earlier danmei fiction, this relatively safer style exhibits an obvious financial advantage: it renders novels easier to be published in print and adapted into audio and TV dramas, films and animations.

Nonetheless, writers such as 淮上 Huaishang, who insist on freedom of artistic creation, refuse to compromise with the overall tightening of censorship imposed by Jinjiang, so they used to publish main text with Jinjiang, yet took refuge at the non-commercial, non-profit open-source repository Archive of Our Own (AO3) and posted erotic depictions there for readers without charge. Nevertheless, AO3 was blocked in Mainland China on 29th February 2020, owing to the mass-reporting of stans of an actor who starred in a hit TV period drama 陈情令 *Chenqingling* (*The Untamed*) adapted from a popular danmei novel 魔道祖师 *Modao Zushi* on Jinjiang (Cai 2020, Gong 2020, Hall 2020, Jiang 2020, Romano 2020, The Economist 2020, Wu 2020, Yu 2020). Enraged by the crackdown of a virtual comfort zone and spiritual home, on 1st March a netizen complained on Weibo that danmei writers might end up resorting to the Morse code for suspected erotic content, which provoked heated discussions on Weibo and the Douban forum. Some netizens expressed recalcitrance, fury and disappointment, while others seriously or teasingly took this option into consideration and started to explore the feasibility of self-teaching the Morse code or using online converters.

It is worth mentioning that an author even encouraged audience to read the pirate copy of their novel in the 'author's words' section on Jinjiang, which is a space set off from the main text to display authors' comments and responses to readers' remarks. This writer would rather sacrifice their profit than show their readers a 'soulless', twisted Jinjiang version of the work:

(18) 诸位, 看盗版去吧, 这文为了过审已经没有灵魂了。

Zhu wei, kan daoban qu ba, zhe wen weile guoshen yijing meiyou linghun le.

‘Everyone, go and read the pirate copy. To pass the review, this work has no soul now.’

(当我看了男友日记 *Dang Wo Kanle Nanyou Riji*)

In terms of the reason why Jinjiang writers create erotic content, I postulate that it is partially attributed to writers’ intention to accommodate readers. As posited by Otomo (2015), for women acting as consumers of sexual fantasy, reading BL narratives functions as a self-expression and performance, via which sexual desires can be demonstrated. The homoerotic content is essentially ‘pleasure-oriented’ for female consumers, and pornographic scenes are comprised of an autonomous female pleasure-seeking impulse (Kaneda 2007, Galbraith 2015, Nagaike and Aoyama 2015). Driven by physical and psychological desires, Chinese danmei readers implicitly or explicitly express their expectation via the forum and discussion space on Jinjiang, or interact with writers directly on social media platforms such as Weibo. On Jinjiang, writers and readers have established and been maintaining a harmonious rapport, and their interactions are predominantly positive and supportive. In this danmei-themed community, 太太 *taitai* ‘Mrs’ is a well-established title of veneration addressing female writers, as well as an honorific second person pronoun for politeness, irrelevant to writers’ marital status. In terms of authors, they normally adopt popular Internet titles among young women to intimately address their readers, e.g. 小可爱 *xiao keai* ‘little cuteness’, 小宝贝 *xiao baobei* ‘little baby’, 小仙女 *xiao xiannv* ‘little fairy’, etc. Furthermore, readers also leave constructive comments for writers and have in-depth discussions among themselves in the forum, generating a fertile ground for danmei literature.

Therefore, since readers have expressed their preference for texts graphically depicting sexual acts, it is not unexpected that danmei writers endeavour to satisfy their requirements. A direct, tangible benefit is larger economic gain from Jinjiang, as writers’ income is proportional to the size of their

paid readership and the amount of tips. Another benefit pertains to writers' self-esteem and identity as members of 'rotten girls'. The Self-Aspect Model of Identity propounded by Simon (2004) postulates that self-concept is constituted of beliefs about one's own attributes or self-characteristics, including personality traits, abilities, physical features, behavioural characteristics, religious beliefs, social roles, language affiliation(s) and group memberships. I suggest that since producing homoerotic materials is an attribute of 'rotten girls', depicting sexual scenes satisfies writers' identity needs, and equips them with a sense of belonging and satisfaction regarding the collective identity and community.

More significantly, danmei writers who are vocally expressed demonstrate their rebellion against political and social ethos. A large proportion of danmei writers are featured by multiple characteristics, e.g. young, female, heterosexual and 'rotten', and simultaneously, they are Internet literary creators of a niche genre. Therefore, the multifaceted aspects of danmei writers render their intentions and purposes complex. I presume that consuming and even producing materials that are officially defined as 'pornographic' allow 'rotten girls' to construct and display rebellious spirit and to deviate from traditional social ethos and accepted cultural and ethical norms prescribing women's chasteness and subservience. Danmei fan communities in China have established a public sphere for 'rotten' participants to discuss social issues represented by, but not limited to, government policies and ethics of writers (Yang and Xu 2016, Wu 2019), and as pointed out by Meng (2011), online spoofs in China is a form of political expression. Additionally, according to Wang (2019), homosexuality challenges the (post-) socialist ideology in China, in that it is deemed as a violation of the patriarchal heterosexual family. Therefore, I suggest that the rebellion exhibited by 'rotten girls' is dual: it targets not only the socio-political layer, but also the gender and familial layer. Moreover, as literary creators belonging to a niche subculture, although marginalised, danmei writers deploy erotic writing to

express cravings for recognition and freedom of creation enjoyed by their mainstream counterparts.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I investigate danmei fiction published on Jinjiang, analysing the strategies adopted by writers to circumvent the censorship and review. Except for pre-cautious writers who refrain from depicting sexual scenes altogether and who post potentially transgressive texts on virtual platforms such as AO3 instead, there are writers who decide to ‘drive a car’ by means of a variety of circumvention strategies. Utilising metaphors for euphemism is a typical strategy, which can be further categorised into metaphors portraying sexual intercourse in a lyrical fashion and visual metaphors evoking imagery. Another approach employed by Jinjiang writers to avoid automatic detection is Chinese-English code-switching, and either sensitive keywords or whole sentences may be substituted by their English equivalents. More significantly, writers satirically criticise Jinjiang for forbidding them from describing sexual acts or mockingly replace sex-related expressions with those pertaining to Jinjiang and its policies. Furthermore, a cohort of vocal writers even convert erotic depictions into lampoons about politics and ideology. All circumvention strategies require more imagination and knowledge and hence more processing effort from readers, whereas they do not render text incomprehensible.

Apart from accommodating readers’ requirement for homoerotic content, production of such writing satisfies writers’ own physical and psychological desires simultaneously, in line with their self-perception and group identity as ‘rotten girls’. Moreover, producing (and consuming) materials officially prescribed as ‘pornographic’ serves as an embodiment of writers’ rebellious spirit, as well as political and social expression against government censorship and ethical norms. Additionally, one of the multifaceted identities of ‘rotten girls’, viz. literature creator, determines that although stuck in a marginalised

subculture, danmei writers also crave recognition and freedom of creation, parallel to their mainstream counterparts.

Surveying policies and anti-pornography campaigns launched by the Chinese government is important in the sense that it helps understanding the reactions and survival patterns of danmei communities. Based on China's status, historical background and comparison with its equivalents, I would also like to explore the feasibility of introducing a rating system for danmei literature, which might be applied to the film industry as well to replace the current reviewing system.

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Paranoia and Multiple Personalities In Postmodern Fiction

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*May God us keep
From Single vision & Newton's sleep.*

—William Blake

ABSTRACT

Postmodernism is a movement which starts in the second half of the twentieth century and continues onwards. The only thing one can precisely say about postmodernism is that it represents a radical break from Modernism. Postmodernism has changed the cultural atmosphere radically. Lyotard in his book entitled *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* posits that “[Postmodernism] designates the state of our culture following the transformations, which, since the end of the nineteenth century, have altered the game rules for science, literature and the arts” (1979, p.9). As is implied, whilst in Modernism, there were strict boundaries between high and low art forms, in Postmodernism such binaries are questioned. In Modernism, truth and knowledge are based on scientific facts; so, there is the singularity and absolute precision of truth. However, with the Postmodernist movement, the plurality of truth has been become the widespread notion. It may be suggested that this phenomenon takes us to the sphere of paranoia. Namely, in the Postmodern era, the form of thinking represents a radical break from the previous movements and this occurrence causes paranoia. Considering all the changes in regard with the perception of reality in the Postmodern age, this paper will analyse certain elements that trigger paranoia and the

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reflections of multiple personality that appear in the protagonists of *City of Glass*, *The Locked Room* and *Fight Club*. These three works have been chosen in particular because they present a certain way of dealing with paranoia and the multiple personality issue within the scope of Postmodernism.

Key words: *Postmodernism, Paul Auster, Chuck Palahniuk, City of Glass, The Locked Room, Fight Club, Paranoia, Multiple Identities*

ÖZ

Postmodernizm yirminci yüzyılın ortalarında başlayan ve günümüze kadar devam eden bir akımdır. Teorinin kesin başlangıcını bulmak ya da onu tam olarak tanımlamak zordur. Postmodernizm ile ilgili kesin olabileceğimiz tek şey modernizmden radikal bir şekilde ayrılmasıdır. İnsanların düşünce ve davranış şekillerini değiştirmiştir. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* kitabında “postmodernizm ondokuzuncu yüzyıldan beri bilim, edebiyat ve sanat konusundaki oyunun kurallarını değiştiren dönüşümleri takip ederek, kültürümüzü değiştirmiştir” diye öne sürmektedir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, postmodernizmin modernizimden nasıl farklılaştığı net bir şekilde görülmektedir. Anlaşılacağı üzere, modernizmde yüksek ve düşük sanat biçimleri arasında katı sınırlar varken, postmodernizmde bu ikisine eşit ölçüde ağırlık verilmektedir. Modernizme göre, gerçek ve bilgi bilime dayanmaktadır ve gerçeğin kesinliği ve tekliği vardır. Ancak, postmodernist akımda gerçeğin çoğulluğuyla karşılaşırız. Bu olgunun bizi paranoya dünyasına götürdüğü iddia edilebilir. Şöyle ki, postmodernizmle birlikte, düşünce ve algı bir önceki akımdan farklı bir yöne evrilmiştir ve bu oluşum paranoyanın farklı boyutlarda tanımlanmasına yol açmıştır. Postmodern çağdaki düşünce ve gerçeklik üzerine değişimleri göz önüne alarak, bu makalede, *City of Glass*, *The Locked Room* ve *Fight Club* eserlerine dayandırarak, paranoyak unsurları ve çoklu kişilik sorunsalını inceleyeceğim. Bu eserler özellikle seçilmiştir çünkü bu çalışmalar, postmodernizm ikliminde çoklu kişilik bozukluğu ve paranoya sorunsallarını ele alarak

ilginç çıkarımlarda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Postmodernizm, Paul Auster, Chuck Palahniuk, City of Glass, The Locked Room, Fight Club, Paranoya, Çoklu Kişilik*

INTRODUCTION

Since there are many forms of Postmodernism, it is quite challenging to make an exact definition of it. Lyotard, who is one of the leading critics of the movement asks the question of “What is Postmodernism?” in his book, *The Postmodern Condition* (1979). He defines it as the radically shifted status of knowledge and its dissemination. It is likely that postmodernism restrains itself from establishing a single answer. Hassan describes it as “like a ghost which eludes definition” (2003, p3). The more critics try to answer this question, the more complicated its definition becomes. Hassan puts it aptly: “I know less about postmodernism today than I did thirty years ago” (2003, p3).

In spite of all this controversy, it is an undeniable fact that there is a radical break between Postmodernism and Modernism. In this regard, Harvey, in *The Condition of Postmodernity*, posits the controversy by categorizing Postmodernism: “modernist sentiments may have been undermined, deconstructed, surpassed, or bypassed, but there is little certitude as to the coherence or meaning of the systems of thought that may have replaced them” (1989, p.42).

As well as the changes the postmodernist idea has caused in the perception of truth, belief and knowledge, it opened a door for the applications of new methods in literary works. Postmodern literary works embody various literary devices and techniques. They include fragmentation, parody, paranoia, dark humour, unreliable narrator, authorial self-reference, and so on. In Postmodernism, we also encounter self-reflexivity. It allows authors to create worlds within worlds. “Language constructs immense edifices of symbolic representations that appear to tower over the reality of everyday

life like gigantic presences from another world” (Mchale, 2003, p130). In this view, Postmodernism rejects traditional forms of writing found in Modernism. This trait of language and form itself constitutes a powerful cause for paranoia of the age.

In the modern epoch, human beings were under the influence of metanarratives. One single truth was assumed to have universal application. As Flieger posits, “for metanarrative is, quite simply, the consensual scheme of things writ large, the theological versions of history that people cherish (such as belief in Progress or Enlightenment) (p 89). One was content that he/she could secure his/her safety in the realm of singularity and certainty of his/her perception of truth. However, from the perspective of postmodern era, this feeling of certainty has turned upside down. Instead, one encounters the possibility of many truths. “(...) for Lyotard, postmodernism is characterized by ‘the loss of belief in metanarrative’” (qtd in Flieger, 1997, p89). The idea of plurality forces one to leave his/her comfort zone and take him/her to the sphere of uncertainties where paranoia is embraced. In the light of this subject, in Seminar III, Lacan defines paranoia as “the question of knowledge, belief and speech” (1993, p36). In this sense, it can be assumed the paranoid postmodern man rejects this perception of truth which is laid in authoritative metanarratives. It can be seen as the rebellion of the individual against the dogmatic perspectives. From this point of view, William Kerrigan and Joseph Smith depict postmodernism as “the embrace of the uncertainties of discourse” (1989, p ix).

The most striking changes facilitated by Postmodernism include the perceptions of truth and reality. Truth is defined as “the property of being in accord with fact or reality” in the dictionary of Merriam-Webster’s Online (2020). Even though several dictionary definitions of this concept exist, there have been many debates based on the nature of truth. For instance, Foucault suggests that “each society has its own regime of truth, its “general politics” of truth: that is, the type of discourse which it accepts and makes

function as true” (qtd in Taylor, p153). Reality, on the other hand, is defined as “something that is neither derivative nor dependent but exists necessarily”. Considering these definitions, one can realise truth and reality are different concepts even though they are assumed to be interchangeable.

Truth and reality take many forms in the postmodern world, which allows multiple possibilities of truth. It can even be considered everybody has got their own truth. The concept of plurality of the perceptions of truth and how the postmodern era approaches to this concept is well felt through the Diels’ suggestion on truth.

There never was nor will there ever be any man who has certain knowledge about the gods and about all the things that I tell of. And even if he does happen to get most things right, still he himself is not aware of this. Yet, all may have the shadows of the truth. (1906, p64).

Hence, it seems correct to speak of the perception of truth rather than the truth as a singular, unchanging universal concept.

What creates the difference between Modernism and Postmodernism are the fragmentariness of the truth and the multiplicities of the notions of truth and reality. From the perspective of Modernism, the world is considered to be fragmented. Individuals are thought to have schizophrenic personalities. They are so due to the radical changes, which the world underwent after the World War II. They are made alienated as long as they are not able to adapt themselves to the new world order. In other words, they are pushed towards being outsiders. That is how modern man is considered as schizophrenic. In postmodernism, this schizophrenia turns into paranoia. We see split personalities in the modern world. In the Postmodern age, we encounter multiple personalities instead. This phenomenon is said to be caused by- same as the concept of truth- the multiple possibilities of the perception of reality that the postmodernist era offers to human beings.

As relevant to this study on paranoia, Jelena Mandic depicts paranoia as “a symptomatic condition of post modernity” (2014, p143). It can be read as

post modernity serves a new sort of thought and demeanor type to individuals of the new epoch in order to be able to adapt. In this regard, the case of Dr. Schreber of Freud can be accepted as a good example for the definition of paranoia of Mandic. In Dr Schreber's case, "Freud speculates, paranoia is a defence and a strategy of adaptation" (qtd in Fflieger, 1997, p91). While an epoch changes, the episteme -in Foucauldian words- changes as well. One encounters the challenges of the new upcoming age. No matter how revolutionary the conditions are, one struggles in the flow of the new epoch. He/she happens to change his/her mindset. This force for change has become more problematic in the postmodern age. As it has been mentioned before in this study, as long as the belief for metanarratives vanishes, one becomes more paranoid. While the paranoid man of the postmodern age fluctuates between possibilities, he/she constitutes a self-defence mechanism to be able to adapt him/herself to the changes that the era offers. The weaker the self -mechanism is, the harder it becomes for the paranoid to adapt and he/she is very likely to encounter multiple identities problematique.

HOW HUMANITY HAS LOST IT

Paranoia is a classic trope of Postmodernism. Related to the case, in *American Gothic Fiction*, Victor and Smith discuss "the postmodern and its populist tendency (...) its embrace of fragmentary and use of paranoia" (1996, p15). Jonathan Schell makes a good description of scepticism and paranoia with the statement which says "the world of indiscriminating cynicism, where no one is trusted and nothing is believed, is in many ways a comfortable one." (qtd in Coale, 2019, p1). This paranoia element is reflected in *City of Glass*, which is a prominent work of Paul Auster.

Many traces of scepticism and paranoia may be encountered in *City of Glass*. In this sense, the following instance sets a good example. "Much later, when he was able to think about the things that happened to him, he would conclude that nothing was real except chance" (Auster, 2006, p3).

This sentence above which is taken from the narrative is a strong example for the paranoia of the age. Our protagonist, Daniel Quinn, reaches the conclusion which asserts we cannot be sure about anything. Rather, we can have possibilities and/or illusion of the truth. Therefore, we should merely take into consideration the other numerous possibilities. We should look at the things from different perspectives. “Like Derrida, Michel Foucault has asked us to look at things differently, to shift the level of our analysis out of our traditional disciplinary divisions and into that of discourse” (Hutcheon, 1989, p97).

“As he opened the door that would lead him into the lobby, he gave himself one last word of advice. If all this is really happening, he said, then I must keep my eyes open.” (Auster, 2006, p13).

In the other example above cited from the novella, we encounter another trace of doubt. Quinn, sitting at home, receives a phone call. He does not know the person on the line. The man who is on the other side of the line is asking for Paul Auster. He needs Auster’s help. Even though Quinn knows that it is a wrong number, he agrees to go and meet that person. When he arrives at the apartment of the stranger, he gives himself a piece of advice. It is a piece of advice for a “just in case” situation since again he is not sure about what is happening there. He is suspicious even about the thing that he is experiencing.

The Locked Room, which is included in *New York Trilogy*, embodies the numerous elements of paranoia as well. The narration evolves around the disappearance of Fanshawe and our narrator tries to find him. In this view, the story displays similarities with the one in *City of Glass* and as it is assumed it causes the reader paranoia and suspect as a reader response.

Every life is inexplicable, I kept telling myself. No matter how many facts are told, no matter how many details are given, the essential thing resists telling.....We imagine the real story inside the words, and to do this we substitute ourselves for the person in the story, pretending

that we can understand him because we understand ourselves. This is a deception (Auster, 2006, p163).

In the quotation cited from *The Locked Room* above, the reader is taken to the domain of suspicion/doubt. It is obvious that even our narrator is not sure about the reality. He keeps questioning the incidents which he has been experiencing from the beginning. He tries to put the pieces together to see the whole puzzle. Yet, in the end he ends up with different realities. He realizes that even real incidents and true stories can be deceptive. In this regard, this situation reminds us how the Postmodernism approaches to the possible reality and perceptions of truth.

In *The Locked Room*, Auster serves us a big deal of ambiguity. He puts readers in the sphere of uncertainty successfully. As the narrative proceeds, we, as readers, get to the point where we identify the narrator and Fanshawe as the same person to some extent. We see that the narrator puts himself in Fanshawe's story. With the help of this, he is able to write of Fanshawe. What Auster seems to do here is to blur the reality and confuse the reader. Hence, he can easily increase the curiosity and suspicion of the reader.

Another element which keeps reader's curiosity alive throughout both stories of Auster, *City of Glass* and *The Locked Room*, is that the author offers the reader open-ended narratives. The last paragraph of the narrative of *The Locked Room* sets the best example to show the suspicion level which the story creates on readers. "He had answered the question by asking another question, and therefore everything remained open, unfinished, to be started again" (Auster, 2006, p307). This quotation displays how the readers' response is navigated while reading the whole story. Whenever the reader feels like having found an answer, simultaneously it is realised that one is not even close to it. Every question gives birth to another one and each answer creates another question. It is just like a vicious cycle. It perpetuates itself. It does not let the reader obtain a resolution.

As it is the third literary work showcased in this study- which initially seems

to reflect the same markers but will prove to display same diversion- *Fight Club* is another novel whose narration embraces paranoia from top to bottom. Besides the themes of masculinity, consumerism, identity and religion, it focuses on the concept of reality as well. In the narrative, it is witnessed that the protagonist(s) are in search of the truth and reality. Though, the reflection of this search and the paranoia is quite different than the ones we encounter in *City of Glass* and *The Locked Room*.

In Palahniuk's *Fight Club*, characters are the members of the consumer society. The narrator is also trapped in a consumerist society. This idea of consumption is given to people by the society and endless capitalist commercials. Charmed by the products in the advertisements, postmodern man consumes more and more. In fact, behind these advertisements is the idea of making people believe they really need those products. As long as they buy the products on the advertisements, they are made to believe it is the "real" thing that they need indeed. Žižek proposes that "capital itself functions as a chimeric apparition which, although it can nowhere be spotted as a positive, clearly delimited entity, nonetheless functions as the ultimate Thing governing our lives" (qtd in Paradise, 2012, p30) which can be traced all the way back to Maslow's consumer behaviour theory.

In other words, these products may be related and perceived as the "object petite a" of Lacan. For Lacan, as from the day we are born, all we want is to satisfy our desires. According to the Lacanian approach, our desire is interpreted as finally reaching the Real. Yet, we are aware that we cannot reach it since The Real is unattainable. It can only be experienced through one's "object of desire". It could be a person, a job, or an object that we desire to own. We try to substitute it with that object petit a. It is exactly where one's paranoia starts. Whenever we feel that our object of desire is not attainable, we become paranoid. While swinging among the possibilities, the truth is permanently questioned. This situation increases one's suspicion. This feeling of paranoia is capitalist-made. It has been permanently

emphasized that the ‘capital’ organises the social roles and the status of the individual. Jameson in his book of the *Logic of Late Capitalism* portrays the atmosphere aptly.

It seems to me very important to persuade ourselves . . . that we are inside the culture of the market and that the inner dynamic of the culture of consumption is an infernal machine from which one does not escape by the taking of thought (or moralizing positions), an infinite propagation and replication of ‘desire’ that feeds on itself and has no outside and no fulfilment [...] so that at some outer limit these very gestures of revolt are also those programmed into the system (Jameson, 1991, p206, 209). From the Lacanian point of view, as Jameson also emphasizes, all kinds of material possessions individuals own merely represent the object petit a with no fulfilment. The more they buy, the more they think they have reached the “Real” they have been looking for. Yet, again, as soon as they obtain these materials they realise it is not the reality they have longed for. Thus, this circumstance launches another never-ending search.

I love everything about Tyler Durden, his courage and his smarts. His nerve. Tyler is funny and charming and forceful and independent, and men look up to him and expect him to change their world.

Tyler is capable and free. I am not. I am not Tyler Durden.

“But you are, Tyler” Marla says (Palahniuk, 174).

The dialogue above, which takes place between Jack and Marla makes reader’s suspicion increase to the utmost. It can be considered as climax for our paranoia. As of the beginning of the narrative, we suppose Jack and Tyler are friends. As the story progresses, we start to have doubts about our characters. Our mind swings between possibilities. We try to find answers for our questions such as “Are Tyler and Jack different people?” or “Has Jack got schizophrenia and is it Jack’s pure alter ego that dominates the whole incidents?” In this regard, related to this study, alter ego and multiple identities concepts are required to be reviewed. In Merriam Webster Dictionary, the

phrase is defined as “a second self or different version of one self” (2020). Etymologically, borrowed from Latin, the phrase means “second I”. In this regard, Freud and his analysis on id, ego and superego become more of an issue. He defines ego as a “coherent organizations of mental process” (1923, p17). It is not a single device which operates basically. Rather it is a sophisticated entity. However, as it is implied in the definition, these constitutions are compatible. They process in harmony. Many have been suggested and discussed upon the development process of this organization. In his “*On Narcissism: An Introduction*” (1914), Freud postulates that “the ego cannot exist in the individual from the start; the ego has to be developed” (qtd in Russell, p353). As it is implied in the quotation, the development of the ego is a process and it does not remain the same as it first appears on an individual. This process can be related to concepts of Ideal-ego and Ego-ideal of Lacan. Regarding the narrative of *Fight Club*, it can be seen how Jack’s ego evolves and his alter ego is shaped and triggered by consumerist society. It can also be observed how paranoid the protagonist becomes due to the alterations that society causes to occur on his ego.

WHICH ONE OF YOU IS SPEAKING

Another problematic of the postmodern era is multiple identities. It may be suggested that it is caused by the paranoia issue that has been uttered above. “Discussions of postmodernism seem more prone than most to confusing self-contradictions, again perhaps because of the paradoxical nature of the subject itself” (Hutcheon, 1989, p5). What Hutcheon proposes may be assumed as the fragile state of the self which is inclined to fracture in the postmodern world. Related to this study of multiple identities, multiple personality disorder becomes an issue. Known as Dissociative Identity Disorder at present, it is defined as “a cross-cultural, developmental, posttraumatic disorder whereby a traumatized child with an inborn capacity to dissociate avoids being overwhelmed diminished by severe, chronic abuse

by dissociatively compartmentalizing feelings, memories, ways of thinking and talents into different self-parts (qtd in Harvey & Josselson, 2012, p4). However, in this study, multiple identities issue is not been showcased as a psychotic disorder. Rather, it is displayed as a postmodern human condition. Human beings may have a different personality when they are alone, when they are at work, and have a different one in their social life. This should not be confused with a psychotic disorder mentioned above but is thought to be a natural condition. What is meant to be proposed is that we never know which personality we embody is the real one. Alphonse Karr states that “all people have three characters that which they exhibit that which they are and that which they think they are” (2020). In other words, we are neither able to certain of the truth nor our real identities.

This is another problematic which the dynamics of the postmodern era tries to impose to postmodern man. This new age seems to bring out a new way of thought patterns. It deconstructs the teachings of grand narratives.

[...]we lose the grand narratives that once bound us together (with ourselves and with others) ; to compensate for that loss, we are given cultural paranoia, which binds us to structures/concepts with which we can identify, such as nation, class, gender, and the “human” (qtd in Elias, 289).

Considering what Mark Siegel proposes, it may be said modern man becomes more paranoid than ever in history as he does not own a basis to base his perception of truth. Thus, he begins to invent different ways to identify himself, which is enabled by imposed cultural and capitalist applications as Elias posits aptly, “that paranoia is culturally produced for us” (2003, p289). From literally perspective, the concept of multiple identities issue is examined as a natural condition of self in the postmodern world rather than a disorder in three literary works of *City of Glass*, *The Locked Room* and *Fight Club*. As being the first work to be studied, in *City of Glass*, the reader witnesses the reflection of multiple identities problematic. The protagonist exists with

the name of Daniel Quinn. There is Peter Stillman, who asks for Quinn's help for his father's case. We have Boston Stillman, who is the father of Peter. Max is another character in the narrative, of whom Quinn is very fond of. William is the pseudonym used by Daniel Quinn for years when he writes his stories. At last but not the least, there is Paul Auster who is supposed to be a private agent and that who Quinn thinks he is himself. Reading the narrative, reader's mind fluctuates among possibilities. He/she experiences confusion as the certainty is blurred and this yields paranoia.

As he wandered through the station, he reminded himself of who he was supposed to be. The effect of being Paul Auster, he had begun to learn, was not altogether unpleasant. Although he still had the same body, the same mind, the same thoughts, he felt as though he had somehow been taken out of himself, as if he no longer had to walk around with the burden of his own consciousness (...) to be Auster meant being a man with no interior, a man with no thoughts" (Auster, 2004, p50).

The example above from the narrative constitutes very good example of multiple personality issue which is aimed to study in this work. At first glance, it may be assumed that the protagonist is aware Paul Auster does not exist. However, as his inner thoughts compile, he finds himself in a different dimension in which he has made himself believe to be Paul Auster. Meanwhile, the uncertainty our protagonist is experiencing causes suspicion for the reader as well and it puts the reader in the domain of paranoia, which is aimed to achieve as reader's response.

Likewise, in *Fight Club* the same concept of multiple identities issue is involved. It has a twist in the ending just like in *City of Glass*. It turns out that the Narrator and Tyler Durden are the same person. They together represent the split person: Jack. The Narrator has a weak personality, weak body and a routine life shaped by capitalism. On the other hand, Tyler is the alter-ego of Jack, who is much stronger, well-built and popular among women. Jack dreams for being like the man in his thoughts. He desires to

be like Tyler. He desires to be accepted by the authority.

This idea reminds us what Freud asserts about the unconscious. As he puts forward it, we all have unconscious where we keep all our real desires and urges which push their way to the surface, namely, our consciousness. Many studies and research exist on the unconscious. However, whenever the philosophers have reached the conclusion and made up their minds about the phenomenon, they have been stuck in another problem. Is that their conscious or unconscious mind which has led them to the conclusion? The result itself perpetuates another question. As Freud posits,

It is true that philosophy has repeatedly dealt with the problem of the unconscious, but with few exceptions, philosophers have taken up one or other of the two following positions. Either the unconscious has been something mystical, something intangible and indemonstrable, whose relation to the mind has remained obscure, or they have identified the mental with the conscious and have proceeded to infer from this definition that what is unconscious cannot be mental or a subject for psychology. These opinions must be put down to the fact that philosophers have formed their judgment on the unconscious without being acquainted with the phenomena of unconscious mental activity, and therefore without any suspicion of how far unconscious phenomena resemble conscious ones or of the respects in which they differ from them (qtd in Tauber, 2010, p54).

What our Narrator is experiencing represents the incident, which Freud proposes about unconscious. In the narrative, when Jack is asleep, Tyler- the unconscious part of his mind- gets the whole control of his life. Many examples of this exist in the narrative. The instances include Jack's exploding his own flat, having sex with Marla, joining the Fight Club and so on. Considering Freud's assertion on unconscious mind, it can be assumed that Jack does not do them with his own awake intentions. It is all caused by his unconscious mind, his alter-ego. Hence, these examples in the narrative display the

reality that all human beings might own various characters and identities.

There is Marla, and she is in the middle of everything and doesn't know it.

And she loves you.

She loves Tyler.

She doesn't know the difference.

Somebody has to tell her. Get out. Get out. Get out (Palahniuk, 2005, p144).

In the quotation above, the identity issue, which the Narrator experiences, is explicitly witnessed. It can be seen how paranoid he becomes trying to find his real identity. When his thoughts are streaming, he fights against them. He fights against his alter ego, which is actually the other side of him. As a paranoid, he portrays himself in imaginary occurrences and personalities. This occurrence might be related to how Lacan describes paranoids: "the paranoiac imagines him/herself in the place of the Other (Other is the Thing which is unattainable), and thus sees an alternative version to reality" (qtd in Nicol, 1999, p46).

Moreover, in the narrative numerous symbols which may be assumed as the traces of multiple personalities issue are encountered. The scars, for instance, may be accounted to represent the duality and also secret identities that characters have. Named as Tyler's kiss, the burn scar that Narrator has indicates that Jack is the follower of Tyler. As another example, the bite mark on his cheek represents Jack's identity as a member of *Fight Club*. Those marks can only be seen by our Narrator not by the other people around him. From this stance, it may be inferred that this incident does not only display Jack's alter ego, it also leads the reader to the sphere of paranoia that was uttered in the earlier section of this study.

The Locked Room is another domain where the reader gets into paranoia and multiple identities. It may be suggested that Paul Auster causes this situation intentionally. He tortures reader's psychology by creating narratives within narratives. He aims to show that there is not only one reality and there is

not only one you, which is quite a postmodernist treat.

In the novella, we see the narrator's obsession with Fanshawe's story. His obsession is so strong that he almost loses himself while he is searching for his friend. The reader can easily tell that he loses his true self. He even pictures himself as Fanshawe. It may be assumed that he finds himself in a different identity. What is more, he cannot realise this incident until Fanshawe's wife warns him and tells him that they may need to consider him dead. Not until then, had he turned to his true self.

We exist for ourselves, perhaps, and at times we even have a glimmer of who we are, but in the end we can never be sure, and as our lives go on, we become more and more opaque to ourselves, more and more aware of our own incoherence (Auster, 2006, 243).

The quotation above from the novella may be considered as another example which displays how alter ego works. It can also constitute a good example to show the process between Ideal-ego and Ego-Ideal. Lacan divides human psyche into three forms and he proposes that the ideal-ego is constructed at the mirror stage when the infant imagines him/herself as a perfect whole. Yet, later on he/she realizes that it is only a misconception since he/ she is not as perfect as he/she has imagined. Hence, when his/her Ego-Ideal appears, this individual begins to do what it takes in order to appear like he/she has imagined and desired. It initiates to be formed when one starts to look at him/herself from a rational perspective. It may be said that one requires to create another self. As Auster (2006) proposes in the quotation, as long as one's awareness increases, the lack may be seen in detail.

"And death...happens to us every day" (2006). This statement which is located on the cover page of the novella probably displays the chaos about multiplicity of identities. Death is the end of physical life. When it comes, our stories finish. Yet, I believe in this statement, Auster refers to death as the end of one of our personalities. Very next day, another of you is born. When we consider the timeline being circular in the

postmodern age, we cannot have linear lives. “Rather, Plato visualized time as curving back on itself- as circular in nature” (Nahin, 2001, p104). As it may be inferred from what Plato proposes, it is not about starting from one point and finishing the line on the other side. As life progresses, our personalities are likely to change as well.

CONCLUSION

Even though there have been many attempts to define postmodernism, critics and theorists have failed in finding a precise answer to the question. Whatever the outcomes of attempts are, there is a common point they share: postmodernist movement privileges plurality rather than singularity of the truth unlike modernism and there is an inclination for desertion of traditional styles. In this respect, postmodernism is more than a movement. Rather, it may be regarded as a new perspective.

The notions of paranoia and multiple identities have been projected through literary works. They represent the different dimensions of reality and appear as the hallmarks of the postmodernist literature. Hence, as Brennan proposes, the postmodern age is “the age of paranoia” (1991, p20). The paranoid anxieties of post dramatis personae of the postmodernist movement are also reflected in many disciplines and in flow of daily life. In this stance, it may be seen that individuals and literary figures feel discontent with the circumstances they are experiencing and the places where they are. Moreover, the distrust one feels is not confined to the places or objects which he or she is exposed to. Same individual is likely to have the feeling of paranoia towards his or her identity as well. In other words, one becomes inclined to create self-made identities.

Throughout this study, the concepts of paranoia and multiple identities in *City of Glass*, *The Locked Room* and *Fight Club* have been examined and it has been concluded that these three leading works of literature explore

paranoia and multiple identities. They propose readers a sphere in which the postmodern individual long for the truth and battles with paranoia while searching for it.

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An Exploration of Students' Perceived Sources of Speaking Anxiety

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to find out sources of anxiety felt by intermediate English language learners when speaking English, and to obtain instructors' suggestions so as to decrease the learners' foreign language speaking anxiety. It was conducted with 60 students and ten English language instructors at the Preparatory School of Istanbul Aydın University, Turkey; in the 2019-2020 academic year. The research was designed as a mixed method approach. Quantitative data was accumulated by means of a questionnaire dispersed to the students; qualitative data was accumulated by means of follow-up interviews dispersed to the teachers. The results uncovered that the students had a moderate level of foreign language speaking anxiety. The most anxiety inducing items were identified as the harsh attitudes of classmates, having to volunteer answers in the classroom, a comparison of language classes with other classes, getting left behind and being corrected for every mistake. Suggestions from the instructors were creating a comfort zone and a friendly atmosphere in the classroom, doing group-work and pair-work activities, encouraging and praising students for their participation and avoiding immediate error correction.

Keywords: *Communication apprehension, language anxiety, speaking anxiety*

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İngilizce Öğrenen Öğrencilerin Konuşma Kaygısı Kaynakları Üzerine Bir Araştırma

ÖZ

Bu çalışmada, Türk üniversitelerinde yabancı dil öğrenen orta düzey İngilizce seviyesindeki öğrencilerin hissettiği konuşma kaygısının kaynaklarını belirlemek ve yabancı dil konuşma kaygısını azaltmak için öğretmenlerin önerilerini almak amaçlanmıştır. Bu çalışma, 60 öğrenci ve 10 İngilizce öğretmeni ile 2019-2020 akademik yılında İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Hazırlık okulunda yürütülmüştür. Bu araştırmada karma yöntem çalışması uygulanmıştır. Öğrencilere kullanılan anket nicel veri toplarken, öğretmenlerle yapılan takip görüşmeleri nitel veri toplamıştır. Sonuçlar, öğrencilerin orta düzeyde yabancı dil konuşma kaygısına sahip olduğunu açığa çıkarmıştır. En çok kaygı uyandıran öğeler sınıf arkadaşlarının sert tutumları, sınıfta gönüllü verilen cevaplar, dil sınıflarının diğer sınıflarla karşılaştırılması, dil sınıflarında geride kalma ve yapılan her hatada düzeltilme olarak belirlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin kaygı düzeylerini azaltmak için öğretmenlerden gelen öneriler sınıfta bir konfor bölgesi ve samimi bir ortam oluşturma, grup çalışması ve ikili çalışma yaptırma, katılımları için öğrenciyi teşvik etme ve övme ve anlık hata düzeltilmesinden kaçınmadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İletişim kaygısı, dil kaygısı, konuşma kaygısı

INTRODUCTION

The issue of anxiety in foreign language learning has been a thought-provoking topic among researchers for the past few decades. It arouses interest because it has been perceived as an effective source of students' level of achievement in foreign language learning (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994).

The first study that introduced anxiety in the context of foreign language learning was conducted by Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986). They claim that this phenomenon is especially liable for students' adverse emotional

responses to language learning. MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) interpret it as having tension, worry and negative emotional attitude towards second language learning, particularly linked to second language contexts such as listening, speaking and learning in general. Similarly, Zhang (2001) agrees that this phenomenon is a psychological strain which the language learner experiences when partaking in a learning task.

According to Horwitz et al. (1986), this particular anxiety type ought to be taken into consideration as situation-specific anxiety which derives from the unlikeliness of the language learning itself. They believe that it is a solitary kind of anxiety, explicit to foreign language learning, and suggest that it is different from general classroom anxiety. So, it is profoundly plausible that students with anxiety in general may struggle with foreign language anxiety. However, it may also be a familiar feeling among students who do well in other subjects but still experience anxiety when learning a foreign language (Trang, 2012).

Foreign language learning anxiety reveals itself in various ways. A student may get anxious when writing, listening, reading and/or speaking in the target language. However, there is no doubt that speaking anxiety emerges as one of the most frequently experienced feelings that students encounter. Horwitz et al. (1986) state that adults, in this case, university students, see themselves as fairly smart, socially skilled and sensitive individuals, and when speaking in their native language, expressing themselves is rarely difficult. However, it is probably challenging when communicating in the foreign language as it also requires complicated structures with ambiguous or unknown linguistics and socio-cultural standards. Öztürk and Gürbüz (2014) indicate that perfectionist learners tend to utter correctly pronounced, contextually appropriate and grammatically correct sentences. It can be said that making perfect sentences while speaking in the target language puts great pressure on these students. Thus, communicating in the second language involves risk-taking and can be tricky for the speaker.

The speaker might feel distressed when speaking in the foreign language not only because it is hard to express oneself, but also because it requires more productivity in a shorter period of time. Ay (2010) reports that students get more uptight when teachers expect them to speak in English without any preparation beforehand and, in particular, if students are required to talk about subjects which are unfamiliar to them. The idea of getting negative reactions from teachers may also create anxiety while speaking the target language. According to Cao (2011), when students do not get enough support, encouragement or personal attention from their teachers, they tend to be quiet in speaking classes. Tuan and Mai (2015) argue that when students have inadequate background knowledge about the topic, they get anxious and tend to speak very little or none because they cannot come up with ideas in the first place. As reported by Kayaoğlu and Sağlamel (2013), a remarkable number of participants admit that having insufficient vocabulary discourages them from speaking the target language fluently, thus creating anxiety. They also found out that grammar and pronunciation play a significant role in building up anxiety. Gregersen and Horwitz (2002) claim that anxious students have the tendency to remain seated indifferently in the classroom and refrain from the activities which might improve their language skills, they might indeed skip that class entirely. As a result, anxious students may be reluctant to take part in activities and there is little chance that they will voluntarily give answers in spoken classes (Bekleyen, 2009).

Many researchers are of the opinion that the effects of anxiety in foreign language speaking are mostly to the students' disadvantage, as it may lower the quality of oral language performance (Horwitz, 1991). Yet, there are numerous reasons why students get anxious when speaking English as a foreign language. Thus, this research aimed to find answers to the questions below:

1. What are the perceived sources that cause speaking anxiety among EFL learners in Turkish universities?

2. What are the instructors' suggestions to decrease EFL learners' level of speaking anxiety?

METHODOLOGY

A mixed-method research design was used in this study. Thus, quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed to find out the answers to the research questions. This study took place at the English preparatory school of Istanbul Aydin University at the beginning of the second term of the 2019-2020 academic year in the Turkish educational context. The first group of participants was 60 Turkish and international intermediate level EFL students who were selected through convenience sampling. The students' age range was 18-23. The second group of participants was ten English language instructors with at least ten years of teaching experience.

The quantitative data was collected from the student participants by means of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). FLCAS has 33 items and is an individual self-report Likert scale. The scale ranges from 5 "Strongly Agree" to 1 "Strongly Disagree". The FLCAS questionnaire is a valid and reliable tool that measures three significant aspects of anxiety, which are communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. The qualitative data was collected from the instructors through follow-up interviews and written reflection papers. The interview questions provided to the instructor participants included the five highest anxiety inducing situations as provided by student participants which were in line with the FLCAS questionnaire (Horwitz et al., 1986). The quantitative data gathered from the FLCAS questionnaire was subjected to the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) – Predictive Analytics Software (PASW) Statistics 18.00. The qualitative data collected through the interviews was subjected to descriptive analysis.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

After examining the three sub-sections of the FLCAS questionnaire, we found out that the students who participated in this research were moderately anxious in all three aspects of anxiety. The findings of this study showed parallels with other studies such as Balemir (2009), Çağatay (2015) and Saltan (2003) as these studies' participants experienced moderate level of speaking anxiety, too.

According to the results of the FLCAS questionnaire, the participants revealed that being laughed at by their classmates (24 strongly agreed, 15 agreed), volunteering answers in the classroom (22 strongly agreed, 16 agreed), comparison of language classes with other classes (20 strongly agreed, 27 agreed), being worried about getting left behind in language classes (18 strongly agreed, 21 agreed) and being corrected by their teachers for every mistake they make (17 strongly agreed, 22 agreed) are the items which increase their anxiety levels most. The highest rated anxiety inducing items determined by students along with instructors' suggestions to these items are discussed below.

The most anxiety inducing item was identified as the harsh attitudes of classmates. We see that majority of the students care about what others think and how other students react to their utterances in English. They find it stressful and unpleasant to encounter the possibility of their classmates making fun or laughing at them when they speak in English. In their studies, Balemir (2009) and Öztürk and Gürbüz (2014) also found that negative thoughts, judgment and evaluation by peers increase anxiety levels of students. In the current study, all teachers agreed on the fact that it is a common problem that they encounter in their classrooms. To take this pressure away, the instructors indicate that it is a must to create a comfort zone in the classroom. To achieve this goal, language teachers are to take responsibility and let all the students in the classroom know that mistakes are natural and are a part of the learning process. Some teachers reported

giving examples of their own language learning experiences to decrease students' stress caused by their peers. Another important point put forward by almost all the instructors is the efficiency of group-work and pair-work to lower the anxiety levels of students.

Voluntarily speaking in English among others was the second main source of anxiety. We understand that students find it stressful to speak out what they have on their minds when other students are around. The studies of Koch and Terrel (1991) and Young (1990) also showed similar results. Like the first item's suggestion, the instructors primarily proposed group-work for a less anxious classroom atmosphere. They pointed out that when students talk to one another in smaller groups, they tend to get less anxious. They also indicated that they start with relatively easy questions, to make anxious students more comfortable volunteering answers, and that they offer single prompts to help volunteer students remember the words to express their thoughts better. Another solution suggested by instructors is to praise the volunteer students even if there are flaws when they are speaking in English. It should be noted that the first and the second most anxiety inducing items are relevant since they both promote the fear of harsh peer pressure.

Thirdly, it can be said that students feel more confident when they use their mother-tongue in schools. However, unlike other classes, students are expected to speak in English when learning the target language. It should also be noted that if students are not used to the communicative approach when they were taught English before, they get anxious as most teachers in English preparatory schools apply this method to teach the target language. The instructors drew attention to two important aspects. Firstly, they suggested evaluating the students' language learning process by giving less exams and/or giving exams in different forms. Secondly, they emphasized the importance of doing more productive activities and group-work. The instructors stated that practicing language skills to develop speaking skills and using various communication strategies help students decrease their

anxiety levels. The latter suggestions are also made by Cohen (2010) and Çağatay (2015).

Next, we see that students get anxious about not keeping up with what is taught in the classroom as this situation may lead them feel incompetent in terms of language learning. If they miss a lesson or struggle with a subject, they might get confused, panicked or they might even feel they will lose control and become unsuccessful at learning English. Horwitz et al. (1986) report that the main source of language learners' anxiety is the incompetency in the target language. The instructors stated that when students are presented with the syllabus of the course and the objectives of the lesson at the very beginning of the lesson period, they feel more confident. Showing students everything is planned and under control may put less pressure on students who get anxious about getting left behind. The instructors also suggested that students having this kind of fear should spend more time on self-studying. Finally, the issue of correcting errors in language classrooms is important because the flow of communication may be disturbed and accordingly, the motivation and willingness of students to speak may decrease in the target language. All the interviewed instructors stated that they avoid immediate error correction if an anxious student makes a mistake while speaking. They suggested that it is better to wait until the end of the lesson to point out the main mistakes in general without mentioning the names of the students. Some indicated that they prefer not to correct every single mistake, thinking that they can gain that ability on their own. They all pointed out that it is teachers' duty to create a student-friendly and safe atmosphere in the classroom so that students can feel motivated and encouraged to speak more regardless of mistakes they make. These suggestions are also similar to the findings of Cohen (2010) and MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément and Noels (1998) as they emphasize how a teacher's approach towards students and students' anxiety levels are linked to one another.

As a result, it is a fact that preparatory students in universities suffer from

foreign language speaking anxiety due to various specific situations. Diagnosing the negative sources of students' speaking anxiety gives teachers an opportunity to administer treatment for this unpleasant feeling in many constructive ways. It was found that students feel more relaxed and confident about speaking English when their classmates are mature and do not laugh at their mistakes; when they speak English in smaller groups instead of having to volunteer answers all by themselves; when they feel the same way in their language classes and other classes they have had; when they catch up everything explained in the classroom; and when they keep speaking without error correction interference. Doing this study showed that having a classroom with minimum levels of anxiety is possible.

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The Role of Students' Motivation When Attending Higher Education Institutions

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ABSTRACT

The motivation of students to attend higher education has been taking great prominence in scientific research, being the basis of several studies that aim to assess the behavior and choices of students in higher education. Based on the Self-Determination Theory, we intend to give students a voice to attend a Higher Professional Technical Course, with a view to understanding their perception of the educational experience and their choices and motivations when entering Higher Education. Data were obtained through the application of a questionnaire, Motivation to Learn Scale, and the results contributed to the understanding of motivational patterns of students of Higher Professional Technical Courses.

Key Words: *Perception of students; higher education; motivation; higher professional technical courses.*

ÖZ

Bilimsel çalışmalarda öğrencilerin yükseköğretime katılma nedeni, yükseköğretimde öğrencilerin seçimlerini ve davranışlarını inceleyen pek çok çalışmanın temeli olduğu için çok büyük bir önem kazanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, öz belirleme teorisine dayanarak, öğrencilerin yükseköğretime girerken eğitim deneyimleri; seçimleri ve motivasyonları hakkındaki algılarını anlamak amacıyla yükseköğretimde teknik eğitime katılmaları için bir söz

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hakkı vermek amaçlanmıştır. Veriler, öğrenme motivasyonu ölçeği anketi ile elde edilmiş ve de sonuçlar yükseköğretim teknik eğitim öğrencilerinin motivasyon modellerinin anlayışına katkı sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Öğrencilerin algıları; yükseköğretim; motivasyon; yükseköğretimde teknik eğitim*

1. ENROLLING HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (HEIS)

In recent years, the population that chooses to enter Higher Education Institutions has increased significantly, allowing the entry of heterogeneous groups of students according to their goals and vocational projects (Almeida, Marinho-Araújo, Amaral, & Dias, 2012; Porto, & Soares, 2017a). In view of this diversity, higher education institutions are progressively more attentive to the characteristics and needs of their students, seeking to ensure their permanence and improve the quality of their training (Castro, & Almeida, 2016). Several aspects have been emphasized in relation to entering and staying in HEIs. Difficulties that arise in the process of adapting to higher education may be related to the academic experiences of students still in High School (Cole, Kennedy, & Ben-Avie, 2009) and their psychosocial maturity (Araújo et al., 2016a; Tomás, Ferreira, Araújo, & Almeida, 2014). Considering the demands and challenges of the HEIs context, it is necessary to mobilize various personal, academic, emotional and social resources, including factors such as the perception of social support, approaches to study, self-efficacy beliefs and strategies for coping, for permanence and success in Higher Education (Araújo et al., 2016b; Cabras, & Mondo, 2017; Nicholson, Putwain, Connors, & Hornby-Atkinson, 2013; Rodríguez, Tinajero, & Páramo, 2017; Valadas, Almeida, & Araújo, 2016). Indeed, success in Higher Education, defined in terms of academic performance, satisfaction, personal development, involvement and adaptation, is a complex and multidetermined phenomenon (Araújo, 2017). In a study by Pachane (2004) with the objective of evaluating the students' perception about the impact

of HEIs in their personal development, aspects related to satisfaction were pointed out, personal relationships (40.22%), learning (11, 73%), personal growth (11.17%), professional training (10.61%), course quality (8.94%) and university quality (6.14%).

Among the factors that influence academic success in Higher Education, students' academic motivations and expectations have received prominence at national (Oliveira, Santos, & Dias, 2016; Porto, & Soares, 2017) and international level (Araújo, Costa, Casanova, & Almeida, 2014). According to this literature, students' motivations are often mistaken, making their adaptation much more complex and generating a sequence of disappointments in their experiences in HEIs.

The Portuguese population has shown a wide variety of concerns regarding the need to adjust to the radical changes that the COVID-19 pandemic caused in the organization of our daily lives. Parents, or guardians, are a segment of this population that has faced a significant demand to adapt to new family, educational and professional dynamics on an uninterrupted basis. The realization of diverse roles simultaneously and in the same physical and psychological space, reveals a state of overcoming and permanent reinvention. In this sense, it was urgent to adjust plans, roles, spaces and time in relation to readjusting professional and family activity (Diaz, 2011; Ramalho, 2018).

By taking the IPMAIA students' perspective in this investigation, we intend to contribute to a more in-depth knowledge of their interests and motivations in view of the need and motivation inherent to adapting to the teaching mode in distance education due to Pandemic Covid-19. It is important, therefore, to understand and know how IPMAIA students are facing the distance learning modality and its adaptation to it, in addition to pointing out possibilities for improving academic and organizational management.

2. OBJECTIVE, SAMPLE AND METHODOLOGY

OBJECTIVE

The objective of the present study was to analyze, through the application of a motivation questionnaire, the perception of higher education students about their motivation for the educational experience, in order to describe the access profile of students from different Higher Professional Technical Courses at Polytechnic Institute of Maia.

Despite the various questions within polytechnic higher education that we could try to find answers to, we have chosen in our research to outline the following:

- a. What are students' motivations and expectations for attending a Higher Professional Technical Course?

METHODOLOGY

The design adopted in the present investigation is of the exploratory-descriptive type with a qualitative approach based on the application of a motivation scale, aiming to assess the students' motivation to attend the course they chose.

The closed questionnaire method used was as follows:

- Scale of motivation to learn EMA-U (adapted)

The study population was directed to students attending the Polytechnic Institute of Maia.

A questionnaire consisting of two parts was applied: I - Sociodemographic related data, and II - Specific questions composed by the adaptation of the Motivation scale, consisting of 29 questions.

The objective of the questionnaire was to obtain information taking into account the object of study of the present investigation.

Data collection - For systematic data collection, 200 questionnaires were distributed, of which we obtained 120 responses.

Sample characterization

In the present study, a non-probabilistic or non-random sampling process was used, using convenience sampling, focusing on the study of students at the Polytechnic Institute of Maia attending the respective courses in distance learning mode.

Objetivo do Estudo

O objetivo do presente estudo foi analisar, através da aplicação de um questionário de motivação, a percepção dos alunos do ensino superior sobre a sua motivação para a experiência educativa, com o intuito de descrever o perfil de acesso dos alunos de diferentes CTeSP do IPMAIA.

Apesar das várias questões dentro do ensino superior politécnico para as quais poderíamos tentar encontrar resposta, optámos, na nossa investigação por delinear a seguinte:

a) Quais são as motivações e expectativas dos estudantes para a frequência de um CTeSP?

Metodologia

O delineamento adotado na presente investigação é do tipo exploratório-descritivo de abordagem quantitativa a partir da aplicação de um questionário, visando aferir a percepção dos estudantes dos CTeSP sobre a sua motivação aquando do ingresso no ES.

Aplicou-se um questionário composto por duas partes: I - Dados Sócio-demográficos, e II - 29 questões referentes ao instrumento utilizado, Escala de Motivação para aprender de universitários (EMA-U), para as quais foi utilizada a escala de Likert.

O objetivo do questionário foi o de obter informação tendo em conta o objeto de estudo da presente investigação.

Procedimentos:

Foi feita uma análise e da Escala de Motivação para aprender de universitários, tendo sido feita e testada uma adaptação da mesma com vista à aplicação na população específica composta por estudantes que frequentam um CTeSP

no Instituto Politécnico da Maia (IPMAIA).

Para a avaliação da consistência interna do questionário, calculou-se o coeficiente *alpha* de Cronbach, adequado para avaliar a fidelidade de questionários formulados com escalas de tipo Likert (observa-se que todas as dimensões obtiveram valores de *alpha* superiores a 0,60 mostrando assim, que são relevantes). Os pareceres dos orientadores da investigação sobre o instrumento também coadjuvaram na validação do inquérito por questionário. Recolha de dados – Para recolha sistematizada dos dados foram distribuídos 200 questionários, dos quais obtivemos 120 respostas.

Caracterização da amostra

No presente estudo, recorreu-se a um processo de amostragem por conveniência, não se tratando de uma amostra aleatória. Assim, a amostra foi composta por 120 estudantes a frequentar os vários CTeSP do IPMAIA. De entre os alunos que responderam ao questionário, 73 são do sexo feminino e 37 do sexo masculino, sendo todos os inquiridos solteiros e sem filhos. As suas idades Variam entre os 18 e os 25 anos, sendo 29 dos inquiridos trabalhadores estudantes. Dos 120 inquiridos, 19 são provenientes do concelho de Vila Nova de Gaia, 16 de Matosinhos, 12 da Póvoa de Varzim, 11 de Santo Tirso, 7 do Porto, 7 da Maia, 6 da Trofa, 6 de Vila Nova de Famalicão, 5 de Paços de Ferreira, 5 de Valongo, 4 do Marco de Canaveses, 4 de Gondomar, 3 de Aveiro, 3 de Paredes, 3 de Penafiel, 2 de Ovar, 2 de Cinfães, 2 de Santa Maria da Feira, 2 de Espinho e 1 de Viseu.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Given that we are dealing with the analysis of questions, based on a scale, we chose to proceed with a qualitative analysis.

Thus, regarding the first question, I honestly do not know why I attend classes, the vast majority of students did not identify with the question (48.1%, no correspondence), showing that they are aware of their role as students and the need to attend classes. 29.1% of respondents opted for the moderate correspondence response, 12.7% little correspondence, 6.3% much

correspondence and only 3.8% of respondents fully identified themselves with the question (total correspondence).

Concerning the second question, I attend classes in because attendance is mandatory, most of the students surveyed identify with the question, with the responses focusing on moderate and total correspondence (43.1% and 17.2%, respectively). 21.4% identified themselves with the option little correspondence, 15.2% with no correspondence and only 3.1% with the option very correspondence.

Regarding the third question, I attend classes so as not to be missed, the answers are divided into moderate correspondence (36.7%) and no correspondence (21.5%), 17.7% little correspondence, followed by 16.5% with total correspondence and 7.6% with much correspondence, demonstrating that the problem of attendance is interpreted differently by students.

Concerning the fourth question, I attend classes for the pleasure I get when I get involved in debates with interesting teachers, it was found that 53.4% of the students answered that they identify, in a moderate way, with the question. This is followed by 22.7% of the participants who chose the option little correspondence, 12% no correspondence, 6.7% much correspondence and only 5.2% reported total correspondence.

As for the fifth question, I attend classes to prove to myself that I am capable of finishing the course, 48.1% of the students answered with moderate correspondence, while 26.6% identified themselves totally with the question. There is little or no correspondence, both with 10.1% responses and 5.1% with a lot of correspondence.

In the sixth question, I attend classes to occupy myself, the vast majority, 41.2% reported not identifying themselves with the question (no correspondence), with 28.4% indicating a moderate correspondence regarding the question. It follows 24.1% with little correspondence, 3.8% with total correspondence and 2.5% with much correspondence.

With regard to the seventh question, I feel that I am wasting my time in classes,

48.1% of respondents reported not identifying themselves in any way with the question (no correspondence), 21.5% with moderate correspondence, 19 % with little correspondence, 6.3% with total correspondence and only 5.1% with much correspondence.

As for the eighth question, I already had good reasons to attend the course, but currently, I have doubts about continuing, 49.4% of the students answered with no correspondence, 22.8% with moderate correspondence, 17.7% little correspondence, 6.3 % total correspondence, and 3.8% a lot of correspondence.

Regarding the ninth question, I attend the course to show myself that I am an intelligent person, the vast majority responded by indicating the option no correspondence (34.6%), with 32% opting for moderate correspondence, 12.8% a lot of correspondence, 11.5% little correspondence and only 9% of respondents responded with total correspondence.

In the tenth question, which concerns Attending classes because attendance is mandatory, 22.8% of students answered no correspondence, 20.3% little correspondence, 12.7% total correspondence, 7.6% much correspondence, and the remaining 36.6%, moderate correspondence.

As for the eleventh question, I attend classes in because education is a privilege, 55.3% of the participants indicated the moderate correspondence option, while the rest were divided between total correspondence (15.9%), a lot of correspondence (13.9%), and 8.9% reported no correspondence. Only 6% indicated the option little correspondence.

Regarding the twelfth question, I do not understand why I should attend classes, the vast majority of participants (48.7%), said they did not identify with the question (no correspondence), while 20.5% indicated the answer little correspondence and only 5.1% total correspondence. The remaining 25.7% reported moderate correspondence.

In the thirteenth question, I attend classes to obtain the certificate of completion, 58.2% of respondents responded with moderate correspondence, 25.3% total

correspondence, 7.6% little correspondence, 6.4% much correspondence and 2,5% no match.

In the fourteenth question, I attend classes because when I am successful I feel important, 41.8% answered with moderate correspondence, followed by the option no correspondence with 22.7%, with only 12.7% being identified with the total correspondence option, 15.2% with little correspondence and 7.6% with much correspondence.

Regarding the fifteenth question, I do not know or understand what I am doing in the course, 67.1% of the participants identified themselves with the option no correspondence, 12.7% moderate correspondence, 11.4% little correspondence, being that only 5.1% answered total correspondence and 3.7% a lot of correspondence.

As for the sixteenth question, I attend classes because for me the course is a pleasure, 60.3% of the students selected the moderate correspondence option, followed by total correspondence with 19%, much correspondence with 12.7% and little or no correspondence not reaching 10% (8%).

In the seventeenth question, I attend classes because access to knowledge occurs in higher education, 46.7% of the answers were in moderate correspondence, followed by total correspondence with 16.9% and little or none with 26.3% (12.5% and 13.8%, respectively). Only 10.1% reported a lot of correspondence.

With regard to the eighteenth question, I do not understand what difference it makes or does not attend classes, 56.4% of respondents did not identify with the question, having answered with the option no correspondence, followed by a moderate correspondence with 16, 7%, little correspondence with 14.1% and total correspondence with only 7.7% and a lot of correspondence with 5.1%.

Regarding the nineteenth question, I attend classes because I want to show myself that I can be successful in studies, 48.2% opted for the moderate correspondence option, followed by little or no correspondence with 27.8%,

total correspondence with 15.2% and a lot of correspondence with 8.8%. As for the twentieth question, I attend classes because I like these classes very much, 49.4% of the participants opted for the moderate correspondence option, 43% divided between little (21.5%) or no correspondence (21.5%), 5.1% a lot of correspondence and only 2.5% opted for total correspondence. In the twenty-first question, I attend classes because I believe that the attendance record is necessary for learning, 50% of the participants opted for the moderate correspondence option, followed by no correspondence with 17.1%, little correspondence with 15.8 %, a lot of correspondence with 13.2% and total correspondence with only 3.9%.

In the twenty-second question, I attend classes because I want to avoid people seeing me as a sloppy student, most respondents did not identify with the question, opting for the answer no correspondence (36.3%), followed the option moderate correspondence with 35.1%, total correspondence with 11.3%, little correspondence with 9.8% and much correspondence with 7.5%. Regarding the twenty-third question, I make the connection because the frequency of classes is mandatory, 41.6% of the participants answered with moderate correspondence, 22.1% with no correspondence, 19.5% little correspondence, 11.6 % total correspondence and only 5.2% much correspondence.

As for the twenty-fourth question, If attendance was not mandatory, few students would attend classes, the vast majority, 60.1% answered with the moderate correspondence option, followed by 16.7% with total correspondence, 10.3% with no correspondence, 7.7% with little correspondence and 5.2% with much correspondence.

In the twenty-fifth question, I attend classes because studying broadens horizons, 57.6% of students opted for the moderate response, 22.5% total correspondence, 12.4% much correspondence, 5% little correspondence and only 2.5 % no match.

Regarding the twenty-sixth question, I attend the course because that's

what I chose for myself, 53.9% of the participants referred to the moderate correspondence option, followed by 40.3% with total correspondence, 11% with a lot of correspondence and 3.8% with little match.

As for the twenty-seventh question, I attend the course because while I am studying I do not need to work, the vast majority of students did not identify with the question, having chosen the answer no correspondence (60.8%), followed by moderate correspondence with 17.7%, little correspondence with 13.9%, and a lot and total correspondence both with 3.8%.

In the twenty-eighth question, My friends are the main reason why I attend the course and classes in distance learning, 45.6% of respondents reported no correspondence, not identifying themselves with the question, followed by moderate correspondence with 35.5%, little correspondence with 12.7%, much correspondence with 3.8% and total correspondence with 2.4%.

As for the twenty-ninth question, I attend the course because that's what is expected of me, 40.5% of the participants answered according to the option moderate correspondence, 20.3% little correspondence, 19% no correspondence, 11.4% a lot of correspondence and 8.8% total correspondence.

CONCLUSION

After analyzing the data obtained, it was possible to conclude that students do not feel any kind of obligation to attend classes, they do it because they consider its frequency important to acquire new knowledge / learning and not because they feel that it's mandatory to attend them. We were able to conclude that the greatest motivation for students to study is related to the objective of completing the course show themselves and others that they were able to complete the cycle of studies, being also aware of the importance of completing it for their professional career. It was also possible to verify that students maintained their motivation during the frequency of the course they chose. Finally, it was possible to verify that the vast majority of students reported continuing to study, as they consider education a privilege.

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ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MEDIA, CULTURE AND LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

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All authors are aware of, and have consented to, the submission to the journal; Due regard has been paid to ethical considerations relating to the work reported;

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



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