LIVING AND PERFORMING JOURNALISM IN TURKEY: COMMUNITY, AFFECT, AND HEGEMONY

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an ethnographic exploration of how journalism is defined and performed within the daily lives of journalists in Istanbul, Turkey. Based on nine months of embedded ethnographic fieldwork, extensive interviews, and participant observation, my research presents narratives that underscore the relationship between Turkey's socio-political and cultural environment and the expression, performance, and experience of journalism for people engaged in Turkey's media field. Although some academic research has focused on the dynamics of the political economy of news media within Turkey, little has been done to explore how journalists personally engage in their profession on a daily basis as it relates to their life worlds. Geo-political and cultural shifts in regional and world politics, such as a mass refugee crisis, a rise in right-wing authoritarianism, and the neoliberalization of Turkey's economy, have had a significant influence on the daily lives and experiences of all those living within the country. As journalists report on these events and how Turkey's political climate affects people from all across the country, they are also contending with their position and role within Turkey's socio-political milieu.

I situate Turkey as an authoritarian neoliberal state, whereby a free market economy justifies and bolsters state interventions within the spheres of daily life. In presenting how these factors shape a given political context, I turn to theories of affect to underscore the relationship between daily, lived, and embodied experience and the presence of such institutions as the state and its economic policies. Accordingly, my dissertation accounts for how journalism might be conceptualized as *embodied detachment*, whereby journalists attempt to grapple with their desires to cultivate a professional practice rooted in impartiality and objectivity, while also contending with how

their habits, tastes, relationships, and identities are saturated by the history and politics of Turkey on a sensorial, affective level. In exploring the inter-connection between journalism, daily life, and broader phenomena, such as nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism, my dissertation presents three themes to highlight how journalists in Turkey negotiate the tension between their subjective life experiences and professional goals. My dissertation examines how space, community, and identity are realms through which journalists negotiate their professional ideals, while grappling with personal life circumstances that challenge their visions of journalism.

DEDICATION

For those who dare to take the road less traveled

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

"Everywhere in the world, being a journalist has an impact on your personal life," Sezen remarked as we sipped Turkish coffee in the break room where she worked.[1] Sezen was a young journalist, who had worked for a variety of oppositional and independent news outlets in Istanbul. At the time of our meeting, she was a culture and arts reporter, though she also reported on issues such as the environment and worker's rights. She was married to Nasrettin, a slightly older, well-respected broadcast journalist, who recently lost his job due to the closure of his station after the July 2016 coup-attempt. When we met he was working on a freelance basis, hosting digital and radio programs related to political polarization, ethnic and minority rights, and the environment.[2] I was in awe of how calm, cool, and collected they each appeared whenever we would meet and hangout given the unpredictability of their lives. Not only was Sezen the primary breadwinner, given that she had a fulltime job as compared to Nasrettin's intermittent income, but they were also preparing to move from one side of Istanbul to another. This situation was compounded by the fact that Nasrettin remained under police and government scrutiny for his affiliation with pro-Kurdish media outlets. The precarity and impact of their profession on their personal lives was apparent in the months following the July 2016 coup-attempt when police began raiding various political party offices, non-profit organizations, and media outlets, arresting people on charges of aiding and abetting terrorism. Sezen described

[1] 02/09/2018

[2] Since I completed my fieldwork in June 2018, Nasrettin accepted a job as a public relations consultant and advisor with one of Turkey's main opposition party. He and Sezen have moved to the capital, Ankara.

waiting with Nasrettin for the police to come either to their house or his station. She laughed as she talked about waiting and the ironic relief of the police finally raiding the station and shutting it down. Finally, no more waiting.

Sezen's description of fear and fatigue in her professional-cum-personal life seemed ambivalent, or rather not as important compared to the work she felt she was doing as a journalist. She and Nasrettin were quite social and engaged with their peers—they often hosted social gatherings at their home with other journalist friends and stayed active with various professional organizations. Their jobs and identities as journalists were such central parts of their everyday habits, movements, social circles, and world-views. Whenever I would meet them for coffee, a picnic, or evening drinks, we would be joined by other journalist friends, many of whom also became participants in my research. Sezen and Nasrettin's lives were not the only ones that seemed consumed by journalism, nearly every journalist I met with truly *lived* their profession. From where they lived, the bars they frequented, to whom they socialized with, my participants all discussed their identities as journalists as an everyday habit. Journalism was truly a lifestyle, subject to the ebbs and flows of socio-political and cultural life in Turkey. The majority of my participants, however, were steadfast in their commitment to principles such as impartiality, fair and unbiased coverage, and objectivity—tenants they ascribed, almost unquestionably, as foundational to journalism. Although they all described exhaustion, frustration, and even burnout from a profession that was under immense political pressure and persecution, they explained the necessity and ability to detach themselves from the very real physical, financial, emotional, and political impact of their profession. As journalists, they felt their

work was an objective portrait of the history of Turkey, bringing to light the stories and experiences of people form all corners of the country.

With this in mind, my dissertation explores how journalism is defined and performed within the daily lives of journalists in Istanbul, Turkey. My research is guided by these central and sub research questions:

1. What is the relationship between Turkey's socio-cultural climate and history and how journalists define their profession?
    a. How do contemporary political and social circumstances impact the sorts of journalistic ideals journalists invest in?
    b. What is the role of normative journalistic values—such as "objectivity"—in journalistic practice in Turkey?
2. How do journalists' subjectivities intersect with their visions of journalism?
    a. How do realms of everyday life—such as space and identity—impact their journalistic goals and ideals?
    b. To what extent does the everyday matter to the role that journalists play in Turkey?
3. What is the relationship between journalists' negotiation of their subjectivities and the possibilities of a more communal, pluralistic form of journalism?

Through extensive interviews and participant observation, my research presents narratives that underscore the relationship between Turkey's socio-political and cultural environment and the expression, performance, and experience of journalism for people engaged with Turkey's media field. After nine months of embedded ethnographic fieldwork, my dissertation accounts for how journalism might be conceptualized as

embodied detachment, whereby journalists attempt to grapple with their desires to cultivate a professional practice rooted in impartiality and objectivity, while also contending with how their habits, tastes, relationships, and identities are saturated by the history and politics of Turkey on a sensorial, affective level.[3] In other words, how does Turkey as a nation-state become engrained into the personal lives of these journalists, which then leaves a mark on how they occupy, navigate, and understand their professional roles as journalists. *Embodied detachment* underscores how journalists attempt to disengage their subjectivities from their professional ideals and practice. I use the term *embodied detachment* to describe the double-work journalists perform as they try to position themselves as objective observers and reporters even while they describe their professional lives as all too personal. Embodied detachment captures how journalists navigate the tensions between their daily and intimate lives and their professional goals of cultivating a profession uncolored by personal perspectives and biases.

Historically, journalism has been framed in theories of liberal democracy as a crucial component of the public sphere, specifically as a profession and institution that reports the record of public opinion (i.e. Habermas, 1991). Journalists, from this approach, are considered neutral transmitters of the news and debates occurring within a given political environment. Although neutrality, impartiality, and objectivity remain god-terms

[3] Bourdieu's concept of habitus offers a lens for examining how the social world is internalized in physical comportment, cultural taste, and other various dispositions and habits. However, I do not utilize Bourdieu's habitus in my dissertation given its emphasis on the objective relationship between socio-cultural structures and one's embodiment of them. As Bourdieu (1985) writes, "If objective power relations tend to reproduce themselves in the views of the social world that contribute to the permanence of these relations, this is therefore because the structuring principles of a world view are rooted in the objective structures of the social world: power relations are also present in people's minds, in the form of the categories of perception of these relations" (p. 729). Habitus, or "durable dispositions," does not wholly account for the uncertainty and ambiguity of how someone may or may not embody their social environment. Although my dissertation does not reject Bourdieu's concept, I believe an affective approach to how a political and social environment is lived and embodied allows for a richer and more nuanced understanding of how power relations may or may not be internalized.

within the profession, how these terms are deployed and why they matter to journalists are linked to journalists' socio-cultural and political contexts (Zelizer, 2004). Geo-political and cultural shifts in regional and world politics, such as a mass refugee crisis, the threat of non-state actor "Islamic State," a rise in right-wing authoritarianism, and the neoliberalization of Turkey's economy over the last several decades, have had a significant influence on the daily lives and experiences of all those living within the country. Within this environment, journalists find themselves in a unique position of negotiating a highly subjective experience around a desire to remove any sort of thought, feeling, or identity marker that might color their work. As they report on these events and how Turkey's political climate affects people from all across the country, these journalists are also contending with their position and role within Turkey's socio-political milieu. As I met with these journalists, I learned about their frustrations, political affiliations, prejudices, tastes in food and drink, preferences about where to live, among many others. These personal qualities were very much impacted by where these journalists fit in within the history of Turkey as a secular, highly nationalistic, and also neoliberal state. By turning towards certain professional ideals and goals, these journalists were grappling with how to mitigate the tension they felt between their subjectivities and a desire to use their work to cultivate a more united, pluralistic political community. They are contending with their embodiment of their immediate political, social, and cultural context, while also wanting to detach themselves as affected by it. A highly polarized political public has resulted in immense mistrust of the press within Turkey, thus detaching from their personal lives is important for these journalists, as they fear that any suspicion or accusation of bias would jeopardize their professional goal of bringing people together through their stories.

This duality of both embodiment and detachment is affective. In its most basic definition, affect is the ability to affect and be affected (Massumi, 1988, as cited in Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). It is a bodily response to a potential future (Clough, 2008) and investment in a certain idea of reality (Grossberg, 2010). Accordingly, I formulate embodied detachment as a heuristic for capturing how an investment in or attachment to certain ideals provide journalists with a sense of agency as they navigate their position in the constitution of Turkey's socio-political climate.[4] Embodied detachment captures the movement between lived reality—how journalists navigate the contemporary political environment—and the possibility of something different. It is a space of potential, whereby a future of a more egalitarian, just, and communal society can be envisioned. Thus, journalism is not defined as a singular object or structure. As Grossberg (2010) characterizes affective life as "the movement of events or bodies from one set of relations to another…the space of becoming actual" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 191), so too is journalism about movements and relationships. Journalists grapple with the materialities of their lives vis-à-vis a professional desire to have a positive and uplifting impact on their immediate society.

Such research is essential for understanding the position and (assumed) function of the news press—whether print or broadcast—in the making of socio-political communities. By situating their accounts and perspectives of journalism in relationship to the history of Turkey as both state and nation, my research explores how journalists do not merely represent the socio-cultural milieu of Turkey, but are also expressions of it—they constitute and are part of its reality. While some academic research has focused on the

[4] I use and build upon Ahmed's (2004; 2005) and Berlant's (2011) theorization of attachment, which highlights how different bodies move towards certain ideals, objects, and even other bodies as a means of making sense of a given environment or state of being. I further explain the concept later in the introduction.

dynamics of the political economy of news media within Turkey (see Yeşil, 2016), little has been done to explore how journalists personally engage with their profession on a daily basis as it relates to their life worlds. Grossberg (2010) argues that reducing the media to a singular medium, industry, or technology isolates "the objects of study from their context, a world that is never simply communicative or discursive and whose materiality cannot be simply reduced to either the technological or economic" (p. 207). Morley (2009) parallels Grossberg's (2009) argument, calling for a materialist, non-media centric media studies as a way of accounting for how infrastructural networks, material locations, and our built, lived environments shape what the media is and does. Accordingly, we must attune to the physical, social, and cultural life worlds that contour media practices, objects, technologies, and professions, such as journalism.

My research complicates the idea of journalism as a representation of political life, institution, or purveyor of public opinion. It explores how journalism is a daily negotiation of professed ideals and goals, and a fleshy, messy, subjective reality. It is within these daily negotiations and practices that a space for agency emerges. I argue that the potential for agency hinges upon the political, gendered, racial, ethnic, and classed position of the journalist. The ways in which they make sense of their environment challenge that environment, or reinforce its logic is linked to their location within a web of socio-economic and political relations. My research is guided by questions exploring how journalists navigate and articulate their material and lived environments, while also contending with their avowed roles as unbiased, impartial storytellers of contemporary Turkey.[5]

[5] Specific research questions are presented in Chapter 2, which covers research questions, methodology, and methods.

The narratives I present from my participants account for the in-between space journalists occupy as they navigate a desire to remain detached and unaffected by their life's circumstances within their professional goals and endeavors. Throughout this dissertation, I present three themes, which highlight how daily life, professional ideals, and the politics of Turkey as a nation and state converge onto the realm of journalism. I examine how space, community, and identity are arenas through which the presence of the state and Turkey's socio-political climate infiltrate the very beings of journalists. Although not an exhaustive list of all the ways in which journalists embody their lived environments, space, community, and identity underscore the intensities of embodying Turkey's politics and how journalists work to detach their subjective experiences from their professional ideals, hopes, and desires.

This introductory chapter underscores the impetus of my research by presenting broader theories and empirical works, which situate the specificities of Turkey's context and also highlight the broader theoretical significance of the accounts I present. I begin by presenting an overview of the history and politics of Turkey's media. I specifically note the role the state has played in forming key media institutions and the role news agencies play in the forming of the "nation." I also note the impact the July 2016 coup-attempt has had on Turkey's media.[6] In presenting these historical and political economic accounts of Turkey's media environment, I argue for the importance of situating how broader, macro institutions and forces intersect with journalism as a daily endeavor. Next, I present theories of nationalism and authoritarianism as a way of further contextualizing how a

[6] In formulating my original research questions, I had assumed that the July 2016 coup-attempt was a formative and watershed moment for how my participants defined their work. However, what I found was that these journalists viewed the 2016 coup-attempt as an intensification or reiteration of "politics as usual." It was a continuation of historically tense relationship between ruling parties, the military, and how each of these two factions utilized the press to out maneuver each other and manipulate public opinion.

strong national identity and history of authoritarianism has contoured the media field in Turkey. I look to both theoretical writings and case studies in other geographical and political contexts to situate the relationship between journalism and national, authoritarian politics. I also discuss how political economic structures shape a given media environment. Next, I provide an overview of the relationship between the nation-state and media in an era of globalization.

I proceed to discuss "authoritarian neoliberalism," a concept proffered by Bruff (2014) to better grasp the contradictory and complex mechanisms through which authoritarian states implement and embrace neoliberal economic agendas. I highlight and utilize Bruff's (2014) work given the juxtaposition between a strong state presence and liberal economic policies within Turkey. In line with Tansel (2018a) and Yeşil (2016), I position Turkey as an authoritarian neoliberal state, whereby a free market economy justifies and bolsters state interventions within the spheres of daily life.

After presenting how these factors shape a given political context, I turn to theories of affect to underscore the relationship between daily, lived, and embodied experience and the presence of such institutions as the state and its economic policies. I examine how theories of affect emphasize and support the notion of embodied detachment, whereby economic, state, and ideological forces do not merely determine what journalism is and does, but also prompt certain movements, relationships, and attachments. Theories of affect add to the literature on authoritarian neoliberalism because affect underscores the banality of the mechanisms of state and economic power. Lastly, I provide an overview of the three body chapters, which highlight the relationship between journalistic life and space, community, and identity.

Contextualizing Turkey's Media Landscape

Turkey has often been touted as a democratic model for the Middle East by [W]estern officials and pundits, who note neighboring authoritarian governments and "religious fundamentalism" as a point of concern for regional and global political stability. They site the reforms of Mustafa Kemal in 1923, secular, laissez-fair style of governance, and an open-market system as key reasons for Turkey's development. After the election of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi or AKP) in 2003, such views were amplified as the more Islamic-leaning tendency of party leader (now president) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's initial years of power saw the acceleration of European Union membership talks, massive privatization of previously government controlled industries, and an influx of foreign capital. Turkey was hailed in public discourses as an example of moderate Islamic and liberal governance. However, such "reforms" and public discussions have been criticized by oppositional political factions within Turkey and abroad. Under the AKP, there have been increased levels of nepotism and cronyism, specifically in the sorts of contracts that are awarded for urban development. For example, economic liberalization under the AKP has been combined with untethered urban renewal projects, which are being undertaken by construction companies with intimate ties to Erdoğan and the AKP. In April 2017, a constitutional referendum was held on whether or not to adopt a presidential system. The referendum was highly controversial, seen by critics as a political ploy for Erdoğan to increase his hold on power. The election was mired by widespread reports of ballot-stuffing and other forms of voter fraud. Passing with

a very slim majority, the passage of the referendum grants the president sweeping powers to appoint and dismiss ministers and sole authority for declaring states of emergency (BBC, 2017).

From the Ottoman-era to the present-day, the press in Turkey has been a conduit for political battles between ruling parties, wealthy elites, and major corporations. Particularly since the 1980s, when privately, family-owned newspapers were sold off to major holding companies, the clientalistic nature of the press has increased. Today, this clientalistic economic environment combined with ambiguous legislative and constitutional reforms, such as the transition to a presidential form of government, have left many worried as to the democratic future of Turkey. Intellectuals, leftists, and oppositional political parties argue that these legislative and economic initiatives serve to secure Erdoğan's position of power by silencing dissidents and rewarding favors for political loyalty. These concerns have manifested into reality as Turkey operated under a state of emergency for the two years following the coup-attempt. Under this state of emergency and AKP rule, the media have faced challenges on how to balance concerns over critical reporting and personal safety. Journalists and publications that question the legitimacy of Erdoğan's presidential election and official accounts of the night of July 15—among other issues—face censorship, firing, and arrest.

In the following section I outline key historical and contemporary factors and conditions that have been crucial in shaping Turkey's press. I highlight some of the primary institutions that have played significant roles in shaping Turkey's news and media environment. Many of these organizations where also some of the workplaces of my

participants, such as state-sponsored TRT, privately owned Habertürk/Bloomberg, and the independent outlets Bianet and Medyascope.

Historical and Contemporary Currents

The press in Turkey has historically been marked by a high degree of political parallelism and influence (Aksoy & Robins, 1997; Christensen, 2010; Ergec, 2012; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010, Öncü, 2013; Yeşil, 2014, 2016). From the later years of the Ottoman Empire until the present day, the press in Turkey has played a pivotal and contentious role in mediating between political elites, economic interests, and the (re)production of the hegemonic ideology of the time. During the last century of the Ottoman Empire, for example, a local and ethnically Turkish press was subsidized by the Ottoman government to counter the presence of foreign journalists and publications (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). These local, namely Turkish, publications were utilized by the Ottoman government to control the flow of information and curb the influence of foreign governments. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the press and other cultural industries in Turkey continued to play a centralized role in the development and dissemination of the cultural and political ideologies of the Republic of Turkey (Ahıska, 2010, Aksoy & Robins, 1997, Öncü, 2013). After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, newspapers, dailies, and other cultural outlets were used as a way to promote state-sanctioned notions of culture (Aksoy & Robins, 1997). This "new" cultural and political ideology—known as Kemalism after the founder of the Republic Mustafa Kemal—sought to break with the Islamic, ethnically diverse, and imperial cultural politics of the Ottoman Empire. As Aksoy & Robins (1997) note, cultural and political elements that were seen as divergent from the secular, western-oriented, and statist political elite, were relegated to marginal and unofficial cultural

spaces. Though oppositional political viewpoints were "legalized" as part of the 1931 press law, the creation and promotion of the Kemalist political ideology and culture fomented an informational and cultural industry under the auspices of single-party rule (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). Even when multi-party politics emerged in the 1950s, newspapers and other media outlets remained tightly controlled by the state.

These cultural and political mediations of Kemalist hegemony have been further cemented in the legal and regulatory environment (Ergec, 2012). From the foundation of the Republic of Turkey until the present day, various constitutional and criminal regulations have impacted the potential democratic and communicative function of the press in Turkey (Arsan, 2013; Christensen, 2010; Yeşil, 2016). Not only do these regulations safeguard the political and cultural ideologies of the state and ruling party, but they also do so by curbing the sort of information and commentary that can be disseminated and shared by the press. This legal and regulatory environment has created a journalistic field that remains timid and hesitant to critique official state-narratives and ideologies (Christensen, 2010; Arsan, 2013, Yeşil, 2013; 2016). For example, writing about the treatment of ethnic minorities (i.e. Armenians, Greeks, and Kurds), questioning the centrality and legitimacy of the founder Mustafa Kemal, or even reporting on political crisis can become the grounds for censorship, outlet fines and closures, even arrest. Thus, journalists and their respective organizations often engage in mandatory and/or selective self-censorship (Arsan, 2013; Christensen, 2010; Yeşil, 2013; 2016). Some of the key laws and regulations that have shaped this environment are outlined below:

> Article 299 of the Turkish Penal Code – Criminalization of insulting the president of the Republic

Article 301 of the Constitution – Criminalization of insulting "Turkishness." This includes insults to the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal.

Law on the Fight Against Terrorism (also known as the Anti-Terror law) – Penalizes the creation and dissemination of what is deemed "terrorist propaganda." This includes, but is not limited to, reporting on events determined to be of a sensitive nature towards national security.

Internet Law No. 5651 – Expanded in 2014 to allow the Turkish Information and Telecommunications Authority (Bilgi ve Telekomunikasyon Kurulu or BTK) to shut down a website without prior judicial approval.

The aforementioned laws are a glimpse into the complicated and highly arbitrary legal and regulatory structures surrounding Turkey's media and press.

For instance, large holding companies, whose publications are critical of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), are often prosecuted over tax-or broadcasting violations, which would have otherwise been ignored by tax and broadcasting regulatory boards. In one such case, Çiner Holding's Sabah newspaper was forcibly seized by the AKP government and sold to Çalık Holding (Öncü, 2013). Çalık is owned and operated by President Erdoğan's son-in-law. While these sorts of practices were common prior to the ascension of the AKP in 2002, the clientalistic nature of the commercial press in Turkey has created the breeding grounds for a political environment in which the ruling party can build and control a favorable press in exchange for large government contracts.[7] According to Yeşil (2016), the current media and political environment in Turkey can be characterized by authoritarian neoliberalism.[8] Building upon the work of Ian Bruff, Yeşil

[7] A more detailed accounting and mapping of the connections between government institutions, media outlets, and corporate conglomerates can be found on the "Networks of Dispossession" website (http://mulksuzlestirme.org/index.en/). This collective data compilation project pieces together vasts amount of data to show the connections between capital, power, and politics within Turkey. They have utilized this data to create interactive maps to show the various partnerships that are formed between private capital and the ruling, political elite and how such partnerships impact urban renewal-cum-gentrification-cum-dispossession and journalistic integrity.

[8] The broader concept of authoritarian neoliberalism is explained in later sections of this introduction.

(2016) argues that the press and media in Turkey provide a central nexus upon which to understand the tensions and negotiations between a liberal economy and strong, authoritarian state. In other words, the simultaneous (neo)liberalization of Turkey's press cannot be divorced from other processes of state control and influence. As Yeşil (2016) writes

> Turkey's media system developed as one that is statist *and* commercialized, is shaped by authoritarian neoliberal impulses, and as such must be understood as the byproduct of dialectic tensions between the paternalistic inclinations of the Turkish state and a constellation of externally derived developments (p. 13).

The commercial and corporate interests of the holding companies that oversee Turkey's commercial and mainstream publications are mitigated by the power of the state to withhold contracts, sell off parts of the company to more favorable partners, or shutdown a publication entirely.

In recent years, the economic and commercial instrumentalization of the press in Turkey has become more overtly political. Around 2013 with the Gezi Park protests, the AKP, under the heavy influence and leadership of President Erdoğan, has deployed anti-terror laws and manipulated concerns over national security to arrest and prosecute journalists who ask critical questions of the ruling government. Amidst a deteriorating Syrian refugee crisis, increasing tension along its southeastern borders with Syria and Iraq, and the deterioration of former political alliances, the AKP and President Erdoğan have utilized uncertainty and "security" as a means of shoring up political control. Case in point, publications that report bombings or intelligence operations have been fined or shut down. Even more, the reporter covering the story might face firing or prosecution. In a notable incident, veteran journalist Can Dündar was fired from Cumhuriyet, a center-left newspaper, and later arrested, after he published a story on Turkish intelligence officers

delivering weapons to Syrian Islamic State militants. Such firings and arrests are becoming increasingly common, as noted in a 2017 Freedom House Turkey Report. According to the report, over 150 press outlets have been shut down and 81 journalists arrested in the past year. Local independent media network, Bianet, reports that since 2016 terror charges have been brought against 220 journalists.

The July 2016 Coup-Attempt and Contemporary Media in Turkey

The coup-attempt of July 2016 led to the arrest of dozens of journalists and closure of numerous media outlets across Turkey. On the evening of July 15, 2016, members of the Turkish armed forces occupied and shut down transportation on the Bosphorous and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridges—which connect the European and Anatolian sides of Istanbul. Additionally, the soldiers occupied the Istanbul Atatürk Airport, parliament in Ankara, and several other key hubs of transportation and commerce. Soldiers stormed the offices of several major news outlets, including TRT and CNN Türk. Paralleling the declaration of the 1980 coup, soldiers forced the evening news anchor at TRT to read the official coup announcement (Akin, 2017). The declaration proclaimed that the current government, under the auspices of the AKP and President Erdoğan, had forsaken the rule of law and violated the key tenants of the constitution and principles of Kemalism. As the night progressed, President Erdoğan appeared via Facetime on CNN Türk to call on supporters to confront the coup plotters. In a dramatic and almost unbelievable fashion, the coup plotters eventually surrendered as Erdoğan arrived at Istanbul Atatürk Airport after an uncharacteristic absence from the public spotlight.

The coup-attempt was blamed on former political ally and exiled cleric Fetullah Gülen and his followers.[9] Following the coup-attempt, a three-month state of emergency was put in place and was extended several times until July 2018. Under this state of emergency, hundreds were arrested, mostly those accused of being members of the Fetullah Terrorist Organization (Fetullah Terorist Örgütü or FETÖ in Turkish).[10] Media outlets critical of the government's handling of the coup-attempt and its aftermath have been labeled as traitorous and unpatriotic. Journalists who question the breakdown of the Gülen-Erdoğan alliance, the official accounts of the night of July 15, or who are suspected of being connected to Gülen have been arrested, and in some cases prosecuted on terrorism charges. As Akin (2017) argues, the post-coup climate and prolonged state of emergency has contributed to the press' complicity in disseminating official state narratives of the coup-attempt, rather than asking critical questions, such as how the Gülen community became so dominant within the military. He notes that the regurgitation of the AKP's account and information regarding the coup by the news media has resulted in information fog and conspiratorial thinking on part of the media and general public. Moreover, Akin (2017) notes that this has facilitated and eased the arrest of "dissident" or "oppositional" critics and organizations by the AKP.

In thinking through the implications of the 2016 coup-attempt, it is necessary to reassess how Turkey's socio-political history and current climate impact how journalists

[9] The Gülen or Hizmet movement, is a vast political, economic, and religious network that follows US-based Muslim cleric, Fetullah Gülen. This highly dispersed group owns and operates banks, schools, newspapers, tv stations, and has a prolific presence among the police and judiciary in Turkey. Gülen, his followers, and President Erdoğan were once strong allies. However, since a 2013 corruption operation launched against the AKP by elements of the police and judiciary known to be closely tied with Gülen, this alliance has soured. Businesses, schools, and media outlets associated with Gülen and his followers have been shut down and since the 2016 coup-attempt, many have been arrested.

[10] This is the name that the AKP and now general public use to refer to Gülen, his supporters, or anyone thought to be sympathetic to their movement.

define and enact their practice. When I initially began my fieldwork, I expected to find that the prolonged state of emergency under the post-2016 coup-attempt had ushered in fundamental changes to how journalists define and engage in journalism. However, what I discovered was that they viewed the post-2016 environment as a reiteration and continuation of censorship, arrest, and intimidation of the press. Rather than imply that the post-2016 era has ushered in fundamental or radical changes to the practice of journalism in Turkey, I take the post-2016 environment as a conjuncture (Clarke, 2014, Grossberg, 2010, Hall, 2011). Stuart Hall (2011) proposed "conjuncture" as an analytic to capture how moments of change or transformation emerge within a given context. Conjuncture, for Hall (2011), was a way of capturing the complexity of hegemony—a process of continual renewal of power. Therefore, a given political policy or event could not wholly capture the constitution of a given power bloc since it was always in the process of becoming. Conjuncture captures that power, change, and even resistance do not fully reside in a single event, moment, decision, or crises, but is also the result of a multiplicity of factors. As Clarke (2014) argues, conjuncture is an orientation to the "multiplicity of forces, accumulated antagonisms, and possible lines of emergence from the conjuncture (rather than assuming a singular crisis and one line of development" (p.115).

The prolonged state of emergency, collapse of former political alliances, and the electoral adoption of a presidential system since the night of July 15 have instead brought about renewed and intensified discussions of what it means to practice and articulate critical journalism within Turkey. Indeed, while censorship, intimidation, and the arrest of journalists is not new in Turkey, the post-2016 climate does prompt us to consider how the press is responding to and contending with their present working and political conditions.

As Hesmondalgh (2002) urges media scholars to ask, what is the extent of continuity and change? Thus, instead of outright privileging the post-2016 era, I situate my broader research aims within this conjuncture to ask the extent to which the contemporary moment might impact the question of journalistic practice, identity, and life. For example, while many scholars and activists have lambasted the complicity of journalists in perpetuating the cultural and political status quo in Turkey, reflecting on the contextual specificities of the press in Turkey highlights how journalistic perspectives and practices are positioned by these different external factors. In other words, the avowed goals and ethos of different members of Turkey's press corps intersect with pressures and influences from the state, commercial institutions, and aspects of their personal lives such as their neighborhoods and relationships. Therefore, my dissertation research bears in mind the history of media in Turkey vis-à-vis the post-2016 political era to ask how Turkey's history and politics are mediated through highly embedded and personal journalistic practices and philosophies.

Exploring Journalism as Daily Practice

Many of the scholarly accounts of Turkey's media history and environment do so from a political economic and institutional perspective. This approach to mapping the political and economic factors that have and continue to impact the form and function of the press in Turkey are certainly important for assessing changes and continuities within Turkey's media. Indeed, scholars such as Christensen (2010) and Yeşil (2014; 2016) reference Hesmondalgh's (2002) approach to studying cultural industries to argue that accounting for the history and contemporary currents of a given socio-political setting are crucial for unpacking the extent of change and continuity within a media context. However in these political economic analyses, the lived, perspectival, and embodied manner in

which journalists navigate these dynamics are either lost or reduced to complicity with Turkey's status-quo. For example, both Yeşil (2016) and Akin (2017) criticize journalists across the political spectrum for not taking a more critical stance towards the AKP and President Erdoğan. While the press in Turkey certainly engage in journalistic practices, habits, and definitions which could be classified as complicit with state pressures—like self-censorship or uncritical repetition of official party statements—such overarching judgments neglect how these practices are characterized by strategies and tactics of survival or even subtle resistance. Moreover, they miss the affective vocabularies and attachments that journalists deploy to navigate their own subject-positions amidst their professional and/or personal communities and political affiliations/ideologies while envisioning and fantasizing about "life as it could be." Accounting for how journalists live and articulate these attachments is crucial given the role that the press plays in articulating Turkey as a socio-political and cultural community.

My research situates broader socio-political developments affecting Turkey's press and media with ethnographic accounts and stories. This orientation is useful for exploring the interconnection between lived experience and more abstract dynamics. As Christensen (2010) argues in her ethnographic study of freedom of expression and journalism in Turkey, journalists' "own views, beliefs, and 'imaginaries'…about the socio-political and cultural landscape in Turkey and the views/positions of the media and media outlets which they themselves represent" are crucial for examining how journalists become the brokers and mediators of "an ingrained patriarchal relationship between the state, military authorities, and the public" (p. 179). Christensen's (2010) proposition is key to understanding not only issues of expression and censorship, but also for exploring how

journalism in Turkey is defined and practiced. Accordingly, I take the narratives and stories of my participants seriously, while accounting for how and why articulations of space, community, and identity—as important to journalistic practices—are contoured by other forces such as nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism.[11] This portrait of journalism in Turkey is not only important for better understanding the forces that come to bear on journalism as a practice, but also how structural and discursive forces (i.e. nationalism) are articulated around news-making as an embodied experience. My research adds to Christensen's (2010) argument by exploring how journalism as a form of experience and life mediates nationalistic and neoliberal politics and how this history comes to bear on visions of what journalism is and does within Turkey. How, in other words, is socio-political life circulated within the realm of journalistic performances and lives?

Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Media

In the following section, I highlight literature on nationalism, authoritarianism, and authoritarian neoliberalism. I present a discussion of these phenomena to situate how they come to bear on affective life in Turkey. Specifically, I look at scholarly works that link these themes with media and journalism. This discussion and overview provides the framework and background necessary for understanding the socio-political specificities that come to impact journalism in Turkey.[12] I begin with a discussion of media and nationalism, given the salience of nationalism as a discursive and material force within

[11] Although I present nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism as forces which exert pressure on the lives of journalists, I do not mean to imply that they are wholly distinct. Rather the ways in which these ideas come to be meaningful within journalistic practices and lives are simultaneously divergent, convergent, and possibly ambivalent. It is within a given articulation that their relevance and salience might be seen.

[12] Each of the proceeding body chapters engages with more specific theories and literature relevant to the themes presented such as space, community, and identity politics.

Turkey. By understanding the relationship between the constitution of the nation and media, we can better understand how nation-building impacts the realities of journalism and the lives of journalists.

Media and Nationalism

Media and journalism have often been central components in constructions of national identities, histories, and cultures (Ahıska, 2010; Anderson, 2006; Balibar, 1991; Dayan & Katz, 1994). As Anderson (2006) argues in *Imagined Communities,* media reify the nation around the myth of a common culture. Aided by the advent of print capitalism, newspapers, for example, standardized, simplified, and elevated certain languages to print thereby solidifying a "national" language. Anderson (2006) argued that this facilitated identification amongst disparate populations creating a sense of national unity. Reading the newspaper, he argued, was highly ceremonial and allowed the reader to imagine others moving through the same stories and landscapes simultaneously. He writes, "…each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion" (Anderson, 2006, p. 35). In sum, Anderson (2006) sees media as the means by which people connect across time and space through the ceremony of reading about common events and landscapes.[13] Even in an era of flows (Castells, 2008), non-places (Auge, 2008), and globalization (Appadurai, 1996), Anderson (1998) argues that media, such as television, continue to bolster the (imagined)

[13] Anderson (2006) later updated his work to account for other forms of electronic communication. However, his postulation on media as a conduit for imagining national communities remained rooted in news rather than entertainment and popular culture.

presence of the nation through the circulation of images of the "homeland." He argues that through different communication technologies, the mediated imagery of home is always present. In this sense, nationalism as a lived and felt connection to an imaginary homeland circulates transnationally through different mediated means.

Anderson's (2006) *Imagined Communities*, however, has been criticized as privileging an analysis of the origins of nationalism and nationalized cultures rather than the process by which these realities are constructed and rendered "common" or "collective" (Gupta, 2007). As Gupta (2007) writes, "[*Imagined Communities*] is more concerned with the origins of nationalism rather than nationalism as a process, specifically the process by which national identity becomes more salient for the masses than other types of identity" (p. 646). While Anderson (2006) does offer a theorization for the ways media foment national identity, his analysis lacks attention to the role media systems play in the *process* of constituting the nation as "common" or "collective." In other words, Anderson (2006) does not account for how media educate and instruct the masses in what is "common" or "collective."

Balibar (1991), on the other hand, is focused on the construction of the nation as a narrative process, which hinges upon the myth of continuity of a common identity. He writes, "The history of nations, beginning with our own, is always already presented to us in the form of a narrative which attributes to these entities the continuity of a subject" (Balibar, 1991, p. 86). The construction of the narratives of a continuous, natural, and a priori nation and culture, he argues, is carried out through institutional apparatuses, such as media, to project individual experience onto a collective narrative. Thus, national identities and projects are historical processes that are constructed "within a field of social values,

norms of behavior, and collective symbols" (Balibar, 1991, p. 347). Or, as Navarro-Yashin (2002) posits, the state is realized through daily habits. These practices are not isolated to the individual, the collective, or even the local, but rather linked to flows and relations of power amongst people, institutions, and spaces (Navarro-Yashin, 2002).

In this regard, media play a central role in circulating and reinforcing "collective" beliefs, values, and behaviors. As Ahıska (2010) argues within the context of Turkey, the state utilizes media such as television and radio to facilitate a sense of cohesion around an ethnic-state. Newspapers, for example, are key to this process. As Yumul & Ozkirimli (2000) argue in their analysis of 38 newspapers in Turkey, references are perpetually made to symbols that "flag" nationhood. This sort of dissemination of references to and symbols of the nation is characteristic of a daily or "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995), whereby references to an abstract entity such as the "Turkish nation" become so common that they go unnoticed. They become tools of reinforcing the "common sense" of Turkey as "nation." However, within this highly nationalized media environment, there are numerous cases of media-making and alternative journalism which challenge the dominant discourses and narratives of Turkey as a "nation." For example, there have been numerous print and online publications from both the feminist and Kurdish movements that provide diverging viewpoints, commentary, and even styles of reporting from the dominant, state-sponsored and mainstream press. For example, feminist publications, such as Gazete Karınca and Sujin, write and report on events from a non-patriarchal, anti-militaristic stance. Moreover, many of these feminist publications are intersectional, blending feminist, Kurdish, and even environmental activism. Many of these alternative publications, such as Sujin, face frequent shutdowns by the Radio and Television Supreme

Council and the Information and Communication Technologies Authority, who cite these organizations for supporting terrorist propaganda.

Bearing in mind how both Anderson (2006) and Balibar (1991) formulate national identity as bound through mediated process, journalists and journalistic practice are nodes through which narratives of belonging to a national culture are formed and disseminated. As Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) argue, journalists and journalistic practice are central to the shaping of public culture and memory. Journalists are actively engaged in negotiating and deploying memories and experiences of the past to make sense of current and contemporary conditions (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014). Journalists are not only a filter for narratives and myths of nationhood, but also actively engaged as individuals and fellow national-subjects as they make sense of their socio-political climate through their reports and coverage of various events. Their practices of reporting are not independent of the processes of nation-state formation; they are referees of the unfolding mythic creation of Turkey.

My research adds to the literature on media and nationalist projects by looking at how journalists in Turkey simultaneously embody and detach themselves from the histories and myths of the "nation." As they navigate their neighborhoods, places of work, and professional and social communities, they articulate a sense of responsibility to tell the story of Turkey's past and present. Yet, they struggle to detach themselves as complicit or impacted by this environment. They attempt to occupy an in-between space between their roles as journalists and narrators of Turkey's history and any personal bias, frustration, racism, sexism, or classism they may feel. By understanding this in-between space of embodied detachment, we can better grasp how journalism does not only mediate or

disseminate grand narratives of nationalism, but is also an embodied struggle over the constitution of the nation-state.

Political Violence, Authoritarianism, and Journalism

Turkey's contemporary history has been mired by political violence, particularly against ethnic and religious minorities and political dissidents. From the years prior to the fall of the Ottoman Empire until the present day, Turkey has seen four coups (including several unsuccessful attempts), pogroms against Armenians and Greeks, an ongoing civil war in the Southeast against the predominantly Kurdish population, massive political protest and upheaval, and genocide.[14] In recent years, this contentious history has been complicated by ongoing tensions along the border with Syria and Iraq. An ongoing civil war in Syria, the referendum on an independent Kurdistan in Iraq, and the question of the relationship between the Turkish government and DAESH militants has fomented tense and precarious geopolitical and internal political relations. Furthermore, the 2016 coup-attempt and the witch-hunt against those suspected of having links with the Gülen organization has fostered an aura of fear and suspicion. Accordingly, it is necessary to keep in mind how journalists negotiate their perspective and practices vis-à-vis memories and current experiences of political violence. My research acknowledges that distinct journalistic practices and goals are negotiated, contradicted, and revised, as journalists are confronted with ongoing political tensions and conflict. My research examines how these memories or perspectives impact the lived environments of journalists and how this in turn

[14] The use of the term genocide to describe the massive deportation and killing of the local Armenian population remains a highly politicized and contentious issue within Turkey. Although the scholarly community generally accepts and characterizes the 1915 events as genocide, the Turkish government actively denies this. Many scholars and activists who have done critical work on the Armenian Genocide have faced censure and arrest. In addition to the Armenian Genocide, other scholars such as Ismail Besikci and Martin Van Bruinessen, have written on the Dersim Operation of 1935 as genocide. They characterize the systematic nature in which Alevi Kurds were forcibly removed from their homes and killed in the eastern province of Dersim (now Tunceli) as congruent with broader definitions of genocide.

prompts their attachments to impartiality, unbiased reporting, and objectivity. How do these tensions, prompt the journalistic principles they hold onto?

In asking these questions it is necessary to review previous works on the relationship between political violence, authoritarianism, and journalism. There has been a considerable amount of scholarly work on the linkages between news production and journalism within authoritarian contexts and violent regimes. Some scholarly works have examined how mass media systems disseminate and perpetuate state propaganda (Ellul, 1966; Herman, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 2010; Kluver, 2005; Laswell, 1951; Lerner, 1951; Taylor, 2003). Many of these theoretical works have prompted empirical studies, which examine the nexus between media, digital technologies, and authoritarian governments and/or violent contexts (Bulut, 2016; Bulut & Yoruk, 2017; Crilley, 2001; Elsrakbi & Alexander, 2013; Gavin, 2015). For example, Gavin's (2015) work examines how DAESH uses the internet to disseminate news on its activities and bolster its position as a governing authority within Iraq and Syria. In Turkey, there have been several studies on the ways in which digital technologies and social networking sites disseminate official state reports and narratives (Bulut, 2016; Bulut & Yoruk, 2017). Bulut & Yoruk's (2017) study on populism, authoritarianism, and social media argues that the ruling AKP has crafted a diffuse network of supporters (known as AK Trolls) to control and monitor the flow of news and information through unofficial channels such as Facebook and Twitter. This network acts independently of officials to intimidate and harass users who share stories and information critical of the party.

These issues have been amply studied in the context of China (MacKinnon, 2011; Polumbaum, 2008; Stockmann, 2013; Stockmann & Gallagher, 2011; Zhao, 2008), Russia

(Becker, 2004; Koltsova, 2006; Simons & Strovsky, 2006), and former Soviet-era Republics such as Azerbaijan (Pearce & Kendzior, 2012). Polumbaum (2008), for example, offers an ethnographic glimpse of how journalists conceptualize their field within contemporary China. While many of the scholars I noted offer political economic or social scientific perspectives of media systems within authoritarian governments, Polumbaum's (2008) work offers a complex portrait of the ways in which journalists are embedded cogs of the Chinese socio-political system. Specifically, she notes how their perspectives of journalism do not necessarily indicate an opposition to the authoritarian, Chinese government, but are part of the "new" capitalist system. Stockmann and Gallagher's (2011) work echoes this perspective, noting that a highly marketized mainstream media does not merely repeat official state messages, but simultaneously supports "regime legitimacy" while also attending to audience demands and interests.

The role of the media in bolstering authoritarian political climates is rife with many turning towards the U.S. context given the election of Donald Trump and fears over rising right-wing authoritarianism in the U.S. For example, Morgan & Shanahan (2017) examine the correlation between television viewing and the support of authoritarian politics. In Turkey, Eldem (2017) looks at how the ruling party utilizes mainstream media to rule from "above." Namely, through various policies and intimidation tactics (such as arrest and forced disappearance), media systems and journalists become both willing and unwilling participants in bolstering party-cum-state sovereignty.

In addition to works that look at the connection between news production, media, and authoritarian politics, scholars such as Brooten (2006), Rodriguez (2001; 2011), and Pauly (2009) look at how violence complicates these processes. Brooten (2006) examines

the role of journalists in Burma (Myanmar) in either resolving or perpetuating violent conflict. Her ethnographic work sheds light onto the difficulties and problems of the [W]estern model of "objectivity" for journalists living in exile, who are contending with memories and experiences of state-sponsored and inter-ethnic violence. She notes the ways in which journalists critical of the Burmese government view "objectivity" as complicit with a capitalist economic system, and "question its relevance in a context of violence" (p. 370). Both Rodriguez (2001; 2011) and Brooten (2006) argue that violent contexts necessitate different models for the practice of journalism.[15] They note that U.S. and [W]estern approaches of "independence" and "objectivity" are not necessarily sustainable or even desirable when the stakes are between life and death. What their work suggests, then, is that journalism within violent and/or authoritarian contexts merits consideration of contextual specificities and the pressures of the moment. My project, accordingly, bears in mind how the definitions and practices of journalism I encounter are negotiations of and responses to increased authoritarian tendencies within the AKP government and ongoing violence across Turkey, particularly against ethnic minorities and journalists.

Journalism, Politics, and Media Power

The discussion above demonstrates that journalism is a markedly political endeavor. Whether journalism bolsters or supports democratic systems (i.e. Habermas, 1991; Zelizer, 2017) or is a vessel through which oppressive systems such as nationalism are realized (Anderson, 2006; Balibar, 1991; Yumul & Ozkirimli, 2000), theories on the

[15] Rodriguez (2001; 2011) looks at the cultivation of community-based media initiatives in Colombia as a means of resisting ongoing violence between the FARC and Colombian military. Coining the term, "citizen's media", Rodriguez (2001; 2011) argues that within Colombia, the ongoing violence, and geographical isolation of many communities has necessitated the development of media practices as a way of not only resisting the presence of paramilitary forces but in fomenting a sense of community. These community-based initiatives are important for bolstering solidarity and support against the proliferation of misinformation and divisive violence.

political role of journalism and media has a long history. Some of these accounts approach journalism as the record of public opinion within democratic systems (Dahlgren, 1995; Habermas, 1991; McNair, 2000, 2012; Zelizer, 2017), accounting for how structural changes in technological systems (Dahlgren, 2001; Papacharissi, 2002) or tabloidization (Bek, 2004; Curran, 1996; Sparks & Dahlgren, 1992; Fiske, 2010; Gripsrud, 2000; Sparks, 2000; Van Zoonen, 2005; Zelizer, 2009) bolster or threaten the "positive" political function of the press. Others look at how various media and journalistic outlets become tools by which to enact political change (Atton, 2001; Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Downing, 2000; Kidd, 1999; Rodriguez, 2001; 2011). For example, Atton (2001) and Rodriguez emphasize the daily mechanisms by which such media systems enact programs of social change and justice. They note that radical and alternative media is not so much interested in a final product but the process. Ranging from community and citizen's media (Rodriguez, 2001) to the role of media systems and journalism within social movements (Atton, 2002; Costanza-Chock, 2014; Pickard, 2006), these approaches position the political potential of journalism as praxis that enacts a vision of an alternative world (Atton, 2001; Downing, 2000).

The ways in which journalism is framed as a politicized institution or practice is diverse and varied. The common thread that runs throughout emphasizes that journalism and media production are part of a process of making and unmaking socio-cultural and political life-worlds. Yet, the ways in which different performances of journalism are deployed or rendered apparent are indicative of the mutually constitutive nature of socio-political life and news-making. Meaning, how and why certain approaches to and practices of journalism might signal the making or unmaking of other life-worlds is rooted in the

unfolding of a given conjuncture. For example, Downey et al (2014) argues that scholars must take seriously the shifting and fluid nature of ideological constructs and practices within journalism. As Raeijmaekers & Maeseele (2015) argue—in their analysis of the value of Hall's (1982) work on ideology for critical media studies—journalistic practices and ethos become contested and articulated with and against other broader ideological values. This underscores that journalism is a field in perpetual transition, whereby journalistic norms and practices are constantly defined and re-defined amidst economic, political, and social shifts.

Definitions and practices of journalism, thus, do not exist in a vacuum, but are rendered relevant or legitimate vis-à-vis other practices, systems of values, and structural forces. Therefore, avowed practices and journalistic ethos exist in relationship to other political, cultural, and technological shifts. Raeijmaekers & Maeseele (2015) write, "By focusing on which specific ideological preferences are either politicized or depoliticized, this framework acknowledges and allows to reveal the strategies of inclusion and exclusion at work" (Raeijmaekers & Maeseele, 2015, p. 658). The role of journalists in de- and re-constructing national myths and "norms" is a discursive performance and negotiation. Indeed, the sorts of political, social, and professional values deployed within news-making practices remain fluid in relation to shifts in technology, culture, history, and politics (Deuze, 2005).

Political Economy and Media Contexts

There are numerous scholarly examples exploring the inter-relationship between broader trends and systems and the politics of journalism. For example, studies on the political economics of media institutions look at how dominant corporations and centers of

production sustain political dominance through media institutions (i.e. Ayish & Mellor, 2015; Birkinbine et al, 2016; Flew, 2007; Khiabany, 2016). In Hesmondhalgh's (2002) *The Cultural Industries,* for example, he conceptualizes media power and cultural production as the result of a complex, ambivalent, and contested process within and between media institutions and markets. He challenges the models of economic interest and cultural production offered by both the Frankfurt School and British political economy to argue that the emergence of large media corporations does not necessarily yield cultural dominance in a neat and linear fashion. Hesmondalgh (2002) argues that the relationship between culture and its production as the exercise of economic power and influence is pluralistic. This means that the way in which culture is produced and circulated by different industries is linked to political and social contexts. For Hesmondalgh (2002) making "capital out of culture," and subsequently exercising cultural and economic power, is hinged upon "how such issues of market structure affect the organization of cultural production and the making of texts at an ordinary, everyday level" (p. 34).

Flew's (2007) examination of global media power and institutions pays tribute to Hesmondalgh (2002) argument by highlighting that media power is exercised through the embeddedness of different cultural markets and institutions. Flew (2007) argues in *Understanding Global media,* that the processes of globalization do not erase the prevalence of media institutions and locales as significant producers and wielders of cultural power. Rather, Flew (2007) complicates the relationship between global media institutions and economic and cultural power to account for the ways in which these institutions are embedded within social and historical structures. The inter-relationship between media institutions and market dynamics within a given historical or geographical

context, for Flew (2007), is a way of asserting that cultural power is exercised by media institutions and centers despite the ways in which globalization might challenge traditional operations of core-periphery relations. In other words, media markets, actors, and institutions operate within and are beholden to the specificities of different locations, cultures, and histories.

Birkinbine et al's (2016) co-edited volume looks at how media institutions within and across different geographies and contexts exert political, cultural, and economic power. Birkinbine et al (2016) note in their introduction that the power and influence that major media corporations and organizations wield is relational. Meaning, the power exercised by different media corporations and institutions are woven by and intersect with different cultural, political, and economic spheres. As Bikinbine et al (2016) write, "By ascribing to a relational definition of power, we [argue] that economic, political, and cultural power are all woven into the fabric of media power precisely because media corporations are situated within these spheres, but they also have the ability to influence these spheres in different ways" (p. 482). It is not a simple formula of one media corporation or region being wholly dominant across one of the three realms. Rather, the ways in which different media establish and exert power is geographically and politically contextual. Accordingly, media power is increasingly fluid and difficult to map because it is not necessarily linked to traditional centers of cultural production nor linear economic models (like those proposed by the Frankfurt school or British political economy). For example, in the Pan-Arab region of the world, media influence and power cannot be separated from state power. Thus, the ways in which Al Jazeera, for instance, becomes a powerful and influential player across the Gulf Arab countries is linked to their negotiation

of state censorships and patronage. Ayish and Mellor's (2015) empirical study focusing on Pan-Arab journalists and the utilization of social media platforms signals how different Arab news institutions navigate state control and influence within a "new" media environment to reinforce their positions as cultural custodians and intermediaries.

These contextual and situated political economic perspectives of media power and politics compliment cultural studies approaches that look at the role media play in constructing, sustaining, or challenging cultural systems and identities amidst rapid political changes such as globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Couldry et al, 2009; Kraidy, 2005; Morley & Robins, 2002; Shome & Hegde, 2002). Theoretical and empirical works from the cultural studies perspective highlight how journalism and media production are theorized as a central means by which political realities and experiences are (re)created, negotiated, or contested. In adding to this literature, I situate my research as a close examination of journalism as a highly perspectival, embodied, and lived practice that navigates a variety of contradictory motives and forces. In other words, I approach journalism as a daily engagement with the economic, spatial, and political unfoldings of Turkey. This perspective has relevance beyond the Turkish context as well given that it asks how highly subjective, embedded experiences of one's physical and social community matter for their understandings of journalism.

The State in an Age of "Global" Journalism

Although the rise of digital technologies have ushered in theories and proclamations of the decline of the state and a borderless socio-political arena, the context and experience of the state and nation remain relevant for understanding the shape and form of journalism and other media institutions (Benson & Hallin, 2007; Braman, 2006;

Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Josephi, 2005). Even as Appadurai's (1996) work has been utilized as theoretical cannon to conceptualize an era of global flows, Appadurai (1996) himself noted the significance of physical and imagined spaces—such as borders—in shaping media and media technologies. Indeed, what may or may not constitute the "global" is linked to the production of "locality," another fraught term he theorizes as contingent upon the nation-state, diasporic flows, and virtual communities. He writes

> The three factors that most directly affect the production of locality in the world of the present—the nation-state, diasporic flows, and electronic and virtual communities—are themselves articulated in variable, puzzling, sometimes contradictory ways that depend on the cultural, class, historical, and ecological setting within which they come together (Appadurai, 1996, p. 198).

It is not that the state and/or nation disappears in an era of global communication, but that its relevance and how it is experienced may shift.

In response to theories of globalization and "de-westernizing" media studies, Josephi (2005), for example, argues that the nation-state remains an important factor in many contexts given its roles in shaping media systems through laws and regulations. Furthermore, the nation-state still acts as a marker of difference, a way of affirming place and distinction amidst the supposed homogenizing effects of globalization. For Josephi (2005) the nation-state does not disappear as a relevant factor shaping journalism even in our contemporary global era. Rather, it is a useful analytical and contextual tool for grasping how the field of journalism might still very much be linked to national and state politics. Indeed, many scholars note that we must pay attention to the push and pull between the so-called global, local, national, and transnational, to assess which economic, cultural, and political forces shape media and journalism practices (Curran & Park, 2000; Hallin & Mancini 2004; Josephi, 2005; Khiabany & Sreberny, 2014).

For my project, this means taking seriously the importance my participants place on the state and nation within their profession and personal lives. While global trends and influences are felt and apparent within contemporary Turkey, how the global manifests is very much linked to state politics and agendas. As I outline below, theoretical perspectives such as authoritarian neoliberalism capture this complex and contradictory relationship between global flows and local, state politics. It acknowledges the force of global and transnational institutions, while also attending to the local factors that adapt and mold such influences to re-affirm state and national political power.

Role/Presence of the State

As I noted in the contextual overview of Turkey's media environment, the state and a history of nationalism have been prevalent forces in shaping how the press in Turkey functions. Similar to media in the Gulf Arab states (Ayish & Mellor, 2015; Khiabany, 2016), the formation of Turkey's press cannot be divorced from a strong state presence.[16] Moreover, regular state influence and intervention is compounded by a highly nationalistic politics. Indeed, the ways in which the state has deployed media in Turkey has served to bolster the idea of a united and singular Turkish identity secure through an ethnic state (Ahıska, 2010; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Öncü, 2013; Yeşil, 2016). The making of "modern" Turkey is fortified through mediated processes (Ahıska, 2010). Thus, given the central role that the state has played in fomenting a sense of "nationhood" in Turkey, I build upon works that unpack the relationship between the "state" and media.

[16] In their examination of how mainstream journalists in the Gulf Arab states engage with social media platforms, Ayish & Mellor (2015) note the strong role the state has played in regulating media institutions in order to both regulate public opinion and minimize the influence of foreign investment. They note that privately-owned media outlets have developed strategies for navigating public distrust of mainstream news and state-controlled flows of information. Ayish and Mellor (2015) argue that this allows journalists and news institutions to act as cultural custodians and intermediaries. Khiabany (2016) emphasizes, though, that the potential power of the mainstream media in the Gulf Arab region still operates under the shadow of the state.

As Aksoy & Robins (1997) note, it has been the state that has held a monopoly on cultural production and dissemination, using state-sponsored television and radio to (re)produce a unitary notion of the Turkish "nation." Like Anderson's (2006) *Imagined Communities,* media and cultural production in Turkey has been a central means by which a national identity is realized, materializing the myth of a singular Turkish people, history, and culture. Ruling parties and elites have relied on systems of communication to educate the masses in the ways of Turkish modernity and culture (Ahıska, 2010). In addition to media, education, the judiciary, and cultural institutions such as national museums have become the mediators of nationalist ideologies in Turkey (Altınay, 2004; Karaca, 2009, 2010, 2011; Kogacioglu, 2004; Parla, 2001). During the early Republic, this modernity was defined by secularism, patriotism, militarism, a strong ethnic identity, and urbanism. More recently, particularly with the rise of the AKP government, national and ethnic Turkish identity has emphasized a return to its "lost" Ottoman history and roots, a free market, and Islamic piousness (White, 2010; Tuğal, 2009).

The state thus becomes the harbinger upon which a mythical past is rendered relevant within the present (Anderson, 2006; Balibar, 1991). In other words, the state deploys history as a way to cultivate a favorable socio-cultural present. The state determines and forms the nation. Given the long shadow the state in Turkey has historically cast in almost every realm of daily life, it is important to examine the relationship between journalistic practice and historical and contemporary state presences.

Authoritarian Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a broad economic theory, premised on that removing institutional controls, such as state regulations over monopolies, banking, and trade allows for greater

economic prosperity (Harvey, 2007). The relationship between state or other institutional regulations and the economy, is laissez-faire, whereby any form of institutional regulation must bolster rather than inhibit the free market. According to the logic of neoliberalism, a free market fosters competition, resulting in cheaper prices, more businesses (therefore more jobs), and ultimately more options of consumers. The 1970s and 1980s, for example, saw a revival and surge of the concept of neoliberalism, particularly under the Reagan and Thatcher administrations (Hall, 2011; Harvey 2007). Under these administrations, services normally provided by the state, like gas, water, and electricity, were privatized, which prompted the creation of monopolies and the de-regulation of pricing and environmental regulations. The rapid neoliberalization processes of this era also saw the break-up of trade and workers unions, as politicians (such as Thatcher) proclaimed unions as enemies to industry and "man's right to work" (Thatcher, no date, as cited in Hall, 2011, p. 706). Moreover, state sponsored welfare and support programs, like food and medical assistance, were cut (Hall, 2011). These programs were seen by industry tycoons and other proponents of neoliberalism as state interference into the economy (Hall, 2011).

However, neoliberalism, as a theory of the operation of modern capitalism, has been critiqued for being too broad and reductive of the complex, contradictory, and contextual ways in which neoliberalism manifests. As Hall (2011) writes, "neo-liberalism has many variants. It is not a single system. And by no means all capitalisms are neo-liberal" (p. 708). He further explains, "neo-liberalism is, therefore, not one thing. It combines with other models, modifying them. It borrows, evolves, and diversifies. It is constantly 'in process.'…[G]eo-politically, neo-liberal ideas, policies, and strategies are incrementally gaining ground globally, re-defining the political, social, and economic

models and the governing strategies, and setting the pace" (p. 708). Approaches to neoliberalism, such as authoritarian neoliberalism, build upon Hall's assessment. Authoritarian neoliberalism seeks to extrapolate the push and pull between a given political and geographical context and the force of neoliberalism as a global, economic imperative.

Authoritarian neoliberalism is a concept that seeks to address the supposed impasse between strong states and neoliberal projects and policies (Bruff, 2014; Bruff & Tansel, 2018a; Tansel, 2017). [17] As a concept and trajectory of research, authoritarian neoliberalism addresses how statisms and neoliberal forms of capital accumulation compliment one another. Bruff (2014) argues that while neoliberalism has been traditionally theorized as about the free market and freeing it from institutional regulation, nonmarket social life has historically played a role in neoliberal ideologies. [18] Neoliberalism has never been only about the market—from the Reagan-Thatcher era to the 2007 global economic crisis—rather, the state is not pre-determined in relation to capital but is an iteration of capitalism as it bolsters and encourages neoliberal policies (Bruff, 2014; Bruff & Tansel, 2018; Tansel, 2017). Bruff (2014) argues, "the state embodies and crystallizes—in the form of policies, institutional arrangements, and apparatuses—the general domination of those who own the means of production over those who do not, and hence it should always be viewed as a capitalist state" (p. 119). Neoliberalism relies on coercive state practices that discipline, marginalize, and criminalize oppositional social forces. Moreover, judicial and administrative state apparatuses limit the avenues in which

[17] In chapter 3, I further outline the specificities and other arenas through which Turkey operates as an authoritarian neoliberal state.

[18] "[I]nstitutions that are viewed…as a form of social protection against the often wrenching nature of socio-economic restructuring could well be the means by which such change establishes itself" (Bruff, 2014, p. 115).

neoliberal policies can be challenged (Tansel, 2017). The state is part of processes that discipline and transform key social sites of capitalism (i.e. households, workplaces, urban spaces), whereby various disciplinary techniques compliment and insulate neoliberalism from incongruous socio-cultural, political, and economic forces, practices, and groups (Bruff & Tansel, 2018).

Authoritarian neoliberalism is an articulation of a broader hegemonic process (Bruff & Tansel, 2018). Although oppressive state apparatuses and mechanisms work to control and regulate potential "resistance" against capital accumulation, authoritarian neoliberalism does not equate with the decline of hegemonic leadership. As Tansel (2017) writes, "The difference between domination and hegemony is not the quantitative proportion between coercion and consent needed to maintain class power, but the extent to which force is successfully grounded in popular consent" (p. 11-12). Building upon Hall's (2011) approach towards hegemony, scholars of authoritarian neoliberalism look at processes through which the state mediates and articulates neoliberalism by laying the groundwork for the ubiquity and even desire for capitalism.[19] Accordingly, marginalized groups may often be co-opted by the state through neoliberal policies, even as such groups continue to be disempowered (Bruff, 2014). Within the context of Turkey, for example, this is apparent in the high electoral support of the ruling AKP among the working class despite rampant, personal debt. In sum, authoritarian neoliberalism is a useful concept for two key reasons. First, it releases neoliberalism from being a calcified concept that neglects the "constitutive role of the state in co-producing and maintaining…markets"

[19] "No project achieves 'hegemony' as a completed project. It is a process, not a state of being. No victories are permanent or final. Hegemony has constantly to be 'worked on', maintained, renewed revised. Excluded social forces, whose consent has not been won, whose interests have not been taken into account, for the basis of counter-movements, resistance, alternative strategies and visions…the struggle over a hegemonic system starts anew" (Hall, 2011, p. 26).

(Tansel, 2018a, p. 200). Second, it de-centers Eurocentric and Western approaches which "contrast democratic capitalism in the global North with authoritarian development in the global South…" (Bruff & Tansel, 2018, p. 3). Authoritarian neoliberalism thus offers us an analytical lens through which we can study the complex and often contradictory processes through which states and neoliberalism converge onto daily lives and experiences.

Affect

In the following section, I explore theories of affect to situate the ways in which the experiences of Turkey's socio-political environment cannot be simplified to conscious articulations of thought or feeling.[20] On the contrary, theories of affect attempt to move past a binary division between mind-body and thought-emotion to capture the "in-betweeness: in the capacities to act and be acted upon" (Seigworth & Gregg, 2009, p. 1; also see Massumi, 2002).[21] Affect thus, is about the possibility, the yet-ness of how we relate to the world. Affect is the potential of our bodies to respond to and navigate a given environment—it is the potential of how a person or group might relate to the world (Clough, 2008). Throughout my dissertation, I utilize theories of affect to postulate that journalists' thoughts, feelings, or sensations of their daily lives underscore the possibilities and limitations for their ideal form of journalism. Affect provides a lens for how and why journalists' attachments to certain journalistic ideals—such as objectivity and impartiality—offer a means of detaching from their very embodied subjectivities. Indeed, affect provides a perspective for how the very attachments that allow journalists to

[20] In proceeding sections, I outline how nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism are significant forces shaping the affective life within Turkey.

[21] Although we ascribe attributes to affect in terms of emotion or visceral feelings, affect offers more than a conscious or static description of being-in-the-world (Clough, 2008; Massumi, 2002). It offers an analytic through which we can grasp the potential of occupying a space between full embodiment and consciousness of our socio-political worlds. As Seigworth and Gregg (2009) note, "affect and cognition are never fully separable—if for no other reason than that thought is itself a body, embodied" (p. 2-3).

seemingly detach themselves as impacted by their political environment simultaneously move them forward and stunt them in realizing their professional goals. I position journalism as embodied detachment as a part of the literature on affect. We can examine how journalistic life captures a unique case of the "in-betweenness" of affect, in that journalists find themselves performing double-work to be members of and understand their communities, while simultaneously removing themselves as embedded in and subject to the ebbs and flows of their immediate environments.

Affect is a force, or how a body or bodies belong to a world of encounters (Ahmed, 2004; Clough, 2008; Massumi, 2002; Seigworth & Gregg, 2009). Seigworth and Gregg (2009) note that affect is relational, whereby affect is "as much outside itself as in itself—webbed in its relations" (p. 3). Affect captures the potential inherent within us to impact and be impacted by the various forces and relationships surrounding us (Ahmed, 2014; Clough, 2008; 2010; Massumi, 2002). There are several distinct approaches to affect, each of which describes how affect complicates the distinctions drawn between emotion and cognitive, rational thought.[22] These different trajectories use affect as a lens to analyze science, emotion, politics, and even inorganic matter. These distinct theoretical approaches to affect suggest that affect is a force through which we can understand the complexity and perpetual motion of our material, lived, emotional, conscious, organic, and inorganic world. Theories of affect allow us to grasp at something more than the "here and now." It is what Seigworth and Gregg (2009) call the "bloom-space" or the capacity of affect (or to

[22] Seigworth and Gregg (2009) highlight 8 different orientations to provide an overview of how affect has been broadly theorized. These approaches range from psychological/psychoanalytic inquiry (i.e. Freud, Tomkins) to non-Cartesian analysis, which seeks to situate affect as an incorporeal movement of matter (i.e. Massumi, Braidotti, Grossberg). Given the expanse of affect theory, I highlight those theories of affect most relevant to my work with journalists. Specifically, I turn to politically-engaged conceptualizations of affect, such as Ahmed (2003; 2004; 2009; 2014), Anderson (2017), Berlant (2011), and Massumi (2002). I also provide an overview of works on affect and media(tion) (i.e. Cefai, 2018; Clough, 2008; Grusin, 2015).

be affected) to "yield an actualized next or new that is somehow better than 'now'" (p. 10). Yet, the space of potential inherent to affect is never fully one of promise nor limitation (Berlant, 2011). It is simultaneously both—an intense and neutral potential of something yet to come. Affect might then be thought of as a promise or "increases in capacities to act…the start of 'being-capable'" (Seigworth & Gregg, 2009, p. 12).

Affect as being in-between life forces suggests a political potential of the neutral, and uncertain space it opens. However, this does not necessarily manifest in immediate political action in the traditional or normative sense. Rather, the political possibilities of affect are immanent and emergent and about feeling attuned or sensitive to changing conditions (Ahmed, 2004; Berlant, 2011, Massumi, 2002, Seigworth & Gregg, 2009). As Seigworth and Gregg (2009) write

> The political dimensions of affect generally proceed through or persist immediately alongside…a body's capacity for becoming sensitive to the 'manner' of the world: finding (or not) the coordinating rhythms that precipitate newness or change while also holding close to the often shimmering…continuities that pass in the slim interval between 'how to affect' and 'how to be affected'" (p. 14-15).

Affect indicates all the possibilities within our given moment to envision life differently. It is about the unseen, unrealized ways of being in and relating to our worlds, other bodies, and other forms of matter (Ahmed, 2003, 2004; Grossberg, 2010; Massumi, 2002; Seigworth & Gregg, 2009). Affect describes how relationships are formed between people, things, and objects based on "the nonconcious and unnamed, but nevertheless registered, experiences of bodily energy and intensity that arise in response to stimuli impinging on the body" (Gould, 2009, p. 19). Affect does something, it prompts movement and effort to figure out and qualify what we are feeling and how to express it (Gould, 2009; Gantt-Shafer et al, 2019).

Grasping or attempting to capture the politics of affect requires that we attend to its constant movement, contradictions, and tensions. As Anderson (2009) notes, the political dimensions of affect are bridled by the marks of power on how we feel, how we move, and the sorts of things or people we move towards in searching for change. Anderson (2009) writes

> [A]ffect is taken to be saturated by forms of power that work 'from below' while also marking the limit of power itself. [W]e face a pertinent question for cultural theory's emerging engagement with affect: how to be political when the excess of affect—its expressive and differential capacity—is imbricated with the excessive workings of power? (p. 164).

The mark that power leaves on affect is not static or wholly determined (Grossberg, 2010; Massumi, 2002). The traces of power on affect do not negate or foreclose the potential for positive, hopeful, or differential political change, but indicate that power and change are coterminous. The possibilities of affect to usher in new and different ways of life are always in process, motion, and "becoming," in that the effects of power is understood in retrospect (Massumi, 2002).[23] How a given moment might encompass positive change through affective politics is visible through the rearview mirror. Berlant (2011), for instance, notes that often times the things, ideas, or dreams we hold near and dear—while *immediately* a remedy for a negative situation—might in fact impede the *future* potential of realizing a better life.[24]

This perspective provides a tool through which we can assess the tensions, limitations, and possibilities encompassed by journalism as embodied detachment.

[23] Anderson (2009) paints a similar picture of the relationship between power, affect, and change: "[I]f power takes affect as its object, this guarantees that power—in whatever political formation—can only ever be a secondary, reactive, reduction of affect. Affect is the limit to power because it is limitless. As affect acts as a 'point of view' on an unspecified outside…it discloses life as expressive and differential: expressive because affect is in perpetual formation rather than existing as a secondary instantiation of an a priori discursive ideological order" (p. 166).

[24] I further explain Berlant's (2011) theorization and approach to affect in the next sub-section and in chapter 4.

Theories of affect, particularly those from the feminist perspective (outlined below), provide an analytical lens of unpacking how journalists attach themselves to certain ethos and ideals as a means of finding their "sea legs" and balance amidst a tense present, uncertain future, and nostalgic past. It shows how they are affected by and affect their environments in ways that both encompass systems of power and attempt to undue them. In the context of my research, affect allows for me to attend to how nationalism and a history of classed, gendered, and secular authoritarian politics are embedded in the everyday spaces, relationships, and perspectives of journalists, even as they attempt to "move" past such subjective experiences. In other words, an affective approach to journalism acknowledges the in-between and uncertain space journalists occupy as they become sensitive to the time and spaces in which the live.

Affect is not (necessarily) Emotion

In my research, different emotional attributes or feelings were often ascribed by my participants to certain spaces, ideas, and relationships. Feelings of fatigue, frustration, anger, and hope were used to describe both their professions and daily lives. Massumi (2002) notes that affect is often used as a synonym of emotion. However, affect, for Massumi (2002) is more synonymous with *intensity*. This intensity is the feeling, sensation, or point of critical mass where the potentials of occupying the world differently seem immanent.[25] Creatively using language from the sciences, Massumi (2002) figures affect as potential kinetic energy, waiting for that one push or thing to propel it into motion. This does not negate the role of emotion in the realm of affect, but means that

[25] "Affect of intensity…is akin to what is called a critical point, or bifurcation point, or singular point, in chaos theory and the theory of dissipative structures. This is the turning point at which a physical system paradoxically embodies multiple and normally mutually exclusive potentials, only one of which is 'selected'" (Massumi, 2002, p. 32-33).

emotion is "qualified intensity" (Massumi, 2002, p. 28). It is intensity owned and recognized.

Feminist approaches to affect critique Massumi's (2002) approach, noting that owning and recognizing emotions as a way of navigating affective intensities blurs the distinction between affect and emotion. For example, although Massumi (2002) argues that affective intensities cannot be consciously articulated, others such as Ahmed (2004) and Gould (2009) maintain that we are able to grasp and understand the intensity of affect through emotions and how those emotions drive our individual and collective identities. I align my research with Ahmed's (2004) approach to affect, which is concerned with how emotions and affect are not so easily separated. For Ahmed (2004), emotions drive how we navigate and understand affective intensities. Examining the relationship between affect and emotion, Ahmed (2014) argues that emotions are what move us. They are catalysts to move us towards or away from certain attachments and involve interpretation of sensation and feelings. These interpretations though, are both within and beyond us. They are relational and an acknowledgement that what we feel is not necessarily made by us but as coming before us. Anderson (2017) positions terms such as emotion, mood, or feeling as "sensitizing devices designed to attend to and reveal specific types of relational configurations, rather than unproblematic claims about what affect really is…" (p. 11). Emotions are thus avenues for affect's potential.

Affect and Attachments

Much of the politically engaged work on affect comes from scholars working in the realms of feminism, disability studies, subaltern studies, and queer theory (Seigworth & Gregg, 2009). These scholars examine how the seemingly banal encompasses something

that might exceed or challenge the norm, wherein the everyday might provide unsuspecting resources for moving beyond the "predicaments" of one's current condition.[26] Concomitantly, these works also account for the ways in which these objects, emotions, spaces, and ideas that characterize our "being-in-the world" may also work against the possibilities of a different, better life. What Ahmed (2003, 2004, 2009) and Berlant (2011) call "attachments," can be both agential and cruel.

Berlant (2011) presents affect as a "site of potential elucidation" for life's conditions and how such conditions "energize attachments" (p. 16). Both Ahmed (2004; 2005; 2014) and Berlant (2011) deploy the term "attachment" to theorize how and why people turn towards certain things as a way of making sense of the world. Specifically, they question how affect triggers movement when life seems uncertain. Amidst uncertain, changing, or unsustainable circumstances, affect "is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, value, and objects" (Ahmed, 2009, p. 29). Berlant (2011) calls this sense of change or uncertainty an "impasse", or a stretch of time when one moves around with a sense that the world is at once present and enigmatic. She writes

> [T]he activity of living demands both a wandering absorptive awareness and a hyper vigilance that collects material that might help to clarify things, maintain one's sea legs, and coordinate the standard melodramatic crises with those processes that have not yet found their genre of event (p. 4).

Attachments are those things (whether emotions, physical objects, ideas, or desires) we turn towards, hold onto, and gather up as a means of validating, surviving, and making sense of our existence and life's conditions.

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[26] This strand of affect theory "attends to the hard and fast materialities, as well as the fleeting and flowing ephemera, of the daily and the workaday, of everyday and every-night life, and of 'experience'…where persistent, repetitious practices of power can simultaneously provide a body…with predicaments and potentials for realizing a world that subsists within and exceeds the horizons and boundaries of the norm" (Seigworth & Gregg, 2009, p. 7).

Ahmed (2004; 2005) argues that attachments are neither internal nor external emotions, but a movement towards other bodies. Movement, in this sense, is a form of alignment, whereby identification with or against others is a labor of emotion (Ahmed, 2005). Emotions, thus, are what *move* us—they attach (or disconnect) us to each other and other objects. As Ahmed (2005) writes, "the intimate labor of emotion involves the transformation of some others into unlikeness…and other others into likeness…through the very process of moving towards and away from others" (p. 108). For Ahmed (2004), emotions signal how bodies exist within a social space "through the very intensity of their attachments" (p. 119). Although the emotions that make connection possible do not originate from a given person, "they still work to bind subjects together…the non-residence of emotions is what makes them 'binding'" (p. 119). Attachment is how different experiences and articulations of emotion move us to connect with people, objects, and even ideas. However, attachments not only move us to connect but can also paralyze in that we often hold onto ideals that work against the object and/or subject we so desire (Berlant, 2011). For example, as I explain in Chapter four, the desire for and around community often times thwarts journalists attempts to bring people together. Thus, attachment is both about movement towards and away from what we long for.

These attachments simultaneously offer the possibility of something different but can also work against us. In this sense, Ahmed (2014) looks at how we attach or hold onto different emotions either enable or inhibit collective politics. For example, pain is never equal and is differentiated amongst different bodies, thereby a potentially dangerous attachment in that it "produces identity as both bound to the history that produced it and as a reproach to the present which embodies that history" (p. 32). This means that holding

onto pain potentially cuts off "the wound" from history, thereby universalizing one's experiences, foreclosing solidarity amongst others who are differentially yet also hurt by histories of violence and marginalization. While Ahmed (2009; 2014) explores a broad range of emotions as forms of attachment, Berlant (2011) conceptualizes a specific condition for understanding the link between affect and attachments. For Berlant (2011) *cruel optimism* is a way of exploring how "people find themselves developing skills for adjusting to newly proliferating pressures to scramble for modes of living on" (p. 8). These attachments, for Berlant (2011) are deceptive, in that we hold onto them, hoard them, in the hope that they will yield a better life, yet they can work against our flourishing.[27]

In the context of my research, I use the term attachment to explore journalists' movement towards certain professional ideals as a means of making sense of their life's conditions. For example as I outline in Chapter three, as the physical spaces of their profession change, "objectivity," "impartiality," and "professional socialization" become things through which journalists seek to reaffirm the relevance of their work amidst the deterioration of their networks of social, personal, and professional support—which had been historically linked to a highly concentrated publishing district in central Istanbul. In Chapter four, I explore "community" as an attachment for coming to terms with the increased isolation journalists feel amongst themselves and the people on whom they report and write. In Chapter five, I look at how different markers of identity, such as class and gender, complicate how journalists hold onto and negotiate their professional ideals. In each chapter, building upon the postulations of Ahmed (2004; 2005; 2009; 2014) and Berlant (2011), I try to understand how these attachments are vehicles for journalists to

[27] "I am seeking out the conditions under which certain attachments to what counts as life come to make sense or no longer make sense, yet remain powerful as they work against the flourishing of particular and collective beings" (Berlant, 2011, p. 13).

contend with a present that seems unsustainable, particularly as they face unprecedented levels of political, economic, and social isolation.

Simultaneously, I attend to how these attachments may in fact impede journalists' desire for a more collective, democratic form of journalism. For example, I contend that journalists' hold onto ideas like objectivity and impartiality to detach themselves as affected by a contentious socio-political sphere in the hopes of realizing journalism as a form of collective, egalitarian community-building. Yet, these attachments also highlight journalists' embodied subject-positions within Turkey's socio-political climate, thereby exacerbating deeply rooted classed, gendered, ethnic, and religious divisions amongst Turkey's population. This context demonstrates that the ways affective attachments emerge—as enabling, inhibiting, or both—are deeply relational. As Ahmed (2009) writes, "to experience an object as being affective or sensational is to be directed not only toward an object, but to 'whatever' is around that object, which includes what is behind the object, the conditions of its arrival" (p. 33). This means that affect spans beyond the personal but is also crucial for understanding subjective experiences, highlighting a subject's discontinuity with itself and the broader forces bearing on the self (Anderson, 2017; Clough, 2008).

Media(tion) and Affect

Studying the affective dimensions of journalistic life requires attending to the double-work journalists face as mediators of a particular environment given that affect is always-already mediated.[28] By mediation, I not only mean the linear transmission of

[28] Within media studies, there have been numerous recent debates on how best to define mediation. Martín-Barbero (1993) defines mediation as how different daily practices around media constitute or support new flows of information, meanings, discourses, and interpretations. In other words, mediation is a term describing the inter-relationship between daily life and the media. It was an approach for complicating

thoughts, ideas, or representations through the news, TV, movies, or other forms of information and entertainment, but also how life is "constantly being made and remade through an array of processes that produce differences in what is and can be felt" (Anderson, 2017, p. 168). Affect is caught up in different and specific relations, patterns, discourses, and ideologies, creating atmospheres for the possible. Media contribute to the creation of these atmospheres, as Cefai (2018) argues, and act as "regimes, logics, or organizations of intensities…which define the affective tonalities and modalities of existence, behavior, and experience" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 194). Although media does not and should not be seen as a singular, unified institution, how media workers—such as journalists—and their practices factor into a given sphere or affective environment is important to study (Cefai, 2018). Cefai (2018) argues, "We need academic scholarship that offer nuanced accounts of how specific affective and discursive formations take form via specific media 'practices'…while cautioning against the ease by which the term 'media' connotes a set of unifying propositions" (p. 4).

Journalists occupy a unique position within the creation, making, and proliferation of affective worlds in that they are both subject to these logics and forces that bear on the possibilities within affect, yet they also actively make and re-make these worlds. Grusin (2015) notes that such work attends to the processes of mediating affect, because

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theories of media influence and dominance (Silverstone, 2005). Mediatization, on the other hand, is a related yet distinct term for describing the influence and power of media and media technologies on various aspects of our social worlds. Scholars such as Couldry & Hepp (2013) note two distinct approaches to mediatization. The first examines how different institutions and social systems adapt to the logics of media and media communication technologies. The second approach is interested in the "communicative construction of social and cultural reality" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967 as cited in Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p. 196). The key difference between the two terms is that mediation describes the process of how media and daily life are interrelated, whereas mediatization is about how mediation process change as the result of various media and media technologies (Couldry & Hepp, 2013). For purposes of my dissertation, I utilize the term mediation, given that I am exploring processes of media, journalism, and daily life.

mediation connects experience, but is also simultaneously an experienced mediation.[29] Therefore, journalists are not merely transmitting the world as it is, but they are also experiencing that world, attuning to the intensities of the moment, and part of processes that generate "the conditions for the emergence of subjections and objects, for the individuation of entities within the world" (Grusin, 2015, p. 129). Grusin calls this *radical mediation*, arguing that it is both affective and experiential because affective experience is embodied yet not immediately pictured or represented. Therefore, affect, experience, and mediation cannot be separated

> Mediation does not stand between a preexistent subject and object, or prevent immediate experience or relations. Not only is mediation immediate, but it is also individuation…operating through a process of becoming to generate individual subjects and objects…as experienced relations, subjects and objects which are themselves remediations (Grusin, 2015, p. 138).

The relationship between media(tion) and affect underscores the paradox between subjective experience and the trans-/im- personal aspects of affect. In order for affect to be mediated, it must be experienced, and yet all experience is a mediation of affect, which is both within and beyond us. The lives of journalists and their profession exacerbate and expose this paradox, necessitating an examination of the embodied, subjective, yet detached, and impersonal dimensions of affective worlds.

Questioning and Re-evaluating Journalistic Norms and Values

My dissertation contributes to broader literature on journalism and cultural studies by examining how the daily lives and experiences of journalists are sites of negotiating dominant political realities and materialities. Specifically, my work highlights how normative notions of journalistic "objectivity" and "impartiality" come to matter as

[29] "The mediations that connect experiences must themselves be experienced mediations, and any kind of mediation experienced must be accounted as immediate as anything else in the system" (Grusin, 2015, p. 126).

journalists negotiate their subjectivities within Turkey's contemporary political climate. For example, how are value-laden or god-terms—as Zelizer (2004) calls them—like impartiality, balance, dialogue, and factuality deployed, negotiated, or challenged as journalists in Turkey navigate a precarious political climate, history of ethnic, gendered, and classed nationalism, and increasing authoritarianism? Working through how the specificities and discourses of journalism circulate is crucial for exploring the shifting and fluid nature of journalism both within Turkey and in other contexts. By looking at where journalists live, with whom they congregate, and how they articulate/avow their identities, we can understand how the practice of journalism is not static but unfolding. It changes amidst transformations of spaces, relationships, identities, and political institutions, marking how journalism and life in general are characterized by movement.

The performance of journalism corresponds to the (re)creation of political environments and communities. Investments in various journalistic norms and practices become a means of reinforcing, subverting, and even simply surviving the present moment. My dissertation, accordingly, builds upon scholars like Zelizer (2004), Deuze (2005), Carpentier & Cammaerts, (2006), Downey et al (2014), and Raeijmaekers & Maeseele (2015) who explore the limits and possibilities of a journalistic program that remains rooted in universal, enlightenment ideals of objectivity, positivism, and empiricism. As Downey (2014) argues, for example, such terms might work coincidentally to mediate the structures of power journalism also seek to push against. This is not to wholly reject the role of broader journalistic ethos within news-making practices, but rather demands that we pay attention to the ways in which such ideals are evoked or rejected. It is essential to ask under what conditions and to what purpose they are deployed. As Zelizer (2004)

argues this perspective allows for critical, cultural scholars to appreciate and explore how journalistic ideals, however "universal," are meaningful for the people that use them. She writes, "Recognizing that there is a reality out there and that, in certain quarters, truth and facts have currency does not mean letting go of relativity, subjectivity, and construction. It merely suggests yoking a regard for them with some cognizance of the outside world" (p. 127).

My dissertation builds upon Zelizer's (2004) perspective in that I explore how professional and personal concerns and experiences are linked with different ideals of journalism as a practice and institution. For example, I question and explore how changing spatial landscapes, deteriorating social networks, and identity prompt investments in different journalistic ethics. My dissertation research is careful to work through the manner in which journalistic "values" and practices converge with Turkey as an unfolding nation-state. Attuning to the lived conditions of Turkey as a political atmosphere provide clues for how the complexities of embodied detachment provide journalists with a sense of agency. This means exploring the contradictions and tensions inherent to a critical, "democratic" vision of journalism. Case in point, while avowing a critical or oppositional stance against the ruling party, many of the journalists I worked with reinforced deeply-rooted class and religious divisions within Turkey through their habits, where they lived, and how they spoke of the majority of Turkey's Anatolian population. These sorts of tensions arise as Mouffe (1998) argues, because pluralistic and radical democracy is rooted in conflict and agonism. She writes, "democracy is our most subversive idea because it interrupts all existing discourses and practices of subordination" (p. 96). By examining the

contradictions of journalism as embodied detachment, I bear in mind how the very tensions I may encounter might be ruptures to the flow and function of power.

Chapter Outline

In exploring the inter-connection between journalism, daily life, and broader phenomena, such as nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism, my dissertation presents three themes to highlight how journalists in Turkey find themselves "caught in-between." My dissertation examines how space, community, and identity are realms through which journalists negotiate their professional ideals, while grappling with personal life circumstances that challenge their visions of journalism. These cases question and work through the ways in which attachments to impartiality, objectivity, professional socialization, and cultivating connection through reporting remain salient for journalists even as these ideas often times work against their "flourishing," to borrow Berlant's (2011) term. The changing urban landscape of Istanbul, increased political and social polarization, and animosity amongst varying cultural groups seep into the habits, thoughts, and relationships of journalists. This embodiment of their political environment is uncomfortable, itchy, gnawing, and irritating for my participants in that they see such subjective experiences as potentially detrimental to the value of their work and profession. Space, community, and identity present distinct yet tangential arenas in which journalists are confronted with the paradoxes of their embodied detachment. Each chapter presents narratives from my participants and my fieldwork experience, situated by an overview of literature on context and the specific phenomena explored in the chapter.

Following this introduction, in Chapter two, I present my methodology, methods, and central research questions informing my dissertation. I outline my approach to the

ethnographic study of journalism, particularly in a foreign, non-western context, vis-à-vis feminist approaches to qualitative research. Feminist approaches to qualitative inquiry, particularly ethnography, allow for an appreciation of how perceptions of identity, assumptions of culture, and the fluidity of what constitutes "insider" or "outsider" status is not stable. Turning towards scholars such as Abu-Lughod (1996), Alcoff (1988), and Narayan (1993)—to name only a few—I emphasize the importance of accounting for the relationships I cultivated with my participants and how these relationships were complicated by how we presented ourselves, how we perceived each other, and also our respective geographies. Accounting for positionality is crucial in order to highlight how power inequalities manifest in the research setting. A feminist orientation to my research provided the epistemological and practical tools necessary for me to account for how and why positionality mattered in the sorts of questions I could ask, to whom, where, when, and how. I note moments of failure and frustration to emphasize how my research questions and my relationships within the field were constantly transforming and subject to the ebbs and flows of personal, professional, and social imperatives. For example, I present one instance in which assumptions over the concept of consent—complicated by linguistic misunderstandings and professional pressures—necessitated that I dramatically alter key aspects of my dissertation in order to protect a participant's identity. While seemingly a moment of failure and immense frustration, it was an opportunity to re-evaluate how cultural assumptions and perceived identities matter in the unfolding of the research process.

In Chapter three, I examine the relationship between journalists' experience of Istanbul's urban landscape and how such experiences shape their ideas of the norms and

practices of journalism. By looking at the (now defunct) publishing district, Bab-I Ali, and the role it played in the history of journalism in Turkey, I explore how memories of this space, and contemporary urban renewal projects have resulted in journalists' anxiety and irritation over the cultivation of professional networks of support and socialization. Utilizing theories and case studies which explore the connection between media and urban spaces (i.e. Georgiou, 2013; Gumpert & Drucker, 2008; McQuire, 2008), I argue that the ways in which journalists conceptualize and experience the physical spaces of the personal and professional lives impact how they relate to each other, their communities, and the broader "publics" of not only Istanbul but also of Turkey. I approach Istanbul's urban landscape as a form of authoritarian neoliberal governance, whereby commercial imperatives meet a strong, nationalistic state that infiltrates every aspect of daily life in the city. The ways the logics of the state filter into and through the spaces journalists work and live in, resulted in fatigue, hostility, and sometimes even ambivalence. These sentiments resulted in a sense that the current physical circumstances of the profession were no longer sustainable and would result in a deterioration of a robust and organized form of journalism that valued fact-based reporting, community engagement, and professional solidarity. Indeed, how Istanbul's urban environment has and is transforming manipulates and bubbles to the surface tensions between journalists and other social groupings in Turkey—namely more conservative and religious factions loyal to President Erdoğan and the AKP. These biases journalists feel towards these communities are rendered apparent through their experiences of Istanbul as a physical space, prompting journalists to (re)examine how they envision their profession.

After examining the spatial-cum-relational components of journalistic life, in Chapter four, I look at how the idea of community factors into the lives of journalists and their visions of the field. Given the impact that urban renewal and gentrification have on the segregation of journalists from themselves and other people, this chapter unpacks the role the idea of community plays in how journalists navigate their hopes of using journalism as a means of uniting disparate people across the country. Building upon Ahmed (2003; 2004), I approach community as an attachment that gives journalists a sense of agency in navigating their hopes of a united political public. They contend that presenting various perspectives and narratives on a given event is not political nor partisan work, but about presenting all sides of a story. They negotiate this idea of community, while also contending with their own animosities towards a public they often times describe as backwards and ignorant. The idea of journalism as cultivating community, I argue, allows for journalists to mitigate their own sense of prejudice, reinforcing the idea that they can remain objective and unaffected by their personal lives.

Chapter five builds upon the previous two chapters by exploring the role identity plays in the lives and profession of journalists. I examine how identity markers, such as gender and class, factor into journalists' experience of space, community, and therefore their journalistic ideals. Although I acknowledge the discursive aspects of identity (i.e. Butler, 1991), I build upon theoretical works that account for how fleshy, felt, and lived identities remain relevant lenses to examine our socio-cultural and political worlds. I utilize Crenshaw's (1991) concept of intersectionality to note the layered and intersecting positions that these journalists occupy within Turkey's socio-political climate. This chapter unpacks how different perceptions and experiences of identity bear on how these

journalists describe their work and how these identities impact their efforts to realize their professional goals. How in other words, does identity contour the sorts of possibilities offered to different journalists through their attachments to their professional ideals and ethics.

In the concluding chapter, I offer final thoughts on how the concept of embodied detachment broadens and deepens how we understand the role of journalism and journalists within different political and social communities. I review and summarize my findings from each body chapter to highlight how and why the daily life experiences of journalists matter in shaping journalism as a profession and possible avenue for a more communal, pluralistic, and democratic society. I note how nationalism and authoritarian neoliberalism converge not only onto realms of everyday life—such as neighborhoods—but are embodied by these journalists. This embodiment, in turn, contours what sorts of journalistic ideals matter to journalists. Journalists attach to and rely on notions of "objectivity," "neutrality", and "dialogue", among others, as a means of affirming and validating their work. These ethics provide journalists with a sense of agency to contend with the professional uncertainties they face. These concepts allow for them to evaluate and explore a better future, not only for journalism but for Turkey as well. I reiterate how the relationship between these journalistic values and journalists' subjectivities oftentimes expose deeply rooted ethnic, religious, gendered, and classed divisions within Turkey. However, I conclude that the possibility or dream of a more united, communal society through journalism is not completely foreclosed in light of these tensions. I end with the idea that perhaps the act of wanting or desiring a better profession and a better society is just as radical as its realization.

"Devam ediyoruz." "We keep going." This was a phrase I would often hear throughout my fieldwork when I would ask my participants, neighbors, and friends how they dealt with a tense, frequently violent, and exhausting political climate. Despite the bleak outlook, divisions, fatigue, anger, hurt, and setbacks, you just kept living life. You went to work, met with friends, strolled along the Bosphorous, sipped Turkish coffee in your favorite café, and tried to find everyday ways to hope for a more peaceful future. As Aydın once told me, to lead a regular, boring life could be a refusal of power. Amidst authoritarianism, violence, and deep political polarization, it was within journalist's daily, regular, boring lives that I learned of their dreams for a brighter future for journalism and Turkey. It was in the everyday and ordinary that I witnessed how they kept going.

CHAPTER II.

A FEMINIST APPROACH TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF JOURNALISM IN TURKEY: ACCOUNTING FOR POSITIONALITY, REFELXIVITY, AND FAILURE

My dissertation explores how journalism is encompassed by articulations of nationalism, neoliberalism, community, and space. I push beyond journalism as defined by a set of universal guidelines, principles, ethics, and standards to grasp how it is a praxis understood in the realm of everyday emotions, attachments, and habits. My research is guided by these questions:

1. What is the relationship between Turkey's socio-cultural climate and history and how journalists define their profession?
    a. How do contemporary political and social circumstances impact the sorts of journalistic ideals journalists invest in?
    b. What is the role of normative journalistic values—such as "objectivity"—in journalistic practice in Turkey?
2. How do journalists' subjectivities intersect with their visions of journalism?
    a. How do realms of everyday life—such as space and identity—impact their journalistic goals and ideals?
    b. To what extent does the everyday matter to the role that journalists play in Turkey?
3. What is the relationship between journalists' negotiation of their subjectivities and the possibilities of a more communal, pluralistic form of journalism?

Although my research is contextually situated within contemporary Turkey, I argue that the narratives I outline underscore how journalism is not only a profession but also a way of life. Journalists have been theorized as intermediaries between socio-political and cultural life and broader structures of power (i.e. van Zoonen, 1994). However, the ways journalists mediate and negotiate between power and daily life does not exist within a vacuum. Journalism as a profession and journalists as people are embedded and implicated in the worlds they report on. This is in line with scholarly works that envision journalism as a cultural form (Carey, 1986) that accounts for how journalism is constituted as an experience/lifeworld in addition to sets of standards, facts, and realities (Zelizer 2004, 2017). I utilize ethnographic methods as I explore journalism as a way of living and being. An ethnographic approach allows me to account for the specificities of the context of Turkey, the subjectivities of my journalist contacts, and how different socio-political forces may come to bear on these narratives. Ethnography provides a methodological and epistemological toolkit for grasping the finer details of life as a journalist and how these details exist within a web of other forces. For example, an ethnographic approach helped me assess and re-evaluate my initial assumptions about the extent to which the 2016 coup-attempt impacts how journalists presently define and envision their profession. Through ethnographic methods, I could attune to the smaller, banal, and deeper details of our interviews and the lives of these journalists, which in turn helped me understand that there were broader and more complex forces contouring how they framed journalism within Turkey.

As I map these narratives of journalism and journalistic life within Turkey, I situate and approach my research from a feminist, ethnographic orientation. As I outline in this

chapter, a feminist orientation towards ethnographic research allows me to account for the complexity, subjectivity, and fluid nature of life and how journalistic life is expressed and experienced. More than a method, feminist research is an approach and orientation towards accounting for how the construction of knowledge is always, already situated and partial. It provides framework for how dynamics of power are constructed, contested, and negotiated within the field. Feminist ethnography, in other words, is a means of underscoring research as a lived, dynamic, and uncertain process complicated by fluctuating identities-cum-subjectivities, geographies, and cultures.

In this chapter, I outline the different components of feminist methods and methodology and how it fits in with the impetus of my research. I specifically note the role of positionality and reflexivity within feminist methods and ethnography to highlight how feminist ethnography complicates the role of the researcher/ethnographer as sole arbiter of knowledge and authority. I utilize anecdotes throughout this chapter and my dissertation to underscore how my understanding and construction of journalistic life in Turkey is relational. Next, I provide an overview of the specific methods used and reflect on the practical dynamics of my fieldwork in Istanbul including notes on ethical considerations and dilemmas. A profile of each interlocutor and media organization is included in the appendix. [30][31][32]

[30] In outlining the different media organizations represented, I provide a general categorization of where these different outlets might fall on a shifting spectrum of political, economic, and organizational affiliations. Given that many of these journalists worked across different outlets and that my research was more focused on the banal, non-institutional experience of journalistic practice, providing a more detailed and nuanced classification of media systems in Turkey is beyond the scope of this study.

[31] My research was conducted over a nine month period in Istanbul, Turkey. My research and extended time in the field was made possible through a U.S. Student Fulbright Scholarship. I began pre-fieldwork interviews and meetings in March 2017 with the aid of a Texas A&M Department of Communication mini research grant and continued my dissertation fieldwork with the financial and logistical support of the Turkish Fulbright Commission. During my time in Turkey, I worked closely with and was sponsored by the

Methodology

Feminist research is epistemologically, methodologically, and textually concerned with mapping the multiplicity of gendered, classed, sexed, and racialized lives and experiences. Feminist research is sensitive and attendant to dynamics and articulations of power. This means that it is committed to rigorous reflexivity and positionality, acknowledging the inter-subjective and contingent nature of the entire research process. Given that my research questions are geared toward exploring the complex and varied experiences of journalists within the Turkish socio-political and cultural context, a feminist research and ethnographic orientation allows me to situate the stories of my participants vis-à-vis a host of other factors. For example, a feminist research orientation means that I must position these accounts, the research setting, and process within a broader web of power and politics in which both my informants and I are simultaneously agents and subjects. I contend that the potential for agency must be understood amidst relationships of power. I utilize Foucault's (1980; 1982) conceptualization of power and agency, whereby our ability to act exists within a web of prescribed possible actions. Foucault (1980; 1982) argues that power is not handed from top to bottom, but rather circulates and makes certain modes of being and ways of acting easier or more difficult. Thus, how we define agency within a given moment must be understood as a potential effect or articulation of power. We are subjected to forms of power that put pressure on and color how we can experience, define, and enact agency.

In the following section, I outline what feminist research and ethnography is, my approach to this methodology, and the importance of this methodology for my broader

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Department of Media Studies at Istanbul Bilgi University. My local affiliate, Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan introduced me to several organizations and participants.

[32] Each participant was given a pseudonym in order to protect their identity.

research goals. Throughout this chapter and dissertation, I present ethnographic accounts to situate my research within the area of feminist ethnography, simultaneously highlighting and underscoring how such accounts are and have been key to the way I formulate, understand, embody, and experience my field. Additionally, I detail my specific methods, interlocutor demographics, organizational profiles, provide an overview of interview questions, and data analysis procedures.

Feminist Research and Ethnography

Feminist Methodology.

Feminist research and researchers hail from a variety of disciplines and deploy a diverse set of methods to explore the inter-relationship between different modes of power with identity. Just as feminist research and researchers emphasize the heterogeneity and diversity of identity and subjectivity, so too are their perspectives and methods for capturing this complexity. With this in mind, I align myself with Harding (1987) who argues against defining or embracing a clear-cut feminist method. As Harding (1987) notes, the distinction between epistemology, methodology, and method is important for better grappling with the potential impact of feminist analysis and research. By wresting *method* as a catch-all term for feminist research, we can better assess the possibilities feminism and feminist approaches offer our understandings of the world. Thus, feminist research is encompassed by a standpoint and commitment to struggle for justice. Feminist researchers paint the complexity of different intersections of identity, subjectivity, and power. It is, therefore, not so much an issue of method or object of inquiry but of how a feminist methodology has epistemological consequences for a more just world. Although I utilize ethnographic methods to explore my research questions, I situate this method within

a broader feminist research orientation. In other words, I used qualitative techniques and methods—such as dialogical interviews, extensive reflexivity, and participant observation—to not only map the experiences of my participants amidst a web of power, but to also consider the possibility of justice within this context and research setting. This means embracing the limits and boundaries of my participants even if it means withholding significant accounts and information.

Harding's (1987) question, "Is there a Feminist Method?", has largely shaped and impacted the trajectory and theorization of feminist research and methodology. Her article is largely a critique of the masculinist and social scientific approaches to intellectual inquiry which have conflated method, methodology, and epistemology. By conflating "discussions of method (techniques for gathering evidence) and methodology (a theory and analysis of how research should proceed)" (Harding, 1987, p. 2) with epistemology (theories of knowledge), the object of inquiry and goal of research is reduced and simplified to technique. This muddling of terms, Harding (1987) notes, also overemphasizes answers to research questions, neglecting how the mode and means by which questions are formulated and asked impact the answer. By paying critical attention to how methodology and epistemology matter in the research process, a feminist research orientation underscores the contingency and situatedness of the researcher as a socio-cultural subject and how that impacts the sorts of questions asked, the methods deployed, and the answers sought. For Naples (2003) this means accounting for the real and lived mechanisms by which the research subject and research are mutually implicated in social phenomena. Likewise, Sprague (2016) argues that feminist methodology and research are not reducible to method, but are rooted in a process that accounts for different subject

positions. In sum, feminist research is not only a question of method, but is also about the process that accounts for how positionality and standpoint inform what is asked, how it is asked, and what impact those questions and answers have on the lives of the researcher, subject, and society more broadly.

Feminist Ethnography.

Ethnographic methods and techniques—while not inherently a "feminist method" (i.e. Harding, 1987)—offer a valuable tool for working through and presenting such complex and shifting intersections of power, identity, politics, and culture. Feminist ethnographers are committed to not only exploring the circulation of gender as an identity within daily life, but also developing and accounting for different strategies to address how power hierarchies might manifest within the fieldwork process. For example, a feminist ethnographer is reflexive and reflects on how their positionality comes to bear on the fieldwork and relationships therein (Buch & Staller, 2013). Feminist ethnography and ethnographers are not simply limited by ethnographically exploring issues of gender construction or symbolism within the context of fieldwork, but are focused on the process of research as well. Feminist ethnography and ethnographers situate their research as a process rather than authoritative search for answers. Indeed, feminist ethnography has evolved in reaction to claims that feminist researchers and anthropologists, while contributing to feminist theory, have not contributed to the development of strategies for capturing the situated and reflexive ethnographic process (Behar & Gordon, 1996).[33] In

[33] Responding to Clifford's (2010) claims that feminists and feminist ethnography have not theoretically contributed to developing textual strategies to account for and represent the ways in which the self, other, and culture are co-constituitive within fieldwork, feminist ethnographers such as Abu-Lughod (1996), Behar & Gordon (1996), and Narayan (1993) have responded by presenting a variety of textual, methodological, and theoretical works which showcase feminist ethnography's position on not only asking questions about feminism or "women's" issues but capturing the ways in which culture and identity become articulated and expressed within the fieldwork context. Behar & Gordon (1996) showcase the ethnographic work of Zora

keeping with the commitments of feminist ethnographers, my dissertation attempts to "work through" the possible implications of the lives and stories I encountered. I do not intend to act as an authoritative mouthpiece for these journalist, but rather I situate their narratives within the context of contemporary Turkey and the ethnographic research setting.

Like other feminist research, feminist ethnography and ethnographers are focused on crafting a research program and project that captures the fluditiy, partiality, and situatedness of identity.[34] For example, both Narayan (1993) and Abu-Lughod (1996) note how the fieldwork process pushes against static notions of identity and top-down conceptualizations of power and domination. They challenge the idea that positions and flows of power can be understood through dichotomies to assert that different facets of identity, culture, politics, or even geographic location may be rendered relevant or irrelevant depending on the research context. This attention to the fluidity of identity, culture, and power questions objectivity and seeks to frame ethnographers as positioned and situated, thereby rendering knowledge contingent and partial (Abu-Lughod, 1996, 2002; Davis & Craven, 2016; Narayan, 1993; Stacey, 1988; Visweswaran, 1997). In other words, "understanding becomes subjectively based and forged through interactions within fields of power relations" (Narayan, 1993, p. 679).

Neale Hurston, for example, as a way of highlighting feminist ethnography's long history of engaging with a reflexive research process both within the field and in the writing process.

[34] Within ethnographic fieldwork identity is partial, fluid, and shifting (i.e. Abu-Lughod, 1996; Narayan, 1993) bringing to light different fomentations and articulations of power (Mohanty, 1988; Naples, 2003; Sandoval, 2000). Accordingly, the sorts of narratives and accounts presented are partial, contingent, and situated (Altınay& Peto, 2016; Haraway, 1988). For this reason, I situate my research within the tradition of feminist ethnography and research as a way of accounting for the layered and unsteady identities, structures, and discourses which weave through the accounts presented by my participants and which I relay throughout my dissertation.

By orienting my research within the tradition of feminist ethnography and research, my dissertation accounts for how the fieldwork process, research setting, the questions I ask, and the responses my participants provide are contingent and partial (i.e. Haraway, 1988; Wallis, 2013). Indeed, my ability to gain and maintain access and write about the lives I encountered are shaped around how both I and my participants interpret and relate to each other amidst material realities (i.e. employment status, and geographic location) and other discursive structures (nationality, gender, political ideologies, and "culture"). Thus, the picture drawn by my research is a co-constructed narrative (Denzin, 2001; Gubrium & Holstein, 1995) that manifests not from any a priori authority I have through my presence in the field, but through the situational encounter within the field itself (Clifford, 1983, 2010; Marcus, 2012). This does not mean that the narrative and stories to emerge from my fieldwork are constructed in a wholly democratic or egalitarian manner. Rather, they emerge and are affected by various intersecting and colluding identities, subjectivities, spaces, and histories. By situating my research within a feminist ethnographic orientation, I am better equipped to account for how my position as a U.S. citizen, cis-gender female, feminist, political activist, expatriot, and resident of Turkey came to bear on my relationships within the field and the sorts of encounters I have.

Feminist Research, Ethnography, and Journalism

Studying journalism from a feminist perspective is not without basis. For example, there is ample qualitative work on how gender is constituted, negotiated, and contested within news-making practices in other contexts. Carter et al's (2002) co-edited volume on gender, the press, and power, looks at the relationship between commercial interests, cultural norms, and gender in journalistic norms and practices. From concerns over the

"bottom line" to how news discourses reflect a "masculine narrative form" (p. 6), Carter et al study how a commercially-focused, masculine hegemony is reinforced through standards of journalism. For example, stories focused on women and women's perspectives are often relegated to the category of soft news, over concerns that these issues will not garner broader audience interest. Like van Zoonen (1994), Carter et al (2002) see journalism as a mediator of hegemonic struggle, whereby "narrative forms and practices routinely held to constitute 'news' will have to undergo critical reconsideration if the imperatives of male hegemony are to be challenged…" (p. 7).

Similarly, de Bruin and Ross (2004) focus on the extent to which gender as a socio-cultural given is reflected, negotiated, and challenged within newsroom settings and practices. They argue that undoing hetero-normative and sexist discourses within journalism is not easily remedied by "adding women" (see Ross, 2001) given how broader norms and assumptions regarding gender impact how journalists understand their profession and report on their social environment. As Ross (2017) argues in her new book, *Gender, Politics, News: A Game of Three Sides,* for example, gender, journalism, and politics are highly intertwined. Specifically, she notes the differential treatment of men and women politicians by the media in national elections. Steiner (2012) echoes de Bruin & Ross' (2004) claim, noting that understanding the impact of gender within newsroom settings and practices necessitates consideration of the "complex historical, material, and cultural/social conditions" (p. 1) that inform what gender *is* and *does* within a given setting. For example, de Bruin (2000) looks at how specific news institutions, organizational norms, and gender affect journalists' construction and articulation of professional identity and practice.

These qualitative, feminist approaches to journalism demonstrate how understanding the gendered dynamics of news-making is crucial for grasping the role that journalism as a practice and institution play in processes of identity construction. In other words, by understanding the experiences of women in the newsroom, we can better grasp how journalism is constitutive of our various subjectivities. Although my research does not soley focus on the gendered dynamics of journalism in Turkey, feminist approaches and studies of journalism are useful for understanding how practices and standards of journalism impact a journalist's identity.[35] Thus, I am able to appreciate how practices, institutions, and visions of journalism intersect with the personal lives and experiences of the journalists with whom I interacted. How identities are avowed and articulated in relation to the institutions, practices, and spaces of journalism is important for underscoring how journalism is both a discursive and material experience.

Positionality, Reflexivity, and Failure

Although I have lived in Turkey extensively, know the language, and have established social ties and relationships, I still had to negotiate and contend with the fact that I am a citizen of the U.S., a [W]esterner (particularly in the eyes of ethnic Turks and others in Turkey), a woman, and Fulbright-funded researcher. Various components of my history, identity, and socio-economic position mattered in relationship to my interlocuter's background, the setting of my research, and also Turkey's broader history and contemporary political climate. Negotiating these aspects of my identity were complicated

[35] I use the term identity as a descriptor for how journalists express a sense of self in relation to their job, colleagues, neighbors, spaces, and Turkey as a socio-political entity. I utilize intersectional approaches to identity, which argue that identity is not static but an articulation of one's skin, body, race, class, and gender in relation to various systems of power (Crenshaw, 1994). Identity is thus layered and fluid (Abu-:ughod, 1996; Narayan, 1993; Nash, 2008), whereby different aspects to a person's or group's identity is rendered apparent within a given context. This is not to deny that identity may have material and/or fleshy components, but that how one understands their body and broader sense of self affects and is affected by different physical, cultural, and social relationships (Ahmed, 2003; Alcoff; 1988).

as a [W]esterner in a non-western context (i.e. Wallis, 2013).[36] As I reflect on the ways in which these components of my history and identity impact my research, I bear in mind Narayan's (1993) reflections on the insider/outsider, native/non-native dichotomies.[37] Narayan (1993) pushes against the distinction in anthropology between "native" and "non-native" researchers. Rather, she proposes approaching "identity" as a shifting set of relations marked by class, education, gender, race, nationality, among others. Narayan (1993) argues that fieldwork and its relationships present challenges to the idea of static identity. She writes, "…a person may have many strands of identification available, strands that may be tugged into the open or stuffed out of sight" (p. 673). Identity both inside and outside of the field is layered and complicated. Subjectivities may be rendered apparent, irrelevant, or forced depending on the "context and the prevailing vectors of power" (p. 676). It is not so much that I was an outsider or "non-native" to Turkey, but rather those categories emerged and became relevant as I moved back to Turkey after several years away.[38] There were many interactions that highlighted the duality of my position in Turkey. I seemed to occupy a grey space between local and foreigner/visitor. People often commented that I spoke Turkish better than Turks or that they thought perhaps I was

[36] This position is not meant to reinforce an epistemological binary between a geo-political [E]ast vs. [W]est. Rather, I make this point to highlight how my identity is ascribed as [W]estern by my participants and environment in Turkey. As much as I try to strategically minimize my geographical origins, mistrust and memories of U.S. intervention and imperialism within the Middle East come to bear on how I am perceived. As Alcoff (1988) argues, as much as identity might be a social construct, it also materializes through relationships and interactions.

[37] Moving past the dichotomy between "native" and "non-native" is also important for the narrative of fieldwork. It means that the anthropologist does not speak for those they study, but are implicated in their worlds, socially, politically, and culturally. This argument challenges objectivity and seeks to position ethnographers as situated, thereby rendering knowledge as contingent, whereby "understanding becomes subjectively based and forged through interactions within fields of power relations" (Narayan, 1993, p. 679). For Narayan (1993) narrative voice is essential to this project because it challenges objectivity and takes seriously the situated and relational components of fieldwork.

[38] Between 2010-2015 I lived in Istanbul, Turkey. During that time I worked as an English teacher and eventually began and completed my Masters at a local university. I returned to the US in June 2015 to begin my PhD.

"ethnically" Turkish, but perhaps had grown up abroad. Although this afforded me a level of credibility, my physical appearance, mannerisms and habits, and my motivations and reasons for being in Turkey were reminders that as much as I knew the lanuage and history of Turkey, I was not considered a "native" or insider.

Complicating my identity and position in the field was the fact that I was there as a PhD student and U.S./Fulbright funded researcher. There were numerous instances in which I was met with suspicion, lost friendships, and was even taken advantage of financially by an interlocutor.[39] Whereas I had never considered myself financilly well-off, in the field my econommic status became significant given that I was earning a consistent income in U.S. dollars while many of my participants had inconsistent incomes at a fraction of what I was earning monthly.[40] In Istanbul, amongst my contacts, and during the tensions looming in the Turkish economy, I had become and was ascribed as financially well-off. Thinking through this dynamic, it is not that either I or my participants brought static identities with us into interactions, but rather those backgrounds emerged through the relational aspects of fieldwork. This means that there was a constant negotiation of power, politics, identity, and subjectivity in the unfolding socio-cultural picture my research captures.

Attuning to this positionality not only accounts for relations of power within fieldwork, but also offers a framework for how these emerging avowed and ascribed identities might be the basis of political justice. In her critique of cultural and post-

[39] In Turkey, it is customary for the host or person who extended the invitation to pay for the bill at a restaurant or café. Even though I was the one initiating contact and requesting to meet my participants, they often insisted on paying since they considered me a guest of Turkey. My status as "guest" or "visitor" overshadowed any other customs or norms regarding finances. However, one participant left me with the entire bill once learning that I earned US dollars.

[40] Although in Turkey, the Lira dropped to historic lows against the U.S. dollar. At the time of my departure one U.S. dollar was equal to approximately 4.5 Turkish Lira.

structural feminism, Alcoff (1988) uses positionality as a heuristic device for imagining a politics that does not deny identity nor risk essentialism. She critiques cultural feminism for the ways in which it perpetuates a universal and a priori notion of "woman," thereby tieing feminist politics to a specific and static identity. Concomitantly, she argues that the post-structuralist turn in feminist theory denies subjectivity, reinforcing the liberal notion of the generic human. She writes, "For the post-structuralist, race, class, and gender are constructs, and therefore incapbale of decisively validating conceptions of justice and truth because underneath there lies no natural core to build on or liberate or maximize" (p. 421). In order to overcome the conceptual and political limitations of these two approaches, Alcoff (1988) offers positionality as a way of conceiving identity as a construct that has real and material aspects—i.e. habits and practices—that can become the starting point of political change.[41] Identity is "an interpretation of our history within a particular discursive constellation, a history in which we are both subjects of and subjected to social construction" (p. 431). Alcoff (1988) argues that this requires the theorist or researcher to bear in mind how their material identities impact their judgements and interpretations of their object or subject of study. With this in mind, I tried to remain humble and reflexive of the ways that my presence in the field (in my neighborhood, in the lives and jobs of my participants) might have prompted certain reactions and dispositions. For instance, as I exaplain later on, my ability to openly write about and recount what participants told told me foments anxiety for them.

Positionality not only accounts for how identity might become a starting point for negotiating historical and discursive regimes of power, but is also methodologically

[41] "[T]he concept of identity politics does not presuppose a prepackaged set of objective needs or political implications but problematizes the connection of identity and politics and introduces identity as a factor in any political analysis" (Alcoff, 1988,p. 433).

significant. Envisioning or theorizing politics and justice within fieldwork must account for how dynamics of power become embodied and materialized in the form of identities. For feminist ethnographers such as Wallis (2013), this means (re)politicizing ethnographic fieldwork, whereby the voices the ethnographer attempts to capture are both agential and subject to relations of power. By acknolowding positionality, ethnpgraphers situate the knowledge constructed within the field as partial, situated, and contingent. For Wallis (2013), this means that feminist ethnography is not feminist because it is ethnography conducted by women about women. Rather, she argues

> [I]t is based on an acknowledgement of power relations, a desire to let silenced voices speak, intersubjectivity between researcher and participants, and, perhaps most crucially, reflexivity. Thus, the politics of ethnography cannot be erased nor should they be. For it is ethnography's politics that forces recognition and negotiation of issues of power and difference, and by extension potential realizations of social change (p. 25).

Accounting for power, identity, and the relational nature of fieldwork is essential for a feminist ethnographic project, in that it accounts for power both within and beyond the research encounter. However, this does not undo or minimize hierarchies of class, race, gender, ethnicity, or other forms of power. Rather, it emphasizes the risks and dangers of research in reinforcing and perpetuating systems of oppression and exploitation. Third World Feminists and Feminists of Color such as Mohanty (1988; 2003a; 2003b), Puar (2012), Sandoval (2000), and Visweswaran (1997) warn against the ways in which research projects and endeavors that seek to formulate an egalitarian and united feminist politics, through reflexivity or commitments to justice, may reinforce categories of the "other." Although intersectionality is one of the key tools through which feminist research seeks to map the operation of power and the potential for agency, Puar (2012) warns that intersectionality's focus on identity politics vis-a-vis difference is essentializing, whereby

"difference continues to be 'difference from,' that is, the difference from 'white woman'" (p. 53). Thus, a focus on difference may reinforce and assert binaries. This means that the political impetus of feminist research and inquiry must be cautious of universalizing or generalizing systems of marginalization and/or oppression (Mohanty, 2003; Sandoval, 2000; Visweswran, 1997). In its attempts to map power, feminist research and researchers "by assuming a coherent, already constituted group that is placed in kinship, legal, and other structures, defines Third World women as subjects outside social relations instead of looking at the way women [sic] are constituted through these very structures" (Mohanty, 2003b, p. 41). In other words, feminist research must not merely map power, but seek to understand how identities and subjectivities are articulated by and rendered apparent within other structural forces (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Mohanty, 2003b; Parameswaran, 2001; Sehgal 2009).

The warnings and cautions of these feminist researchers and ethnographers highlight the risk and danger of my feminist ethnographic approach. Although I use extensive reflexivity and contextualization as a means by which to understand the ways in which systems of power and oppression come to bear on the unfolding stories within the field, these accounts also simultaneously and paradoxically reinforce those systems. For example, as I highlight how my position intersects with those positions of my participants, I also reinforce binaries and discursive systems. However, the anecdotes and theoretical postulations that I proffer in my dissertation are an attempt to underscore how politics, power, and justice are articulated around identities, professions, histories, and geographies that might, even if momentarily, be defined through binaries and stringent structures and discursive regimes. For example, in my attempts to comprehend the conditions through

which journalism in Turkey manifests around daily life experiences, both my participants and I were often beholden to oppressive categories as we attempted to make sense of Turkey's socio-political environment. This does not negate the possibilities for social justice within the realm of research or the profession of journalism, but does highlight that change and justice operate under the pressures of temporal, geographical, and cultural contexts. As a case in point, one participant, Nasrettin often referenced Turkey as a "nation" in his conceptualization of journalism within Turkey. Although Nasrettin is an avowed anti-nationalist, Turkey as "nation" was a readily available discourse for him to make sense of his political and professional ethics. His critique of a homogenous ethnic, religious, and cultural body in Turkey often times contradicted his desire to see a united public within the geographical borders of contemporary Turkey. As a feminist ethnographer, I task myself with positioning his choice of words, symbols, and categories within his social, historical, and political life-world.

Given the fluidity and complexity of feminist ethnographic research, failure is inevitable. Because power is always shifting, changing direction, and co-opting different groups and political projects, feminist research will always present a partial, blurry, and incomplete picture. My participants and I are embedded in matrices of power that shape our knowledge of, feelings about, and comportment towards our socio-cultural environment. As a researcher, I cannot divorce myself from the processes of identification and subjectification I seek to understand. Throughout this research process I embrace the partiality, complexity and incompleteness of the responses I receive as an opportunity for growth, learning, and even coalition (i.e. Haraway, 1988; Parameswaran, 2001; Visweswaran, 1994; Wallis, 2013). This embrace of failure offers the possibility for

deepening a research commitment that values authenticity, subjectivity, and partiality. It means consideration of the often competing and contradictory goals of feminism and feminist research, such as attending to power while also trying to strive for justice (Buch & Staller, 2013).

Contesting Consent

"They said the name of the newspaper should not be mentioned."[42] I stared at the WhatsApp message from Hande and planted my palm to my forehead in frustration. "Are you kidding me?!" I thought. Since our first meeting, I had been in semi-regular contact with Hande about the stakes and dynamics of my research on journalism and daily life within Turkey. I had provided her with information on the informed consent process, assured her that she would be given a pseudonym, and that I would never link her explicitly to her newspaper. During our first meeting, we sipped tea in a bustling café in central Istanbul, and she firmly looked me in the eye and said that it was not a problem, she understood and was excited to share her stories. With her verbal permission, I had assumed that I was in the clear to write about and discuss her life, work, and identity as a journalist and the ways in which it was impacted by Turkey's political climate and her organization.

Five months later, as I began to compile, review, and analyze my massive amounts of field notes and transcribed interviews, I reached out to Hande (as well as all of my participants) to confirm what we had discussed as part of the informed consent process: They would be given a pseudonym and never tied to their place of work. Naively, I thought this gave me the freedom to list and profile each organization represented in my research, so long as I never wrote or mentioned who worked where. Even though my other

[42] 07/04/2018

participants were amenable to this, Hande was cautious and wanted to discuss the use of her organization's name with her managing editors. I agreed to wait before profiling the outlet in my budding dissertation drafts. Hande wrote back to me, letting me know that her editors preferred that she and the organization not be referenced together. I assured her that I would objectively and briefly profile the organization, never associating her accounts with them. Yet, when I reached out to her a few days later, I was dumbfounded, embarrassed, and panicked as I realized that I had misunderstood her. Her managing editors were clear and unequivocal: "The newspaper's name should not be used."[43]

I felt simultaneously angry and blameworthy. I was irritated with Hande for what I perceived as wishy-washiness. I had interpreted her verbal acknowledgement during the "informed consent process" as granting me full permission to write about her accounts and place of work. I now felt as if she were violating our contract. I was angered by her managing editors for what I interpreted as their brazenness to silence and censor both Hande's stories and my work. I was annoyed at the authority her managers wielded over her. But perhaps most of all, I felt guilt and responsibility for miscommunicating and potentially endangering Hande's reputation and employment. Her anxiety was palpable through our text messages as I tried to clarify the sudden flood of information. I understood that she felt responsible for and had been tasked with managing the public presentation of her outlet. She appeared to be under pressure to protect her job and herself, while also trying to honor her commitment to my research.

Although so often in the field I had felt powerless—at the beck and call of my participants' schedules, limited by the hustle and bustle of a megalopolis such as

[43] 07/04/2018

Istanbul—this incident indicates how dynamics of power are unstable and shifting throughout the research process. They are contingent upon relationships, time, geography, and various articulations of socio-cultural and political subjectivities. For example, the miscommunication over informed consent, anonymity, and who had authority to "speak" were largely a result of my western/ethnocentric perceptions of the rigidity of consent. In this incident, I had failed to consider how I was projecting my expectations of participation and permission onto Hande. I had unintentionally assumed that my definition of the consent process was universally applicable, unequivocally understood, and not subject to negotiation upon verbal acknowledgement. In this instance, I was centering myself and my assumptions about how the world worked. I did so from a privileged position, given that as an independently funded, western researcher I had the freedom and flexibility to prioritize my own goals and intentions for the research process. I did not harness and was unencumbered by the fears over retribution at work, at home, or politically that Hande or many of my other participants faced. For instance, I neglected to appreciate the tensions and pressures that Hande faced at work as she dealt with several family emergencies and management under increasing pressure from advertisers and the government. By exposing her news organization, Hande risked her job, the organizations advertising revenue, and potential shutdown from the government. These were risks that became apparent in retrospect to her and her managers as I began to put pen to paper.

In addition to highlighting the practical difficulties of carrying out ethnographic work in a different language, my miscommunication with Hande demonstrates the criss-crossing, ever-shifting, and fleeting identities, mechanisms, and structures that come to bear on the production and articulation of knowledge. Between living in Turkey for nearly

six years and speaking the language fluently, I had assumed that I had the socio-cultural competency and expertise to fully convey my intentions and to understand our various positionalities. Although I theoretically understood and could articulate the complexities of power at play within ethnographic research, I had failed to appreciate and account for the practical and material ways in which my position and identity fomented different subjectivities and narratives for my participants. I had verbalized, nearly daily, that I was a U.S.-based, Fulbright-funded, PhD student working on my dissertation research on media in Turkey. Although I often strategically offered more or less detail on my background, sources of funding, and research area depending on with whom I was speaking, with my participants I was conscientious and open about my home institution, research topic, and Fulbright sponsorship. This transparency was important for cultivating an honest and ethical relationship with these journalists. However, it also impacts how they craft, present, and retract their various experiences, perspectives and accounts.

Although my participants often smiled and praised my grasp of Turkish and the history of Istanbul and Turkey, this did not fully translate into full access into their communities, places of work, and lives. Throughout my time in the field, I realized I was straddling multiple and layered identities, histories, cultures, and worlds. On the one hand, I caught an intimate glimpse of the personal lives of journalists in Turkey given my network of activist/intellectual/journalist friends, fluency in Turkish, and knowledge of Turkey's socio-political climate and history. This background provided me with some capital to cultivate confidence and trust amongst these journalists. However as I began to pry further into their personal and professional lives, tensions, hesitations, and ambivalences emerged in ways that highlighted a precarious balance of power between

myself, my participants, their bosses, and our respective socio-political identities and geographies. My credentials as linguistically and culturally competent only carried me so far, I still remained a "yabancı" or stranger/foreigner. As much I tried to minimize and downplay my white, economically "privileged," [W]estern identity, these aspects mattered as I asked probing questions and began to put pen-to-paper. In many ways, my background facilitated my relationships—my participants expressed that as a supposed "liberal" and "intellectual" I could understand the gravity of the political and economic pressures they face as journalists under an authoritarian regime. But my position also rendered apparent the precarity of life as a journalist in Turkey, whereby they face daily threats of unemployment, harassment, assault, and arrest. In other words, my position simultaneously facilitated dialogue and close relationships, while also exposing the immense power and privilege I hold in presenting the stories and lives of these journalists.

Methods

In my commitment to reflexivity and undersoring the complexity of life histories, positions, and accounts, I utilized dialogic interviews, participant observation, and deeply embedded ethnography during my nine month fieldwork in Istanbul, Turkey. By dialogic interviews, I refer specifically to Denzin's (2001) call for a reflexive and critical research process that formulates culture as a co-constructed and situated narrative. In other words, it takes the interview setting as a space in which people perform and construct meaning in their daily lives. As Wallis (2013) proposes, this allows ethnographers to take seriously how people make sense of their subjective experiences.[44] It places the researcher and interlocutor in conversation with eachother and their respective communities, whereby

[44] "It is a means of tapping into people's understanding of their place in the world, the practices that anchor (or disrupt) this position, and the feelings and emotions attached to such practices and positions" Wallis, 2015, p. 24).

different facets of their identities and backgrounds are pulled to the surface (Denzin, 2001; Gubrium & Holstein, 1995). In addition to the practical component of the interview being a "conversation," a dialogical approach to interviewing approaches socio-political life as a relational performance in which we are all playwrites, directors, and actors. In other words, I am not merely extracting information from my informants (Denzin, 2001), but am a part of how they construct and relay their understanding of the world. It is a relational interaction, whereby accounts and stories are assembled around various articulations of power, cultures, histories, geographies, avowed/ascribed identities, bodies, spaces, and sensorial sensations and experiences (Aloff, 1988; Abu Lughod, 1996; Behar & Gordon, 1996; Clifford, 2010; Coffey, 1999; Harraway, 1988; 2004; Mohanty, 1988; Narayan, 1993; Parameswaran, 1993; Sandoval, 2000; Seghal, 2009; Visweswaran, 1994; Wallis, 2013). The accounts I present throughout this chapter and my dissertation highlight how different material and immaterial components of the field coelsece to render apparent an intricate tapestry of life in Istanbul, my life as an ethnographer, and the lives and perspectives of my participants. Interactions and relationships (with)in and around the field, in other words, become the very basis and soul of knowledge construction (Naples, 2003; Visweswaran, 1993). Thus, the arguments, observations, and stories constructed throughout my fieldwork and in this dissertation are situated, partial, (Harraway, 1988; Sandoval, 2000) and part of fluid notions and presentations of self, others, histories, and cultures.

In order to provide the space and freedom needed for my participants to craft their own narratives, all formal interviews utilized open-ended questions. This provided me with the flexibility to ask new or unscripted questions that arose within a given interview.

Because the accounts and stories I was told emerged from the interstices of local and global politics, the specific media institution, and also personal backgrounds and subjectivities, the ways in which these conversations played out are important for highlighting the situated and embedded nature of these experiences. Therefore, I took extensive interview notes of not only answers but non-verbal cues, the environment, and feelings and emotions that arose during the process. All my interview notes were supplemented by fieldnotes which document general observations, personal interactions, daily experiences within Istanbul, relationships with neighbors and friends, habits and routines, feelings, physical well-being, and current events. These notes on my life and time in Istanbul are used to emphasize and highlight how I became a part, if momentarily, of the socio-politcal, cultural, and physical landscape of Istanbul, Turkey, my neighborhood, and the lives of my participants. Indeed, as many of my formal interviews transitioned into more personal relationships with these journalists, my time in Turkey became highly embedded. My life, my tastes, habits, opinions, thoughts, body, and movements became negotiation and meeting points for understanding and parsing through the narratives of my participants. As I mentioned previously, I account for the blurry and intersectional nature of my fieldwork through anecdotes both within this chapter and throughout my dissertation.

Methodological Details

I interviewed nearly two-dozen journalists from 15 different news outlets and organizations. The journalists and organizations represent a spectrum of political and economic orientations (commercial, party-affiliated, independent, leftist, etc). Although I originally proposed to focus on journalists from state-owned TRT, commercial NTV, and

independent outlets Bianet and Medyascope, practical limitations and dynamics required that I remain open to meeting with and establishing relationships with journalists from other organizations. For example, my contacts at NTV left their positions, meaning that I no longer had insider access or a network for establishing connection with journalists there. I was able to formally interview a few journalists and editors at Bianet and Medyascope, however these meetings and interviews were limited to one-time meetings with three journalists from Medyascope and one from Bianet. My longest and most sustained relationships with journalists came through introductions and references from my initial contacts at TRT. They introduced me to their journalist friends/colleagues working for other commercial outlets. I also met journalists at various symposiums and seminars discussing censorship, hate-speech, and human rights based reporting.

Each interlocutor was formally interviewed and recorded from a standard set of questions, but many of my contacts gradually transformed into friendships and more informal interactions. Some of these relationships spanned my entire time in Turkey, some lasted a few months, while others wavered between regular face-to-face meetings and WhatsApp messaging.[45] There are a variety of reasons and factors that contributed to the unpredictability and consistency of contact with different participants. One of my initial and consistent participants, for example, became pregnant and began experiencing an increase in workplace pressure related to her impending maternity leave and also governmental oversight. Another, while we met a few times for coffee, struggled with anxiety and depression—exacerbated by censorship at work and the mysterious/suspicious

[45] WhatsApp is a free instant messaging app that is accessible and usable through Wi-Fi or a data plan. Given the affordability of data plans in Turkey in relationship to text messaging, it is a popular medium for sms-based communication. Additionally, given that WhatsApp encrypts all messages, people in Turkey regard it as a safe platform to communicate. Many of my participants, even if they were unable/unwilling to meet in a more informal capacity, answered follow-up questions and provided clarification via WhatsApp.

death of a colleague. Some were busy, tired, and some uninterested in offering more information outside of a single formal interview. Other participants however, were more open to allowing me into their personal lives, inviting me to their offices, out for dinner/drinks, and one even invited me to their semi-regular stand-up comedy shows. The waxing and waning of my ethnographic relationships signal the unpredictability and fickleness of fieldwork. To put it simply, life gets in the way. Finances, interpersonal relationships, politics, traffic, fatigue, health, personalities, and schedules were all contributing and/or limiting factors to how my relationships progressed, stagnated, and flowed. These dynamics, identities, and structures not only are important for understanding how I gained access to participants and navigated the field, but also demonstrate how the socio-cultural milieu of life in Istanbul and Turkey impact journalism not only as a profession but also as a daily, banal practice.

In addition to formal and informal interviews and meetings, I conducted participant observation at a handful of outlets. Although I had intended on observing the inner-workings of each organization represented by my participants, this proved to not be feasible. Many were uneasy about asking their managing editors for permission, others were too busy and overwhelmed with work to host me and show me around their workplaces. In total, I observed six different outlets. However, I am unable to present the observations from one of those organizations because of an ethical dilemma related to disclosure. After inviting me to her place of work, I discovered that my participant had lied to both her managing editor and colleagues about the reason for my visit. She informed them that I was interested in applying for a job as a copy-editor and asked me not to tell them that I was conducting my dissertation research. She was incredibly anxious about

drawing negative attention from her editors as well as the government officials who maintained close formal and informal contact with the outlet. Out of respect for her privacy and those I observed who were unable to consent to participation, I will not include observations from that visit.

All participants and participants were recorded during a formal, "in-take" interview. I utilized an IRB-approved standard set of questions to get an initial and broader sense of different perceptions of journalism and media practice within Turkey and its contemporary political climate (see Appendix A and B). Some general sample questions include: How would you describe your role as a journalist? Personally? Politically? Socially? What motivates you in this profession? How would you describe some of the challenges you face in your daily practices as a journalist? Have these challenges impacted your writing/photography/broadcasting? How and/or why? My initial interview questions followed a more generalized framing in order to avoid leading questions and making assumptions about the positions and viewpoints of the interlocutor. This was also a way of providing a setting in which subtleties and nuances of journalistic and political practice, perspective, and strategy can emerge. Interviews were conducted at the location of my interviewees choosing. Although I had proposed to conduct initial and follow-up interviews both at their workplace and outside of work as a means of assessing the impact that the institutional setting may have on their responses, the majority of formal interviews took place outside of the workplace. We generally met at cafes and coffee shops either somewhere near their office or somewhere equidistant from my location, their home, and/or job. All interviews were conducted in Istanbul given that most media outlets and institutions are headquartered there.

All interviews were held in the language of my participants choosing. After pre-fieldwork interviews, I became aware that some of the journalists prefered speaking in English given the political controversy and persecution surrrounding the profession. By speaking in English, particularly if interviews are held in a more public venue, they felt a bit more secure that others around us would not as easily understand our conversation. Others, however, wanted to practice English with a "native" speaker, others felt more comfortable in Turkish, and some left the decision to me. From the formal interviews, 10 were conducted in Turkish and nine in English. The identities of all of my interviewees are anonymous. Psuedonyms are used unless a participant has given permission to use their real name. All formal interviews were recorded with the permision of my interviewees. All recorded interviews were transcribed. All interviewees were provided with an information sheet on consent, their privacy, and the Texas A&M IRB process and contacts.

Analysis Procedures.

All formal, recorded interviews were transcribed and organized chronologically and by participant. Each transcribed interview was read alongside interview notes and general fieldnotes. I used a color coding system to identify and organize emerging themes and phenomena. By manually reading notes and interviews I could remember the feelings, thoughts, and initial assumptions I had garnered while conducting my fieldwork. Revisiting my fieldwork experience and relationships by reading notes and listening to recorded interviews was crucial for identifying the major conceptualizations of journalistic life presented in this dissertation. Since I focus on the intimate and daily life experience of journalists in Turkey, my procedure of analysis was also an exercise of reflexivity (i.e. Mauthner et al., 1998; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Rather than employ a qualitiative data

system for analysis, I relied upon textual and audial engagement with my notes and interviews. This corresponds with my epistemolgical orientation towards ethnographic fieldwork, given that I emphasize sensorial experiences and memories as the basis of knowledge construction both for myself and participants. I operationalize reflexivity (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003) as a way of positioning myself and my participants amidst our narratives of life in Istanbul. By engaging with the text of my fieldnotes and recorded interviews, I have been able to re-experience the field, my intial thoughts, and the memories I created with and around the lives of my interocutors. The themes and phenomena presented in this dissertation are not only the result of my participants' narratives, but also my own understandings and experience of them. As Denzin (1994) argues, "[r]epresentation…is always self-presentation….the [o]ther's presence is direcly connected to the writer's self-presence in the text" (p. 503).

Interlocutor Demographics and Profiles

I interviewed 21 people in total. Of these, 13 are currently working as journalists or within media organizations as reporters, editors, anchors, and/or producers, three work for media advocacy groups, one is a former editor currently working as a tour guide, two work for human rights organizations, and two are self-described as unemployed. These journalists come from a variety of journalistic, professional, and academic backgrounds. I chose to include those working for NGOs and who are also self-described as "unemployed" given that they all somehow engage with the field and profession of journalism. I argue that even though they might not work as an editor or reporter, these individuals maintain a footing within the realm of media and news production either through past professional experience, a desire to work within the profession, or through

programming initiatives. By including people who work around the field of journalism, my research provides a richer and more diverse picture of how journalism is defined. It is a broader portrait of the ways in which those inside, those outside, and those in-between live and perform journalism in contemporary Turkey. Academically, some have formal training and education in journalism and others studied history, sociology, economics, and even accounting. All have a Bachelor's degree and a few hold graduate degrees. Several have spent extensive time in Europe or the United States either working or for education. All had written and oral competency in English, and several were fluent in multiple languages. With the exception of two, all have citizenship in Turkey. I chose to include these non-citizen residents working as journalists as a means of considering the extent to which national origin might impact one's vision of journalism in Turkey.

My participants ranged in age from mid-20s to late-50s, however the majority were in their early and mid-30s. The journalists represent various socio-economic backgrounds. A few come from very wealthy families, attended private schools abroad for both their high school and university education, and continue living in very elite central Istanbul neighborhoods. Others grew up in mid-sized cities near Istanbul, whose families worked in blue collar or bureaucratic jobs. Most of the journalists live in central areas of Istanbul, and a few live in outer districts. The majority either live alone or with roommates, and one lives with their family. All have been given psuedonyms, unless noted otherwise, to protect their identities.[46] A more detailed chart of my participants names and profiles may be found in Appendix C.

[46] All of my participants were consulted and informed about the use of pseudonyms. Each was assigned a pseudonym with their permission. One participant, however, asked specifically to be named and to attach their name to their specific organization. Although I provide background information on each journalist and the various organizations they work for, when describing their experiences and stories I will not attach them

Profile & Background of Outlets and Organizations

My participants come from a total of 15 different media outlets, organizations, blogs, and NGOs.[47] These organizations represent a spectrum of political and financial orientations as well as medium. In Appendix D, I outline the organizations where my participants currently work, highlighting ownership structure, size, medium of publication, and political and/or financial affiliations.[48] While my research and dissertation is focused on the daily, lived experiences of journalists in Turkey, highlighting the structure of each organization is important for accounting how these journalists are positioned within, by, and around Turkey's media environment and socio-political milieu.

A Note on my Ethnographic Fieldwork

While the methods I outline above compromise qualitative, formal interviews, my research is also characterized by ethnographic fieldwork. My daily life, social, and physical environment intimately intersected with the lives of my participants. Even as I formally interviewed journalists at their organizations, took notes, and recorded interviews, many of them were also part of my larger personal and social circle.[49] For example, I became quite close and had weekly if not daily contact with several journalists. Aydin, for example, lived in my neighborhood and we frequently met for tea, strolls through the park, and I also attended his amateur stand-up comedy shows. He was one of my first journalist

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to their respective institution. Instead, I will provide a general description of their place of work. I do this out of respect for privacy, concerns over safety, and mitigating potential risk of backlash from colleagues, managing editors, and/or the government.

[47] In deference to my participant's concerns over safety, firing, and ethics, I will not link them to any specific organization. When describing their stories and accounts, I will use general references and characterizations of their respective outlet.

[48] For journalists who are either freelance or unemployed, I will not name or describe the organizations they have worked for or contracted with given constraints of space and the breadth of different publications.

[49] I often asked my informants during our informal gatherings whether or not I could share or write down information they shared. I emphasized to them that they are free to withdraw or deny my use of any of their identities or stories at any time. I have shared with them an information sheet on the TAMU IRB informed consent process as well as contact information for my advisor, Dr. Cara Wallis, and the TAMU IRB.

contacts and our relationship spanned the entirety of my fieldwork. We not only talked about work, politics, journalism, and life in Turkey, but shared our hopes, fears, relationships, traumas, families, and secrets. Aydin saw me laugh, fret, rejoice, and even cry. We talked about the death of one of his close friends and a dramatic break-up.

I also developed close friendships with Sezen and Nasrettin. We often met at the park for picnics, made dinner together, and socialized at various events. In fact, I attended the 2018 Women's Day March with Sezen and Hande. Nasrettin and I met weekly to practice English.[50] Another participant I met with frequently was Bora. As an unemployed journalist, Bora had quite a bit of free time and frequently asked to meet for lunch, coffee, or evening drinks. We talked about local and global politics, philosophy and academic life. Bora was recently accepted to a graduate program in journalism abroad and was eager to discuss the process. He and I met through Aydin. Although I valued our conversations and Bora's zesty passion for politics and journalism, I found myself frequently annoyed and off-put by incessant Facebook messaging. There were numerous instances in which I would logon to find 50 plus unread messages about current events of the day. Out of all of my participants, Bora as the most assertive and opinionated.

In addition to the ways in which my research was saturated by daily social interactions, my daily habits became a source of learning. For example, I watched and listened to local news broadcasts every morning as I had breakfast and in the evenings when I returned home. I mostly watched the morning broadcasts from NTV or CNN Türk. On the weekends, I watched Nasrettin's program. I also followed news outlets like Bianet,

[50] At our initial meeting, Nasrettin asked if I might be interested in helping him practice his conversational and professional English. I told him that I was happy to meet regularly with him but that I could not ethically accept money from him. We agreed that in exchange for conversational English, he would talk about his work as a journalist on the record. I also helped him edit cover letters and job applications.

Diken Cumhuriyet, and Hurriyet Daily News. Consuming the daily news was incredibly informative into gleaning the major stories and current events that were discussed in Turkey. I watched coverage of the Turkish Armed Forces invasion of Northern Syria, announcement of early presidential elections, and other stories that though seemingly fluff were telling of the cultural and social agenda of Turkey's ruling party.[51] Additionally, I learned standard terms and phrases that seem to characterize the framing of different current events. As a case in point, in the mainstream media soldiers killed in the line of duty are referred to as martyrs (şehit). Also, any mention of Fetullah Gülen or his organization is through the acronym FETÖ or Fetullah Terorist Örgütüsü (Fetullah Terrorist Organization).

As I explored the city, worked in different cafés, and got to know my neighbors I found that I was privy to an intimate glimpse into how locals perceive their neighborhood, city, and Turkey more broadly. Many were curious about my work and history in Turkey, especially given my fluency in Turkish and knowledge of Istanbul's history and culture. The local cashiers at the grocery store, coffee shop baristas, and my neighbors embraced my presence, saying hello to me, offering to carry groceries to my apartment, asking me about my day, and sharing general pleasantries. Indeed, every conversation, trip to the store, walk around the block, and mid-afternoon coffee break was a moment of learning about my community and field. However, this "integration" into my immediate surroundings was also marked with incessant questioning and suspicion. One neighbor seemed to have my daily schedule memorized, commenting on the times of day I came and went when she would see me in the stairs. Others commented on my physical appearance

[51] One salient example was the coverage of a meeting with President Erdoğan's wife, Emine, with local fashion designers during a visit to Uzbekistan. What was striking about the coverage was the emphasis on conservative Islamic and so-called pan-Turkish textiles and modes of dress.

(not entirely culturally inappropriate in Turkey), my grocery purchases, and often offered unsolicited opinions and advice. While these sorts of conversations signaled a certain level of integration into the community, they were also reminders of my "foreign"/outsider status. They were curious about but also confused by my different mannerisms, habits, movements, etc. It could be both irritating exhausting, and I often found that I took longer more arduous ways home to avoid these types of conversations and interactions. As numerous ethnographers have argued, the presence of the ethnographer in a given community not only affects the locals, but has a physical, emotional, and intellectual impact on the ethnographer as well (La Pastina, 2004; Sehgal, 2009).

Although not an exhaustive account or list of all the ways in which my relationships extended beyond a formal interview, these examples highlight the possibilities and dilemmas offered through extended and embedded ethnographic fieldwork. My participants' and my personal, emotional, physical, intellectual, and professional lives coalesced across physical and digital spaces as we gathered to commiserate, celebrate, complain, and share the latest gossip. This prompted a negotiation of sentiments, emotions, and physical habits. There were moments of annoyance, sadness, worry, elation, and also boredom. Indeed, what my research highlights is that ethnography offers the possibility of embodying (i.e La Pastina, 2004) and *feeling*—even if in a differentiated and unequal manner—the lives of those we encounter. For example, my annoyance and frustration with Bora was in some ways a reflection of his own loneliness, fatigue, and self-doubt as he contended with precarious unemployment while other friends and colleagues progressed in careers at major international news agencies. I became aware that during our meetings and time together I felt both pity and resentment towards him.

Yes, he was unemployed, but compared with so many others he was fortunate to be able to live in a swanky part of town with his mom and have full-funding from a renowned graduate program. Or in another example, I also found myself dealing with mild depression and emotional exhaustion after my interaction with Irem, who confided in me that she had been diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and was taking medication. Watching her chain smoke, fidget, and struggle to string together pieces of her story (extrapolated throughout this dissertation), I felt uneasy, sad, overwhelmed, and shocked.

These affective states and emotions became ways of making sense of my participant's lives, stories, and jobs. My way of knowing is thus guided by an embodied and affective approach to ethnographic fieldwork. As Coffey (1999), Hopwood (2015), La Pastina (2004), and Monaghan (2006) argue, the body is a means of knowing, mediating, creating, and negotiating fieldwork relations. Fieldwork is as an "embodied, emotional…engagement with a sometimes ineffable and disorderly social world" (Monaghan, 2006, p. 235). Somatic, physical, and material bodies and boundaries, in this sense, blur (Monaghan, 2006) and become reminders or (re)iterations of one's identity-cum-positionality (Abu-Lugod, 1996; Alcoff, 1988; La Pastina, 2004; Narayan, 1996). Accordingly, I argue that the body, mind, somatic, and sensorial are congealing and creative forces within fieldwork relations and knowledge construction. How my participants and I made sense of each other and our stories cannot be divorced from our conceptualizations of spatial, sensorial, affective, and moving bodies.[52] As I will proffer in later chapters, I observed that the practice of journalism in Istanbul is often articulated

[52] Building upon Todres' (2008) *embodied relational understanding*, Hopwood writes, "understanding is a play between self and other, and that embodied relationality brings the possibility of intimacy or familiarity to the unfamiliarity and strangeness of that other" (p. 241).

around physical space. However, I must situate this observation and assessment amidst my own experience of Istanbul as a sprawling, polluted, hilly, congested, and physically arduous megalopolis. I therefore reflect on and question how my own complaints about navigating Istanbul impacted responses offered and my interpretation of them.[53]

Thus, as I discuss how journalism is a lived experience within contemporary Turkey, I do so from the perspective that what and how I know these stories are wrapped up in a highly relational-cum-sensorial experience. The field is both material and immaterial affects and sensations, whereby the Geertzian (1973) thick description "imparts on ethnographers a duty to see (not only people, actions, and things, but colors, faces, expressions), hear (not only noise and speech, but tones rhythms, whispers, coughs, footsteps, taste, smell, touch, and feel" (Hopwood, 2015, p. 229). Contending with and acknowledging the infinitesimal details of my ethnographic research and analysis is a way to position my interpretations of the stories of my participants. The laughter, bemoaning, frustrations, dreams, and ambivalences I discuss do not stand in isolation but are the result of my relationships with my participants, neighbors, and even the physical aspects of my environment. For example, in Chapter one I discuss journalism as a spatial experience and phenomena within Turkey. Many of the conversations I had while in the field revolved around the changing urban landscape. Nearly every conversation I had with shopkeepers,

[53] Reflexive accounts are crucial for unpacking the relationality of fieldwork (Abu-Lughod, 1996; Buch & Staller, 2013;La Pastina, 2004; 2006; Narayan, 1996; Parameswaran 2001; Sehgal, 2009) and how culture is a complex process of real and symbolic construction (Alcoff, 1992; Behar & Gordon, 1996; Clifford, 1983, 2010; Davis & Craven, 2016; Geertz, 1973; Hernandez, 1996; Marcus, 2012; Stacey, 1988; Visweswaran, 1994). Building upon the key works within feminist ethnography outlined above, I argue that the relationality of embodied fieldwork is marked by shifting hierarchies between the researcher and researched. To understand journalistic practice as a form of intimacy then is complicated by dynamics, symbols, performances, and conceptions of gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, ethnicity, and race. Different habits, bodily movements, and vocabularies to express feelings, sensations, and thoughts exist within webs of power.

friends, and participants began with complaints over traffic, pollution, and crowds. However, while space and urban dynamics presented itself as a salient theme, I must consider the extent to which I influenced these conversations, given that I often found myself frustrated with the difficulty of navigating a city the size of Istanbul. Accordingly, I temper and frame the narratives I present with sensorial and affective details. How things looked, felt, and smelled, for example, are informative for how my fieldwork unfolded and how various themes became relevant. I therefore weave descriptive, reflexive accounts into the presentation and discussion of my findings to highlight how journalism within Turkey can be understood and conceptualized as a bodily, somatic, sensorial, aural, physical, phenomenological, spatial practice.

CHAPTER III.

"IT'S CHAOS": SPACE & CONCEPTUALIZING JOURNALISM AS AN URBAN PRACTICE IN ISTANBUL

I met Sezen at her office in a central district on the European side of Istanbul. This particular neighborhood has a reputation for its conservative and aggressive residents.[54] Located near Taksim Square in the Beyoğlu district—once the cultural and economic center of late Ottoman and early Republican Istanbul—this hilly and working class long-term residents and the owners and patrons of new bars, art galleries, sports gear stores, and trendy coffee shops that are popping up along the main road and in the neighborhood's quieter streets. In recent years, there have been clashes between residents and visitors to the neighborhood. For example, angered by public alcohol consumption, local men stormed several art gallery openings, attacking party-goers with sticks and bats. In another instance, protestors were chased by local mobs as they fled police attacks and tear gas during the 2013 Gezi Park protests.[55] The local residents have instilled both fear in and ire from the artistic and elite intelligentsia that have been flocking to this space.

Sezen's outlet only recently moved into the neighborhood. They were previously located in Elmadağ, another neighborhood near Taksim Square, known for its new hotels and restaurants and shops catering to the massive wave of tourists coming from Gulf Arab

[54] For reasons of confidentiality, I will not name the location of Sezen's office. Although some of my participants agreed to naming their organizations and locations of work in my dissertation, Sezen wants both her identity and outlet to remain anonymous. By stating her office's location, I would risk exposing both her and her outlet's true identity.

[55] Much conspiracy surrounds why the local residents attacked protestors fleeing police violence during the Gezi Park Protests. Some activists argue that these residents were encouraged by police to attack protestors. Those more sympathetic to the local residents note that the protests were interfering with local shopkeepers ability to do business, fostering anger and resentment that resulted in violence.

countries. What was once a largely Greek and Armenian section of Istanbul, Elmadağ is now an interesting mix of tourists, migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, and the local trans community.[56] Sezen attributed the move from Elmadağ to the new location to "kentsel dönüşümü" or urban renewal. "There is a hotel there now," she said referring to the outlet's old office. "They kicked us out. Everyone gets a taste of urban renewal in Turkey. [The move] is exactly that story."[57] Although Sezen did not join the station until after they moved, I could sense feelings of loss, of injustice, and dispossession. It was as if the station had lost its home. Yet, as she talked about the outlet's move to their current location, she did not see her station or the other businesses as invaders, but as contributors to the development and sustenance of the community. Sezen said:

> Someone from the station is going and sitting at a café. Everyday hundreds of people are going in and out of the station. At least twenty go and drink tea, coffee, eat something. [That art gallery] is the same way. Someone goes to an exhibit and they say, 'I'll go eat there'….I suppose [the locals] think we are under their control. They don't really understand what we do. I mean, they don't really know because they [don't follow us]. But they saw and got to know us….they understand that harm isn't coming their way…Yes, we are gentrifying the neighborhood… [but] Elmadağ rejected us, so we came here. Are people here rejecting us? No. We are actually trying to not let that happen…The neighborhood is holding up.[58]

Even though Sezen lamented the cause of the station's move, she felt as if she and her colleagues were respectful and that despite the uncertainties and constant changes

[56]During the early years of the Republic, the Greek, Armenian, and Orthodox Christian communities were largely forced out through various laws and pogroms. Of particular note are the incidents of September 6-7, 1955, where mobs of nationalist Turks attacked and pillaged the homes and business of the Greek community after the supposed bombing of Mustafa Kemal's childhood home in Thessaloniki, Greece by a Greek Nationalist. There were reports of murder and rape during the pogrom as well (Ergener, 2009). After the incidents of September 6-7 the Greek population significantly declined, later accelerated by laws such as the 1964 ban on business dealings with Greeks (Ünsal & Kuyucu, 2010).

[57] 02/09/2018

[58] 02/09/2018

experienced by local residents, they remained hospitable. "[The neighborhood] is used to things like this. They are neighborly."[59]

Sezen's reflection on the neighborhood as a space of relations between local residents, shopkeepers, new-comers, and developers, prompts reflection on the role that journalists and their institutions play in the changing socio-spatial landscape of Istanbul. As she and her colleagues were dispossessed from one area of the city, their move into this new neighborhood signal the continued cycles of urban upheaval in Istanbul. Her comments merit contemplation over the relationship between physical geography and journalistic life within Istanbul. How are the visions of journalism I encountered part of the making of Istanbul as not only a space but also place?[60] Or, how does Istanbul as a physical and socio-cultural space bear on the visions and practices of journalism? In other words, how these journalists internalize or *embody* changes to the urban landscape contour how they envision their profession and work as journalists. If cities are by their very nature communicative (i.e. Gumpert & Drucker, 2008), understanding how the spatial experiences of journalists impact their perceptions of their practice is crucial for mapping the ways in which neighborhoods, cities, and nation-states become places. As Georgiou (2013) argues, "urban dwellers, the consumers, the visitors, those seeking refuge are part of the story of the city, even if always from unequal positions" (p. 4). Thus, cities and communicative needs are mutually-constitutive, whereby various media come to bear on how a city is experienced (Georgiou, 2013; Gumpert & Drucker, 2008). Journalists are at the center of

[59] 02/09/2018

[60] Massey (2001) distinguishes, but does not separate, space and place as conceptualizations of the city. Place, for Massey (2001) is characterized by spaces of social interaction. She writes, "Places are spaces of social relations…The crisscrossing of social relation, of broad historical shifts and the continually altering spatialities of the daily lives of individuals, makes up something of what a place means, of how it is contrasted as a place" (Massey, 2001, p. 462 as cited in Gumpert & Drucker, 2008, p. 197).

this process, whereby journalism must be understood as an urban practice (Rodgers, 2013). Rodgers et al (2014) argue, "what is needed is a more rounded sense of media as embedded in urbanized practices….the 'production' of media content and forms involves a contingent negotiation with and anticipation of the spaces and values of everyday life (p. 1061-1064).

In the following chapter, I explore how visions and practices of journalism are articulated through and around various spaces across Istanbul—such as parks, streets, and neighborhoods. I also address how different experiences and narratives of urban life shape how journalists imagine their relationship to each other, the city, their audience, and the broader "public" of Turkey. How journalists experience the making of city signals the role that space plays in embodied detachment. Space matters to these journalists because it is a reminder of where they as people and their profession fit within Turkey. Their understanding of the spaces they occupy prompts certain memories and desires, which has implications for how they attempt to detach themselves as complicit in the ravaging of neighborhoods and communal spaces. If communities are imagined (Anderson, 2006) and realized through communicative means, we must take seriously how media makers (i.e. journalists) conceptualize the spaces they help make places and how this manifests within their journalistic practices. Or, as Rodgers et al (2014) write:

> We should see media—as both intrinsic aspects in the rhythms and material settings of daily urban life, and as urban-based professional and semiprofessional fields—as forming the basic conditions for the emergence of public issues, for the identification of political claims, affinities, and solidarities, often extending beyond specific, localized urban settings (p. 1066).[61]

[61] Gumpert & Drucker (2008) draw a similar conclusion noting, "the city as communication is linked to the city as 'community'…referring to a unified body of individuals, of people interacting together, of people with a common interest living together within a larger society" (p. 200).

Moreover—in line with the common thread that weaves throughout this dissertation—I attend to the affective attachments that circulate around the spaces the journalists describe. I argue that the feelings journalists ascribe to the spaces they occupy and reminisce about are informative to how and why different spaces matter in the making of journalistic life and practice. Affects shape and are shaped by our life-worlds. They are embodied and mindful (Davidson & Bondi, 2004), surrounding and giving meaning to spaces (Anderson, 2016; Bondi, 2005). Simultaneously however, they are constitutive elements of our subjectivities (Anderson, 2016). This chapter considers how journalistic life and practice is a form of subjectivity that hinges upon spatialized affects and affective spaces. These affects emerge as the physical landscapes and spaces of journalism alter, whereby journalists attach and reflect on different spaces as they try to make sense of their professional lives amidst the uncertainties of spatial change. The relationships these journalists have with the physical spaces of Istanbul bears on their attempts to detach their professional work and identities as subject to the socio-politics of their environment.

In the following sections, I describe and explore how different spaces across Istanbul are nodes through and around which journalists conceptualize their visions of journalism and their lives as journalists. First, I contextualize Istanbul's urban landscape as part of the authoritarian neoliberal state in Turkey. Then, I highlight several physical spaces across Istanbul such as the historic Bab-I Ali Street, the Mecidiyeköy district, Taksim Square, and also the offices of various outlets to underscore how memories of and lived encounters with these spaces intersect with a journalist's daily life. In turn, I question how the physical realities of the spaces journalists occupy come to bear on their imaginaries and definitions of journalism. Specifically, what is the relationship between

embodied detachment and the experience of urban space? As Rodgers, Barnett, and Cochrane (2014) argue, media are often theorized as outside of the urban, spatial experience, whereby the relationship is conceptualized as one of unidirectional influence. Seeking to capture the nuances and complexities of the urban-media nexus, Rodgers et. al (2014) propose that media be conceptualized as a phenomena, or host of practices (i.e. Couldry, 2004, 2012). Discussing media texts and media practioners, they argue, "the relationship between urban politics and media needs to be located in the analysis of formalized fields of media practice as they are *articulated in relation to* the indeterminacies of everyday practice (Rodgers et. al, 2014, p. 1063, italics in original). I orient the narratives presented in this section—which highlight themes of professional solidarity, dispossession, and social isolation—within the theoretical postulation of Rodgers et. al (2014) to argue that definitions and practices of journalism are "embedded in the changing rhythms and dynamics of urban life" (p. 1065).

Contextualizing Istanbul's Changing Urban Landscape

On nearly every corner in every neighborhood across the city, one can see cranes and bulldozers as buildings are torn down in the name of safety. Istanbul lies along a major fault line, and after the 1999 earthquake in the Marmara region, more concerted effort was placed on addressing the low quality housing across the city that would likely not withstand any major earthquake (Smadi, 2015). Most of this low quality housing stems from the massive rural-to-urban labor migration between the 1950s-1980s as new factories and businesses began popping up in Istanbul (Karaman, 2012). During this period, the government largely overlooked the squatter and shantytowns popping up on the outer

edges of the city (Karaman, 2012).[62] Despite the fact that many of Istanbul's residents live in substandard housing and that the infrastructure for city services such as water, electricity, and transportation are unreliable (Smadi, 2015), official efforts to improve and revive Istanbul since the 1980s has largely been motivated by financial interests and motivations (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Günay, 2015; Tekelli, 2011) with regards to visions of Istanbul as a global, financial capital. This meant that the previous relationship between migrant workers in the shantytowns and manufacturing economy was no longer conducive to the development of Istanbul as a center for tourism and global capital (Karaman, 2012; Keyder, 2005). Accordingly, residents of the shantytown neighborhoods were seen by the city and major corporations as occupying and profiteering from valuable land illegally (Bozkulak, 2005; Karaman, 2012). This perspective corresponds to the "emergence of the real estate sector as part and parcel of the city's productive economy" (Karaman, 2012, p. 719).

Many of the contracts for new housing and construction are awarded to holding companies—such as Kalyon Group, Çalik Holding, and Albayrak Group—who have close ties with the ruling AKP government. For example, the current Minister of Energy (and President Erdoğan's son-in-law), Berat Albayrak, was the CEO of Çalik Holding, the parent company of the construction firm overseeing the "renovation" and "renewal" of the Tarlabaşı neighborhood.[63] These corporate-government partnerships are resulting in large-

[62] These shantytowns and houses are called "gecekondu" in Turkish, or "night houses." They get this name because often times the houses would be built over night and within a night.

[63] Originally pre-dominantly made up of Greek and Armenian Christians, the make-up of the neighborhood has changed over the years, particularly after the 1964 ban on business dealings with Greeks. As a result of these developments, the Greek minority in Tarlabaşı was largely forced out (Ünsal & Kuyucu, 2010). Today the neighborhood mostly consists of Roma, Kurds, Syrians, and African migrants/refugees (ibid.), as well as a sizeable portion of Istanbul's trans-sex worker community. It is a neighborhood that has been socially and historically marked as a place of the marginalized. Tarlabaşı is currently the target a state-corporate gentrification venture, which has and will dispossess the majority of residents.

scale urban dispossession and what Günay (2015) terms "urbicide." Many of the neighborhoods and districts with the most aggressive construction are those that are centrally located, near historic sites, or have views and easy access to the Bosphorous Straight. As a result, people, who may have lived there for decades, are being forced out and replaced with luxury hotels and high rises (Günay, 2015). The manner in which urban renewal is playing out across Istanbul is having a detrimental effect on previous communal and social networks (Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008; Markoç & Çinar, 2017). This is not to say that urban dispossession in Istanbul is stripping away all forms of neighborhood community and resistance, but that the logics of authoritarian neoliberal urban renewal projects strip many of the spatial foundations for connecting with and in the city (Bozkurt-Gungen, 2018; Bruff, 2014; Bruff & Tansel, 2018; Tansel, 2017; Tansel, 2018b, Yeşil 2016). [64]

Global Process, Local Contexts

While Turkey presents a unique and interesting context, how neoliberalism impacts urban spaces and life is a global phenomenon. Scholars such as Harvey (2006; 2008; 2013), Massey (2013); Tickell & Peck (2003), and Sassen (1991) look at how neoliberalism is a global force that affects the making and experience of spaces across different geographies and political contexts. For example, Sassen (1991) argues that cities have become command points in the organization of the world economy. She discusses how cities such as London, New York, and Tokyo have transformed into mega centers of

[64] There have been concerted efforts across Istanbul to challenge and resist the destruction of historical neighborhoods, parks, and ethnic minority communities. One of the most notable forms of backlash was the 2013 Gezi Park Protests, where thousands of people converged onto a small park located in Taksim Square. The protests began after a small group of environmental activists—protesting the parks destruction for the construction of a shopping mall—were beaten and tear-gassed by police. Although Gezi Park was a nation-wide movement, there have been other concerted grassroots efforts to push against the government's urban policies (for more see Karaman, 2012; Kuymulu, 2013; Schoon, 2014; Ünsal & Kuyucu, 2010)

finance and specialized service firms, which results in a restructuring of the urban social order. Spaces and the relationships between these spaces are impacted by how global capital—namely neoliberalism as a driving ideological force (Tickell & Peck, 2003)—alters what sorts of work and services are important. As a case in point, Sassen (1991) discusses how the global, neoliberal order favors financial, abstract forms of labor, resulting in further stratification between industrial work forces and the high-income wage earners in the corporate centers. This stratification can be seen in the restructuring of cities in line with the logics of neoliberal economic imperatives. For instance, the city of Gurgaon—a suburb of New Delhi—was built as a hub of financial and technological production, complete with gated communities for the elite workers. It is a gated city, dotted with slums on its edges that house the construction workers, housekeepers, and other precarious workers who serve Gurgaon's glitterati (Cowan, 2015). Cowan (2015) argues that the spatial layout of the city materializes citizenship and belonging as conditional upon economic class.

As cities attempt to compete in the global economic order, governments and corporations work hand in hand to transform the urban environment to be more conducive to the influx of capital. Challenging the notion that neoliberalism equates to a roll-back of government influence and interference, Tickell & Peck (2003) argue that neoliberalism is two-sided, whereby governments might infiltrate the social sphere, such as urban spaces, through policies of surveillance or community regeneration as a means of attracting and easing capital investment. For example, many case studies have examined how the state in Brazil manipulated fears of unhinged violence and poverty within Rio de Janeiro's *favelas* to increase the presence of police forces and clear out impoverished communities in the

name of safety and security for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games (Sanchez & Broudehoux, 2013; Richmond & Garmany, 2016).

Sassen (1991) and Tickell & Peck (2002) note that while seemingly global in scale, neoliberalism's impact on urban structures and life has localized effects. "Smaller," non-centralized cities across the world, particularly in the global south, try and attract attention to bring in capital. Tickell & Peck (2003) write,

> The very social and spatial relations in which regions were embedded had themselves become deeply neoliberalized…neoliberalism was playing a decisive role in constructing the 'rules' of interlocal competition by shaping the very metrics by which regional competitiveness, public policy, corporate performance, or social productivity are measured…It therefore represented a form of regulation (p. 387).

Indeed, different political contexts respond differently to global capital. Pushing our understanding of the localized effects of neoliberalism as a driving force of global capital further, Massey (2013) warns against crediting these macro forces as the sole determinant of shifting spatial, social, and political relations. She notes that different groups and actors have varied and unequal relationships to the broader forces within the global political economic landscape. For example, rather than diminishing the role of the state in urban development and other socio-economic initiatives, ruling parties in Cambodia and China have used "development" as a means of legitimizing intervention and entrenched authoritarianism (Lim, 2017; Springer, 2017). Neoliberalism, in this instance, allows states to shore-up their domestic power while also responding to economic imperatives. On a more micro scale, the experience of capital-driven neoliberal urban development offers residents an opportunity to explore and (re)create their identities vis-à-vis physical space, as is the case in Yarker's (2018) study of local responses to urban regeneration in Newcastle. How neoliberalism and capitalism converge on and are experienced within an

urban environment are nuanced and complex. This presents a need for examining how localized contexts, such as Istanbul, respond to or contradict the unrolling of neoliberal economic development.

Urban Renewal & Authoritarian Neoliberalism in Turkey

One of the key sites through which authoritarian neoliberalism materializes are urban spaces. In Bruff's (2014) original formulation of the concept, he specifically notes how the state targets underdeveloped and deprived neighborhoods as a means of opening space for capital accumulation and also garnering favor amongst impoverished communities. Urban transformation projects, thus, underscore how authoritarian neoliberalism is an articulation of hegemonic processes. As Gramsci (1977) argued, within hegemonic systems the material and immaterial are intertwined. In urban spaces, we can see the materialization of the ideology of authoritarian neoliberalism (Di Giovanni, 2017). As Di Giovanni (2017) argues, "no matter how fragmentary and fast-paced, or whether focused on property housing or large-scaled planning, transforming the urban directs the future through intervening on the past and reproduces social dispositions by managing everyday spaces" (p. 112). Accordingly, the state deploys legal and administrative mechanisms to open urban spaces for capital accumulation. In turn, the state can then (re)write history and thus the future through the physical characteristics of a renewed neighborhood. These processes strip neighborhoods down to their core, revamp them, and then sell them "as a financial product, a living space, an experience, a place in society, and an identity" (Di Giovanni, 2017, p. 107). Within urban spaces, the state paves the way for financial, capital accumulation. In turn, it also becomes more salient in that it can leave its

mark on the physical attributes of a given space. It rewrites history both for itself and capital, while simultaneously absorbing residents into new modes of living.

Istanbul has been the subject of much analysis of the urban renewal-authoritarian neoliberalism nexus (Di Giovanni, 2017; Özden et al, 2017; Tansel, 2017; Tansel, 2018b). This is a newer area of study, which seeks to explain the curious juxtaposition between the privately funded renewal of Istanbul and the heavy presence and influence of the state. Until recently, most studies of Istanbul's changing urban landscape have been described through the lens of neoliberalism. Scholars such as Candan & Kolluoğlu (2008), Ekmekçi (2012), Kuyucu & Ünsal (2010), Öncü (1999), Balkan & Öncü (2015), and Potuoğlu-Cook (2008) discuss how Istanbul has been refashioned according to efforts by the state to liberalize and open the cityscape to market forces. These analyses examine how the physical landscapes and neighborhoods of Istanbul were targeted to transition it as a primarily industrial city (Ekmekçi, 2012; Keyder, 2005) to a service-based, capital of finance. In addition to the transformation of Istanbul's neighborhoods and housing stock, one of the penultimate projects that characterized Istanbul as a neoliberal city was its tenure as the 2010 European Capital of Culture. During the bid and its year as host, Istanbul was marketed as a space where one could consume both "East" and "West," glossing over the historical and contemporary violence against ethnic and religious minorities (Di Giovanni, 2017; Göktürk et al, 2010; Karaca, 2009). As Tansel (2018b) argues, beginning in the 1990s, cities in Turkey—particularly Istanbul—"changed from an instrument to accommodate the growing laboring classes to becoming a new area of economic investment open to both national and international capital" (p. 4).

While studying how Istanbul as a site for the realization of neoliberal policies and ideologies is important, many of these analyses neglect how cities as physical spaces have become arenas for political parties and states to demonstrate and exert power. Istanbul, for example has been a battleground in the AKP era as it uses city services to garner public favor—even at the expense of the most marginalized communities (Di Giovanni, 2017; Tansel 2018b). For example, while the AKP government claims to offer up-to-date and safe housing for poor residents, most of those relocated to state-sponsored housing cannot afford the imposed payment plans (Tansel, 2018b). Moreover, these renewal projects, although claiming to provide safer, newer, and more affordable housing play upon racist, ethno-centric stereotypes in order to bolster public support for the dispossession of Istanbul's most vulnerable populations (Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008; Di Giovanni, 2017; Karaman, 2013; Ünsal & Kuyucu, 2010; Markoç & Çinar, 2018; Tansel, 2018b; Üysal, 2012). Neighborhoods with majority Kurdish and Roma populations, for example, have been the prime target of the state's efforts to revamp and "modernize" Istanbul. While these neighborhoods are certainly impoverished, the targeting of these spaces in the name of "safety" and "modernization" is also part of a larger, state-led ideological project. Justifications for the dispossession and destruction of these communities liken political loyalty and favor with ethnic homogenization.[65]

How the state and market converge onto Istanbul is highly ideological. Neoliberalism is not only the means of urban transformation, but also the response by

[65] The transformation of the neighborhoods of Sulukule and Ayazma—predominantly Roma and Kurdish communities—for example, "played upon racist prejudice according to which Kurdishness is equated with political disloyalty, quasi-feudal primitivism, general anti-social attitudes, and criminality" (Tansel, 2018b, p. 11).

which the AKP government advances its own interests.[66] The AKP (and previous governments) has secured its power over the urban through several legal and policy initiatives that rely on private funding. As Di Giovanni (2017) outlines, during the AKP era, the "Public Housing Development Administration" (Toplu Konut Idaresi Baskanligi or TOKI) was brought under the direct control of the prime ministry. Under this new mandate, TOKI was given the authority to act as state contractor for developing and delivering social housing complexes. As Di Giovanni outlines

> Under the AKP direction of TOKI, real estate development is de facto turned into a government business: land is an asset to be confiscated and resold by the state which, in turn acts as a competitor as it can generate demand through supply by coercively shaping the space at its disposal and exerting a significant control over all levels of the market (p. 117).

In securing an administrative and legal hold over the transformation of the urban landscape, the AKP is able to control how politics, culture, and daily life play out. Indeed, as Tansel (2018b) outlines, the AKP's ability to control politics vis-à-vis neoliberal urbanization is characterized by the following:

1. Limited popular participation by adopting top-down approaches to decision making
2. Intensified existing inequalities in the housing market
3. Exploited class and ethnic divisions
4. Prevention of legal and social challenges mounted against projects (p. 9).

Many of the ongoing urban projects, for example, are not open to public debate and input. Neither the national nor municipal governments consult environmental experts nor urban planners, and these projects are often pushed through the court system without the proper appeals process.

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[66] "Neoliberalism could be understood as a structural response adopted by state managers to offset and minimize the impact thereof and, thus, not exclusively as a set of economic ideas that has diffused outwards from a particular geopolitical and economic setting because these ideas have been articulated and promoted by a powerful transnational elite bent on advancing their own class interests" (Tansel, 2017, p. 8).

In addition to legal mechanisms, the AKP deploys private market funding to transform Istanbul into a physical-cum-symbolic space that secures its hegemony. The city, its public spaces, and neighborhoods are refashioned through the use of symbolic (and ideological) artifacts that appeal to the life and worldview of much of the lower socio-economic classes. References to Islam and ethnic nationalism are seen throughout "revitalized" spaces (Öncü, 1999; Bozkurt, 2013; Di Giovanni, 2017). For instance, during Istanbul's tenure as the European Capital of Culture, references to the Ottoman Empire as a harbinger of peace amidst religious and ethnic diversity were seen across the city. These markers throughout the city, worked to brand an AKP governed Istanbul as the rightful heir to the Ottoman Empire and leader of Turkey. In transforming and branding Istanbul as a city of Ottoman heritage, Islamic piety, and ethnic homogeneity, the AKP government "directs the future through intervening on the past and reproduces social dispositions by managing everyday spaces" (Di Giovanni, 2017, p. 112).

Given the historic role that journalism and media have played in shaping the culture and imaginary of Turkey as a modern, secular, and ethnic nation-state (Ahıska, 2010; Yeşil, 2016), the ways in which space and journalistic practice converge is an interesting question to work through. Bab-I Ali, the historic publishing district of Istanbul, is one of the key spaces that has undergone the sort of urban transformation characteristic of authoritarian neoliberal regimes. The manner and conditions of its closure as the center of journalistic activity is important for grasping how this professional and social space matter in the contemporary imagination of the journalism profession in Turkey. As Yeşil (2016) notes, the common, collective spaces of journalism have undermined professional and social networks.

Journalism and the Urban Regime

Where my participants worked, lived, and socialized were all separate spaces scattered across the city. Their feelings of trepidation, ambivalence, and frustration towards their offices and locations can be articulated around contemporary corporate media structures and how these corporations are active nodes within Istanbul's urban renewal regime. Journalists and their places of work are pawns within a network of dispossession, fear, isolation, and division that has become characteristic of Istanbul. Indeed, the current institutional structure of major media organizations in Turkey is tied to the city's sprawling urban construction projects. The links are so tight and intimate that several journalists and urban activists have documented the connections through an interactive, digital mapping project entitled, "Mülksüzleştirme Ağları" or "Networks of Dispossession."[67] Through a variety of maps, Networks of Dispossession highlight how media owners (i.e. major holding companies) are invested in construction projects across the city. For example, one of the most recent maps connects the construction and investor's behind Istanbul's controversial third airport with the parent companies of several mainstream media outlets. As a result, journalists are unwittingly caught up in an empire of spatial, ethnic, social, and economic marginalization. Returning to Sezen's comments about the neighborhood where she works, for example, tensions emerge between the local community and newcomers. The dispossession and relocation of one group (i.e. journalists) results in the dispossession and disenfranchisement of another. As a result, rifts are occurring amongst journalists and the communities they seek to connect through their reporting.

The parent companies of most major media outlets have relocated these newspapers and TV stations to cheaper districts in the city for several reasons. 1) Newspapers and

[67] The "Networks of Dispossession" project can be accessed at: http://mulksuzlestirme.org/index.en/

other journalistic endeavors are expensive and cost the parent company more than they bring in (Personal communication, 2017; Yeşil, 2016). Housing these outlets in prime, central locations is costly in relation to the amount of money being generated by the outlet. 2) Given that many of these parent companies are primarily invested in construction and tourism services/industries, the land occupied in the central areas of Istanbul is much more profitable for the development of commercial projects such as shopping malls, hotels, high rises, and luxury apartments. 3) The major corporations that own these media outlets often utilize them to garner favor with the ruling party (i.e. favorable news coverage in exchange for contracts). Thus, by removing the outlet from the heart of the city, parent companies can limit the potential for dissent and unionization given journalists' spatial isolation.

As a result, reporting becomes robotic and disconnected. Journalists miss social and professional networks to hold each other accountable, organize, and connect with the communities they want to report on (personal communication, 2017; Yeşil, 2016). Even commercially independent outlets suffer similar fates. Rising rent prices and rezoning for large-scale corporate real estate force smaller organizations to relocate to the peripheries as well. These alterations to the spaces of journalism have a profound effect on how journalists envision and relate to their profession. As I discuss below, the dissolution of the historical publishing district and move of outlets to industrial, peripheral spaces of the city have prompted journalists to re-assess and conceptualize how their lives and professions are impacted by the changing rhythms of Istanbul's urban landscape. These changes create a sense of uneasiness for journalists as they define and practice their profession, prompting them to turn towards certain principles such as professional solidarity as a way of mitigating their insecurity and own frustrations over the current

urban regime. These attachments to professional solidarity and the now-defunct common working spaces were ways for my participants to navigate their embodied detachment.

Bab-I Ali

I had ventured around the Bab-I Ali street and surrounding neighborhood dozens of times the nearly six years I lived in Istanbul, hardly aware of its history and importance to journalism and journalists in Turkey. This narrow street is inconspicuously wedged between the new Sirkeci metro station and the Consulate of the Islamic Republic of Iran.[68] The buildings that line Bab-I Ali dissolve into the cacophony of other cluttered, non-descript, concrete-style buildings characteristic of the majority of Istanbul. It was not until I visited the office of the Journalists Union of Turkey (Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası or TGS) that I took note of the street so many of my participants reverently described. Prior to visiting TGS, I had imagined an old, cobblestone street dotted with massive historic buildings, grand entrances, and an aura like that of Wall Street in New York. I was disappointed and flabbergasted when I arrived at the TGS office to discover that Bab-I Ali was a dusty, unassuming side street I had passed by unknowingly dozens of times. I was confused by the disconnect between the importance my participants ascribed to Bab-I Ali—so many of their eyes twinkled as they described it—and how it stands today. This disconnect, however, is telling of how and why Bab-I Ali matters in the making of journalism in Turkey. It is a lens for understanding how a street was once (and in many ways still is) the beating heart of journalism as a field and lifestyle within Turkey.

[68] There are two Sirkeci train stations, which should notably not be confused. The first is the Ottoman-era station, which connected Istanbul with the rest of Europe. The station that is just behind the entrance to Bab-I Ali is part of the Marmaray rail line, a controversial metro line initiated under the AKP government. The Marmaray which the European and Anatolian side metro lines by way of tunnel underneath the Bosphorous Straight. It was controversial for both archeological and safety reasons. Many Byzantine-era artifacts were discovered and subsequently damaged during construction. In terms of safety, rumors circulated that the construction company leading the project advised against opening the Marmaray until more tests were conducted, noting water leaks and weak points in the tunnel.

Bab-I Ali was the center of the press and publishing in Turkey until the 1980s. The newspapers housed in Bab-I Ali were owned and operated by a wealthy and elite cadre of publishing powerhouse families, many of whom got their start as writers and journalists during the late Ottoman/early Republican era. Yet despite their credentials and "illustrious names" (Öncü, 2012, p. 1), their wealth and power were no match for the rising industry tycoons who bought out these newspapers during the neoliberalization process initiated under the Turgut Ozal administration (Christensen, 2007; Finkel, 2005; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Öncü, 2012; Tiliç, 2000; Tunç, 2003; Yeşil 2016). During the 1980s, the administration of Turgut Ozal specifically encouraged "big business" to invest in media outlets—part of a targeted strategy to streamline and control the press (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010, Oncu, 2012). This created a hostile work environment for journalists, given that editors and owners were essentially managers with little to no experience in journalism (Tiliç, 2000, Tunç, 2003). While the 1980s (and 1990s) represent the rapid commercialization of the press in Turkey, Kaya & Çakmur (2010) argue that the press in Turkey has always been characterized by a high degree of political parallelism.[69] Given Ozal's targeted policy towards controlling the media through commercialization (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010), Bab-I Ali (or at least the memory of this era) has risen to cult status amongst journalists—"symbolizing resistance to state censorship and a struggle for independence from party politics" (Öncü, 2013, p.1). In addition to the changes to the ownership and management structures of these outlets, the majority of Bab-I Ali was vacated as business-cum-media moguls moved their newly acquired papers to the industrial districts on the outer edges of Istanbul (Öncü, 2013; Tiliç, 2000).

[69] For more on the changes and continuities brought on by the political economic changes of the 1980s see Christensen (2010), Kaya & Çakmur (2010), Tiliç (2000), Tunç (2003).

When one enters Bab-I Ali, the TGS office is the first building on the corner, directly across from the Iranian consulate. During my visit to TGS, I almost forgot to take note of where I was going, as I was so enthralled by the gates and presence of the consulate. The outside of the TGS office is quite distinct from the inside. The generic, greyish, and frankly uninviting building is contrasted by the aura of the office. Walking in, I felt as if I were somewhere important. There was wood paneling, old wood floors, and the pleasant musty smell of an older office. Pictures of different strikes hung on the walls, there were old typewriters on desks, and TVs. I was invited to TGS by the organization's General Secretary, Mert. I met Mert through Sezen and Nasrettin. He was their neighbor, friend, and a former colleague of Nasrettin. Both Mert and Nasrettin had worked for the same online news service that was shut down just after the July 2016 coup-attempt. Mert had a strong educational and professional background in Journalism. He had studied at one of the only formal media studies programs in Turkey, worked for several mainstream broadcasters, and had been active in the union prior to receiving a formal appointment as General Secretary. He invited me to visit the union office during an evening in which he, Sezen, Nasrettin, and I cooked dinner together.

I commented to Mert that I felt like I had been transported to the Mary Tyler Moore show. He likened the office to Dan Drapper and Mad Men. The office evoked images of clacking keys on typewriters, urgent phone calls, and reporters running to get copy in before a deadline. This style of office is what I imagined the bureaus of the Bab-I Ali era must have looked like. During our conversation, Mert talked about the history of the union and new initiatives to increase membership as the union struggles to maintain its relevance amongst journalists, who are often fearful of joining or otherwise do not see the

immediate benefit. Until the 1990s—the peak of Turkey's neoliberalization process (see Yeşil, 2016)—the majority of media institutions and journalists were unionized (Christensen, 2007; Tunç, 2003). After the newspapers and other media outlets on Bab-I Ali were bought out by major holding companies, TGS membership numbers rapidly declined. Through convoluted employment contracts and loopholes—not to mention outright intimidation by employers—journalists we either unable or unwilling to unionize (Christensen, 2007; Yeşil, 2016). For example, Christensen (2010) notes that as private holding companies bought out largely family-owned and operated newspapers, journalists were forced to sign clauses within the labor code that categorized them as ordinary employees rather than journalists. This meant that they were ineligible for membership at TGS. Prior to the 1980s and 1990s, the TGS office in Bab-I Ali had been a crucial meeting point for journalists to gather to file complaints, strategize, and organize for better wages and working hours. The decline of union membership and its centrality to the professional lives of journalists is arguably linked to the fall of Bab-I Ali era journalism.

Solidarity & Organization

When I met Nazim, a former editor and journalist with a prominent leftist publication, he spoke of the importance of Bab-I Ali to the professional organization of the profession. He was too young to have experienced or worked in Bab-I Ali, but spoke at length of how its close quarters and central location allowed journalists to develop personal and professional networks of support. He emphasized that having all the publishing houses and news outlets in one district allowed for the trade unions to flourish. "Trade unions were very strong," Nazim explained, referring to a bygone era of organized, small-scale

journalism.[70] For Nazim, though, it was not specifically TGS or trade unions that mattered in the making of a golden era of journalism. Rather, it was the concentrated space of Bab-I Ali that encouraged organization, camaraderie, and accountability amongst journalists. For Nazim, having a common point of work and socialization was and is important to the creation of a robust and honest form of journalism:

> Having all the bureaus in Bab-I Ali means a lot when you start thinking about the daily life of the journalists. Imagine this, right now for example in this AKP media.[71] [The AKP media] writes news, which is…obviously a lie. And the writer knows it. Everybody knows it. So imagine that all the bureaus are in the same place and [at] lunch you sit face to face with the guy [sic]. That's much harder to do right now. Nobody knows anybody.[72]

Nazim articulated that being together with journalists and members of the press from other outlets fosters accountability and agency—crucial components for the press to be able to question ruling parties, governments, and powerful industry leaders.

During our many conversations, Nazim reiterated the necessity of collective organization and socialization as central components to the function of a robust press. However, his ardent dedication to the Communist Party of Turkey and work with their affiliated publication made me wonder if his emphasis on the importance of Bab-I Ali might be linked to his highly Marxist stance on labor. He frequently referenced the importance of a common space for workers to work, then socialize, and then organize. He even talked about the after work "rakı table"—which he likened as the Turkish equivalent to Marx's biergartens.[73] Nazim, however, was not the only journalist to speak of the

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[70] 10/31/2017

[71] By AKP media, Nazim is referring to what he classifies as privately owned media outlets that serve as a mouthpiece for the ruling party. Specifically, he is referring to media outlets such as the Yeni Şafak newspaper or the TV station, TVNet, which are owned by President Erdoğan's son-in-law Berat Albayrak.

[72] 10/31/2017

[73] Rakı is a strong anise-flavored liquor similar to ouzo or pastise. It was a favorite aperitif of Mustafa Kemal and has become a symbol of elite, secular Republican masculinity. In subsequent chapters, I will delve more

importance of Bab-I Ali. Both older and younger generations of journalists reflected on the centrality Bab-I Ali to a collegial, responsible, and rigorous press. As I discuss in the following section, even if not mentioned by name, Bab-I Ali as a collective space lingers in how my participants expressed issues of accountability and solidarity.

Professional Socialization

When I visited different participants at their offices, I was amazed by the layers of formal and informal security to enter and exit each building. Some of the larger outlets required that you pass through multiple metal detectors, swipe a key card to enter the elevator, and sign in with security personnel and leave an ID if visiting. Even the smaller offices were housed in buildings requiring a passcode to enter. The security layout of these buildings is not only unique to news outlets; it has become characteristic of nearly all commercial and residential buildings in Istanbul. However, it affects journalists and their practice in a unique manner. Veteran journalists feel siloed within prison-like offices, whereas newer generations have never experienced the dynamism of field journalism.

What results is a sense of professional isolation amongst journalists who feel limited in their ability to get out of the office and pursue a story. Julia—a freelance journalist who had also worked for several mainstream publications—mentioned, for example, how writers/reporters rarely leave offices now—isolated to Ikitelli and the pseudo-open corporate style offices that house different media outlets.[74] Another participant, who worked for a major commercial media outlet for several years, reiterated

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into the symbolic significance of rakı or specifically how the consumption of rakı is a symbol around which gendered and classed identities are performed.

[74] Ikitelli is an industrial district on the fringes of central Istanbul on the European side. Just a few miles away from the Istanbul Ataturk Airport, Ikitelli is smoky, congested, and dotted with strange mix of factories, shopping malls, high-rises, and newly-built but empty luxury apartments. Several of Turkey's most prominent newspapers and television stations are housed there, such as Hürriyet, CNN Türk, and

Julia's sentiments.[75] She talked about how she swiped a security card to enter and leave the office. "Managers don't want you to leave the office," she said, noting managerial concerns over the cost for newsrooms that are already working with limited budgets and staff. "So if you need a statement or a source you just have to call someone." Likewise, Irem lamented this spatial isolation, noting that it weakened the foundation of credible journalism, such as fact-checking. Younger journalists, Irem noted, have not been able to experience the socialization to the profession that a common working space provides:

> You should have an environment where you can freely, at least in the newsroom, discuss everything. I know, from my own experience as well, this is not the case. [Younger journalist's] don't learn how to look, go out, [and] ask people. Young people are coming here. And [they], for example, [they have] a great idea. I say, you know, call this person, go around…And half an hour later, [they] didn't even… [they] said 'how would I find the number?'…They're so afraid to even call someone. Because, you know, this is… they can only learn if they see me working there.[76]

Although none of my participants were old enough to have worked in Bab-I Ali, they all characterized their spaces of work as professionally and socially isolating. Many felt—like Irem and Julia articulated—unable and unwilling to leave the office to pursue a story. Given the need to swipe a key card to enter and exit the building, it was an arduous and foreboding task to leave the newsroom. At worse, it increased fears over surveillance and backlash from managers, and on a practical level it simply felt like a hassle. Both the locations of many of these outlets and the inner layouts were not conducive to the sort of professional and social cohesion they saw as necessary for fact-based, critical journalism.[77]

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[75] I do not name this particular participant given their concerns over privacy.

[76] 02/22/2018

[77] This is not to imply that definitions of journalism amongst my participants, within Turkey, and even across the globe are universal—but rather they are constitutive elements for the professional and social lives of journalists within a given context. As Zelizer (2004) argues, cultural inquiries into journalism walk an uneasy line between accepting and rejecting the premises of journalism: objectivity, truth, and reality. Rather than wholly reject the premises of journalism, Zelizer (2004) tasks cultural studies of journalism to acknowledge "that there is a reality out there and that, in certain quarters, truth and facts have currency" (p. 17). As I

Aydın put it rather bluntly as I watched him copy and paste headlines and bylines from his outlet's affiliated newspaper: "I've come to terms with the fact that there is no real journalism in Turkey."[78]

While many of my participants often questioned whether or not Turkey has had a tradition of "real" journalism—given a lack of formal journalism programs at universities and a weak history of investigative journalism—they saw the spatial isolation of their working environment as detrimental to professional socialization. Didem phrased it this way: "I'm sure like at journalism schools they teach useful stuff. But I think, I feel like, journalism is like, you have to have a master to learn from. Someone to correct your writing and give you, teach you how to look at certain things."[79] Isolated from each other, they felt isolated from the profession—older, more veteran journalists were tired and disenchanted, unsure of how to practice their craft at a distance from the heart of the city. Younger journalists, on the other hand, simply did not have the training nor example that a concentrated working environment, such as Bab-I Ali provided. This is significant when reflecting on Massey's (2001), Rodgers' (2013), and Rodgers et al's (2014) argument about the relational contingency of space. As physical spaces alter, so too do the relationships that were characteristic of those spaces. As journalists experience spatial shifts in their daily and professional lives, their work habits, norms, and practices are affected. Similarly, their relationships to each other as colleagues change. In line with Rodgers et al's (2014) postulation of journalism as an embedded urban practice, how

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narrate how my participants define their profession, I try to position how these definitions are articulated to other phenomena (i.e. space). In other words, it is not that objectivity and on-the job training is always-already the gold standard of journalism within Turkey, but rather that those ideas come to matter as their immediate physical, political, and social environments shift.

[78] 02/20/2018

[79] 04/14/2018

journalists experience changes to their spaces of life, leisure, and work affects the production and form of content. Moreover, it affects how journalists characterize and relate to their profession, and how they attempt to detach from the physical, personal, and intimate effects of these spatial changes on their lives.

The lamentations of a lack of common space for cultivating, strengthening, and reiterating professional norms were compounded by personal, social isolation. As Nazim described it, during the Bab-I Ali era you did not just work but socialized with your colleagues. These after work dinners, drinks, and commutes were key components to cultivating solidarity amongst journalists, Nazim found. Burcu's narrative paralleled Nazim's. Burcu works for a national/official news outlet and described her office and its location as lonely. She talked about fear of surveillance and oversight in the large, open office. "There is no support or camaraderie in the office," she said, "even when you are sitting next to someone you know holds similar views."[80] Burcu characterized this as limiting her ability to ask questions and write pieces that were thorough and representative of all sides of a story. She worried that without collegial support she could not risk angering her managers and government officials.

Segregation & Dispossession

The dissolution of Bab-I Ali and the transplantation of its many outlets to the liminal, industrial spaces of Istanbul are telling for the making of not only contemporary journalism but of Istanbul as a place. If cities are an effect of various forms of communication (Matsaganis, Gallagher, & Drucker 2013), how does the dispossession of journalists—or at least felt experience of dispossession—come to bear on how they

[80] 11/07/2018

constitute Istanbul as a space of politics, culture, and daily life?[81] The journalists whom I interacted with feel separated and disconnected from each other, their profession, and Istanbul. Bab-I Ali was a moment in their imaginaries whereby people were more connected and social. Journalists were active in writing pieces critical of ruling parties, connecting with readers, and in cultivating networks of professional support. My participants' physical isolation from their profession made them feel as if their ability (and energy) to practice their craft was weakened. But this lived and felt isolation from their profession vis-à-vis physical dispossession signals how the field of journalism might also be a constitutive element of Istanbul.

Their profession and lives are nodes through which logics of power circulate and are realized. The memory of Bab-I Ali is a spatial lens through which we can understand how journalism is a filter for the cultivation of systems of domination. The logics of authoritarian neoliberalism and nationalism, for example, concomitantly operate on the physical landscapes of Istanbul and journalism. The experience and definition of one cannot be divorced from the other – it is a process of articulation. How journalists understand their profession is interlinked with their experience of the city. Likewise, their experience of physical space is impacted by the demands, dynamics, and qualities of their profession. These journalists embody the changes and landscapes of Istanbul, which in turn impacts how they navigate their desire for a rigorous, objective, professionally-sound form of journalism. As McQuire (2008) argues, physical spaces vis-à-vis place "cannot be defined by essential attributes or inherent and stable qualities, it assumes significance

[81] It is worth noting that the vast majority of my participants lived and worked in fairly central locations in Istanbul compared to the general working class populace of the city. Many in fact lived in wealthier, artistic, and intellectual neighborhoods. Rather than reject their claims to isolation and dispossession, I consider how these sentiments arise amidst changing physical, professional, and socio-political landscapes.

primarily through the interconnections established between different nodes and sectors" (p. 23). Thus, as journalists become segregated and separated, so too do the social and physical networks of the city. A city's infrastructure, communicative patterns, habits, and milieu are mutually constitutive (Gumpert & Drucker, 2008).

Fear & Loathing in Istanbul

Today as one walks down the iconic Istiklal Avenue in Taksim—one of the largest and busiest pedestrian streets in the world—one feels haunted by the nightclubs, restaurants, and shops that have seen better days. When I first moved to Istanbul in 2010, Taksim was the center of nightlife, drinking, shopping, and general revelry. It was also the soul of political activity: May Day protests, the Women's Day March, the Saturday Mothers (a group demanding accounting for the politically disappeared), and the Gezi Park Protests. Today, armored police vehicles, young anti-terror officers with machine guns, and tourists mill about an increasingly empty street. Taken aback by the sudden and stark decline of Taksim, I asked several friends what they thought happened. Many cited security concerns—noting the June 2016 Istanbul Ataturk Airport bombing, July 2016 coup-attempt, and the 2017 New Year's Eve bombing at the Reina nightclub in nearby Ortaköy. While none of these events happened in Taksim Sqaure or on Istiklal, per se, Taksim was oozing with a sense of immanent threat. I too started to feel ill at ease in Taksim, nauseated by the clunky tanks affixed with water cannons that were scattered along Istiklal.

If it was not security, others were put off by the "changing demographics" of the area: "There are so many Arabs there now," "All the Syrians are there," "Its a lot of dirty people." The perception was that an influx of refugees, Gulf Arab tourists, and general

foreign "others" made Taksim uninviting and unappealing.[82] Although we can critique the ethnocentrism and racism inherent to these remarks, my participants saw the demographic shifts as resultant of AKP policies to bring in more conservative and religious tourism. Some even characterized it as an active conspiracy to eliminate public drinking, leisure, and co-ed socializing. The increased salience of conservative Muslim symbolism in Taksim—from storefront displays of the latest hijab fashion to the construction of several new mosques—has fomented resentment and disenchantment among many journalists and more secular local residents. They likened displays of piety in the spaces and interactions of Taksim as off-putting in an ironic twist to the complaints of intolerance often leveled by conservative factions against Istanbul's secular cadres. The complaints about an Arab, Muslim conspiracy against secular life in Turkey is not unheard of. In his analysis of ethnic nationalism in Turkey, White (2010) notes that such fears are part of the production of subjectivity in Turkey, arguing "the maintenance of national [sic] identity requires continual vigilance against the threat of forgetting, losing the coherence of the narrative, and disappearing" (p. 215).

Pushing White's (2010) argument a step further, I argue that the ways security, racism, and anti-religious sentiment converge on the characterization of Taksim Square and Istiklal as a space of leisure, revelry, and even political resistance mark an uneasiness

[82]One talkative cab driver bemoaned the state of Taksim as he yelled at other cars and pedestrians. "It's not that we don't want foreigners to come to Turkey," he said. "But, you know, they need to be educated and have certain standards. Like the Germans, Americans, or Canadians." The taxi driver's comments mirrored many of the other sentiments I heard about Taksim's demographic. It was not that people were opposed to tourism or "foreigners" but that they should be of secular orientation—a sentiment that is heavily weighted with ethnocentrism. One of the central foundations of Kemalism—based on Mustafa Kemal's laissez-faire form of secularism and ethnic nationalism—is an orientation towards "western civilization," whereby the ability to be modern and adopts modernity is highly racialized (Xypolia, 2016). Within Kemlist ideology, Turks are a superior "race", particularly compared to their Arab neighbors, given their ability to adapt to and adopt western socio-cultural and political values. What is more, Kemalism positions the history of Turkey within the foundations of democracy, liberalism, and even the enlightenment citing that how Istanbul (or Constantinople) had once been the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

amongst many ethnic Turks with the unfolding of the nation vis-à-vis the spaces of the city.[83] How Istanbul is shifting culturally and infrastructurally is engendering resentment, fear, disgust, and exhaustion amongst its residents. Simultaneously these feelings contour the city in a continual loop. My journalist participants were no exception to these expressions of frustration and disenfranchisement. Many felt as if they had been rejected by the city both personally and professionally. At the same time however, many often purposefully isolated themselves from the spaces from which they felt excluded.

"Its chaos"

Like Taksim, Mecidiyeköy feels dystopic. Mecidiyeköy is a district on the European side of Istanbul, wedged between the financial/commercial district of Maslak and Beyoğlu (the parent municipality of Taksim). It is congested with lower-middle class housing, hodgepodge dime-store type shops, and new high-rise commercial buildings. One of the most notable is Trump Towers—a looming black and white geometrical building. It opened prior to the election of Donald Trump to the U.S. presidency, and despite being there when it opened, it was not until I returned to Istanbul in 2017 that I ventured inside the shopping mall located at the base of the building. Emre's office was located just next to Trump Towers. Emre worked for a left-leaning, commercially independent online news portal. We both laughed at the irony of his outlet being located next to Trump Towers. The windows of his office look out directly to large lettering at the base of the building reading: TRUMP. I asked Emre what it was like to work in this area of the city. I was particularly curious given that he commuted from a quieter, greener neighborhood on the Anatolian side. "It's chaos," he chuckled. He complained of fatigue, fighting traffic, and the

[83] I will address the relationship between the making of the nation-state and journalism in more detail in subsequent chapters.

pollution. I was shocked to learn that he is only in his late 20s. His hair is greying, his skin dull and beard scruffy, eyes puffy and tinged purple from late nights, long commutes, and hours in front of a computer. He attributed the fatigue and early aging to poor nutrition. "There is only fast-food around," he complained.

Emre clearly did not care for the neighborhood where he worked. Going to work was grinding and exhausting, noting that he did not have much time to socialize after hours. Nor did he care to. I sensed that in addition to the demands of a job where he worked six days a week, the immediate environment of his office was not conducive to the sorts of after-work mixing and mingling that was characteristic of Bab-I Ali. Mecidiyeköy was not a hub of journalistic activity. Emre said that his outlet's managing editors chose Mecidiyeköy for the office headquarters because the rent was cheap and it was close to several forms of transportation. It was not that Emre actively despised his work environment or Mecidiyeköy, but that he felt no connection to it. It was just another crowded and polluted neighborhood in Istanbul. So many of my participants espoused similar views about the city. The long commutes, pedestrian and vehicular congestion, perpetual noise from honking horns, and smog made living and working difficult. Nearly every interview or "hangout" started with apologies for being late: "Please forgive me. Traffic was awful." Eventually, apologies were unnecessary for both parties—it was generally assumed that one or both of us would be late. Complaints about traffic were compounded by lamentations of the "ugliness" of the city.

Aydın, for example, hated the clunkiness of Istanbul. Whenever we met, he generally preferred a green space like a park or bar with a garden. Aydın worked in Taksim in one of the last remaining media outlets there. His office was a massive white, block

building with two layers of security. There is a massive crater next to the shiny white building, filled with cranes and surrounded by decrepit buildings. Like the neighborhood where Sezen works, and the high-rises popping up in Mecidiyeköy, the construction next to Aydın's office is part of the city's urban renewal efforts. Just as impoverished, ethnic minority, and religious communities were being removed from their communities, so too were my journalists contacts. From the 1980s onwards, the centers of the profession and social lives of journalists have been etched away. They find themselves working in areas of the city that seem incongruous to their visions of journalistic lives and places. Many feel no meaningful connection to their offices or its location. It is merely where they go, sit, write, work late, leave, repeat. The robotic, mechanical nature of work in these corporate-like newsrooms was palpable in the few office visits I made. These journalists felt stunted and disillusioned with investigating a story, pursuing a lead, and cultivating the network necessary for thorough, in-depth reporting. If a healthy and accountable press is characterized by going out into the field and fostering connections—as Irem, Nazim, among others expressed—the bunker style, security-laden corporate office buildings made their jobs unappealing and arduous.

Isolation.

When I visited Aydın at the glossy, white block building in Taksim, I entered through two security checkpoints. Upon entering the lobby and handing over my ID to the front-desk security personnel, they called Aydın to come fetch me. Aydın came down and took me to the fourth floor. The lights of his office were rather dim, with red and black accents—the colors of the parent news organization. The entire floor was open concept, with the exception of a glass-enclosed studio where anchors presented the news. Aydın's

desk faced away from the studio. Every corner of the office felt exposed. Everything occurred within the same building. Reporters, editors, and writers did not leave to get interviews or pursue a lead. They stayed, all day, everyday, in the glossy, white block building. We did not leave the building at lunchtime, but instead journeyed down to a basement cafeteria. We sat with one of Aydın's colleagues. Conversation was strained—intermittent, between bites of food. I asked Aydın and his colleague questions to try and ease and warm-up the conversation, but it was rather staccatic. As I looked around the cafeteria, it seemed as if everyone engaged in conversation only sporadically. After lunch, Aydın's colleague asked if I would like to join her to grab coffee from a nearby Starbucks. As we walked towards Starbucks she opened up more, admitting the coffee run was an excuse to get out of the office and get some fresh air.

Although just one example, the workspaces I visited were quite isolating, sterile, and confining. Even the smaller-scale independent organizations I visited were cold, and tucked away in industrial, poorer neighborhoods. For example, Irem's office was located in an area of the city known for makeshift, small-scale factories and auto repair shops. The winding narrow streets and dilapidated buildings are disrupted by new start-ups, and trendy coffee shops that attempt to mimic the industrial landscape of the neighborhood. Irem's office was no exception. But in its attempt to be "cool," it felt uninviting and a feigned attempt to undo the sterile corporate newsrooms. The small office was dark, covered in metal and exposed wiring. Walking into the main workroom upstairs and above the studio, I was shocked by the silence. Given its reputation as a young and vibrant outlet, I had expected lively conversation, milling about the office, and an enthusiastic vibe. Irem immediately wanted to leave the office for our interview, so we walked several blocks to

one of the many generic, chain teashops located on the main avenue. There were no places to sit or chat in the newsroom, other than an already occupied meeting room, where staff sat around a table all focused on their individual laptops. The room and rest of the building were eerily silent. I sensed that Irem felt stressed and hyper-focused within the newsroom, perhaps the fresh air and change of scenery gave her a moment of respite to gather her thoughts and tell her story without disturbing or upsetting colleagues and managers.

I had expected the newsrooms and locations of the independent organizations to be radically different from those of the commercial, mainstream organizations, given the emphasis these independent organizations placed on solidarity amongst colleagues. However, every office, every journalist, and every neighborhood felt isolated and remote. Within the office, within the neighborhood, and amongst journalists themselves there seemed to be no easy point of connection. Like Emre, many left for home immediately after work. Their spaces of socialization and work were entirely separate. Even during lunch hours, they were not out and about in the host community. Most commuted long distances to work, choosing isolation from the city as a means of escape. Even those who lived closer to work did so for convenience rather than a connection to the neighborhood, colleagues, or spaces of work. Defne, for example, lived and worked in Beyoğlu just next to Taksim Square. I had assumed Defne lived there given the centrality of the neighborhood and its (former) reputation as the center of leisure in Istanbul. Yet, she explained that it was for the convenience. She did not have to fight traffic, and could walk to and from work—an ideal situation given the unpredictability of her daily schedule and long working hours.

Missed Connections

Connection and community through commonly shared spaces figured prominently in how my participants experienced and envisioned their profession. Feelings of nostalgia for the era of Bab-I Ali were mixed with apathy, fatigue, and pessimism towards the possibility of what journalism can be and do within contemporary Turkey. Without community, without networks of support, many of my participants expressed that it is difficult if not impossible to write critically of the political establishment. As Hande noted, a network of support and camaraderie in the workplace allows journalists to take risks and cultivate a profession that is rooted in freedom:

> We talk about how can we better the country, how can we become freer, how can we express our freedom without penalty, how does this not come back to us as a crime? Friendships and relationships like this are strengthening and motivating. You feel stronger. There is a group that can comfort you. This is very important.[84]

Yet, she and others noted that under the current spatial configuration of their workplaces and the city, these sorts of connections were difficult to cultivate. Even if not explicitly expressed, the attitudes and dispositions of my participants towards their places of work, the neighborhoods they worked in, and their relationship to Istanbul were marked by fatigue and disillusionment. On countless occasions they complained of feeling exhausted by the grind of commuting and navigating the city, the pollution, and their isolation at work. Seeking support and connection appeared to be not only difficult but also discouraged. For example, while Hande expressed support within her office and amongst journalist friends, where she lived, the hours she worked, and increasing pressure from management were disheartening for taking any extra effort to socialize amongst colleagues. This fatigue and frustration signals how my participants embodied a cityscape

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characterized by ethnic, economic, and professional isolation. The nostalgia for Bab-I Ali and desire for professional solidarity were attachments or tools through which they could detach from this state of untenable exhaustion.

In Istanbul today, work places, neighborhoods, and social networks have become increasingly polarized. The reconfiguration of space according to the logics of authoritarian neoliberalism infiltrates the flows of daily life in Istanbul. Gated residential buildings and massive grocery stores replace family-owned business and shops that were traditionally located below small apartment residences. The organic flow and conversation between neighbors is curtailed by how these newly configured spaces control how, where, and when people interact. These altered spatial arrangements not only limits people's ability, but also will to come together. Indeed, journalists are particularly vulnerable to this regime given the central role they play in reporting on political developments, questioning ruling party decisions, and in fostering connection amongst the communities they write about. The inability to physically connect with their readership and constituents was demoralizing for my participants. Even those that worked in more central districts, with more access to resources for interviewing their neighbors and locals, were weighted by classed and ethnic biases. For example, Emre's feelings towards the community of Mecidiyeköy was colored by his position as a well-educated, middle-class, secular male. Or Burcu, who complained about a lack of solidarity in the office amongst her more conservative and religiously observant colleagues. While the layout of her office certainly exacerbated her sense of surveillance, marginalization, and isolation, her experience of the workplace cannot be divorced from her position as a highly educated, wealthy, and professionally mobile person. The ways that my participants understood and experienced

their profession vis-à-vis space is complicated by issues of avowed and ascribed identities. Accordingly, the possibility of a critical and communal form of journalism is impacted by the ways in which experiences of space and identity intertwine.

Authoritarian neoliberalism as a hegemonic project feeds off of, foments, and exacerbates these sorts of historical, political and cultural tensions through its reconfiguration of spaces. The ways in which journalists experience and embody this spatial isolation is unique and important for understanding given the role that journalism plays in constituting our life worlds. As Carpentier & Cammaerts (2006) present in their interview with sociologist Chantal Mouffe, journalism does not simply mediate or represent relations of power that make up our social environment, but is a key element for the active construction of hegemony.[85] Journalism and journalists, according to this perspective, not only represent a record of public opinion and debate, but are also at the center of the circulation of power. Thus if power is relational, how journalists experience the exclusionary processes of authoritarian neoliberalism bears on the possibility of journalism to be a node through which radical political change can occur. The lives of journalists, in other words, is a way of understanding how political conflict plays out. In the following chapter, I explore how journalists envision and imagine community despite and through the spatial and physical constraints they face. Despite these limitations and complications, however, I argue that the mere imagination of a possible community of journalism is a crucial form of agency.

[85] Mouffe's (1985) conceptualizes hegemony as articulation, or a discursive linking of different elements that bring about the construction/realization of hegemony. This approach to hegemony implies that it is not finite, complete, or whole. In other words, meaning is constructed and without essence.

CHAPTER IV.

COME TOGETHER: JOURNALISM AND THE DESIRE FOR COMMUNITY IN TURKEY

"You have to have really strong networks if you want to be part of the mainstream media…its really difficult to find a place there if you don't have these networks." For Nasrettin, to be a successful journalist, particularly within the mainstream media, one had to cultivate a strong network. He talked about his isolation from the mainstream media in Turkey as we sipped coffee in central Istanbul. He was a freelance journalist, who hosted weekly news commentary programs on two different web-based outlets, both of which were funded by organizations and businesses linked to pro-Kurdish or leftist political activities. Prior to working as a freelance journalist, Nasrettin had been the evening news anchor at a prominent pro-Kurdish outlet that was shut down as part of the state of emergency declared after the July 2016 coup-attempt.[86] The station was accused of spreading terrorist propaganda (Uras, 2016) and was taken off the air in the middle of Nasrettin's evening broadcast.

Nasrettin lamented that his affiliation with this station resulted in his professional isolation. "I am blacklisted," he explained. Although he wanted to work for the mainstream media, he said that because of the charges leveled against his previous outlet, most organizations did not want to risk hiring him. "Everyone knows everyone. And CNN Türk or Bloomberg [think], if we work with this guy it can be a problem for [us], because he is coming from [that station]." Even though Nasrettin expressed that working as a freelance

[86] In order to minimize risk of identification, I do not name the previous station Nasrettin worked for.

journalist had its positive affordances—not bound to an office and an ability to craft your own reports and stories—he noted that it was a form of precarious employment—forced upon him given his "blacklisting" and lack of professional network. For now, he felt that he was able to support himself, but was unsure of the long-term sustainability of his current situation.

Nasrettin was not alone in his feelings of professional isolation. As I noted in the previous chapter, my participants expressed that the spatial configuration of both Istanbul and their working environments led to a weakening of professional support and solidarity. As a result, they feel limited in their ability to practice the form of journalism they see as crucial for challenging Turkey's ruling party. Moreover, their isolation from each other as journalists was compounded with a physical isolation from the communities they reported on, resulting in frustration, ambivalence, and even outright hostility towards their readership and other communities within Turkey.[87] Many complained that Turkey was a polarized society, where people only read or watched programs that aligned with their social and political orientations.

In this chapter, I explore how visions of community through the practice of journalism are complicated by and expressed against a socio-political environment that is contingent upon the exploitation of differences. How are my participants' definitions of a community through journalism complicated by a history of mistrust in the media and dominant political narratives? How is journalism as a form of connection and community-building both a movement towards and away from the public they long for? Feelings of professional inadequacy and political-cum-social polarization intersected as my

[87] Although a professional community of journalists is certainly important to their visions and practices of journalism, my participants' expressions of community extended beyond their relationships with each other. Journalism for them was a way of bringing people together through shared stories and experiences.

participants articulated their sense of isolation from each other and the people they hoped to reach with their stories and reports. Although these journalists turned towards the idea of community as a means of mitigating the effects of a deeply divided society, they simultaneously contended with how their own biases and subject-positions within this political climate impacted their engagement with the people with whom they wanted to connect. Community revealed the space between these journalists embodying their environment and their desire to detach from it so that they could realize their ideal form of journalism, which was based on objectivity, impartiality, and dialogue. To cultivate community meant addressing where they *as people* and their work fit within Turkey's contemporary socio-political landscape.

Several recent articles have outlined the increased polarization of Turkey under the AKP government. Keyman (2014), for example, notes a rise in ethnic and religious divisions within Turkey—divisions and tensions that are exploited by Erdoğan and the ruling party to rally their voting base. Erdoğan utilizes these divisions to instill fear in his supporters, claiming that the opposition is out to suppress "freedom of religion" and a strong, liberal Turkish economy (Keyman, 2014; Yılmaz, 2017). This environment affects how media are produced and consumed in Turkey as well. In addition to the emergence of explicitly pro-party media channels (Çarkoğlu et al, 2014), Bulut and Yörük (2017) discuss how online bullies scour the internet to attack and silence oppositional voices, stories, and perspectives. They are known as AK Trolls, a reference to trolling on behalf of the AKP (Bulut & Yörük, 2017). What emerges is a political climate that encourages people to silo themselves within media environments that mirror their social and political orientations (Aşık, 2018; Bulut & Yörük, 2017; Çarkoğlu et al, 2014; Keyman, 2014, Yeşil, 2016,

Yılmaz, 2017). One of my participants recently likened this to illiteracy and ignorance on the part of his outlet's readership. In an interesting turn, he rejected the claim that it was difficult under the current political climate to practice "proper" journalism. Instead, he railed against an illiterate public as responsible for the political and social polarization of Turkey, which undermined journalism's ability to be effective and useful. In a recent social media post, he proclaimed

> Can we divide the world in two? One for those who give a shit about politics and your opinions, and one for those who don't!
>
> The challenge of being a journalist today is not so much the difficulty of conveying your message - many journalists with proper manners and work ethic are able to easily execute that part of the job.
>
> The actual challenge of being a journalist today is dealing with illiterate people and people who don't read the shit you spend hours/days/weeks writing.
>
> The irony...[88]

This quote was posted by a journalist who works for a mainstream outlet, is well educated, and is an ethnic minority from a contentious region of the country. While he faults what he characterizes as an ignorant public for the difficulties faced by journalists to write and convey critical, in-depth reporting, I suspect that his castigations are not entirely from a place of "arrogance." Although part of an elite cadre of working professional journalists within Turkey, he struggles with his own sense of socio-cultural adequacy. Whereas many of his colleagues are ethnically Turkish, from wealthy families, and Istanbullites, he is an ethnic-minority from a rural background. His critiques and dismissals of an illiterate public, I surmise, are a mechanism through which he negotiates his experience of various (often conflicting) components of his identity. Indeed, in their efforts to use their profession to foster connection, these journalists also contended with

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layered and conflicting aspects of their socio-cultural subject positions. A desire to use journalism to bring people together intersected with how different identities were ascribed, lived, and embodied.

Frustration with professional limitations were complicated by resentment towards a public many journalists felt was conservative, ignorant, and at times "backward." Although they saw bringing people together as a cornerstone of their practice as journalists, my participants felt as if they were at an impasse to cultivate the connections with both their readership and each other. From their perspective, these connections were necessary for the very legitimacy of their practice and identity as journalists. Despite their experienced and avowed disconnection and isolation, I observed subtle and unique ways in which my participants attempted to create community amongst themselves, friends, neighbors, and other people across Turkey. For example, one of my participants used a semi-regular comedy routine as a way of bringing friends, neighbors, and colleagues together. Another dreamed of creating a mobile app using location tracking so that journalists could connect with each other depending on where in Istanbul and Turkey they were. She called it "Tinder for journalists."

In exploring how the idea of community is articulated to and within the profession of journalism within contemporary Turkey, I argue that journalists' idea of and desire for community is an attachment that is constituted around professional precarity and political persecution. Visions of community are a means by which my participants understand and embody their professional and socio-political roles amidst a prolonged state of emergency and concern over increased authoritarianism. Community is a means for these journalists to attempt to detach from their embodiment of professional and political conditions that they

see as detrimental to their work and a more united and pluralistic society. For example, community was a way of mitigating the effects of isolating physical spaces and polarizing political alliances based on classed, religious, and ethnic identities. Moreover, community is a lived exploration of the potential of connecting disparate populations and stories across Turkey. I begin with a review of scholarly works on community as a specific form of affective attachment. I present narratives of how my participants articulate the importance of community and connection to their practice of journalism. I then highlight how these definitions and visions are complicated by the different socio-political positionalities of these journalists and their audience—differences exploited by the logics of neoliberal authoritarianism under the AKP government. Moreover, I examine how dominant political discourses are embodied and contested as journalists attempt to make sense of a highly divided society.

Attaching to Community

My participants' descriptions of a community of journalism in Turkey not only work to constitute the legitimacy of the profession, but also are an *attachment* to a desired identity and role within Turkey. For example, my participants felt that it was their duty to report on events in a way that showed a multiplicity of perspectives. "Presenting both sides," so to speak, was a way of cultivating a bond amongst themselves as journalists and trying to connect to the public. The attachment (i.e Ahmed, 2004; Berlant, 2011) to community, in other words, is a symbolic resource that journalists in Turkey reference as a way of reaffirming and negotiating their position as mediators between power and "the public."

As Ahmed and Fortier (2003) argue, desire for and ideas about community is a powerful affective state for cultivating real if unrealized bonds amongst disparate people.[89] It is an intimate relationship between the self, objects, and others. Ironically, however, community is also a means of (re)creating boundaries and divisions (Ahmed, 2005; Cohen 1985). Community as articulated and practiced through and around journalism is complicated by the processes of social division and exploitation characteristic of authoritarian neoliberal regimes (Bruff 2014; Tansel, 2018). Journalists' desire for community feels powerful in addressing their concerns. However, there is also the caveat that the professional and socio-political community journalists desire is always "in-progress." It is a simultaneous response to present, professional and political uncertainties and hopes for a more unified and stable future. As Massumi (2002) argues, belonging and coming together is immanent or "under way, never already-constituted" (p. 76).

Joseph (2002) argues that community is rooted in social processes, such as capitalism and/or nationalism. With this mind, it is worth exploring how Turkey's socio-political climate alters the possibilities of connection through the practice of journalism. I take seriously the claims of Ahmed (2005) and Joseph (2002)—who argue that community is constituted by broader social forces and discourses—to assess how journalists' lived and embodied experiences of Turkey's history and contemporary environment impact their goal of a united, communal public through journalistic works. Community is a complicated, contentious, and potentially inadequate word to describe the

[89] As I outline in my introduction, although there are vastly different approaches to what exactly affect "is" and "does", these scholars agree that affect is "intensity" (Massumi, 2002), "vibration" (Clough, 2010), or movement (Ahmed, 2004). Affect does not readily translate into subjective or conscious emotions (Clough, 2010; Massumi, 2002), but is a moment in which bodies come together through a mutual sense of immanent change (Clough, 2010). Affect is the potential relationship between different bodies, ideas, and structures to affect and be affected.

myriad of processes at play as people attempt to move towards each other. But the contentiousness of how community and connection are envisioned and practiced underscores a glimmer of potential for how we might come together. The inadequacies and limits of community might allow for the (re)making of other forms of belonging—ways of being together that have yet to be realized (Ahmed, 2003). Therefore, as I work through the accounts of my participants, their complications, and even hostilities, I hope to leave room for how the current shortcomings of community around journalism leave open the possibility for other forms of connection. As Ahmed and Fortier (2003) write

> As we meet, we might in some sense (re)make the ground for a different kind of community, one that might not even be named by the word 'community', in which the 'passing by' of others allows something else to give (p. 257).

Examining how and why community matters to journalists is important given that journalism is constituted through practices and rituals (Bogaerts, 2011; Couldry; 2004; Schudson, 1989; Tuchman, 1980; Zelizer, 1993). Concepts such as "objectivity" and/or "neutrality" that journalists describe as crucial to their profession are constituted through shared, collective discourses, interpretations, and norms (Zelizer, 2003). These interpretations of what journalism is, should be, and can be operate as a unifying vision amidst feelings of professional, political, and social incapacity (Zelizer, 1993). Through commonly circulated narratives and symbols, journalists ritually enact their role as authorities of interpreting key events and news (Bogaerts, 2011; Zelizer, 1993). Indeed, it is through the repetition of shared symbols, thoughts, and ideas that journalists function as a community even if they are not always organized as such professionally (Zelizer, 1993).

The narratives presented in this chapter demonstrate how journalists within Turkey articulate the importance of community as a way of addressing their sense of

ineffectiveness amidst economic precarity, a hostile government, and an increasingly suspicious public. This chapter considers how the attachment to community presents both the possibility and limitations of the sort of journalism and life my participants desire. Moreover, this chapter considers how the idea of community is bound to the uncertainties and negotiations of journalists' embodied detachment.

Conceptualizing Community

Community is a yearning to "come together," marked by questions of how different bodies relate to each other (Ahmed, 2005; Ahmed & Fortier, 2003; Cohen, 1985; Joseph, 2002; Nancy, 1991; Rink, 2008). How a community is defined and lived is relational, whereby belonging to a group is just as much a negotiation of similarity as of difference (Ahmed, 2005; Cohen, 1985; Joseph, 2002). Community is a process of deciphering what it means to live and be with others. In the following section, I review key works that discuss community as a form of affective movement and orientation. These scholarly works highlight that communities are cultivated around desired similarities and felt differences of identity—relationally constituted around political and cultural attachments.

Conceptualizing community as a lived and embodied orientation that is constantly in process helps us understand how journalists in Turkey negotiate their desires for a united political public vis-à-vis their own subject positions. Indeed, as I explain throughout the chapter, avowed and ascribed identity markers complicate the desire for community. Even though some scholars of affect, such as Massumi (2002), argue that positionality erases the movement and complexity of affect because it catches the body in a freeze frame, it is difficult to deny the tight connection between how affect can still have a subjective component. Clough (2010) argues that there is an intimate connection between

affect, subjectivity, and social relations because it is the "very indication of bodies forming in the transmission of force or intensity" (p. 224).

Community as an Orientation

Whether conceptualized as a symbolic resource (Cohen, 1985), utopia (Rink, 2008), or form of movement (Ahmed, 2005), community is more than the realization of connection between common causes, identities, bodies, and peoples. It is also an orientation and movement towards others in an effort to cultivate ties and connections. Although community may certainly manifest through formal organizational structures, spaces (i.e. Rink, 2008), and collectives in a given moment, it is also a "site lived through the desire for community rather than a site that fulfills or 'resolves' that desire" (Ahmed & Fortier, 2003, p. 257).

The experience and definition of community is both structural and symbolic. The structural components of community are constantly shifting in relation to how different cultural, political, and social resources are deployed by members as they refer to and make sense of their identities (Cohen, 1985; Joseph, 2002; Rink, 2008). As Cohen (1985) writes, "…whether or not its structural boundaries remain intact, the reality of community lies in its members' perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity" (p. 118). In other words, the structure of a community is contingent upon how people perceive and give meaning to these structures. These repositories of meaning are embodied (Ahmed, 2005), infinite (Nancy, 1991), and performative (Joseph, 2002). For example, Rink (2008) discusses how residents of the De Waterkant neighborhood in Cape Town, South Africa employ "utopia" as a tool to affirm this space as a gay refuge. Rink

(2008) argues that utopia is a resource to create the appearance of homogeneity and togetherness.

Utopia, as well as other symbolic referents like space, sexuality, gender, nationality, and class are tools that people utilize as they make sense of where and how they belong within a given physical and social landscape. For example, space is a node through which communities are assembled. Savage et al (2005) write, "Places within communities become sites where identity [is] performed…that is, how one articulates senses of spatial attachment, social position, and connectivity to other places" (as cited in Radford, 2017, p. 509). Community, in other words, is a process of identification (Ahmed, 2005), whereby one is moved to connect, which creates attachments to various symbols that become resources for creating, affirming, or denying commonalities.

The symbols or objects that people rally around do not stand in for the community, but incite movement towards or away others. Community is a process that calls upon us to trace the ways in which identification is marked by what it excludes (Butler, 2011). Communities are thus sites for the creation of boundaries. Cohen (1985) proposes community as a boundary-expressing symbol, arguing that communities are marked by how borders are experienced. He writes, "the consciousness of community, is, then, encapsulated in perception of its boundaries, boundaries which are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction" (p. 13). This means that community as a way of articulating, contesting, and negotiating boundaries is rooted in relationships between people, bodies, and objects. These orientations do not come from within; meaning that identity within a community is not inherent or pre-formed. While Cohen (1985) characterizes this relationality as flexible symbolism, Ahmed (2005) calls it the "slide of

affect." Affect for Ahmed (2004; 2005) guides how we understand ourselves in relationship to others and our environments. Ahmed (2005) argues

> [T]he slide of affect means that it does not come from a subject, nor an object, but involves the sociality of encounters, or the intensity of what it means to live with and by others, whereby 'withness' involves the differentiation between others. In other words, the circulation or slide of affect has sticky effects, a stickiness that surfaces as skin as the surface of bodies (p. 104).

Affect attunes us or moves us towards certain symbols, referents, identities, or objects. Thus, objects or referents to community are not stand-ins but come to matter in contact and proximity to other things.

Community and the Practice of Journalism

Community as a form of relationality and being-in-the world has been explored within the field of journalism. For example, Zelizer's (1993) work provides insight into how community is performed and (re)created through journalistic practices. Zelizer (1993) argues that journalism is an interpretive community, united through shared, collective discourses and interpretations. She pushes Schudson's (1989) and Tuchman's (1972) work further into the realm of cultural inquiry to contend that journalism operates as a community not just professionally but through informal associations. Zelizer (1993) writes, "journalists, in this view, come together by creating stories about their past that they routinely and informally circulate to each other—stories that contain certain constructions of reality, certain kinds of narratives, and certain definitions of appropriate practice" (p. 223). Bogaerts (2011) echoes Zelizer (1993), noting that the notion of an a priori community of journalists rooted in common practices or ethics, is a performative act. Building upon Butler's (1988) theorization of identity as a stylized, repetitive act, Bogaerts (2011) proposes that journalism as a professional community not only expresses certain

values to solidify itself as a united whole, but also constitutes those values, narratives, and discourses as important through repetition.[90] Through the repetition of narratives about the history and function of journalism, journalists engage in a process of affirming not only its relationship to society but also drawing its borders. What is news, how it is produced, and who is (or is not) a journalist is rooted in the perpetual reference to and enactment of "professional codes" (Zelizer, 1993, p. 234).

These professional codes and narratives become important as journalists navigate uncertainty and threats to what they see as the foundations and boundaries of the profession. Zelizer (1993), in this regard, references the memory and legacy of Watergate and how journalists deploy it to affirm the importance of critical investigation as a public service. It is an attempt to enact a unified whole in reference to external events and relationships. When members of a community perceive a threat to its "foundations," when the boundaries blur, "such a community is involved in the process of mediating and reinforcing discourses about itself and negotiating its 'internal group authentication" (Bogaerts, 2011, p. 401). As Zelizer (1993) notes in regards to journalism, this suggests that the structural components (i.e. formal associations, news outlets, and training programs) are not the only binding forces for a seemingly united profession. Rather, journalism as a community is constituted by how and when certain discourses and stories are circulated. Yet, the symbols, narratives, and discourses used to affirm the boundaries and structures of a community are not stable either. They alter and shift as the community responds to new and changing circumstances. As circumstances change, those part of a

[90] Referencing objectivity and truth as the foundations of the field, Bogaerts (2011) writes, "…that journalistic performatives actually constitute the vales of the occupation, rather than express them, is shown in the fact that it is only through reference to their routines that newsmen [sic] are able to claim objectivity…" (p. 408).

given community become more sensitive to and aware of what they see as their community (Cohen, 1985). Community is therefore a process, whereby its condition of possibility hinges upon a constant (re)activation of narratives and symbols. However, these symbols and narratives become a community's constitutive elements only through repetitive reference. Indeed, community demands labor (Ahmed, 2005; Joseph, 2002).

Laboring for Community

Community requires physical and emotional labor (Ahmed & Fortier, 2003). The elements that make up a community articulate relations of power, meaning that communities be constantly worked on—formed and reformed—in order to be recognized within a broader sphere of political action and influence (Joseph, 2002). This means, as stated previously, that there are no pre-formed, a priori elements of community, but that community and the discourse of community are parts within the social processes they constitute and are constituted by (Joseph, 2002). In this vein, Joseph (2002) argues against romantic and nostalgic accounts of community, which rest upon liberal, universalizing norms that miss how material processes transform social relations. She argues that this narrative "distinguishes community from society spatially, as local, involving face-to-face relations…" (p. 1). Instead, she contends that community is something both produced and consumed vis-à-vis material relations. For example, she looks at how capitalism is not anathema to community, but transforms how community manifests.[91] It presents new narratives and resources for how a community can come about or how one may exist as a

[91] Wallis' (2018) work presents an example of how support systems and communities require affective labor. Looking at drama programs for female migrant workers in China, Wallis (2018) presents an ethnographic study of how such formal initiatives, although a well-intentioned idea of creating support, in fact demand extensive emotional labor from the participants. As people who already expend a significant amount of affective work as nannies and housekeepers, drama as a means of empowerment and emotional release may in fact require the same sort of labor thereby complicating the potential of these programs to serve as site of agency.

member within the broader political public. In this regard, she is cautious of equating community with pluralism, arguing that pluralism as a resource through which community is founded under a capitalist state is in fact a form of assimilation. She writes

> In order to be recognized as a potential recipient of (subject to) the goodies that come from a pluralist state, one must first constitute oneself into the machinery that turns the raw material of community into subjects of the nation-state and capital (Joseph, 2002, p. 28).

Ahmed (2005) paints a similar picture, arguing that we are always already strangers to and within a community. Community, for Ahmed (2005) is a form of emotional labor that "involves the transformation of some others into unlikeness…and other others into likeness…" (p. 108). To create community, to exist as a community, to become a member of a community requires vigilant work on the social body in relation to the self (and vice-versa). It is a disciplinary system of social, cultural, and political production (Ahmed, 2005; Joseph, 2002).

Journalism is/as Connection

"I like to tell stories," Nasrettin often reminded me.[92] He said he liked to use his news programs as a way to educate and inform people across the country about the ethnic, religious, and socio-political diversity of Turkey. He felt that presenting these accounts, perspectives, and ways of life was a way of challenging the dominant narrative of ethnic and religious homogeneity within Turkey. He said through these reports and stories he hoped to foster connection between conservative Muslims in the heart of Anatolia with Alevi Kurds in the Southeast or with the LGBTQ community in Istanbul. For Nasrettin,

[92] Nasrettin's pseudonym is based on a classic children's literary figure in the region: Nasrettin Hoca or Nasrettin Teacher. The legends of Nasrettin span from the time of the Selcuk Empire to the present day. He was known for traveling all corners of the empire—telling stories from his travels as a way of educating people about other cultures, places, and peoples. The stories of Nasrettin Hoca generally presented a humorous anecdote followed by moral or overall lesson.

journalism was more than just reporting on current events, it was about exposing how such events were experienced by people from all walks of life. Nasrettin's hope was that these stories and varied perspectives would show how—even if different—everyone within the country experienced pain, oppression, and hardship. He wanted to use these accounts as a way of cultivating a more heterogeneous yet unified political body. Presenting people's stories through the news, for Nasrettin and my other participants, was what motivated and sustained their pursuit of journalism. Moreover, the idea of connecting people through news reports was not only articulated as a professional endeavor. My participants saw journalism as a way in which they could personally resist against a political system and ruling party they saw as divisive. Journalism was connecting different voices and experiences and an attempt to foment a more communal society through awareness and empathy.

Sezen described journalism as a career of "establishing contact." Her work as a journalist was about narrating the lived experiences of people around her, which she attributed to her personality

> In the end, we are all living here. We are a society that lives together…I am trying to get in touch with everyone. It makes me feel good. I am the sort of person who wants to establish positive communication and solve things through talking. Certainly this is reflected in my journalism…

Hande expressed similar sentiments. Her professional motivation to tell stories through the news was also personal in that she considered herself a people-person. Getting to know new people and hearing about their lives "nourished" her personally and professionally[93]

> Knowing people's stories is really important to me. I love meeting and getting to know people. It doesn't matter who or where they are, I want to learn their story. It nourishes me, it grows me…[For example], whenever I go on vacation I always

[93] In Turkish the verb "to nourish" or "beslenmek" is used to describe how something can be motivating on an embodied level. It is an expression showing passion and drive on an internal, even cellular level.

> meet someone and have a new 'vacation friend.' They are usually local. I talk with them, learn their story, and share it. It's a delightful thing.[94]

Journalism, for my participants, is a medium through which various perspectives and lives might be able to coalesce, even if only through the act of reading, watching, or listening to a story. It is a way of cultivating connections and a sense of belonging both for those on whom they report and for themselves.

I could sense this within Aydın whenever he talked about meeting new people and reporting on their stories. During our many conversations, he often talked about feeling different and struggling to belong no matter where he was. He was of Kurdish origin and grew up in the Southeast—a region mired in political conflict and military occupation. His family moved several times throughout the region when he was a child, finally settling in Diyabakir—the unofficial "capital" or hub of Turkey's Kurdish region. As a kid, he said he was often bullied for how he spoke and carried himself. He was smaller than most of the other boys in school, and spoke more formal "Istanbul" Turkish. In high school—by pure luck as he described it—he received a scholarship to attend a prestigious international boarding school in Norway. Even though he was excited and anticipated a sense of respite in what he envisioned as a more welcoming society, he was yet again confronted with feelings of outsider-ness. Whereas in Diyabakir he felt different for his more demure, proper mannerisms, in Norway he fretted over relating to white, secular Europeans whom he worried might see him as a judgmental, backward, conservative "Easterner." For Aydın, getting to know and writing about other people became a way of being heard. If he

[94] I am translating from the adjective "keyifli," which does not have an exact translation in English. "Keyifli" denotes something more than fun or pleasing. It hints at something that is internally delightful or a state of bliss.

could understand others through their stories, perhaps they too could understand his, which has been the underlying motivation for his pursuit of journalism.

Aydın was not the only one who saw journalism as an outlet for cultivating a sense of belonging to a larger social body. Mert also felt that his initial motivation to become a journalist was about being heard and mattering. Now the head of a major trade union and former TV anchor, Mert described feelings of inadequacy and isolation as a child. He came from a family of mathematic minds, whereas Mert struggled with numbers and never really cared for science. In school, he said, he loved being the emcee at school functions. It was in front of an audience that he felt confidence in who he was. It gave him a sense of accomplishment to know that others had heard and seen something he worked on. This feeling extended to his work as a TV anchor

> My family said to me, 'you're not going to succeed. You don't have any intelligence,' because my math was horrible. My dad was a mathematics teacher. My twin sister is an engineer. My elder sister was an engineer. So I was like the loser kid of the family. Probably that's why the television is a way to say: 'Hey look here. I have something original. I have stories to tell you. Love me. And you know, cheer for me, etc.'[95]

Salih presented a similar perspective. He felt personal pride and joy if he could reach people through his work as a journalist. What made the profession motivating and impactful was the extent to which he could cultivate a connection with his audience. As he phrased it

> It makes me happy when people read something I wrote. The reason I am a journalist is because I want to reach people. I want to reach people with my words and ideas. This is what makes me happy. If someone values, even if for 5-10 seconds, something I wrote, something I made, it is really important.[96]

[95] 03/30/2018
[96] 04/19/2018

I present these perspectives as a way to underscore that the ways in which these journalists emphasized the importance of connection, community, and belonging to their practice cannot fully be captured as an overt political or professional orientation. For example, Candea (2011) argues that we must attune ourselves to the rejections and ambivalences of defining the political. By looking at the nuances of what constitutes "the political" we can better appreciate the complexities and contradictions of socio-political life and practices. In the context of my research, this means accounting for how the desire for community within and through journalism is a highly intimate and personal endeavor. Their profession is an embodiment of how they relate and want to relate to the world around them. Journalism as a means of community-building is about brushing one's owns skin against that of others (i.e Ahmed, 2005).

"It's not taking sides. It's sharing"

How personal motivations intersected with the professional also had undertones of resistance. By resistance, my participants were not promoting an overt political program. In fact, many adamantly rejected any activist or political characterization of their profession. Rather, they saw their work as a small step towards bringing a polarized society together by reporting on stories and lives that are often ignored and actively marginalized by mainstream political parties and organizations. Working as a journalist was a daily means through which my participants could push against dominant discourses. By paying attention to the subtle articulations of how their work as a journalist has a broader social impact, we can account for how connection and community are defined as fundamental to the profession of journalism.

Connecting one's personal life with those of others was a way of marking the existence of people who might be absent from popular political and social discourses and representations. For Sezen, connecting her life and the lives of others to current events was a refusal of social, political, and cultural isolation. As she put it, "This is a force no one can stop. This is writing and producing history. It is documenting that 'you are doing something but this is what is really happening'." Sezen, in fact hosted a weekly program covering a mining disaster that occurred in 2014 as a way of keeping the memory of the tragedy alive and documenting how the incident continues to impact the workers, their families, and city where it occurred. Sezen, like many other journalists I spoke with, lamented the quick-fire pace of politics in Turkey, and hoped to use their stories as a way of keeping the memories of tragedies and injustices alive.

Journalism was a tool, in other words—a resource—my participants had to refuse the erasure of peoples and tragedies. It was a means of personalizing the negativity of Turkey's contemporary political climate and to show others from across the country that they were not alone and how others continue to be impacted by decisions, tragedies, and events from previous eras. Hande characterized it as calling attention to how different groups of people experienced hardship. For her, this was a small step forward to a more positive society

> I am a journalist. This is my form of resistance. This is how I am able to fight. It is writing about wherever there is injustice, talking about those who are not ever mentioned; it is about bringing to people's attention wherever power is operating and making things worse. It is saying, 'Look, bad things are happening here, say something already'…It is about getting people to care. I am taking the opportunity to let people know others' troubles. In fact that is how I can resist…If I can place just a small stone, that is great.[97] If I can present the voice of an unheard worker, a

[97] This is translated from a Turkish idiom: "bir taş koymak" or "to place a small stone." It suggests making a small impact but also implies something more active and material through reference to the placement of a stone.

> woman, a child, a teacher, that is a step forward. This is also something that fulfills a sense of personal and conscious obligation.[98]

I was struck by how my participants simultaneously rejected any political or activist agenda within their practice while maintaining that they were committed to using first-hand stories and accounts as a means of exposing power and oppression. In several conversations, I pushed back asking how this was not a form of political activism. Almost universally, they responded that their job as a journalist was to share all sides. Presenting the accounts and narratives of people directly affected by a given event was not taking a side from the perspective of my participants. It was about demonstrating how different people from different regions and different identities experienced life in Turkey. In fact, my participants actively described this orientation as congruous with liberal concepts of journalism such as "neutrality," "objectivity," and "impartiality." Defne said, "For us journalism is using rights-focused language in a way that is objective, and protecting the public by refusing confrontational and divisive language."[99]

The ways in which the god-terms of journalism (Zelizer, 2004)—neutrality and/or objectivity—were deployed in describing their profession was a means of legitimizing personal accounts and narratives of the people they described in their reports. These terms were a form of protecting their work from attacks by editors, the government, and a public they believed was increasingly hostile towards the press. Indeed, rejections of a political paradigm and references to objectivity helped to insulate their work from outsider critique (Schudson, 1989; Tuchman, 1972; Zelizer, 1993). Thus, if they were keen on using journalism as a means by which to bring people together, such principles helped ward off suspicion and mistrust by people they hoped to impact. As Didem described it, "[W]hen

[98] 02/22/2018
[99] 02/28/2018

you talk in a very political way, people reject listening to you. And when you go personal, it's like they hear it as a story in itself."[100] Similarly, Irem felt that storytelling was a way of personalizing events in a way that did not force an opinion on someone. It could encourage people to relate to one another without undue influence. She maintained that this position mitigated Turkey's political polarization, where she saw opinions as an anathema to a more united and peaceful society. As she put it bluntly, "I hate opinions."[101]

The idea of personal accounts and narratives as a crucial component of journalism was a means of contending with what journalists saw as rampant partisanship and division. Although they all desired to use their work as a way of challenging oppressive forms of power and bringing people together, they did not want to do so at the expense of isolating their audience from one another or from the story. By formulating their attention to the personal and micro as "presenting both sides," my participants felt that they were able to reach more people. Distaste for opinions was not necessarily an unbridled endorsement of objectivity and neutrality, but a form of journalism that presented various angles and perspectives—a fuller and more complex picture of a given event. Such texture and perspective would allow people to ponder and possibly understand other sides and experiences.

"Impartiality is still a side."[102]

Through refusing overt political characterizations of their journalistic ethos, my participants espoused principles such as neutrality, impartiality, and objectivity as a means to ward off critiques of being biased. They worried that the perception of bias on part of their readership would be detrimental to any sort of mission of creating common

[100] 04/14/2018
[101] 02/22/2018
[102] Translated from "tarafsızlık", which literally means "without a side."

connections. It would isolate and compartmentalize the very constituencies they sought to bring together. However, the refusal to take sides and remain impartial placed my participants in a double-bind. By refusing partisanship they were often accused of "taking sides." As Salih phrased it

> It's unfortunate that in countries like Turkey, impartial journalism is in fact a side. Especially, now…When you maintain impartiality, you are taking a side according to some people.[103]

Irem expressed similar sentiments, noting that in Turkey's current political climate one is forced to take sides. "But as a journalist," she said, "I really don't want to do that."[104] My participants expressed that readers would be unwilling to listen, read, or think about a different perspective if they suspected the report was skewed or angled towards any given political affiliation. My participants were unintentionally a part of an "othering" process, as they wrote about disparate people and experiences in the hopes of building community.

Historically, the news media in Turkey have been beholden to ruling party political interests (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012; Christensen, 2010; Heper & Demirel, 1996; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Öncü, 2013; Yeşil, 2016). From the single party rule of early Republican Turkey to the transition towards a multiparty system and even in the era of neoliberalization, media outlets and their owners have been closely linked (Tilic, 2000). The commercial interests of media owners are often leveed against the political concerns of the ruling party. Turkey's media system is "characterized by polarization, a deep relationship…between the media owners and state and business elites, and journalists' own political agendas" (Christensen, 2010, p. 194). Moreover, the ways in which the military has deployed the news media to orchestrate coups and coup-attempts, has resulted in a

[103] 04/19/2018
[104] 02/22/2018

deep mistrust and skepticism of news outlets by the public (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012).[105] Perhaps this explains why I initially assumed my participants had an underlying political or activist agenda in their characterization of journalism as a way of connecting people. I followed commercially-independent and oppositional news outlets, lived in a liberal, central district of Istanbul, and socialized with people who were vocal about their opposition to President Erdoğan and the ruling AKP. In my mind, any media outlet that reported on something other than official statements issued by the government was oppositional, politically-engaged, and/or activist. In my conversation with Defne, she said that the current political climate lends itself to viewing journalists who are critical of Erdoğan or who report on oppositional party leaders as partisan and even politically active—in the sense that they use their reports to make political statements or take sides.

For various audiences, news stories about different perspectives and experiences were divisive and politically motivated. For example, journalists writing about how Kurds are affected by damming projects in the southeast are framed as supporters of terrorists bent on weakening the country. For these journalists, community meant sharing stories and perspectives that showed the multiplicity of how people across Turkey experienced various domestic and international developments in both similar and disparate ways. Yet, showing another "side" could often be perceived by audiences as biased, resulting in mistrust and hostility between journalists and the people they wanted to connect. Negotiating perceptions of bias and partisanship were just one of the many barriers my participants contended with as they attempted to make sense of what it meant to connect people through journalism. While the fantasy and dream of community could be a motivating force amidst dire conditions, it could also be a debilitating nightmare.

[105] See introduction for further discussion of the history of the political economy of media in Turkey.

The Nightmare of Community

The romantic, even nostalgic dreams of how journalism could cultivate community were also a nightmare for many of my participants. Even though these journalists desired and wanted to cultivate connection and community through their reports and work, they expressed barriers to their ability and even will to realize this ethos. Just as Ahmed (2005) argues that community is more about attachments to ideas, people, and places, the realities and conditions these journalists faced made the desire for community arduous and at times even unattractive. The materialities of Turkey's political environment exert considerable pressure on journalists. They expressed fears over arrest, frustration with censorship and managerial concerns with an economic bottom line, fatigue, sense of inadequacy to actually reach people, and anger over the instrumentalization of media outlets to promote the ruling party's policy interests. In the following section, I will highlight how some of these concerns impact both the desire and practice of journalism as a form of community building.

An Environment of Suspicion

Accusations of partiality were mixed with a public my participants felt was at best suspicious and at worst downright hostile towards the media. Feeling as if they were suspect and untrustworthy put a damper on the journalists' ability and desire to not only continue working in the field, but to do so in a way that built relationships. Whenever I met with Aydın, for example, he seemed fatigued and put out by his job. He expressed that he felt incapacitated to really connect with people and craft stories that were based on deep, meaningful conversations. What once fed and ignited his passion for journalism now felt

insincere and like a chore. He was exhausted and angered by what he expressed was a suspicious public

> What used to motivate me was the ability to go around the country, to talk to people from outside… and write up their stories. Because when you talk to someone, sometimes you get very personal and you have a very sincere conversation. And they tell you their stories and you have a beautiful story out of it. Whether it be with interviews, with other things. It sort of gives you a behind-the-scene understanding or behind-the-curtain understanding of important events and important actors. But now we've gotten to a point where, and this is worldwide this not just in Turkey unfortunately, where as soon as you say, you disclose your identity as a journalist, people view you with suspicion…But instead of having a sincere conversation you start having to prove yourself as a normal person… that's not really nice.[106]

Aydın felt that his ability to "get personal" and understand the stories and lives of those he interviewed was limited because of his position as a journalist. Approaching people within the context of a news interview started off the relationship from a place of tension. For Aydın, rather than being able to talk, share, and empathize with one another, both he and his interviewees conflicted with each other, feeling the need to justify and explain motivations for the conversation. This meant that conversations and interviews began from a place of judgment and mistrust, which for Aydın, was a detrimental to cultivating the intimacy necessary for critical and personalized reporting.

Like Aydın, other journalists attributed public suspicion of the media to a government that instrumentalized news outlets to promote ruling party interests both within Turkey and abroad.[107] Burcu talked about an incident in which she was told by managing editors to not use a particular headline because it might de-stabilize the Turkish stock market. When I asked her why such a headline could cause so much trouble, she

[106] 03/2017

[107] Although my participants at mainstream organizations were more expressive about pressures from management to not offend the President Erdoğan and their reader/viewership, all my participants expressed an aura of mistrust of media workers and journalists within Turkey.

explained that the AKP utilizes the news media to cultivate an image of stability and economic prosperity. Indeed, President Erdoğan is known for calling out specific news outlets and journalists when he finds a report to cast an unfavorable light on both his initiatives and him personally (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012; Freedom House Turkey, 2017). Erdoğan has been accused of manipulating a historically contentious relationship between party politics and Turkey's news media to foment a climate of mistrust between different factions of Turkey's public.[108] He accuses journalists of actively attempting to undermine the unity and progress of Turkey, calling on his supporters to ignore the so-called lies of the press. This rhetoric is compounded by the arbitrary arrest of journalists for charges of supporting terrorism.[109] What results is a contemporary environment that is deeply mistrustful of not only media reports but media workers themselves.

My participants worried that even though a report might be developed with the audience's best interest in mind, it could backfire. Characterized in official discourses as manipulators, traitors, and even terrorists, my participants contended with reporting on events in such as way that showed a multiplicity of sides and perspectives while also avoiding the ire of the president, editors, and the public. They sensed the irony of how their attempts to bring people together through their reporting could potentially have the opposite effect. Burcu noted that it was a negotiation between editorial-cum-political

[108] Historically, the news media in Turkey has been viewed as suspect given the role they have played in announcing military coups (see Yeşil, 2016). Recently, mainstream news outlets were stormed in July 2016 and anchors forced to read a coup declaration as factions of the police and armed forces attempted to overthrow the government.

[109] The "Law on the Fight against Terrorism" contains vague provisions allowing for the arrest of people accused of belonging to or making propaganda for an armed organization. Since the July 2016 coup-attempt and the subsequent state of emergency, sweeping powers have been granted to the executive and judiciary to arrest and prosecute individuals suspected of being affiliated with FETÖ or various Kurdish organizations. According to a 2017 Freedom House Turkey report, the state of emergency has allowed for the judiciary to charge journalists with terrorism for what would normally be considered typical journalistic activity. For example, two prominent journalists were arrested and charged with "divulging state secrets" after they published information about Turkish security forces supplying weaponry to Islamic State militants (Freedom House Turkey, 2017).

priorities and her broader vision of journalism. She was clearly frustrated and felt stuck between a rock and a hard place

> Of course the priority should be the audience. But when you're talking about such an environment, we have to first find a way to smooth things. The first thing I would think would be: 'how will I tell this without offending anyone? Without creating a scenario? Creating some kind of unrest?' You have to think about how to make good out of bad.[110]

Even though Burcu wanted to use her reports as a way of showing how different political events and policies might similarly affect people from all across the country, she felt limited in her ability to report thoroughly and openly. She wanted to consider the audience in her reports, but felt pressure from management to craft the language of her stories in such a way that would not upset the ruling party or their supporters. She noted that she had to carefully select her titles and phrasing to present the news so that it was not perceived as negative.

Although her editors claimed that these more neutral framings would reduce potential political conflict, Burcu felt as if it further divided the political and social body. From Burcu's interpretation of management's pressure, reports and framings that where anything other than positive of the AKP and Erdoğan meant one was attempting to divide and upset the public and stability of the country. As a result, Burcu felt herself "watering down" language, article titles, and framings that could be potentially upsetting or divisive. Although these sorts of positively skewed, shallow reports might mitigate backlash from the ruling party and their supporters, the irony, for Burcu, was that people remained siloed in their respective socio-political arenas, never fully engaging with other perspectives, opinions, or each other. A fear or avoidance of division, in fact, further cemented division.

[110] 03/2017

And it gets Personal.

The frustrations that Burcu expressed seeped into personal relationships. Many of my participants felt incapacitated to reach and connect with people as a result of editorial bottom lines concerned with towing the party line (or more accurately Erdoğan's). They complained about how they saw their audience as victims of political manipulation and instrumentalization, resulting in immense barriers to cultivate trust and connection through their reports. However, attributing the socio-cultural polarization of people to a political system was complicated when my participants talked about their general personal lives. When our conversations would shift to more casual conversations unrelated to work or outside of the formal interview setting, I sensed resentment towards if not explicit distaste for a public they viewed as backwards and conservative.

Aydın talked about hostility within his own family. The resentment, anger, and sadness was palpable as he described an argument with a cousin

> [A cousin] accused me of being a liar. If I were pro-government media, of course they would take me, they would you know, hug me, they would embrace me, they would love me. I mean I've been accused by another cousin of mine for working against the interests of our country because I write in English on Facebook….It makes your work difficult because… let's say there is an explosion, and you just happen to be nearby. And so especially with news agencies, you have to report as fast, as quickly as possible. So, say you're nearby it, and if you're a news organization, if [my organization] is reporting it first and like minutes after the explosion, people here are going to accuse [my organization] of having been involved in the planning of that attack.[111]

Aydın was discouraged and frustrated. Not only did he feel incapable of doing his job, he felt as if his own personal life and relationships rejected him and his efforts. As I spent more time with him, I noticed that this bred resentment within him towards people whom he felt were too absorbed by mainstream, official accounts of events to consider alternative

[111] 03/2017

explanations, alternative visions, and experiences. He began approaching the world around him as willfully ignorant and accepting of a divided society

> How are you going to communicate to other people? I know that you, sitting across from me, have a good level of intelligence and, you know, you can listen and analyze things. But when I try to communicate with other people…they're like, 'no, fuck off.'"[112]

Aydın's comments suggested that he saw the general populace of Turkey as uneducated and unenlightened—a sentiment commonly encountered amongst more educated, liberal, and urban elites in Turkey.

It was not uncommon for me to hear complaints about "the rest" of Turkey as a brewing storm, ready to pounce and impose Sharia Law, taking away the freedom to drink, and to interact with the opposite sex.[113] Burcu, for example, talked about not wearing clothing that exposed her arms at work. I asked if management had banned such attire, but she responded that she chose not to because she did not want to cause a commotion on camera. She complained about needing and wanting to conceal her "secular" identity in order to not offend co-workers and her audience. Not only did she not want to potentially risk offending her audience, she did not want to offend co-workers

> I really like the [girls at work] and I mean, they're super nice people but they're super religious as well. They came to my place, I invited them. Maybe there were l5-16 people…And [when] they came I had to, for example, clear away the alcohol bottles… you know I don't want to like have any kind of trouble. And that's the fear I'm talking about.[114]

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[112] 03/2017

[113] One evening in the middle of my fieldwork, I was struck by a particularly vitriolic conversation about "conservative" women in Turkey. I was out with friends when we began discussing the Harvey Weinstein scandal and sexual harassment. Two of my male friends argued over what was to be done to address the issue of sexual harassment within the workplace. One in particular was quite vocal that any sort of ban on co-ed flirtation or interaction at work amounted to the enactment of Sharia law. Another agreed, both proclaiming that they did not want some "Kezban" wrongly accusing them of impropriety. Kezban is a female name in Turkey, connoted with religiously conservative, unattractive, uneducated central Anatolian women. It is often used as a slur when talking about women who wear the headscarf.

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The fear Burcu is referring to is worry over losing her job should she offend editors, Erdoğan, or audiences. Others, like I noted, mentioned worries over being arrested and isolating friends and family. They complained of adjusting their lifestyles, where they lived, and how they worked in order to avoid being a target. Tunca, Sezen, Nasrettin, and Burcu, for instance, all talked about moving to quarters of the city they identified as more "liberal." They wanted to seek respite from what they felt was constant surveillance at work and within their social lives. Tunca said he wanted to be around people "like him." When I asked what he meant by this, he mentioned wanting to drink openly—an act that has become a highly contested marker of one's political affiliations within Turkey. Others said they chose to work at certain outlets in order to be in a professional and collegial environment more in line with their social and political lifestyles. For example, Sezen, Emre, and Hande expressed that only commercially independent outlets fostered the sort of professional and personal support they needed to realize their ideal form of journalism.

The adjustments they expressed making to their lives in order to avoid economic, political, and social repercussions were tactics of survival, they said. If they wanted to keep their jobs, if they wanted to at least have some success with reaching people, they needed to make certain sacrifices. Emre, for example, said that sacrificing sleep and economic mobility was worthwhile in order to be able to work and live more "freely." Yet these complaints and fears were mired in the positionalities of my participants. Even their strategies of survival were linked to their positions within Turkey's socio-cultural climate. Burcu, Aydın, and several of my other participants came from privileged socio-economic backgrounds.[115] All were of secular orientations and often looked down upon people they

[115] Although Aydın was Kurdish, a violently oppressed and marginalized ethnic community, he was highly educated and spoke several languages fluently. In fact, he preferred speaking English with me. He received

saw as more outwardly conservative. In many instances, it felt as if these journalists were quick to identify as would-be martyrs for a laissez-faire, secular Turkey. However, their attachments to "freedom," "liberalism," and "secularism" appeared to work against their broader desires and fantasies of a more communal, pluralistic society. For example, concepts such as liberalism and secularism are viewed by Turkey's more pious demographics as antithetical if not hostile towards Muslim practices and identities. Several conservative friends explained to me how secular, laissez-faire liberalism was used to justify the suppression and marginalization of the religious masses during the early years of the Republic. Beards and religious clothing were banned in public institutions, and those who resisted were either fired or arrested with charges of undermining the state. Until 2010, women were banned from wearing headscarves in public universities and schools.

As journalists discussed "liberalism" and "secularism" as tenants of a more just, democratic, and plural society they were unintentionally relying on tropes of "freedom" that conjure memories and fears of anything but a free society for a large portion of Turkey's socio-political body. In the eyes of many conservative, rural, and/or religious communities within Turkey, the press is a mouthpiece and arm of a secular establishment bent on oppressing their religious freedoms. The very principles journalists relied upon in characterizing their profession and how they understood their identities and roles as journalists (among many others) proved problematic in their desire to cultivate community

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his high school education in Norway and his bachelor's degree in the United States. Burcu had a similar background. Her father had been a close friend of a prominent politician in the 1990s. She grew up in the elite quarters of Istanbul, attended private school, and went to university in Europe. She too, was multi-lingual.

through and around their journalistic reports. The optimism and hope of community through journalism, was in many ways cruel and impeding (Berlant, 2011).[116]

Barriers and Possible Bridges

As I navigated Istanbul and interacted with my neighbors, shopkeepers, and others, I encountered a public that viewed media workers as privileged, elitist, and out of touch. Moreover, these people were apathetic and sometimes hostile towards the idea that journalism could act as a unifying, connective force within Turkey. For those on the outside of the media world, journalists were conspirators working to undermine many of the religious and economic rights gained during the AKP era. Journalists and the media were military mouthpieces, soldiers of Mustafa Kemal's harsh secularism, and urbanites out of touch with the rest of the country. As a result of this history, the relationships with news media were starkly polarizing. My participants viewed Turkey's public as conservative and ignorant whereas the non-media workers with whom I interacted saw journalists as secular, authoritarian, and elitist. They each positioned each other as the opposition, holding onto markers of political and socio-cultural identities they viewed as incompatible. For example, my participants viewed the majority of Turkey as embodying a religious conservatism that was antithetical to objective, dialogic journalism. On the other side, the broader public felt that journalists were out of touch and hostile towards the values and lifestyles of the majority of Turkey.

[116] In Berlant's (2011) words, it is an "inclination to return to the scene of fantasy that enables you to expect that this time, nearness to the thing [that is desired] will help you or a world to become different in just the right way" (p. 2), fantasy being when people 'hoard' idealizing theories or imaginations of how they and the world 'add up to something'. In trying to make sense of the openings against the social order, optimism, is a means to cope wherein the individual or collective senses that a return to fantasy will aid in achieving their desire. However it can be cruel, in that this desire can impede the individual's or collective's flourishing.

Yet, even as my participants lamented and complained about how Turkey's social and political climate exerted pressure on their work as journalists, particularly its impact on their personal lives, they were steadfast in their attachment to the idea of journalism as a way of cultivating connection and dialogue. They were tired and frustrated, yet reiterated time and again that they maintained a glimmer of hope for the future of journalism. This optimism for a better future was one reason so many remained in the profession. Optimism and hope in what they felt were the tenants of their practice—impartial and objective reporting as a way of encouraging dialogue—characterized nearly every conversation. Yet, these affective inclinations towards their profession were complicated by how they identified as professionals and people within Turkey. By holding onto these ethos or definitions of journalism, my participants were unwittingly encountering barriers between themselves and their audience. Community ironically complicated their embodied detachment.

My participants held onto the desire for community through journalism as a means of finding their place within an unstable, contentious, and scary socio-political climate. An attachment to community was a mechanism to make sense of how they mattered within their profession, social circles, and politically. By holding onto journalism as a critical praxis of community-building, my participants hoped that they might finally achieve movement towards each other, their neighbors, their audience, and their immediate worlds. Community was a way of envisioning a better life—life as it could be—amidst circumstances that no longer seemed tenable or bearable. The effects of a deeply polarized political public—divided by religion, ethnicity, and political orientation—made the practice of journalism seem ominous. My participants expressed frustration and even

sadness over trying to reach people from different quarters of Turkey given the immense hostilities between Erdoğan loyalists and oppositional political groups, and between people from varied geographies, and also various socio-economic statuses. Although Turkey has been a historically divided society and journalists have often been scapegoated as contributing to these divisions, something about life under the AKP and Erdoğan seemed different for my participants. There was a sense of urgency for them to evaluate their role within society—change or the possibility of change seemed immanent. Thus in this state of uncertainty, urgency, and possibility, they turned toward the idea of community to dream of a better, more peaceful, and united society. Community, in other words, provided them with a tool to re-write the role they could play in their immediate environment. They could be builders of bridges, lines of connection, rather than bulldozers who alienated people from each other.

Attachment to community, however, was fraught by these journalists' socio-economic, religious, and gendered identities. How identities were perceived and expressed proved to be a stunting, arduous obstacle as they discussed the extent to which they could in fact realize community through journalism. Community as a means of pushing against the status-quo, or a way of detaching themselves from their subject-positions within Turkey was colored by how their various identities shifted and intersected. These intersecting identities were relational and situational—contingent upon with whom and where they worked, lived, and socialized. In the final chapter, I discuss how perceptions, embodiment, and performances of identity impacted my participants' engagement with, practice, and visions of journalism.

CHAPTER V.

"THERE IS NO JOURNALIST WITHOUT RAKı": INTERSECTING IDENTITIES, JOURNALISM, AND THE "MAKING" OF TURKEY

The first time I had rakı, I had to choke my first sip down amidst an ensuing coughing fit. My eyes watered and face turned red as I tried to recover both my physical self and slightly bruised ego. The men at the table chuckled, noting that it was strong and not for the faint of heart. Rakı—an anise-flavored alcoholic drink akin to ouzo or pastis—is often called "Aslan sütü" or "Lion's milk," a reference to its potency and the milky white color it turns when water and ice are added before sipping. It is usually consumed alongside "meze," or small dishes of fish, salads, spreads, cheeses, dried fruits, and bread—not unlike tapas in Spain—which makes drinking rakı a highly social event. Gatherings around the rakı table usually last for hours, filled with eating, lively debates and discussions, music, and depending on how much rakı is consumed, singing and dancing.

When rakı is served, one must instruct the waiter how strong to make it. "Tek" or single indicates an amount equal to the width of an index finger. "Çift" or "double," means to pour an amount equal to the width of both the index and middle finger. How one chooses to drink their rakı throughout the course of the evening establishes a hierarchy and social dynamic around the table. Patrons joke to one another about showing off or being weak, making one's rakı glass a marker of status. These nights of rakı revelry are highly masculine, where men engage in intellectual tit for tat, boast their sexual escapades, and try to prove their virility through the consumption of rakı. While some women do attend and

drink rakı, it is more common that the women present are the belly dancers or singers entertaining the male guests. The giggles of the men surrounding me at the rakı table, was thus a reminder of my status as a woman amongst *men.* If I could not consume with the likes of them, it meant I would be effectively barred from the conversation and debate that would unfold over the course of the evening.

I reflected on these dynamics when Nazim joked,"Rakısız gazeteci yoktur." "There is no journalist without rakı." Reiterating the importance of the Bab-I Ali era of journalism, he spoke of afterhour's get-togethers amongst journalists at nearby meyhanes—a style of restaurant that serves meze along with copious amounts of rakı. [117] It was at these gatherings that colleagues would discuss work related issues and current events and socialize, building a community of support and accountability. He was not the only one of my *male* participants to talk about the importance of rakı to the development of coalitions of support and collegiality amongst journalists. Nasrettin often scheduled meetings and networking opportunities at meyhanes, where he said he would hear the latest gossip from colleagues. Given the history of drinking rakı as a highly masculine (and classed) activity, I was curious the extent to which women journalists had access to (or even desired access to) the camaraderie that was developed around drinking rakı. It was not that my female participants did not imbibe—many drank beer and wine—but that I noticed a highly gendered dynamic amongst how these journalists expressed and experienced their profession.

How journalists navigated their identities within daily life exposed the tension inherent to their embodied detachment within their profession. The sorts of activities—

[117] Bab-I Ali was the publishing district, where the vast majority of family-owned, smaller scale news outlets were located until the 1980s and 1990s. During the peak of Turkey's neoliberalization process, these outlets were sold off to large corporate conglomerates and holding companies, ending the era of Bab-I Ali.

such as drinking—spaces, and social circles they used to define their profession underscored intersecting classed, gendered, and religious boundaries amongst journalists and between journalists and Turkey's public. Outside of formal networks and work, journalists still contended with their role in reinforcing a history of highly gendered and classed nationalism, even as they hoped to push against it. In this chapter, I examine how my participants' daily performances and articulations of their identities simultaneously reinforce and challenge the tensions between different gendered, classed, and religious identities within the profession of journalism.

Given the importance my participants placed on uniting people together through their reports, how journalists navigate their subjectivities merits examination in that it highlights the fluidity and intimacy between a journalists' daily life, professional life, and their goals of contending with a socio-political environment that is highly polarized along the lines of gender, class, and religion. Although gendered and classed inequalities are apparent in all professions and institutions, the ways they manifest and play out within the profession of journalism are important for examining given that journalists are often seen as referees of systems of power (van Zoonen, 1994). How my participants understand, experience, and articulate their subject positions within Turkey impacts what journalism is and can be within Turkey. These experiences shape who has access to the profession of journalism and therefore who has a stake in shaping the profession. All of this, in turn, impacts the sorts of stories, voices, and angles of the news.

I begin by exploring theories of gender and identity. Next, I provide an overview of intersectionality as an approach for understanding identity as fluid, layered, and relational. Next, I contextualize the different markers of identity that have played a crucial role in the

establishment of Turkey as a nation-state. I specifically note the process of "Turkification." I then proceed with a review of theoretical works on the role gender has played in other nation-building contexts. I then present a review of literature on the relationship between gender and journalism. I use this review to ground and contextualize the role identity, specifically gendered identity, has played in the development of Turkey as a nation-state. Although gender as a marker of identity is not the sole point through which the myth of the nation-state of Turkey is (re)created, it has been a salient category through which other classed and religious dynamics within Turkey play out. Gender is a lens to examine other intersecting experiences of class and religion within Turkey's socio-cultural and political milieu. Within the context of my research, it was the gender dynamics amongst journalists that revealed other class, religious, and professional tensions. Next, I present narratives of the different ways in which identity markers are exposed and shift within these journalists' lives. For example, I look at how after work socializing underscores the different domestic obligations and pressures men and women journalists face. Largely drawing upon participant observation from the casual get-togethers with my participants, I explore how different facets of these journalists' identities are made visible around activities such as drinking, the places they gather, and even when and how frequently they socialize. I also examine how these dynamics complicate their desires to simultaneously craft a rigorous, democratic form of journalism, while also remaining neutral, objective, and unaffected by the power dynamics of life in Turkey. In other words, how does identity challenge journalists' desire to detach from their embodiment of gender, class, and religion?

Intersecting and Fluid Identities

I orient my analysis alongside broader theories of identity and power, such as Foucault (1972; 1980; 1982) and Butler (1999) to emphasize that identity is not an essential, a priori category but an effect of relations of power and socio-cultural (re)production. From a post-structuralist standpoint, identity is not merely a vehicle through which power flows, but identity is also the condition of its possibility. The power of the myth of a unified Turkish nation-state, is constituted through continual, repetitive and specific iterations of identity. In other words, the nation comes into existence through performances of identity that reinforce the nation as a unified whole. For example, the myth of a singular Turkish ethnic identity as the cornerstone of Turkey as a nation-state hinges upon daily articulations and references to one's own sense of "Turkishness."

This perspective is useful for grasping how perceptions and markers of identity amongst my participants are indicative of their subject-positions within Turkey and how they fit within a web of relations constituting the nation-state. How journalists understand and experience their identity in relation to their profession is important to consider given that their stories and reports have the ability to reach broad and far-reaching groups of people. Their work can reinforce or undermine existing political dynamics and socio-cultural norms. Even though all of my participants considered themselves critical of Erdoğan, the AKP, and the authoritarian history of the Republic, their personal lives, biases, habits, and social circles highlighted how they remained subject too and embodied oppressive systems of power. Patriarchy, elitism, and distaste of religion all colored their lives. Despite their own critiques of the contemporary political environment and their hopes of cultivating journalism as a profession rooted in plurality, my participants'

subjectivities contoured the conditions of their work and their visions of what journalism should be.

Identity is Referential and Repetitive

Critiquing the binary oppositions of structuralist theories—which approached the study of language and culture by positing that words and texts were defined by their opposites—post-structuralist scholars of identity contend that a given pair of identity markers cannot be reduced to the opposed category. For example, what it means to be "man" is not soley defined in relation to "woman," but is also an effect of a system of knowledge production. Foucault (1966) argues that the knowledge of our social worlds and ourselves operates within a discursive order that is referential, marking an empty relationship between signifier and signified. Foucault (1966) writes, "Resemblance never remains stable within itself; it can be fixed only if it refers back to another force, has value only from the accumulation of all the others, and the whole world must be explored if even the slightest of analogies is to be justified and finally take on the appearance of certainty" (p. 30).

Thus, our social categories do not have a historical bedrock other than through continual references and relationships. Again quoting Foucault (1966), "[M]an [sic] is not himself historical: since time comes to him from somewhere other than himself, he constitutes himself as a subject of history only by the superimposition of the history of living beings, the history of things, and the history of words" (p. 369). What we come to know as our identity is the effect of relations of power inscribed onto our bodies. This means that how we occupy the world exists within a field of possibilities that delineate the

available actions, categories and modes of being available to us.[118] Foucault (1972), however, does not reject the importance of context in his theorization on the character of the subject. The constitution of a subject is relational, making the discursive system that forms our beings highly contextual. Different sets of relationships, places, institutions, geographies, and markers of identities matter in how we know what we know, and also how we understand who each other are.[119]

Butler (1990; 1999) builds upon Foucault's approach to knowledge and subject formation in her examination of gender. For example, she argues that any relationship between male and masculine is constituted through continual references or repetitions—not something innate within a given person. Butler (1999) rejects any biological determinism of gender to argue that gender is performative, or, "a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body…" (p. xv). How we ascribe masculinity as a male trait and femininity as a female trait is naturalized through repetitive acts, references, and relationships. For Butler (1990), this signals that gender is a constructed category, with no basis in biology.

Gender as a category of identity is "free-floating" and comes into being within certain sets of cultural, political, and social relationships. Gender is not a substantive being but a point "of convergence among culturally and historically specific sets of relations" (Butler, 1990, p. 15). Gender, for Butler (1990) is a lens through which to question all categories or notions of identity and how identity operates as a normative ideal. Butler

[118] In defining power in his later works, Foucault (1982) writes that power "acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions. A relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends, it breaks, it destroys, or it closes off all possibilities" (p. 340).

[119] "[The relations of discourse] involves a system of differentiation and relations (the division of attributions, hierarchical subordination, functional complementarity, the request for and the provision and exchange of information) with other individuals or other groups that also posses their own status…" (p. 1442). 3

(1990) asks, "how do the regulatory practices that govern gender also govern culturally intelligible notions of identity?" (p. 23). Butler (1999) also dismantles sex in discussing the discursive character and performativity of gender. Deconstructing gender, for Butler (1999), also means challenging the very premise of sex as a natural, biological category. Butler (1999) writes, "gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'a natural sex' is produced and established as "pre-discursive," prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (p. 11).

Considering Foucault's (1966; 1972; 1982) and Butler's (1990; 1999) postulations on the construction of the subject through relational systems of knowledge, identity categories are fluid and unstable. This means that our beings are constantly constructed and deconstructed in relation to other forces, people, places, and objects. We are always already discontinuous and split. As Braidotti (1997) writes

> Being thus becomes activated as a force whose function is to stitch together the different moments it enacts but that it does not encompass. The metaphysical weight of Being is reduced to a mere shifter: it drops the pretense of essential continuity on which it erected its imperialist power of signification, to return each subject to the specific multiplicity of one's singularity (p. 39).

In other words, the identity categories we use to describe ourselves or others as whole beings is split, layered, intersecting, and constantly shifting in relation to other forces. Identity is intersectional and contradictory (Braidotti, 1997).[120]

Intersectionality and Identity

[120] Any [identity category] can be the hegemonic one for some period of time, but their structure being relational, they constantly shift in relation to each other" (Braidotti, 1997, p. 43).

Intersectionality is a framework that seeks to highlight and bring to the surface the different forces—such as racism and patriarchy—that mold a particular socio-political or cultural formation. From the vantage point of intersectionality, political subjects are not only the outcome of these forces, but are articulations or manifestations of those dynamics at a given point in time and space (Cho et al, 2013). As Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall (2013) write

> By focusing on structures of power that constitute subjects in particular sociopolitical formations, we locate intersectional dynamics in social space and time. This does not mean that subjects are simply structural positions. It does mean that debates in intersectional studies will circulate less around categories and identities and more around *how* those categories and identities (and their specific content) are contingent on the particular dynamics under study or political interest (p. 807, emphasis added)

Even though intersectionality has been criticized for assuming an essential, a priori subject, intersectionality actually complicates naturalized categories of identity in order to question how different experiences of being come to matter in a given context. Critiquing feminist politics, Crenshaw's (1991) work on intersectionality, for example, questions the identity marker of women as a catchall term for experiences of gendered and racialized marginalization. She notes how "women" as a broad category within feminist politics has ignored other layers of identity and experience. Examining violence against women, particularly women of color, Crenshaw (1991) argues that their identity as both women and women of color leave them at the margins of feminist and anti-racist projects. Crenshaw (1991) sees intersectionality as a lens by which multiple identities criss-cross to construct our social world.

Along these lines, Nash (2008) questions whether intersectionality is a theory of identity or a theory of (marginalized) subjectivity. She argues that intersectionality must

capture how race, gender, religion, sexuality, class, among other categories, "are produced through each other" (p. 10), She asks, how do different identities highlight various experiences of subjectivity? In other words, how might gender as a category of identity underscore or render apparent other raced, ethnic, and classed experiences of marginalization? Intersectionality is not only about looking at a fixed vantage point to assess the multiple and varied ways in which someone experiences marginalization or privilege, but it is also a method for mapping how gender, race, sex, class, among others, converge along multiple axes. It is an approach to power that looks towards different social processes that render significant different social identities that can exist simultaneously along and within multiple hierarchies.

Within my research, intersectionality signals how the different dynamics between journalists as they gather together in different social and professional settings render different facets of their identities visible. Identity, in other words, is relational. For example, an after work symposium I attended brought together a vast array of journalists—across outlets and platforms—to discuss the latest news and difficulties facing journalists in regards to censorship. The symposium was held in a cool, trendy hotel in Taksim, complete with wine, beer, and tasty hors d'oeuvres. Male and female journalists mingled and most of the presentations given were by women, suggesting a collaborative environment unencumbered by religious norms on the segregation of the sexes. It was an intellectual gathering of liberal, well-educated journalists regardless of sex, race, or ethnicity. However, upon further scrutiny, the location of the event and presence of alcohol meant that this gathering, while empowering for some, was potentially inaccessible and even an undesirable venue for others. Islamic religious norms prohibit drinking alcohol and

some have also interpreted this to mean prohibition of being in the presence of alcohol. This, compounded by the fact that Taksim is considered the center of secular, more "Europeanized" lifestyles, potentially cuts off these journalists from other potential colleagues and allies, who might feel unwelcomed and even put off by the location and drinking.

Drawing Boundaries and the making of "Modern" Turkey

Drinking alcohol, and even the specific type of alcohol one drinks, is a "highly charged cultural marker of social class, lifestyle, and political narratives" (White, 2010, p. 25). Many of my participants, usually male participants, preferred to meet over drinks, at trendy bars in central Istanbul. Although rakı was the drink of choice for more formal and extended gatherings amongst colleagues and friends, the cool, crisp Turkish lagers was the beverage of choice when I would meet my participants for both formal and informal interviews. Although Efes is the most widely produced brand of beer in Turkey, none of my participants ever ordered it. They preferred the newly popular craft beers being produced across the country or Tuborg, a Danish beer produced under the license of the same company that produces Efes. I was curious why my participants never ordered Efes.

After tasting a spectrum of different beers during my time in Turkey, I honestly could not decipher the difference from one lager to the next. After asking a neighbor friend, I learned that many people were boycotting Efes because the chairman of the brewing company, Anadolu Efes, had urged the government to place higher taxes on craft and home brewing (Weise, 2018). This decision to boycott Efes however was quite ironic, given that almost all beer, including Tuborg, was produced under the license of the parent company Anadolu Efes. What I came to understand from my observations, however, was

that Efes was seen as a low-class beer. It was cheap and the sort of beer teenagers and vagabonds would drink out of paper bags on street corners. Given that my participants were educated, urban, and of a secular orientation, choosing a beer that reflected their status was important.

Such tastes and preferences by my participants were subtle indicators of their socio-economic and political positions within Turkey's political milieu. Their choice to drink, what to drink, where, and with whom, for example, was a weighted daily proclamation of where they stood politically and culturally. It was not only a proclamation of class position, but also a marker of how they fit within the national narrative of Turkey. For example, as Keyder (2010) argues, "the national narrative brands a subject's perception of self, attributes of the body, and everyday practices with highly resonant markers of belonging" (as cited in White, 2010, p. 225). In other words, where one lives, how one dresses, the foods and drinks they prefer, where they shop, among others are all indicators of how people are positioned by and position themselves within the broader national narrative. Nationalism and national identity, White (2010) argues, have become individualized through how people perform and mark their identity.

"Turkification"

The early years of the Republic of Turkey were characterized by a very orchestrated form of social and political engineering, known as the "Turkification" process (Altınay, 2004; Hazir, 2014; Navaro-Yashin , 2002; White, 2010; Xypolia, 2016; Zürcher, 2014; 2017). After the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, the newly appointed leader of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal, instituted an expansive and violent program of integrating the diverse and dispersed populations of Anatolia under the banner of a united Turkish

identity (White, 2010; Zürcher, 2014; 2017). All remaining vestiges or references to the Ottoman Empire—other than those that emphasized a pure and triumphant Turkish ethnicity, were abolished. A secular government replaced the caliphate, the Latin alphabet supplanted the Arabic alphabet, and all public endorsements or displays of religion were prohibited (Zürcher, 2017). A large motivating force during the early construction of the Republic was a turn towards Europe and Western liberalism. Interestingly, part of this program was the creation of research foundations, programs, and conferences tasked with showing continuity between the Turkish tribes of Central Asia and Anatolia and Western Europe (Altınay, 2004; White, 2010; Zürcher, 2017). For example, the Turkish Historical Congress in 1932 was given "the task of proving the theory that the Turks were indeed a white Aryan race originating in Central Asia where 'Western civilization' was assumed to have originated" (Xypolia, 2016). This research was part of the "Turkish History Thesis," which was an attempt to historically and scientifically support the claims of a united, pure, and continuous Turkish history and ethnicity.

Indeed engineering a united ethnic identity was central to the Turkification process of Republican era Turkey. This imperative was reflected in Article 88 of the 1924 constitution, which states "inhabitants of Turkey are considered as Turks by virtue of citizenship irrespective of religious or racial differences." Rather than indicate a liberal form of citizenship, this article allowed the state to have a monopoly on defining the parameters of belonging and being a member of society. To be a citizen, meant to be a Turk, but to be a Turk one had to live and perform in ways that aligned with the grand national narrative, which was secular, militaristic, ethnic, and highly patriarchal. For example, scholars such as Hazir (2014), Navaro-Yashin (2002), and Öncü (1997) look at

the performance of national belonging through boundary making processes of class, gender, ethnicity and religion. Currently, as the ruling party has begun touting more religiously-oriented notions of "Turkish Culture,"—such as the revival of Ottoman styles of architecture—people of secular orientation use western cultural forms or brands to distinguish themselves from the conservative and largely rural supporter base of the AKP.

Navaro-Yashin (2002) notes that these tastes and preferences are not simply determined by the state, but help to make or constitute what the state and national imaginary looks like. The anxieties between secular/religious, ethnically Turk/ethnic minorities, western/eastern play out through commodity cultures, various state rituals, and perhaps most importantly through daily habits, preferences, and relationships. For Navaro-Yashin (2002), these practices help to constitute one's identity and attachment to the state. This in turn is what binds people to certain understandings of culture and history, which thereby materializes the state.

Given that my participants were concerned with how their work factored into the narrative of Turkey as a nation-state, understanding how they performed, enacted, and lived their identities is important for appreciating how their work as journalists spans beyond the newsroom and offers a glimpse of how they fit into the socio-political contours of Turkey as a nation-state. In particular, the ways in which gendered identities played out as these journalists navigated their professional concerns and goals within their daily lives highlights how different preferences, lifestyle choices, and habits reveal other layered and intersecting identities. All these things in turn expose how journalists attempt to take ownership over their profession amidst contentious circumstances, while also very much embodying the problems they seek to remedy.

Gendered Nationalism

The history of the Republic of Turkey is characterized by a highly gendered form of socio-cultural and political engineering (Altınay, 2004). For example, upon the foundation of the Republic in 1923, Mustafa Kemal—the so-called founder of the Republic—adopted the last name Atatürk, which translates to "Father of the Turks." As he assumed the role of president and leader of the young republic, he adopted several daughters. With no biological children of his own, he tasked his daughters with different social roles in cultivating the new ideal, female Turkish citizen. For example, Sabiha Gökçen was Turkey's first female fighter pilot and active in the Dersim Operation of 1935.[121] Gökçen became the symbol of a newfound gender "equality" that was secured through a highly militarized state (Altınay, 2004).

It was through their roles as mothers to soldiers or sisters to soldiers that women in Turkey were deemed as modern (Altınay, 2004). While women in Turkey received full voting rights in the early Republic, the struggles for women's rights have always been negotiated under the shadow of a patriarchal state (Sirman, 1989). From education to dress, the identities of women have largely been determined by a highly patriarchal and secular notion of "modernity." [122] With the accession of the AKP government, notions and gendered norms in public life have seen a shift towards more public displays of modesty and religiosity. These shifts are often deployed in official state rhetoric as the AKP hails

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[121] The Dersim Operation was a mission carried out by the Turkish government to forcibly integrate Alevi Kurds into the nascent Republic of Turkey. When the locals rebelled, the government responded with force, killing and forcibly removing thousands of residents. Ismail Beşikçi was the first scholar to call the Dersim Operation a genocide, noting the passage of the Tunceli Law of 1935 which set the basis for systematic,deportation, alienation, and killing of the local population (Ismail Beşikçi Foundation, 2015). Scholar Martin Van Bruinessen (1994), on the other hand, has called the Dersim Operation *ethnocide,* arguing that the Dersim Operation "was but the culmination of a series of measures taken in order to forcibly assimilate the Kurds" (p. 7).

[122] Until 2010, the wearing of the headscarf in public institutions, including universities, was banned. The loosening of both formal and informal restrictions on veiling has been attributed to the AKP government.

and promotes the cultivation of a "new" Turkey. Indeed, the ways in which gender is publically discussed, deployed, and performed within the context of Turkey is linked to (re)production of the nation-state.

While there have been numerous scholarly works which examine the role gender has played in the formation of a "Turkish" state, culture, and "identity" (Altınay, 2004; Koğacıoğlu, 2004; Kandiyoti 2002; Parla, 2001; Sirman, 1989), little work has been done on the relationship between journalism and gender within Turkey. Thus, the narratives presented in this chapter provide insight into the ways in which gender comes to bear on journalism in ways that may or may not bolster the history of the state as patriarchal, classed, and secular. In other words, I argue that various journalistic practices and the lifestyles surrounding the profession materialize, reinforce, and challenge gender as the condition of possibility for the nation-state in Turkey.

In analyzing journalism in Turkey, accounting for the specificities of gendered subjectivity is necessary for exploring the extent to which journalistic practices and perspectives either critically question or sustain the status quo. Numerous scholars in Turkey have analyzed the institutional and discursive formations of gender in the historical and contemporary formations of the nation-state. For example, Altınay (2004) offers an ethnographic account of how the military/militarism and gender coalesce in the creation/reification of the nation-state. Combining ethnographic interviews with archival research, Altınay (2004) provides a picture for how historical discourses during the founding of the Republic of Turkey come to bear on education, gender, and daily life in Turkey. Specifically, she looks at how gender and ethnicity converge in discussions on militarism and the nation-state. For example, she shows how the history of Sabiha Gökçen,

Turkey's first female fighter pilot and an assailant in the Dersim genocide, impact how femininity and ethnicity are discussed in terms of duty towards the nation. She writes, "Just as 'Turkish culture' is defined through the military, Turkish masculinity is defined through military-service" (Altınay, 2004, p. 32). For Altınay (2004) the ways in which the military and education coalesce reinforce the idea of Turkey as masculine, whereby to be citizen one must assume their proper role as either solider or mother/sister/wife to the soldier. Therefore, Altınay's (2004) work offers a critical glimpse for how "duty," "service," and "sacrifice" mark gendered belongings to the nation. The performance and experience of gender and the nation are mutually-constitutive. In as much as the state sanctions certain notions of gender through institutionalized means, the dynamics of the classroom and military family become the condition of possibility for the realization of Turkey as a nation-state.

Other works similarly explore how the state in Turkey works through medical, legal, and judicial institutions to regulate gender and sexuality. Parla (2001) looks at the use of virginity tests as a mechanism that normalizes bodily violence against women as part of the state's "sovereign claim over social relations in the name of the nation" (p. 66).[123] Zengin (2016) looks at medical examinations in state hospitals of trans-women seeking to change the gender on their national ID card and gay men who undergo medical examinations to be exempt from compulsory military service. Zengin (2016) argues that "penile penetration" becomes a tool for the regulation of gender and sexuality vis-à-vis the hetero-normative state. In this regard, she details the *medicolegal* procedures that

[123] These virginity tests are usually carried out by the request of either police or school officials. Officials requesting the exams typically cite deviant, suspect, or otherwise "immoral" behavior as the rationale behind the exam. In one case, Parla (2001) notes how a virginity examination was requested by a school principle for a girl who had been absent from school.

determine the extent to which a trans-woman is medically and legally a woman and, similarly, the extent to which a gay man is medically and legally a man. The varying medical and legal procedures that they undergo thus work coincidentally as a means for maintaining *gendered* sexuality. These procedures (i.e. testing vaginal depth of trans-women and sexual position in homosexual relationships) reinforce the state's monopoly on ostensibly proper bodily, gendered, and sexual comportment. Through medical, educational, and judicial intuitions, the state in Turkey secures a monopoly on socio-cultural life, crafting a highly gendered regime of belonging.

The gendered aspects of nationalism are not isolated to Turkey. A host of scholars from a variety of intellectual perspectives have written on how the nation-state converges onto bodies, sexualities, and gendered identities in an effort to shore up its sovereignty. For example, Alexander (2015) notes how laws on domestic violence in the Bahamas, which notably criminalized homosexuality, were deployed as a way of crafting a heterosexual state that would be conducive for tourism. Enloe (2000; 2004; 2014) notes how practices of consumption simultaneously reinforce domesticity as a private feminine realm, while at the same time linking it to broader projects of nationalism and militarism.[124] Wexler (2000) looks at how the feminine gaze was used as a way of normalizing and softening the violence of U.S. imperialism. Ahmed (2017) looks at how Muslim women's veiling practices have become a point of negotiating state sovereignty vis-à-vis colonial

[124] In *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Enloe (2000) argues how groceries are marketed and consumed reinforce gendered militarism. For example, she examines a can of Spaghetti-O's that have special Star Wars packaging. Enloe (2000) reads this as an item that socializes children into militarized violence as desirable and fantastic. Simultaneously, it situates women as military mothers who craft a home and domestic space that normalizes and socializes the family into military culture. For Enloe (2004), this means that women are not just passive victims of militarization but agents, who occupy multiple positions within regimes of capitalism, militarism, and nationalism. Looking at the complexity of gendered militarism, Enloe (2014) argues, is important for mapping how violence and power are not abstract but lived through the everyday practices and experiences of women across the globe.

intervention. Numerous other works also account for how gendered formations of the state are complicated by sexuality, race, and ethnicity (Massad, 2008; Povinelli, 2006; Puar, 2007; Reddy, 2011; Reddy 2016). The sorts of regimes constructed by the state to manage and regulate gender are contingent upon a host of other forces, marking the state and nation as an intimate encounter.

The ways in which gendered discourses of the nation materialize onto various bodies and subjectivities through institutionalized regimes of knowledge offer an interesting point of entry for exploring the dynamics of journalism within Turkey. While there is a great deal of work on how medical, legal, educational, and judicial institutions within in Turkey function to (re)create the sovereignty and primacy of the state as heteronormatively masculine, little scholarly attention has been given to how various gendered aspects of journalistic life fit in with this discursive regime. The question remains of the role that journalism in Turkey plays in shaping the gendered nation-state. While Marshall (2010) discusses how the press in Turkey frames issues of gender equality and Kogacioglu (2004) looks at framings of honor crimes within the mainstream press, there is a dearth of academic literature that explores how the gendered aspects of journalistic life reinforce the unfolding of the nation-state.

Gender and Journalism

Even though there has been relatively little academic work on journalism and gender in Turkey, there is ample work on how gender is constituted, negotiated, and contested within news-making practices in other contexts. Carter et al's (2002) co-edited volume on gender, the press, and power, looks at the relationship between commercial interests, cultural norms, and gender in journalistic norms and practices. From concerns

over the "bottom line" to how news discourses reflect a "masculine narrative form" (p. 6), Allan et al (2002) explore how a commercially-focused, masculine hegemony is reinforced through standards of journalism. For example, stories focused on women and women's perspectives are often relegated to the category of soft news, over concerns that these issues will not garner broader audience interest. For example, Patricia Holland's chapter on the sexualization of the press discusses how the popular been has been feminized, reinforced by gendered divisions of the public and private spheres. Like van Zoonen (1994), Allan et al (2002) see journalism as a mediator of hegemonic struggle, whereby "narrative forms and practices routinely held to constitute 'news' will have to undergo critical reconsideration if the imperatives of male hegemony are to be challenged…" (p. 7).

Similarly, de Bruin & Ross (2004) focus on the extent in which gender as a socio-cultural given is reflected, negotiated, and challenged within newsroom settings and practices. They argue that undoing hetero-normative and sexist discourses within journalism is not easily remedied by "adding women" (see Ross, 2001) given how broader norms and assumptions regarding gender impact how journalists understand their profession and report on their social environment. As Ross (2017) argues in her book, *Gender, Politics, News: A Game of Three Sides,* for example, gender, journalism, and politics are highly intertwined. Specifically, she notes the differential treatment of men and women politicians by the media in national elections. Steiner (2012) echoes de Bruin & Ross' (2004) claim, noting that understanding the impact of gender within newsroom settings and practices necessitates consideration of the "complex historical, material, and cultural/social conditions" (p. 1) that inform what gender *is* and *does* within a given setting. For example, de Bruin (2000) looks at how specific news institutions,

organizational norms, and gender affect journalists' construction and articulation of professional identity and practice. With this in mind, I conceive of the relationship between gender and journalism as not static but situated and unfolding, particularly from the perspective of hegemony and nationalism.

Mediated representations of women have also been utilized in the interest of various states and nationalist projects. Wallis' (2006) analysis of mediated discourses of women in China exemplifies the ways in which women are gendered through shifting and changing representations in the mass media. By outlining the historical shifts and continuities of mass mediated representations of women in China from the Mao era to its market liberalization, Wallis (2006) argues that the state deploys strategic discourses about women to normalize and materialize state ideologies and imperatives. Similar to Turkey, women in China have "been expected to play an active role in building the nation, even as that role has shifted to meet changing social and economic needs" (Wallis, 2006, p. 97). From their roles as "equals," "laborers," "housewives," and "consumers," the state in China has used pamphlets, radio, and television broadcasts to circulate constructs of gendered citizenship that bolster the state ideology du jour. In the United States, mediated technologies have also played a role in crafting a form of gendered citizenship and belonging. Spigel (1992; 2001) highlights how at-home television viewing crafted a space in which women could have access to the public sphere, but from the confines of the privacy of the domestic home. Indeed, states work on and through media to circulate and construct narratives of gendered belonging that bolster dominant ideologies and imperatives.

In thinking through journalism, in as much as it may function to circulate narratives of the hetero-normative and masculine state, the journalists themselves are also bound within and by these narratives as gendered, professional, and national subjects. In keeping with theories of intersectionality and identity, I examine how gender is rendered a relevant or impactful force for journalists in Turkey in relation to histories of nationalism, institutional norms, ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic and political background. The impetus and crux of this chapter is that within Turkey, gender, the nationalist project, and journalism are contingent and co-constitutive forces. Gender is a pivot point around which we can understand how the visions and desires my participants have for a critical and democratic society through journalism is colored by identity. Therefore, the political, democratic, and even oppressive possibilities of journalism exist amidst broader struggles of meaning and subjectivity (i.e. Hall, 1982, Mouffe, 2005; Carpentier & Cammaerts, 2006).

Gendered Lives

Whenever I met with Nasrettin, he was "fucking stressed," as he phrased it. "How are you?" I would ask. "Fucking stressed," he would reply as he sat down, lit his usual cigarette, and ordered either a beer or coffee. This was our routine nearly every time I would see him. While I empathized with his stress, over time I became fatigued and irritated by his complaints, perpetual tardiness, and jokes about feeling lazy despite having lots of work to do. As a precariously employed, freelance journalist, he was certainly under pressure to make ends meet. Yet, he was wishy-washy about his jobs. Whenever he was presented with a new opportunity or began a new gig, he complained that it was too much work. For example, when he began a financially lucrative position hosting a twice-weekly

online news program, he immediately began finding reasons to leave, "You know, he said, "this job makes me have to wake up early, and I don't want to wake up early. I also just don't want to have to create content or find guests for the show."[125] Increasingly, I sensed that he was rather cavalier about his employment situation. He complained about his precarity, expressing a desire for something more stable and meaningful, yet always returned to the same reasons for turning down a job or leaving another—"It's a lot of work, and you know, I am just kind of lazy."[126] In spite of his proclaimed stress and busyness, he always found time to meet with me. In fact, after reflecting on my fieldwork experience during analysis, I came to the stark conclusion that the vast majority of my consistent participants were men, both fully employed and freelance. These male journalists' middle-class status combined with either girlfriends, wives, or mothers who tended to household duties gave many of my male participants the flexibility to pick and choose "dream" jobs and engage in leisure time outside of work.

When I originally began fieldwork, I had assumed that I would have greater access and consistency with women journalists, not so much because of religious regulations on the segregation of men and women, but because I had assumed we shared common experiences and perspectives of the world as women. However, as Haraway (1991) and Sandoval (2000) warn, assuming the universality of a common women's experience risks missing other forms of oppression and marginalization women face, such as racism, homophobia, and poverty, among others. It was through my interactions with and observations of these journalists that I noticed how gendered dynamics in their daily lives exposed other forms of privilege and oppression, making their professional goals and

[125] 03/29/18
[126] 03/29/18

desires all the more difficult. The rest of this section covers how women journalists were particularly burdened by maintaining a balance between domestic, familial obligations and professional life. In particular, they faced more scrutiny in the workplace and amongst colleagues when their personal struggles and emotional health became physically visible. Appearing fatigued or frazzled, for instance, were considered antithetical to how (mostly male) journalists characterized the proper comportment of their female colleagues. In juggling familial responsibilities, mental/emotional health, and standards of physical beauty, female journalists were duly burdened in their personal and professional lives. This double burden made interacting with their colleagues, networking, and socializing difficult and often times uninviting.

Domestic Duties

Although my female participants complained about work, their complaints were mostly geared towards editorial pressures not to publish work that would upset Erdoğan. They also complained about not having enough time and resources to write in-depth stories. They did not speak in as much detail about their personal lives as I had expected. While they would mention family, personal feelings and stresses, and health issues, they always did so quite stoically. I was shocked by how casually and matter-of-factly Irem divulged her diagnosis with an anxiety disorder as a result of her exile to the UK after a recent police investigation for participating in an editorial campaign in support of a pro-Kurdish newspaper. "Nothing happened," she said, "[but] I immediately went to a shrink and he game me a pill…it's called Paxil…I love it. I'm still taking [it]."[127]

Even though Irem's stress was related to her activities as a journalist, she brushed it off. She remained committed to her work and sought ways to remain in the profession. She

[127] 02/22/19

had once been a well-regarded TV host, but said she no longer liked being in front of the camera. I asked if this were related to her anxiety and perhaps an attempt to avoid political scrutiny given her recent investigation, but she said it was more about life balance. Her current work as an editor and translator allowed her flexibility to be both a journalist and single-mom. Like Irem, Hande also downplayed, or at least did not exacerbate, her personal life stresses. Despite commuting daily from a far eastern suburb of Istanbul, losing her father, and having several other ill family members, her demeanor was optimistic and even chipper. Work was not a source of stress for her. In fact, it was quite the opposite. She felt liberated and supported by her colleagues

> In our work environment, we really work like a family. Everyone knows each other's troubles. Everyone does their best to support each other. Whenever I am having difficulty, whenever I reach my limit, I know I can tell them and they will tolerate it. They will say, 'close this and rest for a bit. We will handle it. Once you are rested, come back.' It's with this sort of support and solidarity that you can move forward.[128]

I was surprised by the ways in which these two women downplayed the stresses of their daily lives, particularly their ability to separate the pressures of work from their familial obligations. They articulated a balance between work, friends, and family. However, I was struck that despite this "balance," I had difficulties arranging more than a few meetings or get-togethers with many of my female participants. Irem had her son, and Hande often would cancel last minute, apologizing for family emergencies. Sezen was similar. She often mentioned working late or having a deadline, or even feeling fatigued. I typically only saw her whenever Nasrettin and I were meeting. Burcu had recently found out she was pregnant and said she wanted to focus on work and getting ready for her new baby. Although my male participants were much more vocal about their stresses related to

[128] 02/22/18

work, they seemed to have the free time to meet more frequently. I struggled to make sense of my lack of consistent access to these women journalists. I would re-read notes and old text messages for clues, wondering if perhaps I had missed something.

It was one evening at Sezen and Nasrettin's house that I realized the reason behind the discrepancy with access. After spending the day together talking about journalism, politics, and the professional organizing with Nasrettin and Mert at a coffee shop, we returned to Nasrettin's home. When we arrived, Sezen was just getting home from a busy day at work. As Nasrettin and Mert smoked, drank beer, and got into a lively discussion about the journalists union and political organizing, Sezen brought out some wine and other little light bites. She sat at the dining room table, while Mert and Nasrettin sat in the armchairs on the other side of the living room. I went over and sat next to Sezen. She spoke rather softly about what she did that day, only intermittently chiming into Mert and Nasrettin's discussion. I watched as she cleaned up after her guests, offered food, drink, and then sat off to the side. It was then, I realized that my female participants were largely inconsistent and unavailable due to the double labor they did both at work and at home. They worked full time jobs, while also performing household duties. Sezen sometimes joked about being busy with laundry, noting that Nasrettin did not like to do it. Hande felt the need to be with her family, given that several family members were dealing with cancer diagnoses. The free time they had outside of work was largely spent taking care of loved ones. They did not have the benefit of extra leisure time to meet with me.

When my male participants spoke of family or domestic obligations, they were ambivalent and sometimes flippant. Their primary task was to be a journalist and to dedicate themselves to cultivating a rigorous profession. Tunca, for instance, shirked my

questions about his daughter (from a previous marriage) when I asked if he thought about her given his recent stint in prison. He said they did not tell her he was in prison. They told her he had gone abroad. He was very short and a bit more closed off as I tried to ask about her and how it impacted her. His daughter learned after he was released where he had been. Tunca said he was not really concerned for the wellbeing of his daughter so much. "She has her mother," he said.[129] It is not that Tunca does not care for his daughter or that my other male participants are apathetic towards their families. Rather, it was the domestic work that the women performed that allowed them to be more available for other activities outside of work. By not focusing on laundry, checking on ill family members, or worrying about meals, they could meet to discuss union initiatives, ideas for stories, and tactics for handling workplace censorship and pressures. Moreover, their largely middle-class upbringing and status (even if between jobs), allowed these male journalists to take more risks by meeting with colleagues to think of union tactics and strategies.

Caring for family members, laundry, cooking, cleaning, and even emotional care has been theorized by feminist scholars as part of the realm of "reproductive labor," which sustains the "productive"—or rather material—labor of capitalism (Gilman, 1898; Hochschild, 1983; Glenn, 1992; Federici, 2004; Duffy, 2007; Weeks, 2007). Feminist socialists, in particular, have focused on how capital accumulation creates and exploits divisions of labor, which have resulted in the gendering and separation of public and private spheres (Federici, 2004; Weeks, 2007). Moreover, the feminization of the domestic sphere has resulted in the de-valuing of "reproductive" work, making women more dependent on men (and the state) to survive.

[129] 05/01/18

The separation and hierarchy between "reproductive" and "productive" labor has not only been gendered, but is also highly racialized as Glenn (1992) argues. Both Glenn (1992) and Haraway (1982) note that traditional Marxist and socialist feminism attribute women's oppression to the division of labor, implying a singular and universal women's experience. While domestic work has certainly been feminized, the experiences and relationship of different women to reproductive labor is varied based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and socio-economic status (1992). The intersection of these various subjectivities in the division of labor means that the extent to which women can maneuver these labor dynamics varies. My female participants were largely upper middle class, well-educated, and ethnically Turkish. While this lent them some flexibility in their ability to move between the "private" and "public" spheres, they still had to contend with broader socio-cultural expectations and pressures on the role women are expected to play within the household.

It was not that the women journalists I met with were excluded from these conversations, but that they remained largely on the sidelines. My female participants did not explicitly express domestic obligations as a barrier to their participation in professional organizing or in socialization amongst colleagues. However, caring for family members, doing household chores, and the like took up most of their free time outside of work. The domestic labor these women performed—whether by choice, guilt, obligation, etc—meant that the afterhours networking and camaraderie within the profession were largely dominated by male journalists. As a result, the spaces and activities that characterized journalists socializing amongst themselves was quite masculine and middle-class. Activities such as drinking rakı, fierce and aggressive political debates, and meeting at bars

immediately after work underscored the middle-class masculinity of the profession, which was reinforced by normative notions of gender within the context of Turkey. It was not that women were unwelcome, but rather that women were caught between a desire to cultivate a strong and united profession, and a deeply rooted, if unspoken, sense of duty towards family and loved ones. Their absence therefore made it conducive for the spaces and activities journalists engaged in outside of work to be highly masculine, which in turn made it all the more challenging for women journalists to gain access to or even desire access to these social spaces.

Women journalists were certainly present and active within their offices. Many were well-respected reporters, such as Irem. But, it was in these outside of work gatherings and social events that journalists discussed their professional frustrations and strategized about how to address ongoing political persecution. These after work happy hours were the informal arenas were journalists discussed the role they should play in contesting political polarization, violence, corruption, and authoritarianism. With women largely absent, the conversations about how the profession of journalism was to survive under the AKP and offer a means through which to foster a more critical and united public was quite masculine. It meant that the future of journalism might possibly be defined unwittingly by the gendered norms that so many of my participants wanted to critique. The gendered spaces around which the profession was defined made it more difficult and arduous to realize journalism as a realm through which the violent, ethnocentric, militarized, and patriarchal history of Turkey could be challenged. The unintentional, unnoticed, and banal ways through which gender, classed, and religious identities manifested in the personal

lives of my participants meant that their professional ethics and goals might sustain the status-quo.

Beauty is in the Eye of the Beholder

How the male journalists I interacted with talked about their female colleagues was also telling in how gendered norms and identities contoured the sorts of relationships journalists had amongst themselves. The language and descriptions they used to talk about female journalists was often characterized by physical appearance and references to emotional (in)stabilitiy. Nasrettin, for example, went off on a tangent about Irem when we were having lunch together one day. I had been unaware that the two were former colleagues. Nasrettin leaned into the table and told me he had some gossip for me. He had run into a former colleague who, according to him, did not look so well. When he mentioned Irem's name I replied that I knew her. Nasrettin immediately responded, "Isn't she beautiful? Well, she *was* beautiful."[130]

With my knowledge of Irem's trauma over her investigation, Nasrettin's comments gendered her emotional well-being in a way that illuminated the gendered inequalities and dynamics within Turkey and specifically journalism. Physical appearance, especially that of women, is public domain, especially if the woman is in the public eye, like Irem. Many women journalists and anchors are ascribed the role of being the symbols of a given news outlet rather than being treated as critical, investigative, journalists. Female journalists are again often the face rather than brain behind the story. Thus, the decline of their career might be articulated through comments on physical appearance. Maybe this is another reason why Irem does not want to be in front of the camera anymore. She wants to avoid the publicity of the physical toll her profession and trauma has taken.

[130] 2/18/18, emphasis added

In one anonymous encounter I had with a well-known TV news-anchor, I too found myself judging this journalist for her physical demeanor and emotional state rather than taking seriously her descriptions of her work. As I described the encounter in my field notes, I characterized her as a burnt out, drugged out, self-indulged celebrity:

> She immediately began smoking—one cigarette after the other. As we began talking, the whole interaction reminded me of talking to a strung out, on the outs, celebrity. The only thing [she] seemed to be missing was a silk robe and martini. She seemed drunk, self-absorbed. I felt like I was talking to a Kardashian-type rather than a journalist[131]

This journalist boasted that she had written five books, supported herself through college, and was now financially well off, which allowed her to travel abroad frequently and live in an incredibly exclusive and expensive compound. Because of her demeanor, age, and where she lived, I immediately wrote her off as shallow and materialistic. I convinced myself that she over-exaggerated her modest upbringing and professional accomplishments. Reflecting on my original assumptions alongside how other aspects of gender identity were revealed in how male journalists described their female colleagues, I realized I might have missed how this particular journalist was caught up in the pressures of a field that demanded women be physically attractive and presentable. Although I consider myself to be a feminist and critical of normative standards of beauty and appearance, I was unintentionally participating in and sustaining these gendered structures. Perhaps, her reiterations of writing several books, hosting a popular nightly news program, and other professional and scholarly accomplishments were a way to emphasize her intellectual abilities and that she was a serious journalist.

She, as well as many of my other female participants, battled pressures—both at work and with their male colleagues—to uphold standards of beauty and proper decorum.

[131] 02/18/2018

Too often would the first descriptions of female journalists be "she's beautiful" or "she's a mess"—equating physical beauty (or perceived lack thereof) with emotional stability. It makes sense, then, why these female journalists shirked social interactions with male colleagues. Their familial obligations, emotional well-being, and physical appearance coalesced in how they were judged as journalists by their male colleagues. Even though my female participants did not necessarily explicitly express an aversion to interacting with their male colleagues outside of work, how they described the relationship between their work and daily lives suggests that their interactions with male colleagues both at and outside of work were frustrating and unappealing.

"They are so Muslim"

How gender played out amongst these journalists also revealed religious dynamics within Turkey. How different gendered attributes were discussed in relation to work life underscored religious and classed identities intersected with gender. In Turkey, the politics of "class" has often centered around religion, geography, and one's social and cultural capital (Hazir, 2014). While more traditional understandings and dynamics of class (i.e. Marx, 2004) play out within the context of Turkey, much of the contemporary scholarship on class focuses on its socio-cultural dynamics, particularly in relation to religion (Hazir, 2014; Navaro-Yashin , 1999; Oncu, 1997). Hazir (2014), for example discusses that class within Turkey manifests through boundary making processes, whereby people turn to different objects, ideas, and lifestyles as a way to mark their class desires and positions (Oncu, 1997). Religion and descriptions of religion, for example, have figured prominently in how classed identities are asserted (Tuğal, 2003; 2009). Accordingly, this section

explores how the gendered lives and identities of these journalists also reveal other religious dynamics that are also highly classed.

Short Sleeves and Underwear

In one of our first meetings, I asked Burcu to describe her role as a journalist. She expressed frustrations over feeling like she was a puppet or symbol for conservative ideologies and the ruling AKP. I asked her how and why she felt this way. Burcu began telling me about policy changes at work after her former outlet was sold to a pro-government and pro-Erdoğan businessman. Pointing to her short-sleeved shirt she said

> Before this guy bought the company, for example, I could go with this top. That was really OK, you know, to be on screen. And then they said, 'no more short sleeves.' We couldn't even go with sleeves like this, so we had to wear like jackets and *proper* [clothes], like long sleeve things.[132]

Burcu's comments not only indicate the policing of women's physical appearance and dress at work, but how female bodies and comportment are a nexus through which religious concerns and dynamics play out. In Turkey, women's clothing and how women dress has been a battleground of religious ideologies. For example, the Islamic headscarf was banned in public institutions until 2010, which has made wearing it a highly public and politicized issue. After the ban was lifted and more conservative and pious forms of dress became publically visible, clothing that ascribed to Islamic notions of modesty began hitting the runways and high-end retailers (Navaro-Yashin, 1999). As a result, clothing choices have become a way to mark one's position politically within the debates over religion. Burcu's comments were illustrative over the policing of *women's* clothing in particular, and also subtly indicated how she aligned herself amongst the urban and secular elite that has historically dominated politics in Turkey. For her, wearing short sleeves

[132] 03/2017, emphasis added

indicated liberalism, progressivism, and modernity, whereas covering one's arms—a norm of modesty within Islam for women—was oppressive and backwards. This assessment is not to dismiss Burcu's frustrations over how clothing policies for women impacted her professional life, but to highlight how her complaints indicated tensions over religion within the lives of these journalists.

Many of my participants did not interact with outwardly conservative or pious journalists. They complained about the increasingly conservative clothing and lifestyles on display at work and around Istanbul. As Burcu described some of her colleagues, they were "super religiously oriented, like Muslim, really strong Muslims."[133] How my participants dealt with or described the impact of religion on their work as journalists, was not all the same—particularly between male and female participants. While Burcu, for example, complained about how she was policed in what she wore, feeling disenchanted and disempowered, Tunca was aggressive in his reaction towards religious norms.

Tunca had recently been released from prison, so I asked him how he coped while incarcerated. I was shocked by his response. "I enjoyed myself," he said.[134] He said the guards did not bother him because of what he would do during his weekly strip searches. These searches, he said, consisted of being taken into a small room, with no camera, and one guard. He noted that he was not required to fully strip down. Rather, he was expected to remove all of his clothes except his underwear. The guard would ask for Tunca to put Tunca's own hands down in his underwear and around his genitals to show he was not hiding anything. Yet, Tunca would fully strip down and expose himself to the male guard, which is considered a sinful act in Islam. Genatalia within Islam cannot be shown to

[133] 03/2017
[134] 05/01/2018

someone other than close relatives or a spouse. The guards would snap at him to get dressed. Grabbing his genitals, he would respond that if they were going to strip search him that they would have to "look at this." Tunca emphasized that not only did this embarrass the guard in the room, but raised questions about the possibility of homosexual acts between the two. The guards outside would see Tunca after the procedure putting his clothes back on after a prolonged period of being in there alone with the other guard. After a few times of these games, the searches stopped and the guards left him alone.

Tunca manipulated religious notions of sexual propriety to cope with his time in prison. Even though he said he felt negatively impacted at work and in his personal life by increased public displays of religion, he was also quite aggressive in how he handled those frustrations. For example, he said he lived in his particular neighborhood because there he could drink publically. Burcu, similarly, left her previous position and moved to another outlet over the new clothing policies. She said she had the freedom and flexibility to leave her job because of her financial mobility, education, and professional connections. "I don't have to be in the media, you know. But some people have to feed their families…and they can just not let it go like this."[135]

Although both Burcu and Tunca's experiences with the impact religion has had on their work lives are different, they both underscore that religion is detrimental to their lives as journalists. While Burcu said the religious people in her office were "nice enough," she explained that their lifestyles and values were incompatible with hers. For example, when she invited some colleagues over for dinner one evening, she decided to hide all of the liquor bottles in the house, worried she might offend one of her pious colleagues. Although

[135] 03/2017

Burcu did not personally blame her religious colleagues for her anxieties over offending them, an increasingly religious office and management—all more favorable towards Erdoğan and the AKP—made her worried that if she offended someone along religious lines, it could jeopardize her job. Moreover, she felt that she had to alter her journalistic work, careful not to write things in ways that might be insulting of Islam. For Burcu, a secular lifestyle and any reporting that could be deemed critical of religion had become conflated with opposition to Erodogan and the AKP.

Reflecting on how these journalists described the intersection of religion with their personal and professional identities, I came to realize that the religious voices and identities they criticized were absent from my pool of participants. In my nine-month fieldwork, I only had one participant who was outwardly and expressly religious. The field of journalism in many ways, specifically where you worked, seemed to be divided along the lines of religion, and in particular how religion was ideologically deployed through the lives and works of journalists. Most notably, it was conservative and religious women who seemed most marginalized by this regime, as I discuss in the following section.

Making Jam.

Reçel Blog was founded in 2014 by Rumeysa Çamlidere. Rumeysa, who graduated with an engineering degree from one of Turkey's most prestigious universities, started this online storytelling platform as a response to the narrow and negative portrayals of religious, Muslim women in the news media. Reçel in Tukish means jam. In Turkey jam is a staple at breakfast, with typically several types offered ranging from cherry to apricot and even rose flavored. Making and knowing how to make homemade jam is considered a marker of *proper* domesticity for women. The impetus of the blog and its name was a

response to comments made by a political and news pundit who went on a tirade that women no longer made homemade jam, but rather buy their children and families Nutella. Rumeysa felt it was important to counter discourses of women, particularly religious women, as bound to the home and defined through their domesticity (or perceived lack thereof). As she phrased it, Reçel Blog is a way for Muslim women to come together and share their stories and perspectives of what it means to be a woman, a Muslim woman, *and* a Muslim woman *in* Turkey. For Rumeysa, and the contributors of Recel Blog, this online forum is a way of providing Muslim women the chance to respond to and offer a perspective of the way religion, gender, and politics in Turkey have come to bear on their lives. It is a means of creating a new language, "from the inside," about the intersection of religious and gender identities.[136] She said that the blog, while focusing on women's experiences, did not define itself as feminist because many observant, Muslim women feel marginalized and disenchanted with that word because it is often connoted in Turkey with the harsh secular principles of Kemalism, which arguably most adversely affected Muslim women.[137]

Rumeysa does not consider herself a journalist and sees Reçel Blog as more of a storytelling platform than news portal. However, Rumeysa noted that she felt her work was important for accounting how the identities and experiences of Muslim women are often simplified or instrumentalized by both the secular elite and the religious political factions of the AKP and other religiously oriented parties. From the vantage point of secular political cadres, pious women are portrayed as uneducated, simple, unattractive, and

[136] 5/8/2018. I am translating from the Turkish phrasing "Içeriden bir dil kurmak." This translates literally to, "Establishing a language from the inside."
[137] Under the Kemalist regime, women were banned from entering any public building while wearing a headscarf, which meant that an observant Muslim woman could not hold public office, teach, or even attend a public school/university while wearing the headscarf.

oppressed. In more conservative, religious rhetoric, women have been instrumentalized to critique how religion has been oppressed under secularism. Although religiously-oriented political parties and leaders hail the importance of educating women, women are still largely ascribed the role of mothers and wives. Whereas women under Kemalism are the mothers and wives of soldiers, under the AKP women are the wives and mothers of a new religious elite. Reçel Blog is thus a way for its contributors and readers to (re)define their identities and experiences as women and Muslim women.

I met Rumeysa, somewhat surprisingly, through Nasrettin, who often made disparaging remarks about religion. Rumeysa had been a guest on one of his weekly online news broadcasts. He said he wanted to feature Rumeysa and her blog because it showed "other ways" to be a Muslim. He noted how Rumeysa was very urban, worked full time, and was politically left-leaning, which he contrasted with how most people in Turkey—particularly those in rural Anatolia—practiced the religion. Nasrettin felt that by featuring Rumeysa he could showcase a more "liberal" and "enlightened" version of Islam—one more "diverse" than wearing a headscarf, praying five times per day, and fasting for Ramadan. Nasrettin's intentions for highlighting Rumeysa's work was a way for him "to educate" secular, urban, and intellectual elites about other forms of Muslim life that were not the scary, violent, and intolerant forms of religion that has often been promoted in popular, secular, Republican discourse in Turkey. However, by presenting Rumeysa, her life, and work on a binary with other forms of religious identity and practice, Nasrettin was simplifying the complexities of gendered and religious life that Reçel Blog was hoping to highlight. Moreover, by categorizing Rumeysa as liberal, educated, urban, and open-minded, Nasrettin was reinforcing and upholding historical divisions between the secular

elite of Turkey's urban centers and the rural populace of Anatolia. Nasrettin's attempt to build a bridge between different lifestyles and political orientations unwittingly exposed his position within Turkey's socio-political and cultural landscape. He wanted to showcase Islam as something not to be feared; yet for Nasrettin religion could only be tolerated if it could be seen through the lenses of his liberal, educated, secular, and urban life. His attempts to contend with identity politics in his journalistic work exposed how his world view and positionality very much color his engagement with and view of his profession.

Rumeysa's experience and Nasrettin's approach to religion underscored the complexity of how religion and gender intersect not only in Turkey, but within the profession of journalism. These journalists felt that the more religiously-oriented AKP was detrimental to their personal lives and professional work. Women journalists, such as Burcu, complained that her attire became more highly regulated at work. Others feared they would be censored or face repercussions if they wrote something that might be seen as critical of Islam. Generally speaking, the majority of my participants worried that religious conservatism was seeping into every facet of their existence. While their fears are certainly valid, their complaints also exposed how their own secular and gendered identities marginalized voices and experiences such as Rumeysa's. While women journalists certainly faced double-burdens in their navigation of their profession and sense of personal obligations with family, pious women were further excluded because of the discrimination they faced from secular elites and how the AKP and other conservative political factions have instrumantalized them. They have been used as political tools to highlight how secularism has infringed upon religious identity, simplifying not only religious experience but also universalizing the experience of religious women. These intersecting forces thus

meant that religious women were simplified in journalistic reports as existing along a binary of secularism-religion. Moreover, it meant that they were largely absent from the offices and journalists I visited.

Identity Matters

For all of my participants, identity mattered. Identity markers such as gender, religion, and class colored how they interacted with each other, "balanced" home and work life, and contended with some of the difficulties and dangers of the profession. Different markers of identity coalesced and were positions through which my participants approached journalistic life. How they experienced identity, also, highlighted how their private and personal habits, obligations, and routines intersected with work and the histories of Turkey as a political project. These journalists articulated different aspects of life as gendered, classed, and religious beings in ways that exposed where they fit within Turkey's socio-political milieu. Moreover, these intersecting identities and performances of identities became defining characteristics of the profession, which made it harder and even inaccessible for some to fully engage with journalism both professionally and socially. As a case in point, drinking rakı as a marker of journalistic socialization meant that journalistic identity and the field were defined through secularism and masculinity. This sidelined many female journalists and religious journalists from fully integrating into the profession. As a result, the work and lives of journalists were both impacted by and reinforced historical divisions and tensions between gender, class, and religion. Although these journalists hoped that their work might expose alternative narratives of the histories and cultures of Turkey, as I discussed in Chapter 2, how their identities played out in the field meant that detaching from their embodied positionalities and subjectivities within

Turkey was difficult if not impossible. Their work as journalists and their approach to the profession contained traces of Turkey as a gendered (i.e. masculine and patriarchal) and religiously divided nation-state.

These identities were neither static nor isolated. Rather, they shifted and intersected depending on the context and with whom they were interacting. For example, while many of my female participants contended with gender norms and obligations as they balanced life at work, professional social activities, and home life, gender was not the only defining aspect of their work and lives as journalists. Religion and class also mattered and could also play a more salient role in defining their lives as journalists depending on the setting. Burcu's complaints about the office dress code for example—while certainly containing components of gender—exposed how religious identity factored into her understandings of her role as a female journalist. Thus, gender, class, and religion, were not foundational and primary to their lives and work as journalists, but were emerging intensifications of their socio-cultural surroundings. In other words, different components of their lives were rendered apparent and relevant in relation to their work depending on their place of work, where and with whom they were socializing, and the stories they covered. Their identities were fluid and unfolding alongside their professional endeavors.

How identity plays out vis-à-vis journalists' personal-cum-professional lives is important given the role that journalists (and media in general) have played in the making of nation-states and political communities. As I note in the introduction, journalists are active, even if unsuspecting, contributors to broader national narratives of belonging. Where and how journalists fit within the historical and contemporary landscape of Turkey underscores the importance of their daily lives as an impactful component of the role of

journalism in either bolstering or challenging norms of political, social, and cultural life in Turkey. The intimate linkages between my participants' embodied subjectivities and their work is crucial to consider because of the role these journalists envisioned for themselves within Turkey. They viewed their reports and stories as critical markers of history, politics, and a way of bringing people together. They wanted their work to be an avenue for pondering and questioning histories of ethnic violence, political polarization, and nationalism. Thus, if journalism is envisioned as a way of questioning systems and structures of power, how journalists navigate and contend with these structures must be examined.

Given that these journalists were focused on detaching from their identities to cultivate a collective, dialogical, and unbiased form of journalism, how they navigated the chains of identity markers is important for contemplating the possibility of realizing a socio-political community that is not *determined* by political histories. The tensions journalists faced in navigating their identities in relation to their visions of a united and democratic society through journalism emphasized that while they could not wholly detach from their embodied subjectivities, they could expose how the impossibility of fellow feeling signal another form of political belonging and collectivity. As Ahmed (2014) argues, alternative forms of collective politics means "learning to live with the impossibility of reconciliation, or learning that we live with and beside each other, and yet we are not as one" (p. 39). Identity complicated journalists' work and signaled the impossibility of neutralizing the burn of a masculine, militaristic, and violent nationalism in Turkey

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION

"There is only one rule at my show," Aydın announced as he took the small stage and picked up his microphone. "No discussing politics."[138] He smirked and immediately looked at me, informing the audience that I was of the opinion that *not* discussing politics was still political. This was the first time I had attended one of Aydın's amateur comedy shows. He performed every other month or so at a small venue in a trendy, young neighborhood. For Aydın, stand up comedy was a form of escape from the pressures of work and daily life. He also framed it as a way of bringing people together to talk, get to know each other, and hear other ideas and perspectives. His comedy shows were a way of convening people of different backgrounds and walks of life together in a way he felt he could not through his journalistic work. Although he proclaimed his shows to be politics-free, he commented on many politically-charged issues. He discussed sexuality, immigration, and his sense of "outsiderness" both in his home country (Turkey) and while he was a student in both western Europe and the United States. Comedy, for Aydın, was a way to process his own subjectivity and make sense of his place in the world as a soft-spoken, well educated, critical, well-traveled, non-western Kurdish man from Southeastern Turkey.

These disparate aspects of his identity created tension within him. This affected his professional goals as a journalist, in that he wanted to use his work as a forum for bridging the gaps between so-called divergent political, ethnic, national, religious, and gendered

[138] 04/01/2018

identities. As I noted in Chapter three, Aydın was often accused of political bias and partiality in his desire to cultivate dialogue through his journalism. In his comedy routines, however, he felt that people might be able to abandon any political pretenses, come together, talk, and get to know one another without an agenda. On stage, Aydın could embrace and work through all of his experiences, opinions, thoughts, and feelings about his immediate world with others. He and his audience could engage in the dialogue he felt unable to ignite as a journalist.

Like Aydın, my participants longed for ways to cultivate dialogue through their reporting. Yet, they were often incapacitated in their ability to realize this vision due to editorial restraints, the spatial dynamics of their profession, isolation from each other and the communities they reported on, and their own subject-positions within Turkey. While Aydın used comedy as a way of contending with these tensions, he and my other participants turned towards other avenues or ideals as a way of making sense of their place in the world vis-à-vis their journalism. Community, impartiality, objectivity, and professional socialization were some of the ideals journalists attached to as a way of working through how they embodied various aspects of Turkey's socio-cultural and political history. They utilized these professional visions as a way to detach themselves from any sort of experience that might impact how and why they write about a given event or story. They worried over perceptions of bias—an accusation that could result in firing or even arrest. Moreover, reader interpretation of a journalists' partisanship or political bias could isolate the communities these journalists wanted to connect. But in their attempts to remain neutral and objective as a way of mitigating many of the professional tensions they

faced, they also were grappling with personal life circumstances that seeped into their professional lives and goals.

Journalism in Turkey as Embodied Detachment

Between a recent coup-attempt, the transition of Turkey's parliamentary government to a presidential system which has further cemented Erdoğan's hold on power, and an increasingly untenable military occupation in Turkey's predominantly Kurdish southeast, journalists in Turkey are faced with the task of reporting on immensely sensitive, critical, and dire events. Their struggle to keep up with the pace of an ever changing news cycle in a way that avoids pressures from editors to tow both the institutional and party line, is compounded by how journalists personally navigate their immediate socio-cultural worlds. While my participants relied upon certain professional ideals and ethics as a way of alleviating their sense of inadequacy within this political climate, they still very much lived and embodied the ethnic, classed, gendered, and religious tensions that have characterized the making of Turkey as a nation-state.

Throughout this dissertation, I explored how journalists in Turkey attached to different professional desires—such as neutrality, strong professional networks, and pluralism—as a way of detaching themselves from a history of violence, nationalism, and political polarization within Turkey. My research was guided by the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between Turkey's socio-cultural climate and history and how journalists define their profession?
    a. How do contemporary political and social circumstances impact the sorts of journalistic ideals journalists invest in?

b. What is the role of normative journalistic values—such as "objectivity"—in journalistic practice in Turkey?

2. How do journalists' subjectivities intersect with their visions of journalism?
    a. How do realms of everyday life—such as space and identity—impact their journalistic goals and ideals?
    b. To what extent does the everyday matter to the role that journalists play in Turkey?
3. What is the relationship between journalists' negotiation of their subjectivities and the possibilities of a more communal, pluralistic form of journalism?

I presented the concept of embodied detachment as a means to explore the double-work journalists perform as they simultaneously try to cultivate a profession rooted in rigorous and objective reporting, while also contending with their own prejudices, identities, and experiences within Turkey's socio-political milieu. Embodied detachment seeks to capture the in-between and uncertain space my participants occupy as they navigate their specific, layered, and complex subjectivities in relation to their desire to create a form of journalism based upon pluralism, dialogue, and community. In their hope for a more united society through journalism, my participants wanted to remove their thoughts, opinions, and feelings from their reports for two crucial reasons. First, they worried that any perceptions of bias or political agenda could threaten their careers and isolate people from the broader message they were trying to convey. Second, they were committed to dominant, liberal tenants of journalism—such as objectivity (see Zelizer, 1993)—which they felt dictated that they must distance themselves from the narratives and stories they presented. These ideals of objectivity, impartiality, and strong professional

networks to name a few, not only drove these journalists desire to separate themselves as part of the socio-political web of Turkey, but were also the ideals they turned towards as a means of validating their work and goals.

I formulated the idea of embodied detachment after watching and observing my participants navigate the tensions and contradictions they felt between their professional and personal lives. In our meetings at cafes for coffee, in parks for picnics, and in our daily conversations via text messaging, these journalists gave me a glimpse into their personal lives. I saw where they lived, how they liked to order their coffee or beer, learned their taste in music and movies. I even learned some of their deepest fears, anxieties, and dreams for the future. Through these intimate and personal encounters, I was given a peek into who these journalists were as people. Specifically, I watched how these personal habits, fears, and dreams were connected to their ideas of journalism. I listened as they lamented Turkey's politics, complained about traffic, cursed long working hours and overbearing editors, and even made racist and sexist remarks about colleagues and neighbors.

When I asked how their feelings of frustration and/or resentment impacted their professional work, they responded that they should separate any fatigue or personal biases from their journalism. They saw this separation not only as important, but also crucial to cultivating and maintaining trust with their readership and a public that has become increasingly hostile towards the press and also people of other socio-cultural and political backgrounds. Although I was only able to observe a few journalists at their respective outlets, I watched as they struggled to disengage their personal lives from their reports and overall hopes for the role journalism could play in Turkey. They wanted journalism to be a

means of cultivating dialogue and connection, a way of bringing people from different ethnic, religious, classed, and geographic backgrounds together.

However, they were plagued by low pay, long commutes, professional isolation, and editorial pressures to self-censor. They blamed these negative changes on AKP policies, and sometimes even attributed their deteriorating professional and personal environments on changing ethnic and religious demographics. These frustrations exposed how their subjective positions in Turkey exerted pressure on their professional endeavors. As a result, my participants looked toward dominant, liberal notions of journalism—such as objectivity and neutrality—to mitigate the tensions they felt between their personal biases, ideologies, and identities and their hope for a more united community through journalism. These attachments to universal principles of journalism, also allowed my participants to negotiate the role they play in either reinforcing or challenging the status quo in Turkey.

Embodied detachment is a way for understanding how and why journalists relied upon these terms in their negotiation of their subjectivities vis-à-vis a profession they felt ordered neutrality. In other words, embodied detachment is lens for understanding how my participants contended with where they fit within Turkey's historical and contemporary landscape and their desire to use journalism as a means of overcoming a history of violent nationalism. Throughout my dissertation, I utilized theories of affect to argue that journalists' attachment to certain professional ideals or goals gave them a sense of agency as they tried to navigate their place in Turkey as both journalists and people. Based upon the works of scholars like Ahmed (2004; 2005; 2014), Berlant (2011), and Grossberg (2010), I argued that embodied detachment captured how journalists turned towards certain

professional ideals as a mechanism for finding their place in the world. Utilizing theories of affect, I was able to account for how and why these journalists valued principles like objectivity. These attachments provided them a means to feel in control, empowered, and agential while facing personal and professional circumstances that were stressful, critical, and often times untenable. Theories of affect, thus, provide a way of envisioning the lives and works of these journalists as uncertain, yet hopeful in the wake of mass censorship, ongoing political persecution and violence, and a starkly polarized political community.

By formulating embodied detachment as affective, my dissertation adds to the literature on journalism by arguing that the function and definition of journalism is intricately bound to the intimate, lived experiences of journalists within a specific political, social, and cultural context. I approached the contemporary political context of Turkey as a case of authoritarian neoliberalism. Formulated by Bruff (2014), authoritarian neoliberalism captures the juxtaposition and complexities between strong, even nationalist, states and neoliberal economic agendas and policies. Historically, the Republican era of Turkey has been characterized by a heavy-handed state, rooted in ethnic nationalism. During the rise of global neoliberalism in the 1980s, Turkey began privatizing many previously state held or state supported industries, such as electricity, water, and even the media sector (Tansel, 2018a; Yeşil, 2016). Today in Turkey, neoliberalism serves as a mechanism or justification for the state to intervene into aspects of daily, private life (Tansel, 2018a). By attuning to how journalists navigate these conditions, I presented a picture of how the experience of a nationalist, authoritarian neoliberal state contours the profession of journalism not only as an institution, but also as a way of being in the world. By looking at the affective dimensions of journalistic life in Turkey, I argued that how

journalists negotiate the conditions of their daily life experiences shapes how they approach their roles as journalists.

Given the role journalists play in reinforcing political systems, examining how journalists experience authoritarian neoliberal policies and imperatives is critical for assessing the potential function the press can or will play in either exacerbating or mitigating classed, raced, ethnically-divided, and otherwise marginalized communities. By analyzing how journalists navigate the conditions of an authoritarian neoliberal context, my dissertation contributes to our understanding of how strong state presences and histories of nationalism exert pressure on the potential of journalism to be an avenue for dialogue, empathy, and even unity. How journalists move through, occupy, feel, and inhabit a given political context colors how they define and perform their profession. It guides the sorts of ideals journalists turn towards as a way of validating and contending with the role they can and should play within their communities.

Chapter Review & Summary of Findings

Based on nine months of ethnographic fieldwork in Istanbul, Turkey, I presented three themes: space, community, and identity. Each of these themes provided a snapshot of how my participants viewed and navigated their positions within the unfolding political and cultural landscape of Istanbul and Turkey. These themes were selected not only based on the narratives presented in formal interviews, but in my observations of my participants in more informal settings. My research was characterized by highly embedded interactions with my participants. Not only did I meet with them to conduct formal, recorded interviews, but I also spent social time with them. Many of them were my neighbors and friends. We would have picnics in the park, meet for drinks, and attend various events

together. For example, I attended the 2018 Istanbul Women's March with several of my female participants. As a result, I was able to witness and experience (to an extent) the ebbs and flows of their day-to-day lives and habits. I oriented my approach to ethnography in line with feminist scholars—such as Abu-Lughod (1996), Alcoff (1998), and Narayan (1993)—who argue that research must account for how various identities, cultural assumptions, geographies, among others intersect and impact the relationships between researchers and their participants. Feminist approaches to qualitative inquiry, specifically ethnography, allowed me to account for differences in power and how, why, when, and where I was able to interact with various journalists. The rigorous reflexivity characteristic of feminist methodologies provided a means for me to reflect on the often subtle complexities and contradictions my participants navigated in their relationships, work, and habits. A feminist approach to ethnography also allowed for me to account for the ways in which my presence might impact how my participants presented themselves.

I began my thematic explorations of journalism in Turkey in Chapter three by examining the spatial dynamics of journalism within the city of Istanbul. I argued that the changing geographical and cultural landscape of the city contoured the norms and practices of journalism for my participants. I presented narratives that underlined how these journalists experienced, conceptualized, and remembered the spaces they lived and worked in shaped how they envisioned their professional obligations, their audience, and also the broader political public of Turkey. In my analysis, I approached Istanbul's urban regime as a form of authoritarian neoliberal governance. By conceptualizing Turkey generally, and the urban dynamics of Istanbul, specifically, as a form of authoritarian neoliberalism, I accounted for how market imperatives and a strong state presence converged onto the

realms of daily life. The impact of the dispossession of Istanbul's urban poor, the closure of the historical Bab-I Ali publishing district, and the move of most news outlet to the periphery of the city resulted in frustration and even hostility towards my participants' colleagues and the communities they reported on. These journalists felt spatially and thus socially isolated from one another, making it difficult to cultivate strong professional networks, standards, and a system of accountability. Additionally, they felt fatigued and ambivalent about leaving their offices and going into the field to meet with different sources and communities.

After exploring the relationship between space and journalism in Turkey, in Chapter four, I explored how the idea of community and the realities of cultivating community were important for my participants' conceptualization of journalism. Community loomed over their hopes for their profession, particularly given the spatial segregation they faced both in their places of work and personal lives. I conceptualized community as an attachment (i.e. Ahmed, 2003; 2004; Berlant, 2011), to argue that the idea of community provided journalists a mechanism to navigate the geographical, spatial, cultural, and political polarization they felt amongst themselves and the people they wanted to unite through their stories. The idea and hope for community, in other words, was a way of envisioning the role these journalists could play in bringing people together. However, my participants hope for community through and around journalism was complicated by their own animosities and hostilities towards a broader political public they often characterized as ignorant, conservative, and even "backwards."

In Chapter five, I explored how lived, layered, and often contradictory components of my participants' identities impacted their experiences of space, community, and

therefore work as journalists. I examined gender, class, and religion to argue that the fleshy, felt, and lived components of my participants' identities contoured how they defined and engaged with their journalism. While accounting for the discursive components of identity (i.e. Butler, 1991), I used theories of intersectionality—such as Crenshaw (1991)—to present a picture of how these journalists lived experience of Turkey's socio-political history and contemporary climate came to bear on how and why different aspects of their identity mattered within their work as journalists. I argued that different elements of these journalists' identities were relational. How and the extent to which they engaged with their profession were contingent upon where they fit within a shifting web of socio-political relationships. I argued that the visions these journalists had of cultivating a more united, democratic society through objective, critical reporting was impacted by historical gendered, classed, and religious hierarchies that they embodied. Although my participants wanted to use their work to re-write the violent and divisive history of Turkey as a nation-state, they also internalized and often times espoused deeply rooted divisions along intersecting lines of ethnicity, class, religion, and gender.

In sum, my participants were committed to the idea that journalism could be a way of fostering connection. It was a means of telling stories about people and events from every corner of the country, especially those that might often times get overlooked in mainstream discourses. Through their reporting, my participants hoped that people from all over Istanbul and the rest of Turkey could feel more empathy towards other people's experiences of hardship and even oppression. My participants hoped that by highlighting different perspectives and experiences, their readership and the broader public of Turkey might come to realize that while their experiences of marginalization might be different,

they could come together to discuss and dream of a better future. This ideal of journalism, however, was impacted by the socio-political realities and circumstances journalists faced in their daily and professional lives. Their available avenues of support and their attempts to cultivate journalism as an egalitarian vehicle for discussion, debate, collective organizing, and general commiseration were colored by their socio-economic, political, and cultural location within Turkey's historical landscape.

As I argued in Chapter five, perceptions and intersecting layers of their identities impacted my participants' relationship to journalism, their colleagues, and their potential audiences. For example, whether or not they identified as secular and even their gender identities contoured how they engaged with their profession. These identities also intersected with their daily life experiences, such as the ebbs and flows of Istanbul's urban landscape, making the relationship between intimate, banal, daily life and the profession of journalism intricately linked. How my participants described their roles as journalists was connected to how they related to and navigated Turkey's socio-political history and contemporary environment. This inevitably created a tension in their work, as they struggled to negotiate their desire for a critical, democratic, and objective sort of journalism, while also embodying lifestyles, perspectives, and identities that might potentially work against this goal. As a result, they turned to ideals such as neutrality, professional solidarity, and unbiased reporting. These principles were attachments they utilized as a way of validating their work in the hope of mitigating any culpability they might have in polarizing or isolating people through their reporting.

Although a limitation of my research was that I was unable to gain broader access to my participants' work places and also interview journalists from conservative and pro-

AKP outlets, this lack of access provides insight into the political dynamics of contemporary Turkey. People are suspicious, guarded, and mistrusting of those deemed "other." They are hesitant to engage with and even hostile towards people they see as different from them. As a result, I interpret this lack of access to my participants' outlets and my inability to connect with journalists at pro-party, pro-government, and conservative outlets as indicative of a highly divided, suspicious, and anxious political society.

Contribution

My dissertation adds to academic literature at the intersection of critical/cultural studies, affect, and journalism. Whereas many studies focus on the impact of a given political climate on journalism as an institution, my work examines how the lived experiences of nationalism, authoritarian neoliberalism, political violence, urban renewal—among many other phenomena—matter in a journalists engagement with their profession. How and why standards and ideals of journalism are rendered important to their practice hinges upon the push and pull between professional, personal, and political life. Objectivity, dialogue, professional solidarity, and other characteristics of the field of journalism are not static but emerge as important or unimportant depending on transformations and uncertainties within a journalists' immediate life world. Where these journalists live, the sorts of relationships they have and seek out, and their identities shape and are shaped by their practice of journalism.

My dissertation approaches journalism not only as an object or institution, but also as a subjective, lived experience. My research takes the personal and intimate details of the lives of journalists seriously as an analytical lens for broadening our understanding of what journalism is and the role it plays in various contexts and communities. The function of

journalism within a given period of time, geography, etc is contingent upon how journalists themselves experience, navigate, and embody the world around them. Objectivity, neutrality, dialogue, professional socialization, community, among many other ideals matter to journalists in Turkey because of the exigencies they face. These are tools—or attachments—which provide them with a sense of agency as they try to make sense of where their work and lives fit within Turkey.

By looking at the subjectivity of journalists, and how this intersects with their visions and performance of their craft, my dissertation underscores how news-making, story-telling, and reporting on current events is part of affective life. The uncertainty, insecurity, and potential of what journalism can be is caught in the space of embodied detachment. The uncertainties, fears, and hopes surrounding how journalists contend with their subjectivities in relation to their profession is where the possibility of a more dialogical, critical, and democratic form of journalism resides.

This perspective helps us better formulate how the practice and role of journalism in a given political context is linked to the urgencies of the moment. Within the context of Turkey, these journalists are laboring to navigate a history of ethnic, nationalist violence, divisions along class and religious lines, a patriarchal state, and economic programs that exacerbate an already polarized society. The lived experience of these phenomena have yielded a hope that their journalism might be a means of re-writing the effects of this history, whereby people might be able to engage and empathize more with each other. Although these journalists' own experience of classed, religious, gendered, and also economic positions often work against and contradict their goals, their reliance on the principles of neutrality, unbiased reporting, etc, provide them with a sense of agency.

These ideals allow them to maneuver and feel as if they can detach from their embodiment of Turkey's socio-political history and environment. While the realization of a more democratic and pluralistic society through journalism might be arduous if not impossible, it is still a hope and dream of a better world—an act as subversive as realizing the political community these journalists long for.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE & QUESTIONS

How long have you worked for X organization?

What is your current position?

How long have been in this position?

How would you describe your role as a journalist? Personally? Politically? Socially?

What motivates you in this profession?

How would you describe the relationship between your life outside of the newsroom and your role as a journalist?

Could you describe a typical day for you at work?

Has this routine changed recently? How? Why?

How would you describe some of the challenges you face in your daily practices as a journalist?

How have these challenges impacted your writing/photography/broadcasting? Why?

What are some strategies you have developed to address these challenges?

How would you describe the state of news/the press/and journalism in Turkey? Worldwide?

Does this have an impact on your professional life? Ability to report? How and why?

How does this affect your practice?

How do you think this affect your readers or viewers?

Do you consider the audience when writing/crafting a story? How? Why?

APPENDIX B

TRANSLATED INTERVIEW GUIDE & QUESTIONS

Ne zamandan beri burada calistiniz?

Su andaki pozisyonunuz nedir?

Ne zamandan beri bu pozisyonuda calistiniz?

Gazeteci olarak rolunuzu nasil anlatirsiniz? Bireysel olarak? Politka? Sosyal?

Bu iste motivasyonunuz nedir?

Mesleginizin kisisel hayatinizi ya da kisisel hayatiniz mesleginizi etkiliyor mu?

Isteki tipik bir gununu anlatabilir misiniz?

Bu rutini sonlerde degistimi? Nasil? Niye?

Gazeteci olarak gun icinde karsilastiginiz zorunluklarlari nasil anlatirsiniz?

Bu zorunluklar isinizi nasil etkiliyor? Niye?

Bu zorluklarla basa cikabilmek icin nasil stratejiler gelistirdiniz?

Türkiye'deki gazetecilik/medya durumunu nasil anlatirsiniz? Dunyada?

Bu durum sizing Profesyonel/is hayatini nasil etkiliyor? Niye ve nasil?

Izleyicinizi nasil sikistiriyor?

Yazdiginizda/calistiginizda onlari dusunuyor musunuz? Nasil? Niye?

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Current Position	Institutional Affiliation	Miscellaneous
Aydin	early 30s	male	Turkey	Program Editor	mainstream, commercial	From southeastern Turkey. Attended high school in Europe and university in the U.S.
Burcu	early 30s	female	Turkey	editor	national, official	Specializes in economics news. Born and raised in Istanbul, educated in Germany.
Nazim	early 30s	male	Turkey	tour guide; freelance	party-affiliated, left-wing	He has a bachelor's and master's degree in history from one of Turkey's most elite institutions. He is from the Mediterranean region but currently splits his time between Istanbul and Central America. He currently works as a tour guide for Turkish groups traveling to Central America.
Ayşe	early 40s	female	Turkey	project manager/director	non-profit; advocacy	Background in arts and culture reporting
Linda	50s	female	USA	copy-editor	national, official	Worked and lived in Turkey at English-language publication until returning to the US in 2019.
Sam	late 20s	male	USA	foreign correspondent	freelance	Has worked throughout the Middle East and specializes in regional and global politics, particularly the Syrian Refugee Crisis.
Sinem	early 30s	female	Turkey	activist; graduate student	feminist NGO	Heads the media outreach and education program, developing and leading initiatives to educate journalists and students of journalism on human0rights based reporting.
Tuğba	early 30s	female	Turkey	activist	feminist NGO	Frequently leads meetings and symposiums with local journalists and news outlets to assess current needs and best practices for cultivating human-rights based, feminist reporting.
Sezen	early 30s	female	Turkey	producer	independent	Worked for several other left-leaning, independent print publications before transitioning to her current position. She was born and raised just outside Istanbul. She currently resides in Istanbul with her journalist-husband, Nasrettin.
Nasrettin	early 30s	male	Turkey	editor, producer, reporter	freelance; left-leaning; pro-Kurdish	Married to Sezen, Recently, left his work as a journalist and transitioned into politics. He is now a consultant for one of Turkey's opposition parties.
Irem	late 40s	female	Turkey	editor	independent	Focuses on international politics and the Middle East. Currently works as an editor for an independent news organization, while also collaborating and consulting for several activist-oriented media initiatives. Has spent significant time abroad and currently resides in Istanbul
Hande	early 30s	female	Turkey	editor	left-leaning; party-affiliated	Former classmate and good friends of Sezen. Was born and raised just outside Istanbul and currently resides in a suburban neighborhood with her family.

Defne	early 30s	female	Turkey	reporter, editor	EU-funded	Reporter and editor on women's and LGBTQI news within Turkey. Heads initiatives to organize talks, symposiums, workshops, and publish booklets on gender and human rights-based reporting. Received her bachelor's degree in Europe and has a master's degree in journalism.
Mert	early 30s	male	Turkey	General Secretary	Journalist's Union of Turkey	Friends and neighbors with Sezen and Nasrettin. Worked as an anchor and producer for a mainstream, commercial outlet, as well as a pro-Kurdish broadcast station.
Emre	early 30s	male	Turkey	editor	left-leaning; independent	Friends and former colleagues with Sezen and Hande.
Salih	mid 30s	male	Turkey	unemployed	N/A	Previously worked for an independent, digital news outlet and mainstream, entertainment-geared television station. Recentd an offer as a producer at a new mainstream broadcast outlet. The new broadcasting station premiere has been delayed due to licensing issues. Produced written, and edited content on national politics and economics. Worked freelance researching and consulting for books on local and international politics.
Bora	mid 30s	male	Turkey	unemployed	freelance	Worked as a writer and reporter for an international news outlet as well as a few local, English publications. Grew up in central Istanbul and received his bachelor's degree in the US, where he also spent several years working. Currently freelances as a translator and reporter.
Tunca	early 40s	male	Turkey	columnist, editor	left-leaning; independent	In December 2016, was arrested on "anti-state" and "terrorism" charges for reporting on leaked emails and other documents linking the Minister of Energy (and president's son-in-law) to DAESH. After a year, was released but still awaits trial. Continues to work for Diken and is active with local and international organizations calling for the release of arrested journalists.
Rumeysa	late 20s	female	Turkey	blogger, editor	Reçel Blog	Started this blog as a way to share different stories, experiences, and perspectives of what it means to be a Muslim woman in Turkey. The blog is open to contributions from anyone, though the front page features curated stories and pieces. Rumeysa and her collaborators are currently working on establishing connections with other similar blogs and initiatives across Asia and the Middle East. Rumeysa has a degree in engineering.

APPENDIX D

ORGANIZATIONAL PROFILES[139]

Mainstream & Commercial Outlet

Turkish Radio & Television (TRT) - The official state-sponsored and state-regulated, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was founded as a way of promoting and producing a seemingly unified "Turkish" culture and nation (Ahıska, 2010). Established in 1964, it was Turkey's only television broadcast (TRT, 2017). It was originally created with the intent of being an independent broadcasting and informational entity after the 1960 coup and disposal of the Democrat Party (DP). The newly formed constitution and government sought to create an independent and neutral media outlet, given the rampant instrumentalization of newspapers and radio by the DP. After another coup in the early 1970s, the status of TRT as "independent" was revised to "objective," meaning that they remain neutral in their reporting regardless of the ruling party (Aksoy & Robins, 1997). Until the neoliberalization process began in Turkey in the 1980s, TRT held a monopoly on all televised entertainment and news broadcasting. The prime minister during this period, Turgut Ozal, encouraged large corporations and commercial entities to take interest in media, news, and broadcasting at this time. TRT's official broadcasting monopoly ended in 1990 when Star TV hit local airwaves. Star TV was co-founded by Ozal's eldest son (Aksoy & Robins, 1997. Although TRT no longer holds a monopoly on news and broadcasting, it remains highly politicized and often acts as the official mouthpiece of the ruling party (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010), especially considering that the head of TRT is appointed by the president. In 2015-2016, TRT's global broadcasting arm, TRT World was established. Until recently TRT World was managed by Ibrahim Eren, a loyal supporter of Erdoğan and the AKP. He is the former Assistant General Manager of Türkuvaz Medya, a publishing and media company previously owned by President Erdoğan's son-in-law Berat Albayrak, who is now the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources. Eren has since been promoted to the head of local TRT by President Erdoğan.

Habertürk/Bloomberg HT – Habertürk is a privately owned television station and online news portal. It is owned by Ciner Media Group, which is the media wing of the large holding company, Ciner Group (Ciner Group, 2018). Ciner Group is prominent in the energy, mining, and chemical sectors within Turkey, owning and operating several thermal energy and coal mining projects across central Turkey. The company was established in 1978 by Turgay Ciner, who also owns the Kasımpaşa Sports Club – a soccer team based in the district where President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was born. This soccer team plays their

[139] The categorization of each outlet is based on a variety of factors such as official descriptions, characterizations by participants, general public perceptions, and studies on the political economy of Turkey's media. The amount of information provided on each outlet was contingent upon the amount of public information and scholarly work available. Although other chapters in my dissertation discuss the complexities and ambivalences of how such categories are perceived and impact the lives of my participants, developing a new system of categorization and classification is beyond the scope of the present study.

games at the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Stadium in Istanbul (Forbes, 2018). Ciner Media Group oversees several entertainment, business, and economics news outlets under the branding of HT. It is the local operating affiliate of US-based, economics news platform, Bloomberg. Bloomberg HT began in 2010 and has a website, television broadcast, and radio station (Ciner Group, 2018). Bloomberg HT is housed in the same building as other Habertürk outlets, including Business HT, the main Habertürk channel, and the entertainment-geared channel, Show TV. Bloomberg HT reports to the administration of Habertürk (personal communication, 2018). Recently, Ciner Group has been the topic of public controversy as rumors circulate that it will sell Show TV to Albayrak Group (personal communication, 2018)—the holding company owned and operated by President Erdogan's son-in-law, Berat Albayrak.

Independent

Açık Radyo – Açık Radyo ("Open Radio" in English) is an Istanbul-based radio station. Established in 1995 as a "private company as required by the Turkish Law on Radio and TV Broadcasting" (Açık Radyo, 2018), the station operates as a publically and collectively owned non-profit organization. The station is funded through corporate and private donations. Throughout the year, the station holds funding drives in a similar manner as NPR and PBS. Donors are given share certificates with the following inscription:

> This is to certify that the support you have provided for the founding of a free, independent, democratic, dignified, compassionate, and out-of-the-ordinary radio station, which will hopefully lead to the creation of similar projects in the near future (Açık Radyo, 2018)

The radio station seeks to promote programming and working ethics that uphold, pluralism, universal human rights, and freedom from state and corporate interests and controls (Açık Radyo, 2018). These principles are mirrored in the station motto: "Open Radio is open to all the sounds, colors, and vibrations of the universe." The programs are produced and broadcast from the station's Istanbul office on FM frequencies and is accessible throughout Istanbul and the surrounding region. For those outside of Istanbul, program archives and live streaming are available through Açık Radyo's website. The vast majority of programming is volunteer-based, though the station does have a few salaried employees that produce regular programing. The volunteer programs range from music, history, politics, pop culture, and ecology. Açık Radyo's regular programing, for example, includes a daily arts and culture program (Açık Dergi or Open Magazine).

Medyascope - Medyascope was established with the goal of being a free and independent source of news. Established in 2015 by local veteran journalist, Ruşen Çakır, Medyascope combines traditional styles of reporting with new technologies. For example, their online website streams live televised reports, short news clips, and also written stories and reports. They guiding slogan of Medyascope is "Çünkü Özgür," which translates to "Because it's free." Medyascope does not consider itself to be a form of alternative or radical media, but instead likens its publication as a true form of objective journalism. Their financial and political independence, they claim, allows them to provide a

journalistic platform in which a fuller picture of the story can emerge. The guiding principles and goals of Medyascope, however, cannot be divorced from their founder. Ruşen Çakır is a well-regarded and venerated journalist in Turkey, respected by leftists and pro-government elites alike. He maintains a cult-like presence both within Medyascope and Turkey's broader journalism field (Kulaber, 2017).

Diken – Diken is an online news portal based in central Istanbul. It was established in 2014 by Harun Simavi, grandson of Sedat Simavi—journalist and founder of the well-known Hürriyet newspaper (Duran, 2016). The editor-in-chief of Diken is Erdal Güven, a prominent and well-known journalist in Turkey who has worked for several leading outlets including Cumhuriyet and Radikal (now defunct) (Diken, 2018). According to Güven, Diken's online presence allows for the news platform to operate more independently and on a smaller budget (Duran, 2016). Diken is popularly considered to be a left-leaning publication, though the journalists working at Diken maintain that it is an objective and independent organization. It does not have any official party or commercial affiliation, and is funded through online advertising revenue. Recently, Diken has faced financial troubles as many advertisers have begun pulling their sponsorship from the organization given its oppositional stance towards the AKP government and President Erdoğan (personal communication, 2018). The website maintains several sections ranging from local and global news to a special section only accessible through a VPN blocker. This special section is dedicated to sharing news that has been censored and removed by the Information and Communication Technologies Authority (ICTA) for reasons ranging from violation of privacy to terrorist propaganda.[140]

Bianet - Bianet (Bağımsız İleteşim Ağı or Independent Communication Network) is an independent news platform and network that was established in 1997 by a group of activist journalists and academics. Its online news website is part of a larger project devoted to cultivating an independent news network, free of commercial and political pressure. One of the key tenants of Bianet is human-rights geared reporting. They seek to write about news and events from the perspective of otherwise marginalized or silenced communities. For example, they have a section devoted to women's and children's issues and also have a Kurdish publication—a momentous and also risky endeavor given the previous ban on publishing, broadcasting, and speaking in Kurdish. They seek to break from normative forms of reporting by focusing on stories and issues that are generally ignored by state-controlled or corporate media outlets. Additionally, they have developed detailed guidelines and reporting styles that are geared towards breaking with sexist, ethno-centric, and violent styles of representation. Case in point, part of their journalistic guidelines stipulate refraining from using pictures of raped and battered women. In addition to their online news publication, they research and compile semi-regular reports on human rights issues in Turkey. For instance, they often collaborate with local and international NGOs to report on the status of journalism, women's rights, and ethnic rights within Turkey. Their reports on the status of news and journalism in Turkey have become some of the most reliable sources on the number of arrested journalists, court cases, and closures of different news outlets. Bianet considers their organization to be a true form of

[140] In Turkish: Bilgi Teknologileri ve Iletisim Kurumu (BTK).

locally produced alternative media that seeks to counter the influence of both capital and other ideological forces in the dissemination of news and information (Bianet, 2017).

Reçel Blog – Reçel (or jam) Blog was established as a platform for sharing stories about Muslim women's identities and experiences in Turkey (Reçel Blog, 2018). It began as a reaction to official-state discourses and popularly held stereotypes about what constitutes a Muslim woman's identity (i.e. oppressed, uneducated, backward, silent). Founder and lead curator of the blog, Rumeysa Çamdereli, created the blog as an open platform for Muslim women across Turkey to share their perspectives, questions, hopes, fears, failures, and successes in their religious, family, political, and social lives (personal communication, 2018). The blog is dedicated to sharing and highlighting diverse subjectivities of Muslim female identity, presenting daily stories about how Muslim women across Turkey perform, define, enact, and question their avowed and ascribed identity. The blog circulates posts that debate and discuss conceptions that observant Muslim women are always already covered, oppressed, silent, and/or normative. Founder Rumeysa Çamdereli said the platform is open to all, though the main page highlights curated stories and posts that are selected based on a group of editors' interests and reader comments.

Politically-affiliated

Ileride[141] – Ileride is a print and internet daily based in Istanbul. Although the paper is commercially independent—receiving most of their revenue through online and print advertisements and reader donations—the paper was originally affiliated with a leftist political party (personal communication, 2018).

Arti TV – Arti TV is a web-based news broadcast managed by The Netherlands-based Arti Media Foundation (Arti TV, 2018). The foundation receives most of its funding from private donors throughout Western Europe. The funders are largely prominent business people from the Kurdish diaspora (personal communication, 2018). Accordingly, Arti TV, even though financially independent, has been characterized as an ideologically affiliated station (personal communication, 2018). Programs are broadcast live from a studio in Istanbul and is accessible via YouTube or Arti TV's official website. Programs range from news updates and summaries to talk-show formats, which cover topics ranging from economics, politics, history, sports, and culture (Arti TV, 2018).

Webiz – Webiz, similar to Arti TV, is a web-based news and current events broadcast. Programs are pre-recorded and shared via the official website and social media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook. Webiz's motto is that to create and

[141] The name of this publication has been changed out of respect for a participant's safety and reputation. They have faced pressure from managing editors to dissociate the organization from my dissertation. After confirming with my participant that they would be given a pseudonym and never explicitly linked to their organization, they shared with me that their managing editors informed them that I was not to use the name of the newspaper. When I asked if something happened at work, I sensed that my participant had been tasked with protecting the reputation of the organization. I surmise that this translates into anxiety over keeping her job—particularly given some personal dilemmas she has faced recently, such as extended leave due to several personal emergencies.

receive news is a fundamental, universal right. Webiz seeks to publish and produce content that upholds labor rights and civil society (Webiz, 2018). The station is owned by the Vice President of the People's Democratic Congress (Halkların Demokratik Kongresi or HDK) – an anti-capitalist, socialist union of about 20 different leftist political organizations and parties (HDK, 2018; personal communication, 2018). The union is dedicated to upholding minority, ecological, LGBTQI, and women's, artists, labor, and migrant rights (HDK, 2018).

Sol – Sol ("Left" in Turkish) is a leftist newspaper and online portal with strong ties to the Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Partisi) (personal communication, 2017). Although legal regulations prevent the TKP from officially owning and financing the newspaper, the managing board is comprised of party members and largely financed through donations from party members (personal communication, 2018). The newspaper is owned by Gelenek Publishing, which has official ties with the TKP (Gelenek Publishing, 2018; Sol, 2018). The newspaper publishes stories, opinion pieces and exposes on current events. The guiding principles and ethics of Sol are anti-imperialism/fascism/chauvinism, equality, enlightenment, patriotism, writing/hearing/speaking/seeing from the left, and solidarity with Cuba, Bolivia, and Venezuela (Sol, 2018).

Organizations & Unions

Susma24 – Susma is an anti-censorship platform that was established in 2016 with the help of the Dutch government. Susma24 is affiliated with the Platform for Independent Journalism (P24), a media monitoring and advocacy group that promotes independent journalism in Turkey. Some of the founding members of P24 include prominent local and international journalists such as Hasan Cemal, Murat Sabuncu, and Andrew Finkle, all of who have faced firings and arrest over their reporting. P24, along with Susma, receives sponsorship and funding from the European Union (P24, 2018; Susma24, 2018). Susma's work largely focuses on censorship within arts and culture, though they also spearhead a campaign to highlight the ban of Wikipedia within Turkey. Susma organizes talks and panels to bring together journalists, artists, reporters, and activists to discuss current difficulties and efforts to combat censorship and provide support. They publish reports on trends, laws, and court cases regarding official and unofficial forms of censorship (personal communication, 2017). Their website also publishes investigative and longer "think" pieces on the state of the arts and culture across Turkey and the region (personal communication, 2018).

Association for the Struggle Against Sexual Violence[142] - The Association for the Struggle Against Sexual Violence was established in 2014 as part of a larger initiative known as the Women's Platform against Sexual Violence. The association is dedicated to defending queer, trans, non-binary, cis-gender, heterosexual, homosexual, migrant, working class, minorities, women, men, and children from sexual violence (CSMD, 2018). The association started largely as a reaction to a heteronormative and binary perspective of

[142] Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği or CSMD in Turkish.

sexual and domestic violence. They are a non-hierchical organization that defines itself through an intersectional understanding of how violence impacts individuals and communities within Turkey (CSMD, 2018). The guiding principles of the association are to make sexual violence a visible, public debate, defending the rights of survivors, and in fostering programs and networks of solidarity amongst women, trans, and LGBTQI+ individuals who have experienced sexual violence (CSMD, 2018). One of the associations key initiatives is a media outreach program that seeks to address the role media and journalism play in either exacerbating or mitigating rape culture (personal communication, 2017). The goals of these certificate programs are to foster rights-based journalism practices that empower survivors and cultivate a system of representation/reporting based on consent. For example, these programs teach participants on how certain descriptors (i.e. victim vs. survivor), images, and words may normalize and/or romanticize sexual violence (personal communication, 2018). They guide participants through videos and various exercises to identify and remedy language and imagery that perpetuates victim blaming, heteronormativity, patriarchy, ethno-centrism, aggression, and gender-binarism.

Mor Çatı[143] - Mor Çatı is a feminist organization dedicated to combatting domestic abuse and male violence against women (personal communication, 2018). They have a center located in central Istanbul, which provides counseling, health, and relocation services to abused women and children (personal communication, 2018). The organization is guided by the principles of collectivism and open dialogue (Mor Çatı, 2018). Mor Çatı was founded in 1990 as part of larger projects focused on the adoption of the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and in creating a solidarity network to end male violence against women (Mor Çatı, 2018). Mor Çatı organizes workshops and seminars with local municipalities, hospitals, shelters, schools, and other women's organizations on how to develop better policies to address violence against women (Mor Çatı, 2018). They also host trainings on how to better represent, address, and report on domestic violence with different media organizations (personal communication, 2018). They publish reports, books, and brochures on their initiatives and the state of domestic violence within Turkey. They are sponsored by a variety of private, corporate, and non-governmental organizations and donors.

Journalists Union of Turkey/Journo – The Journalists Union of Turkey (Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası or TGS) was established in 1952 with the goal of defending and empowering the working rights and freedoms of the press and journalism within Turkey (TGS, 2018). It became part of the International Federation of Journalists in 1965. TGS's central office is located in the historical Bab-ı Ali publishing district,[144] though there are seven other branches located throughout Turkey's major cities.[145] The union has nearly 1,300 members from approximately 100 different media organizations (TGS, 2018). The union works with journalists across Turkey and mediums (print, radio, television, and

[143] Purple House in English. The organization does not provide a preferred English translation of their organization name so I will refer to it by its Turkish name.
[144] Bab-ı Ali is a street/neighborhood located just south of the Golden Horn in Istanbul's Fatih Municipality. This street is where the majority of Turkey's publishing houses and newspapers were located until the neoliberalization process began in the 1980s (Öncü, 2013). Now, the majority of news outlets and publishers have relocated to industrial districts on the fringes of Istanbul.
[145] The others branches include Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Diyabakır, Kocaeli, Bursa, and Eskişehir.

digital media) to negotiate for better economic and social conditions.[146] The union often helps and facilitates collective bargaining for journalists, holding meetings and negotiations when contracts are renewed, management changes, or outlets are sold (personal communication, 2018). TGS also holds trainings for both veteran, new, and students of journalism on their legal rights, services offered by the union, and more recently digital publishing (personal communication, 2018). TGS publishes reports and articles (both Turkish and English) on the state of journalism within Turkey, international/global trends, etc. For example, TGS recently published a report/article on their initiative "#journalismisnotacrime," which seeks to promote and protect the freedom of the press and working rights of journalists in Turkey. The union has several special commissions, including a women's and students' commission. In recent years, the union has seen a rapid increase in both its women and student memberships (personal communication, 2018).

One of TGS' most recent initiatives is Journo, a digital platform that allows journalists to publish reports, opinion pieces, and articles independently. Journo is specifically dedicated to providing a means for unemployed, underemployed, and freelancing journalists to publish without institutional sponsorship or affiliation (Journo, 2018). Journo's motto is: "An independent media for media professionals." While Journo is openly accessible, there remains a formal submission and editorial procedure (personal communication, 2018). All articles are submitted to TGS General Secretary, Mustafa Kuleli, who reviews, edits, and selects the stories and articles to be published. As of today, Journo publishes only one article per day due to financial and time limitations (personal communication, 2018). In addition to providing and cultivating a non-institutional, non-partisan platform, Journo is dedicated to providing training and education in digital media skills and publishing (Journo, 2018). This program is called TGS Academy, and is a seminar series on digital media trends/themes covering topics like "data journalism, information security, data visualization, [and] web design/development" (Journo, 2018; personal communication, 2018).

[146] Although workers were legally granted the right to collective bargaining in the 1960s, the 1980 coup and neoliberalization processes of the 1980s and 1990s were characterized by the government's crackdown on unionization. For example, workers who wanted to join unions were charged notary costs and fees, making membership to trade unions quite costly.