

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCHES IN
**HUMANITIES AND
SOCIALSCIENCES**

CONCEPTS, RESEARCHES
AND APPLICATIONS-1

EDITORS

ASSOC. PROF. DR. PINAR FEDAKAR

ASST. PROF. DR. M. FATİH SANSAR



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PREFACE

Throughout history, each century is remembered with its own innovations. The 21st century is a period in which many changes are experienced most rapidly. The strong effect and rapid transformation of globalization, new and “fast” ways of accessing information brought by the internet, at an unprecedented pace of scientific developments, etc. In this century, interdisciplinarity draws attention as an increasingly popular term in the field of science.

Interdisciplinarity, in its broadest sense, means different disciplines benefit from each other's knowledge and methods and it is questioning the knowledge and methods of different disciplines. Many different definitions can be made for interdisciplinarity, but it should be emphasized that it has a destructive feature. Interdisciplinarity drives different disciplines to work together, and it also leads researchers to question and break down the boundaries of disciplines.

This multilingual book aims to support the broad perspective offered by nutrition from different disciplines and provides an opportunity to read the studies of different disciplines in the field of social sciences and humanities.

This book, which contains various questions and answers from the field of social sciences and humanities, contains 6 chapters from many fields of social and human sciences.

In this book, Dilek Turan discusses the issue of translation ethics and healthcare interpreting. Pınar Fedakar approaches ogres and giants, one of the most impressive of extraordinary beings, from the perspective of the hero. Zeyyat Bandoğlu analyzes the refugee crisis in terms of integration and the European Union. Latife Kabaklı Çimen, reads the change in fertility from a sociological point of view, focusing on the preferences of women in Türkiye. Gaye Gökalp Yılmaz, analyzes the relationship between tactical everyday activities and food sociology. Recep Tayyip Ünüvar & Yakup Dinç analyze the applicability of out of class education model in gastronomy education.

We would like to thank the authors who contributed with the chapter. Hope the book will be useful.

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VOLUME I

ÜBERSETZUNGSETHIK UND DOLMETSCHERROLLEN IM GESUNDHEITSBEREICH

Translation Ethics and Interpreter Roles in Healthcare Interpreting

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1. Einführung

In jedem Bereich des Übersetzerberufs wird der Übersetzer¹ mit einer Reihe von berufsethischen Entscheidungen konfrontiert. Obwohl berufsethisches Verhalten zu den Anforderungen eines jeden Berufs gehören, ist es für den Beruf des Dolmetschers im medizinischen Kontext, der die Bereiche Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod umfasst, von besonderer Bedeutung. Die Übersetzungsethik sollte in diesem Kontext anders angegangen werden als bestehende Übersetzungsbewertungen oder Studien zur Bestimmung der

¹ Aus Gründen der Lesbarkeit wird auf die gleichzeitige Verwendung weiblicher und männlicher Sprachformen verzichtet und nur das generische Maskulinum verwendet, ebenso bei Dolmetscher, Ausgangs- und Zieltextleser, Patient, Arzt, Arbeitgeber.

Eigenschaften, die eine ideale Übersetzung ausmachen sollen. Mit anderen Worten, "Übersetzungsethik" sollte kein Bereich sein, in dem Bewertungen wie "richtige" oder "falsche" Übersetzungen oder etwa Vorschriften gemacht werden, wie eine Übersetzung sein soll. Der Beruf des Übersetzers hat immer auch einen sozialen Bezug. Gerade an diesem sozialen Punkt sollte die Übersetzungsethik begründet werden. Die Entscheidungen sollten im Rahmen des zeitgenössischen Übersetzungsverständnisses neu überdacht und nach ethischen Verständnis bewertet werden.

Ethik ist insbesondere nach den 90er Jahren zu einem wichtigen Thema in der Übersetzungswissenschaft geworden. In den 90er Jahren fing die Übersetzungsethik an, einen Platz für sich selbst zu finden und aufgrund des damals herrschenden Übersetzungsverständnisses wurden ethische Bewertungen aller Verhaltensweisen und Handlungen im Wesentlichen in einem sozio-kulturellen Kontext argumentiert und auf diese Weise auch von gesellschaftlichen Trends geprägt. Ethik umfasst alle Aspekte der Identität des Menschen und ist determiniert im kulturellen Kontext. Ethische Probleme treten auf, weil Menschen so handeln "wie" sie es gelernt haben und es gewohnt sind auf eine bestimmte Art und Weise zu handeln, wie die Kultur, in die sie hineingeboren sind. Der Mensch wird nicht im Widerspruch zu den kulturellen Praktiken und Werten der Gesellschaft stehen, der er angehört. Soziale Bedingungen bestimmen das ethische Verständnis von Gesellschaften. Diese "ethischen Anforderungen" zeigten sich auch in der Übersetzungswissenschaft (Pym, 2001: 129-130, 137). Basierend auf diesen von Pym vertretenen Ideen wird für jede Aktion im sozialen Kontext eine ethische Perspektive benötigt. In diesem Sinne wird Übersetzungsethik im Kontext allgemeiner ethischer Theorien und ethischer Normen anderer Berufe bewertet. Von einer Ethik der Übersetzungsethik unabhängig von Theorien zur Ethik kann nicht gesprochen werden. Die Herausbildung einer Übersetzungsethik ist nur mit Normen möglich. Um eine solche Norm zu bilden, muss sich die Übersetzungswissenschaft

auf die gesellschaftliche Ethik stützen. Die Tatsache, dass sich im Bereich der Übersetzung wie in jeder institutionellen Struktur ethische Normen gebildet haben, bedeutet zugleich auch die gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz des Berufs. Ethische Normen prägen die Gesellschaft mit unterschiedlichen Sanktionen und schützen sie vor Extremen. Demnach sind soziale Normen mit rechtlichen oder religiösen Inhalten von Bedeutung und eine Orientierungshilfe für den Einzelnen und für die Gesellschaft. In diesem Zusammenhang sollten auch Übersetzungsprozesse evaluiert werden und die Übersetzungstätigkeit innerhalb interkultureller Verantwortung bewertet und als eine Aktion, die sozial deutlich sichtbar ist, aufgefasst werden. Die ethische Seite des Übersetzungshandelns sollte anhand der Normen bewertet werden.

In der vorliegenden Studie wird versucht, die Bedeutung der Berufsethik beim Dolmetschen im Gesundheitswesen aufzuzeigen. Wie in allen Lebensbereichen können Menschen Zweifel an ihren Entscheidungen haben, wenn sie die Richtigkeit und Unrichtigkeit ihres Handelns überprüfen, sowohl im Privaten als auch im Berufsleben. Im professionellen Sinne sind diese Handlungen für den Übersetzer bzw. Dolmetscher, insbesondere diejenigen, die im Übersetzerberuf tätig sind, noch wichtiger, da sie aufgrund ihres Berufes ständig (Übersetzungs-) Entscheidungen treffen müssen. Die ethische Dimension des Übersetzungsvorgangs wird bei Gesundheits-, Krankheits- und Todesfragen noch wichtiger. Insbesondere „Loyalität“, „Vertrauen“, „Verantwortung“ und „Übersetzungsfehler“ sind Aspekte, die in diesem Rahmen der Übersetzungsethik in den Vordergrund rücken und in zahlreichen Übersetzungstheorien bereits vielseitig diskutiert wurden und auf die im Folgenden eingegangen wird. Um das Thema Übersetzungsethik in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen in einigen wichtigen Gesichtspunkten zu erörtern, wird in der vorliegenden Studie nach einer kurzen Darstellung verschiedener zeitgenössischer Übersetzungsauffassungen in Bezug zur Übersetzungsethik, das Thema Berufsethik aufgegriffen und im

Kontext des Dolmetschens im medizinischen Bereich angeführt. Anschließend wird die Beziehung zwischen Übersetzungsethik und Dolmetscherrollen diskutiert.

2. Fragestellungen und Übersetzungsethik

Die Übersetzungsethik konzentriert sich im Wesentlichen auf die Rechte, Verantwortlichkeiten und Freiheiten des Übersetzers. In diesem Zusammenhang werden Fragen zur Verantwortung und zu Freiheiten des Übersetzers diskutiert. Darüberhinaus sind auch folgenden Aspekte Gegenstand der Berufsethik: Wem gegenüber ist der Übersetzer verantwortlich? Dem Arbeitgeber? Dem Ziel- oder Ausgangstextleser? Oder dem Autor des Ausgangstextes? Ist der Übersetzer für die Wahrung der Ausgangstextfunktion verantwortlich oder muss er die Textfunktion in der Zielkultur berücksichtigen? Inwieweit sollte der Übersetzer sichtbar sein? Inwiefern sollte die eigene Weltsicht, Perspektive und Ideologie des Übersetzers in die Übersetzung einfließen? Oder sollten diese Aspekte überhaupt eine Rolle spielen? Oder sollte der Übersetzer unter allen Umständen seine Objektivität bzw. Unparteilichkeit bewahren? Was passiert, wenn die Machtungleichheit zwischen den Dolmetscherparteien offensichtlich ist? Welcher Partei sollte der Übersetzer nah sein? Sollte er sich auf die Seite der Schwachen oder der Starken stellen? Oder kommen die individuellen, moralischen Impulse ins Spiel?

3. Grenzen der Berufsgrundsätze in der Übersetzung

Die oben gestellten Fragen bringen uns zum Thema "Berufsgrundsätze". Es ist allerdings nicht eindeutig festzulegen, dass sie bei der Ausübung des Übersetzerberufs in jeder Situation gelten. Es handelt sich nämlich um eine Reihe von Regeln, die festlegen, wie man sich verhalten soll und die im entsprechenden Beruf grundsätzlich akzeptiert sind. Außerdem informieren sie über Verhaltensweisen oder Praktiken, die nicht gern gesehen werden und die gegen menschliche oder berufliche Werte verstoßen. Es sind

Prinzipien, die von Gewerkschaften und Verbänden oder anderen Institutionen und Organisationen geschaffen wurden. Hierbei handelt es sich um Begriffe wie “Unparteilichkeit”, “Objektivität”, “Vertraulichkeit”, “Genauigkeit”, “Treue” und “Vollständigkeit der Übersetzung”. Diese Berufsgrundsätze, zielen darauf ab, das Verhalten der Übersetzer bzw. Dolmetscher in bestimmten Situationen aufzuzeigen. Allerdings reichen diese Grundsätze nicht aus, in jeder Situation moralische Entscheidungen zu treffen. Die Existenz spezifischer Grundsätze für den Übersetzerberuf kann nicht sicher stellen, dass jede einzelne Übersetzung auf ethische Weise erfolgt. Das Handeln nach berufsrechtlichen Grundsätzen führt nicht folgerichtig dazu, dass Übersetzer bzw. Dolmetscher ethisch handeln.

4. Definitionen zum Begriff “Ethik”

Das deutsche Wort “Ethik” stammt vom Griechischen ἠθική (ἐπιστήμη) *ēthikē* (*epistēmē*) “das sittliche (Verständnis)”, von ἦθος *ēthos* “Charakter, Sinnesart” (dagegen ἔθος: Gewohnheit, Sitte, Brauch).² Ethik beschreibt Verhaltensweisen, die sich aus Traditionen, Bräuchen und Gewohnheiten ergeben (Welsen, 1999: 16). In diesem Sinne bezeichnet “Ethik” das von der Tradition vorgeschriebene Verhalten. Ethik ist jener Teilbereich der Philosophie, der sich mit den Voraussetzungen und der Bewertung menschlichen Handelns befasst und das methodische Nachdenken über die Moral widerspiegelt. Im Zentrum der Ethik steht das spezifisch moralische Handeln,³ insbesondere hinsichtlich seiner Begründbarkeit und Reflexion.⁴ Laut Reiner (1964) ist das Wort

2 Lexikon Philosophie - Hundert Grundbegriffe, Reclam, 2011: 80.

3 vgl. A Greek-English Lexicon 9. A., 1996: 480-766.

4 Die Ethik und ihre benachbarten Disziplinen (z. B. Rechts-, Staats- und Sozialphilosophie) werden auch als “praktische Philosophie” zusammengefasst, da sie sich mit dem menschlichen Handeln befasst. Im Gegensatz dazu steht die “theoretische Philosophie”, zu der als klassische Disziplinen die Logik, die Erkenntnistheorie und die Metaphysik gezählt werden.

“Ethik” im heutigen Sprachgebrauch gleichbedeutend mit “Moral”. Mit dem Wort “Moral” werden im Zusammenhang zu den allgemeinen Normen “gute” oder “schlechte” Handlungen bewertet. Diese Normen sind in unserem Lebensraum “moralisch” und erscheinen als “Anforderungen”, die bei der Gestaltung ethischer Handlungen gültig sind. “Ethik” umfasst die Wissenschaft der Prinzipien und gehört zur “praktischen Philosophie” (Reiner, 1964: 15). “Ethik” hat im historischen Prozess als grundlegende Disziplin der Philosophie an Bedeutung gewonnen. Sie legt Verhaltensnormen fest und schreibt vor, wie man bei ethischen Problemen richtig oder falsch handelt, diese bewertet und kontrolliert (Reiner, 1964: 15). Ethik ist als grundlegende Disziplin der Philosophie und als System keine präskriptive Disziplin; kategorisiert menschliches Verhalten nicht mit Bewertungen wie “richtig” oder “falsch”, sondern beschreibt notwendige Kriterien, um menschliches Verhalten als “richtig” oder “falsch” zu bewerten. Ethik, spiegelt sich bei Menschen in ihrem Verhalten in sozialen Aktionen wieder.

5. Annäherungen zur Übersetzungskritik im Rahmen verschiedener zeitgenössischer Übersetzungsansätze

Die Problematik der Übersetzungsethik ist im Bereich der Übersetzungswissenschaft immer ein kontrovers diskutierter Gegenstand ⁵ gewesen. Derzeit verfügen die meisten Berufe über einen bestimmten Ethikkodex. Diese Ethikauffassung hat sich aus der Erkenntnis der Menschen entwickelt, zu bestimmen, was in einem bestimmten Beruf akzeptabel ist und was nicht. Der Beruf des Übersetzers als anerkannter und etablierter Beruf verfügt dementsprechend auch über einen spezifischen Ethikkodex. Tatsächlich wird die Übersetzung an sich als

⁵ Die Übersetzungsethik wurde auch von vielen anderen Autoren (u.a. Arrojo, 1997; Koskinen, 2000; Floros, 2011; Badiou, 2001) thematisiert. In der vorliegenden Studie wurden nur einige Auffassungen angeführt, um den Rahmen der Untersuchung nicht zu sprengen.

ethische Aktivität angesehen. Mit dem Paradigmenwechsel in der Übersetzungswissenschaft verlagerte sich der Schwerpunkt auf Begriffe wie Kultur, Ethik, Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Ideologie und Politik und wandte sich von der Auffassung der Übersetzung als rein sprachliche Aktivität ab (Tymoczko, 2006; Lefevere, 1992; Hermans, 2009; Bassnett, 2002). Mit dieser Wendung wurde die Übersetzungsethik ein wichtiger Bestandteil mit den neueren Auffassungen in der Übersetzungswissenschaft, da sie eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Gestaltung von Gesellschaften und Nationen und bei entscheidenden Veränderungen in der globalisierten Welt (Tymoczko, 2006: 443, 459) besitzt.

Neuere Ansätze in der Übersetzungswissenschaft gehen davon aus, dass das Ziel der Übersetzung („der Skopos“) ausschlaggebend dafür ist, wie der Übersetzer übersetzt. Aufgrund kultureller Unterschiede zwischen Ausgangstextlesern und Zieltextlesern, passen Übersetzer den Text möglicherweise an die Zielkultur bzw. die Zieltextleser an, um die Übersetzung für sie verständlich zu machen. Die Übersetzung fällt demnach zieltextorientiert aus. Aus diesem Grund kann der Übersetzer entscheiden, inwiefern er dem Ausgangstext treu bleibt. Ein weiterer Grund ist das Anliegen der Übersetzer sichtbar zu sein und in ihren Übersetzungen ihren eigenen Standpunkt, ihre Weltanschauung oder Ideologie wiederzuspiegeln. Dies hängt auch mit der Auffassung der Übersetzung als Mittel aktivistischer Bewegungen zu fungieren, zusammen. Die Entscheidung zieltext- oder ausgangstextorientiert zu übersetzen, bringt weitere Fragen mit sich: Bedeutet das, dass der Übersetzer „beliebige“ Änderungen am Ausgangstext vornehmen kann? Sollte die Sichtbarkeit des Übersetzers eingeschränkt werden oder darf der Übersetzer Änderungen im Ausgangstext vornehmen? Darf der Übersetzer seinen eigenen Standpunkt widerspiegeln, hat er das Recht, den Leser zu manipulieren? Sollte der Übersetzer die Möglichkeit haben, den Text neu zu gestalten? Diese Fragen bringen uns zu dem Begriff „Übersetzungsethik“. Im Zusammenhang mit

der Übersetzungsethik treten im Übersetzungsprozess weitere Diskussionsthemen wie “Freiheit-Treue”, “Ausgangs- und Zieltextorientiertheit”, “Übersetzbarkeit-Unübersetzbarkeit” auf.

Wie bereits betont, entwickelte sich mit der kulturellen Wende nach den traditionellen linguistischen Auffassungen in der Übersetzungswissenschaft ein Paradigmenwechsel und eine Abkehr von den linguistischen Ansätzen. Viele zeitgenössische Übersetzungsauffassungen bis zur Gegenwart zeigen zugleich auch die Standpunkte zum ethischen Verständnis in der Übersetzung⁶. Die Frage nach der ethischen Auffassung in der Übersetzung wird in den modernen Übersetzungsansätzen insbesondere mit der Textfunktion bzw. dem Skopos (Reiss und Vermeer, 1984) und auch mit den Übersetzungsnormen von Toury (1995) in Verbindung gebracht und als Orientierungshilfe in der Übersetzungsethik aufgefasst. Neben den Sprach- und Textdimensionen in der Skopos-Theorie hat sich eine “kulturorientierte” Theorie herausgebildet, die die soziale Dimension des Übersetzungsprozesses hinzufügt. Nach Reiss und Vermeer (1984) ist die Übersetzung nicht nur eine Übertragung von sprachlichen Zeichen, sondern auch und insbesondere eine Übertragung der kulturellen Elemente. Die Skopos-Theorie kann als “Theorie des Zwecks” definiert werden und ihr Fokus liegt auf dem Übersetzungsakt. Nach dieser Theorie ist der Übersetzer die Person, die die Übersetzungshandlung ausführt und kann diese Handlung nicht ausführen, ohne den Zweck der Übersetzung zu bestimmen. Reiss und Vermeer definierten Übersetzung als “Handeln, um in einen Erwartungszustand zu kommen und dadurch einen Zustandswechsel herbeizuführen”. So nimmt das Aktionsziel Gestalt an (Reiss und Vermeer, 1984: 95-97). Laut Vermeer hat die Übersetzungshandlung wie jede Handlung einen Zweck und der Übersetzer sollte diesem Zweck entsprechend handeln. In diesem

6 Das Thema Berufsethik wurde von vielen Theoretikern aufgefasst. In der vorliegenden Studie wird nur auf einige dieser Auffassungen im Zusammenhang zu Dolmetscherrollen im medizinischen Kontext eingegangen.

Zusammenhang steht sie im Vordergrund der Verantwortung des Übersetzers. Es wird betont, dass der Übersetzer in der Lage sein sollte, die von ihm erstellte Übersetzung und alle von ihm getroffenen Übersetzungsentscheidungen erklären zu können (Vermeer, 1986: 220; vgl. Stolze, 2008: 169-173). Diese Auffassung steht im direkten Zusammenhang mit der Übersetzungsethik. Der Übersetzer fungiert demnach als Spezialist für interkulturelle Kommunikation und sollte in der Lage sein, seine Übersetzung zu rechtfertigen.

⁷ Mit Reiss und Vermeers “Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie” (1984) wird in deutlicher Abgrenzung von den linguistischen Auffassungen ein neuer Ansatz formuliert, in der Ausgangs- und ZIELtext, insbesondere aber vom ZIELtextrezipienten gesprochen wird. Ein übersetzter Text wird als ein neuer Text einer anderen Kultur betrachtet und “es gibt keine identische Weitergabe von Informationen” (Stolze, 2008: 171) durch die Übersetzung. “Es wird klar unterschieden zwischen textbezogener Äquivalenz und Adäquatheit des Translats” (Reiss und Vermeer, 1984: 76). Demnach gilt, dass “jedes Translat (Übersetzung und Verdolmetschung) unabhängig von seiner Funktion und Textsorte als Informationsangebot in einer Zielsprache und deren -kultur über ein Informationsangebot aus einer Ausgangssprache und deren -kultur gefaßt wird” (Reiss und Vermeer, 1984: 76). Die von Reiss und Vermeer definierte Translationstheorie wird als Handlungstheorie aufgefasst. Texte werden zu einem bestimmten Zweck produziert, sie sind Handlungen und jede Handlung hat einen Zweck (Skopos, Skopostheorie). Dieser Zweck bzw. Skopos eines Translats kann auch vom dem des Ausgangstextes abweichen (Funktionsänderung). Ein Translat sollte Ähnlichkeit zum Ausgangstext (intertextuelle Kohärenz) aufweisen bzw. möglichst nahe an den Ausgangstext

⁷ vgl. auch Holz – Mänttari, Justa (1984). *Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia und Holz – Mänttari, Justa (1986). “Translatorisches Handeln – theoretisch fundierte Berufsprofile”, in: M. Snell-Hornby (Hrsg.). *Übersetzungswissenschaft. Eine Neuorientierung*. Tübingen: Francke, 348-374.

herankommen (Stolze, 2008: 172, 178). Allerdings kann sich die Funktion des Zieltextes von der des Ausgangstextes unterscheiden, dabei liegt die Verantwortung beim Übersetzer bzw. Dolmetscher, der in der Lage sein sollte, seine Entscheidungen und seine Handlung erklären zu können.

Auch mit Nords (1991) Ansatz der Loyalität in der Übersetzung kommen Fragen wie Verantwortung dem Ausgangstext, dem Zieltext, dem Zieltextleser, dem Auftraggeber und dem Autor des Ausgangstextes gegenüber ins Spiel. Diese Fragestellungen sind wichtige Aspekte in der Diskussion um die Übersetzungsethik. Nord betont die doppelte Bindung des Translators: "Translation ist die Produktion eines funktionsgerechten Zieltextes (Translatskopos) unterschiedlich spezifizierten Anbindung an einen vorhandenen Ausgangstext (Nord, 1991: 31). Der Translator ist zur "Loyalität" verpflichtet, und zwar sowohl gegenüber dem Zieltextempfänger, als auch gegenüber dem Ausgangstextautor, dessen Intention er nicht verfälschen darf (Stolze, 2008: 187). Der Translator trägt demnach sowohl dem Ausgangstextautor (und dessen Textfunktion) als auch dem Zieltextempfänger gegenüber eine Verpflichtung: "Diese Verantwortung bezeichne ich als "Loyalität"- "Loyalität" ist eine ethische Qualität im Zusammenleben von Menschen, die "Treue" einer Übersetzung bezeichnet ein Abbildungsverhältnis zwischen Texten" (Nord, 1991: 32). Hier kommt das ethische Verhalten des Übersetzers zum Vorschein, der Übersetzer ist demnach verpflichtet der Funktionsgerechtigkeit und der Treue gegenüber der Autorenintention loyal zu sein (Stolze, 2008: 187). Nord geht davon aus, dass die Verantwortung des Übersetzers darin liegt, den Zieltextleser nicht bewußt zu täuschen, sondern eventuelle Abweichungen offenzulegen und zu begründen (Nord, 1993: 17-18).

Wie die angeführten Aussagen zeigen, wird in den funktionalistischen Ansätzen (Nord, 1997; Reiss und Vermeer, 1984) die Qualität des Zieltextes untersucht und es werden Fragen,

nach dem Zweck des Zieltextes in der Zielkultur gestellt und hinterfragt, wer für die Beauftragung der Übersetzung zuständig ist (Hermans, 2009: 94). In diesem Paradigma untersucht auch Lefevere (1992) den Einfluss der Übersetzung in ideologischen, kulturellen und sozialen Kontexten. Er argumentiert, dass die Gültigkeit der Übersetzung von der Ideologie und dann von der Poetik bestimmt wird. Nach Lefevere (1992) belegt die Sprache den dritten Platz in der Übersetzung (Hermans, 2009: 95). Die deskriptiven Studien decken weiterhin ein breites Spektrum unterschiedlicher Praktiken innerhalb des Übersetzungsprozesses ab; von der Auswahl eines bestimmten zu übersetzenden Textes, bis hin zur Auswahl einer bestimmten Übersetzungsstrategie und zur Gestaltung des Zieltextes zusammen mit einer bestimmten Ideologie. Solche deskriptiven Studien zeigen, wie sich verschiedene Übersetzungen auf die politische Positionierungen stützen können (Tymoczko, 2010: 225).

In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch Bassnett und Lefevere (1990) von der Vorstellung ausgegangen, dass die Übersetzung aus der kulturellen Perspektive angegangen werden sollte. Demnach wird die Übersetzung, die für Zieltextleser einer bestimmten Zielkultur erstellt wurde, als eine Texttradition aufgefasst und ist daher mit der Zielkultur verbunden (Toury, 1980, 82-83; Tymoczko, 2010, 216). Übersetzer werden daher als "Personen in der Kultur" des Zieltext-Systems angesehen (Toury, 1995: 40; Tymoczko, 2010: 216).

Nach Tymoczkos Ansatz wird Übersetzen als kommunikativer und interkultureller Transferprozess verstanden, bei dem Inhalte von einer Sprache in eine andere (Tymoczko, 2006: 443) übertragen werden. Studien zur Übersetzungswissenschaft haben jedoch in letzter Zeit eine Verschiebung des Interesses gezeigt, nach der die Übersetzung von einer rein interkulturellen Kommunikation hin zur Untersuchung interkultureller Funktionen von Übersetzungsprozessen und Produkten verlagert wurde. Solche Ansätze breiten sich in die Bereiche der Übersetzungsethik, der

Politik und Ideologie (Tymoczko, 2006: 445) aus. Die Ideologie einer Übersetzung liegt nicht nur im übersetzten Text, sondern auch in der Stimme und Haltung des Übersetzers und in seiner Relevanz für den Zieltextleser. Diese letzteren Merkmale werden durch den Ort der Aussprache des Übersetzers beeinflusst: Tatsächlich sind sie Teil dessen, was wir unter dem "Ort" der Aussprache verstehen, denn dieser "Ort" ist sowohl eine ideologische als auch eine geografische oder zeitliche Positionierung (Tymoczko, 2003). Sowohl die ideologische Position als auch die zeitliche Position des Übersetzers gelten als zentrale Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung in der Übersetzungswissenschaft.

Dies hat in der Tat zu der Vorstellung geführt, Übersetzung als einen realen Raum bzw. Ort zu betrachten oder als kulturelle Position des Übersetzers, auch im Unterschied zu seiner ideologischen Position (Tymoczko, 2003: 217). Demnach wurde Übersetzung als Raum zwischen verschiedenen Räumen betrachtet (Tymoczko, 2003: 217). Aus der Perspektive der Übersetzungsideologie erscheint diese Vorstellung, Übersetzung als Zwischenraum zu betrachten, jedoch als problematisch, da dies zu einer falschen Vorstellung von der Art des Engagements führt, obwohl die Übersetzung Zusammenarbeit und Zugehörigkeit (Tymoczko, 2003: 226) erfordert.

Darüberhinaus können Übersetzungsnormen Übersetzern als Orientierungshilfe dienen, sowohl aus sozialer als auch aus psychologischer Sicht. Aus sozialer Perspektive kann gesagt werden, dass Normen den Erwartungen angesichts der Gesellschaft und ihrer Werte und Traditionen gerecht werden (Hermans, 2009: 95). In solchen sozialen Systemen dient die Übersetzung als unsichtbares Mittel der kulturellen Angemessenheit, die nach Identitäten und Zugehörigkeiten sucht (Tymoczko, 2006: 446). Auf der anderen Seite sind Normen insofern psychologisch, da sie eine Reihe von gemeinsamen Erwartungen in Bezug auf das Verhalten von Individuen und ihren Entscheidungen in einer bestimmten Situation treffen müssen (Hermans, 2009: 95). Toury (1995), der

das Konzept der Übersetzungsnormen aufgegriffen hat, sieht sie als Restriktionen, die das Verhalten des Übersetzers bestimmen. Er bestätigt, dass Entscheidungen des Übersetzers in erster Linie von Normen abhängen und von Normen bestimmt werden. Toury sieht Normen als Orientierungshilfe für die Übersetzer in Bezug auf die Wortwahl, die eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Formulierung des Zieltextes spielen. Nach Toury werden Übersetzungen von der Zielkultur initiiert und es gilt die Normen der Zielkultur im Auge zu behalten (Toury, 1995: 26- 42; Stolze, 2008: 151-155). Andere Wissenschaftler wie Hermans (1991) und Nord (1997) erweitern die theoretische Grundlage von Normen durch Darstellung der wechselseitigen Auswirkungen auf Übersetzer und Zieltextleser. Normen können insbesondere als Orientierungshilfe angesehen werden, die den Übersetzer im Übersetzungsprozess mit sozialen und kulturellen Anhaltspunkten, unterstützen. Damit ermöglichen sie Übersetzern, dass sie mit gesellschaftlich akzeptierten Normen der Zielkultur übersetzen, womit Texte entstehen, die vom Zieltextleser als legitimer und gültiger Zieltext angesehen wird (Hermans, 2009: 96).

Eine weitere Auffassung zur Übersetzungsethik führt Chesterman (2001) an. Er geht von vier Modellen der Übersetzungsethik aus, die auf "Repräsentation", "Dienstleistung", "Kommunikation" und "Normen" basieren, und schlägt auch einen Übersetzereid vor, der dem hippokratischen Eid ähnelt. Chesterman nennt sein erstes Modell die "Ethik der Repräsentation". Nach diesem Modell sollte der Übersetzer dem Ausgangstext treu bleiben. Sein zweites Modell nennt er die "Dienstleistungsethik". Nach diesem ethischen Verständnis ist Übersetzung eher eine kommerzielle Dienstleistung; das heißt, es ist eine Dienstleistung, die für einen Klienten erbracht wird. Das dritte Modell ist die "Kommunikationsethik". Der Schwerpunkt in diesem Modell liegt nicht auf der Darstellung des Anderen, sondern es ist die Kommunikation, die mit anderen oder mit einer anderen Kultur

aufgebaut wird. Aus kommunikationsethischer Sicht ist der Übersetzer ein Werkzeug und versucht, unterschiedliche Kulturen einander näher zu bringen. Eine Übersetzung zu verstehen bedeutet, eine Interpretation zu finden, die den kommunikativen Zielen des Autors und des Übersetzers entspricht. Schließlich spricht Chesterman vom “normbasierten ethischen Modell”, wobei er nach der Auffassung von Toury, Normen, als Orientierungshilfe auffasst, die die Übersetzungsproduktion oder -rezeption bestimmen und beeinflussen. Bei diesen Normen geht es darum, wie akzeptable Übersetzungsprodukte aussehen und sein sollten (Chesterman, 2001: 139-142). Jedes der vier Modelle betont unterschiedliche ethische Werte: in der Ethik der Repräsentation ist es die “Wahrheit”; in der Ethik des Dienstes die “Loyalität”; im Kommunikationsmodell wird “Verstehen” betont und im normbasierten Modell wird “Vertrauen” betont. Zu diesen vier Modellen fügt Chesterman eine “Verpflichtungsethik” hinzu (Chesterman, 2001: 142-144). Chesterman (1997a, 1997b, 2001) verbindet diese Normen mit der Übersetzungsethik und argumentiert, dass die Übersetzungsethik strenge Verpflichtungen gegenüber präzisen Ausdrücken, der Erstellung eines wahrheitsgetreuen, gleichwertigen Zieltextes hat. Somit wird zwischen Übersetzer und Auftraggeber oder sonstigen beteiligten Parteien Vertrauen aufgebaut. Auch werden mögliche Missverständnisse zwischen den beteiligten Parteien beseitigt. Basierend auf ethischen Verhaltenskodexen, die befolgt wurden, schlägt Chesterman (2001) weiterhin vor, dass alle Übersetzer und Dolmetscher weltweit einen Eid nach dem Vorbild des Ärzteberufs leisten sollten. Dies wird auch von Pym (2001) bekräftigt, der betont, dass Ethik mit der Reaktion von Individuen zusammenhängt, die in eine konkrete Situation eingebunden sind, wobei die Bedeutung abstrakter Grundlagen zum Vorschein kommt. Auch Pym (1992, 2002, 2004) befasst sich ausführlich mit ethischen Aspekten der Übersetzung. Er behauptet, dass Übersetzung allgemein als interkulturelle Transaktion angesehen wird und der Übersetzer eine

wichtige Rolle spielen sollte: sichere Zusammenarbeit zwischen allen beteiligten Parteien mit dem Ziel, dass alle Beteiligten einen gegenseitigen Nutzen erzielen. Pym legt Wert auf professionelle Übersetzer und betrachtet sie als Handelnde innerhalb eines interkulturellen Raums, der der richtige Ort für den Kulturvermittler ist, der in der Lage ist, effiziente interlinguale und interkulturelle Kommunikation zu sichern.

Nach Schleiermacher (1813/1963) ist der Übersetzer dazu zuständig, dass der Zieltextleser die Stimme des ursprünglichen Autors hören kann, als die Stimmen einer anderen Partei. Bermans (1984) Übersetzungsethik wiederum besteht darin, durch wörtliche Übersetzung, Form und Inhalt des Ausgangstextes zu respektieren. Venuti bekräftigt Bermans Ansichten zur Ethik, fügt allerdings, ein ideologisches und politisches Element hinzu (Hermans, 2009: 97-98). Auch die Auffassung Venutis (1995) von der Einbürgerung bzw. Verfremdung findet einen Widerhall in der Übersetzungsdiskussion. Die Vertreter einer Ethik der Identität legen ihr Augenmerk in erster Linie auf die Äquivalenz bzw. die Erhaltung und mimetische Ab- und Nachbildung der autoren- und ausgangskulturspezifischen Signatur des Ausgangstextes. Ziel einer poststrukturalistischen Ethik der Identität ist es, nicht nur die "Identität des Anderen" zu wahren, sondern vor allem den zielkulturellen Rezipienten die Erfahrung des Anderen und die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Fremden zu vermitteln. Demnach spricht er von der Sichtbarkeit des Übersetzers bzw. von der verfremdenden Übersetzung (Venuti, 1995). Die Folge, dass bei einer verfremdenden Übersetzung aufgrund der Asymmetrie der Sprachen und Kulturen des Zieltextes, die sprachlichen und ästhetischen Normen der Zielkultur gebrochen werden müssen, kann historisch und pragmatisch unterschiedliche Wirkungen zeitigen. In der literarischen Übersetzung, die bisher der bevorzugte Objektbereich der Vertreter der Ethik– insbesondere Antoine Bermans (1984) und Lawrence Venuti (1995, 1998) – war, ermöglicht die Ethik erst die befruchtende Auseinandersetzung

mit dem Fremden, dem Anderssein der Anderen, und dessen innovatorische Implementierung in das eigene literarische und kulturelle System (Bachmann-Medick, 1997). Im Bereich des Gemeindedolmetschens⁸ hingegen, um das andere Extrem anzusprechen, kann das verfremdende Übersetzen in tendenziell fremdenfeindlichen Gesellschaften zur definitiven Ausgrenzung der marginalisierten Immigrationsminderheiten führen, da dadurch die kognitiven und kulturellen Hürden ideologisiert und die Brücken zur Mediation vollends abgebrochen werden können. In einer Ethik der Differenz werden hingegen die Unterschiede zwischen den Systemen in den Vordergrund gestellt und die Äquivalenz als Illusion entlarvt (Prunč, 2005: 177-179).

Gouanvic (2001) betrachtet die Übersetzungsethik im Sinne der Berufsethik. Er argumentiert, dass die Qualifikationen, die ein Übersetzer besitzen sollte, für fast jeden Dienstleistungsberuf gelten. Das heißt, der Übersetzer sollte kompetent genug sein, um in professioneller Harmonie an den Text heranzugehen. Auf die Einhaltung des Vertraulichkeitsprinzips muss der Übersetzer vertrauen können. Nach Gouanvics Übersetzungsverständnis gehört nicht jede Übersetzung dem Übersetzer; der Ausgangstext ist geistiges Eigentum des Autors. Einen Text zu übersetzen bedeutet nicht unbedingt, den Text an die Zielkultur anzupassen. Ausgehend von diesem Übersetzungsverständnis stellt Gouanvic fest, dass die Ethik der Übersetzung nur im Ausgangstext und seiner Beziehung zu sehen ist, während die Ethik des Zieltextes von der Zukunft des Ausgangstextes abhängt. Im nächsten Schritt untersucht er die Übersetzungsethik aus der Perspektive des Übersetzers. Die objektive Logik des übersetzten Textes entsteht erst mit Hilfe der Ansichten des Übersetzers und der übersetzte Text nimmt Gestalt an. Die Meinungen des Übersetzers werden erfasst und können geändert werden. Sie führt die Übersetzungstätigkeit nur mit ihren eigenen Ansichten und Errungenschaften durch. Der Übersetzer

⁸ Auch im Zusammenhang mit dem Bereich des Krankenhausdolmetschens.

führt auch eine Aktion mit einem sozialen Aspekt durch, indem er eine soziale Übersetzung durchführt. Er muss die Verantwortung für sein Handeln übernehmen können (Gouanvic, 2001: 205-209).

Übersetzer sind bei jedem Übersetzungsprozess dazu gezwungen bestimmte Entscheidungen zu treffen, da sie niemals alle Textfunktionen des Ausgangstextes nahtlos wiedergeben können. Somit geben ihre Entscheidungen auch ihre eigene Position wieder. Dies führt zu dem Gedanken, Prioritäten in der Übersetzung zu setzen (Tymoczko, 2006: 453), da bei jeder Übersetzung etwas verlorengeht. Die von den Übersetzern getroffenen Entscheidungen sollten darüber bestimmen, welche Elemente des Ausgangstextes in den Zieltext übertragen und auf welche verzichtet werden sollen (Tymoczko, 2006: 453).

Diese Ausführungen zeigen, dass Normen und Skopos als Orientierungshilfe in Fragen der Übersetzungsethik für den Übersetzer richtungsweisend sein können.

6. Berufsethik bei Dolmetschern in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen

Der Begriff der Ethik wird im Allgemeinen als die Wissenschaft von Prinzipien aufgefasst, die bei der Gestaltung einer Handlung gelten (Reiner, 1964: 15). Wenn wir diese Definition auf den Übersetzerberuf übertragen, können berufsethische Grundsätze als ein Regelwerk betrachtet werden, die das Verhalten in einem bestimmten Beruf ausdrücken. Grundsätzlich sind dies die Grundsätze, die von Berufskammern, Berufsverbänden und -verbänden oder anderen Institutionen und Organisationen aufgestellt werden, um über berufsbedingte oder nicht akzeptierte Verhaltensweisen aufzuklären und damit die Berufsangehörigen am Handeln hindern, die im Widerspruch zu menschlichen oder beruflichen Werten stehen. Ein Blick auf die von solchen Berufsorganisationen aufgestellten Grundsätze zeigt, dass die

Grundsätze der “Unparteilichkeit”, “Objektivität”, “Vertraulichkeit”, “Genauigkeit”, “Treue” und “Vollständigkeit der Verdolmetschung” in den Vordergrund treten.

Ein wichtiges Kriterium für die Professionalisierung eines Berufs sind insbesondere die Berufsgrundsätze. Der Übersetzerberuf verlangt vom Übersetzer die Verpflichtung bzw. Verantwortung für Rechtsnormen (in allen Bereichen des Übersetzens, insbesondere in Gesundheits-, Krankheits- und Todesfragen) und für moralische Normen. Die moderne Gesellschaft von heute lässt sich insbesondere unter dem Begriff der “Globalisierung” definieren. In diesem Fall sollte der Übersetzer sowohl als Mitglied der Gesellschaft als auch als professioneller Experte für interkulturelle Kommunikation die Probleme, die in seinem Handeln auftreten, als “ethisch vertretbar” bewerten. Um die interkulturelle Kommunikation aufrechtzuerhalten, ist es notwendig, zu klären, was richtig oder falsch ist, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Berufsethik. Viele Studien belegen, dass besonders ethisches Verhalten eines der wichtigsten Eigenschaften sind, die vom Krankheitsdolmetscher erwartet werden. Der Übersetzungsethik kommt im Kontext vom Dolmetschen in medizinisch Einsatzbereichen eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Betrachtet man die Erwartungen der Patienten an den Krankenhausdolmetscher in der Arzt-Patienten-Kommunikation, wird die Bedeutung der Übersetzungsethik noch deutlicher. Die Erwartungen von Patienten und Ärzten an Krankenhausdolmetscher in Arzt-Patienten-Gesprächen wurden in umfangreichen Studien ⁹ untersucht. Nach diesen Studien werden von Dolmetschern folgende Eigenschaften erwartet:

- gleiche Kulturzugehörigkeit wie Patienten
- gleiches Geschlecht wie Patienten

⁹ Rollen- und Rollenprofile von Dolmetschern in verschiedenen Gesundheits- und öffentlichen Einrichtungen in Wien, auf die sich Franz Pöchhacker (1997) in seiner Forschungsarbeit mit dem Titel “Kommunikation mit Nichtdeutschsprachigen in Wiener Gesundheits- und Sozialeinrichtungen” fokussierte.

- perfekte Zweisprachigkeit
- gründliches Verständnis der betreffenden Kultur
- Schulabschluss auf Maturaniveau
- gründliche medizinische Fachkenntnisse bzw. Ausbildung in Sozialarbeit

- Dolmetscherausbildung ¹⁰
- allgemein gerichtlich beidete Dolmetscher
- absolut neutrale bzw. unparteiische Haltung
- Diskretion und Verschwiegenheit (Pöchhacker, 2000: 244-246, vgl. auch Şan und Kahraman Duru, 2020: 820-823).

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung zeigen, dass die wichtigsten Eigenschaften, die von professionellen Dolmetschern in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen erwartet werden, eine unparteiische Haltung bzw. neutrales Verhalten, Diskretion und Verschwiegenheit sind (Barkowski, 2007: 91-98). Es wurde festgestellt, dass die Erwartungen an die Ausbildung von Krankenhausdolmetschern nicht sehr hoch sind, aber ethisches Verhalten von größerer Bedeutung ist (Pöchhacker, 2000: 269). Die Erwartungen sind demnach Berufsethik und Rollenbewusstsein und eine professionelle Einstellung im Beruf (Pöchhacker, 2003: 50; Pöchhacker und Shlesinger, 2007: 239; Knapp und Knapp-Potthoff, 1985: 454-457; vgl. Turan, 2018: 290-293).

Es gibt einige wichtige Faktoren, die den Dolmetscher bei seinen Entscheidungen beeinflussen. Es sind Fragestellungen in Bezug zur Ehrlichkeit, Diskretion bzw. Vertraulichkeit, Unparteilichkeit bzw. Neutralität, die Professionalität in dem Beruf des Dolmetschers bzw. Übersetzers ausmachen. Vertraulichkeit und der Schutz der Privatsphäre der Patienten stehen sowohl für Dolmetscher als auch für Ärzte an erster Stelle. Daher ist für Dolmetscher die Vertraulichkeit, die zu den wichtigsten ethischen Grundsätzen zählt, äußerst wichtig. Dolmetscher müssen alle

¹⁰ vgl. Özbent et al. (2016) zur Bedeutung der Dolmetscherausbildung und Ergebnisse für den Dolmetscherberuf.

Informationen, die sie während des Gesprächs erfahren, vertraulich behandeln und verantwortungsbewusst handeln. Neben der Vertraulichkeit und dem Schutz der Privatsphäre der Patienten wird erwartet, dass Dolmetscher in der Lage sind, mit Unparteilichkeit, Vorurteilen und Stereotypen umzugehen und Nähe und Distanz zu den Parteien bei der Verdolmetschung anzupassen. Generell trägt der Dolmetscher Verantwortung gegenüber den Personen, für die er übersetzt und wird vom Patienten als Vertrauensperson angesehen (Kadrić, 2006: 56).

Im Folgenden werden Dolmetscherrollen, die der Krankenhausdolmetscher im Gesundheitswesen einnimmt, erörtert, um das Konzept der Ethik beim Dolmetschen zu verdeutlichen.

7. Dolmetscherrollen in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen

Umfangreiche Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, dass Krankenhausdolmetscher bei der Verdolmetschung bestimmte Rollen einnehmen. In diesem Zusammenhang treten einige Rollen in den Vordergrund, die Dolmetscherentscheidungen beeinflussen können: Conduit, Clarifier, Culture Broker und Advocate.

Hinsichtlich der Rolle des Krankenhausdolmetschers im Pyramidenmodell von Niska (2002) gibt es unterschiedliche Erwartungen.

Diese sind “conduit”, “clarifier”, “culture broker” und “advocat”. Dementsprechend wird die wichtigste Rolle des Krankenhausdolmetschers in der Übermittlung des Gesagten gesehen. In dieser Funktion übernimmt er die Rolle eines Dolmetschers (“conduit”) und trägt somit die Verantwortung für die gesamte Verdolmetschung. Die medizinische Terminologie ist jedoch sehr komplex, und daher erweitert sich die Rolle des Dolmetschers und fällt unter die Aufgabe, den Patienten medizinische Begriffe zu erklären und in eine für ihn verständliche Sprache zu übersetzen (“clarifier”). Zu ihrer Klärungsfunktion gehört auch

die Beseitigung von Missverständnissen und die Klärung unklarer Inhalte. Darüberhinaus hat der Dolmetscher die Aufgabe, über die Kultur des Patienten zu informieren und unterschiedliche Kulturen einander näher zu bringen (“culture broker”). Daneben übernimmt der Dolmetscher auch die Rolle des Verteidigers der Patientenrechte (“advocate”) und handelt in seinem Interesse (Niska, 2002: 133). In dieser Rolle sollten Dolmetscher die Interessen der Patienten vertreten, sie über ihre Rechte und Möglichkeiten aufklären, bei bürokratischen Angelegenheiten mitwirken und dabei unparteiisch handeln (Barkowski, 2007: 55).

8. Dolmetscherrollen in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen

Eine ähnliche Herangehensweise an das Pyramidenmodell findet sich bei einigen charakteristischen Rollenbildern in medizinischen Einsatzbereichen. Beim Dolmetschen im Gesundheitswesen kommen diese Modelle meistens gleichzeitig ins Spiel:

8.1. Wort-zu-Wort-Dolmetschen

Bei diesem Ansatz wird Wort für Wort gedolmetscht. Bei diesem Ansatz wird das, was der Patient sagt, getreu vermittelt, weil man glaubt, auf diese Weise dem Gedankenfluss des Patienten folgen zu können. Der Dolmetscher engagiert sich nicht aktiv, sondern bleibt passiv und neutral (Alloui, 2005: 29). Er greift nicht aktiv ein und trägt nicht zur Situation und zum Inhalt bei. Die Bedingungen beim Dolmetschen im Gesundheitswesen sind jedoch unterschiedlich. Beim Dolmetschen im Gesundheitswesen besteht ein ungleiches Verhältnis zwischen den drei Teilnehmern: Patient-Arzt- Dolmetscher. Der Einsatz von Kenntnissen der Teilnehmer ist voneinander abhängig. In diesem Verhältnis benachteiligt die fehlende Kenntnis der offiziellen Sprache den ausländischen Patienten, da es Defizite in kultureller, sozialer und sprachlicher

Hinsicht gibt. Folglich ist eine Wort-zu- Wort-Verdolmetschung nicht ausreichend, denn Patienten-Arzt-Ausdrücke, Erklärungen und das Gesagte werden in der anderen Sprache nicht das genaue Äquivalent finden.

8.2. Dolmetscherrolle als Co-Therapeut

Dieses Rollenmodell umfasst Themen wie die Gestaltung der Behandlung durch den Dolmetscher gemeinsam mit dem Arzt, sowie das Dolmetschen und die Übernahme der Behandlungsverantwortung (“Co-Therapeut”). Der Dolmetscher interpretiert die Kommunikation der Teilnehmer und greift in das Gespräch ein. Dazu extrahiert er einige Inhalte, macht weitere Erklärungen bzw. Hinzufügungen, gibt Anweisungen, macht Verallgemeinerungen oder lässt Informationen weg (Alloui, 2005: 33; Weiss und Stuker, 1999: 257-258). Der Dolmetscher dient der gegenseitigen Kommunikation zwischen Arzt und Patient. Der inhaltliche Eingriff des Dolmetschers zielt eigentlich darauf ab, die Mauern zwischen den Parteien niederzureißen. Bei diesem Ansatz wird der Dolmetscher in die private Domäne des Patienten einbezogen, da der Patient dem Dolmetscher auch Informationen übermittelt, die er dem Arzt eventuell nicht anvertrauen möchte (Alloui, 2005: 34). Dabei spielt die emotionale/empathische Distanz bzw. Nähe zwischen Arzt-Patient-Dolmetscher eine wichtige Rolle. Bei diesem Ansatz ist der Dolmetscher kein unsichtbarer, unparteiischer Teilnehmer, der Informationen übermittelt, der im Hintergrund bleibt, sondern ein dritter Teilnehmer, der mit seiner Persönlichkeit das Gespräch beeinflussen kann (Alloui, 2005: 35). Dabei zeigt sich, dass der Dolmetscher die Patientenrechte verteidigen kann (“advocat”) und zum Wohle des Patienten interveniert, wenn der Arzt nicht zugunsten des Patienten entscheidet (Slapp, 2004: 25-26). Diese Haltung des Dolmetschers, der seine Unparteilichkeit an dieser Stelle verliert, kann jedoch zu Ungleichgewichten und Meinungsverschiedenheiten führen. Da der Dolmetscher in dieser

Rolle für die Gesundheit des Patienten verantwortlich ist, sollte er vor dem Arztgespräch mit dem Patienten sprechen und die Rechte des Patienten und seine aktive Teilnahme am Gespräch besprechen (Slapp, 2004: 25-26). In dieser Dolmetscherrolle wird von echter Verdolmetschung gesprochen, es gibt eine ideale Kommunikation, weil der Dolmetscher die Botschaft übermittelt, die dem anderen übermittelt werden soll. In dieser Rolle wird die der aktuellen Situation angemessene Bedeutung vermittelt, nicht das direkt Gesagte. Diskurse, die die Bedeutung des Gesagten ausdrücken, sollten nicht wörtlich gewählt werden. Der Dolmetscher kann in dieser Rolle selbst Fragen stellen und dem Patienten Ratschläge geben (Opraus, 2003: 121).

8.3. Wissenstransfer beim Dolmetschen

Bei diesem Modell gibt der Patient dem Dolmetscher spezifische Informationen über seinen Zustand. Der Dolmetscher übermittelt diese Informationen, wenn er es während oder nach der Behandlung für notwendig hält. Diese Informationen bringen den Dolmetscher in eine schwierige Lage, der das Vertrauen des Patienten nicht erschüttern möchte.

Der Dolmetscher sollte die Informationen, die er dem Arzt übermittelt, gründlich überprüfen. Er behandelt die Informationen entweder vertraulich oder leitet sie nach dem Gespräch an den Arzt weiter. Manchmal gibt er die Informationen nicht weiter, wenn ihn eine Situation oder ein Thema davon abhält. In diesem Modell ist die Fähigkeit zur richtigen Einschätzung der Situation ("Reflexionsfähigkeit") von großer Bedeutung.

8.4. Kulturtransfer beim Dolmetschen

Bei dieser Art der Verdolmetschung sind soziokulturelle Bedingungen wichtig und persönliche Merkmale werden ignoriert. Der Dolmetscher versucht eine Lösung zu finden, indem er die

Denksysteme der Parteien mit unterschiedlichem kulturellen Hintergrund an einem gemeinsamen Punkt zusammenführt. Der Dolmetscher soll den Parteien ermöglichen, sich auf unterschiedliche Denksysteme zu einigen (Weiss und Stuker, 1999: 258-259). Er übernimmt dabei die Aufgabe eines Kulturübersetzers ("culture broker"), der die Kultur des Patienten sehr gut kennt (Pöchhacker und Shlesinger, 2007: 242). Im Kulturtransfer-Rollenmodell sollte der Dolmetscher, um die gegenseitige Kommunikation zwischen den Parteien sicherzustellen, neben der Verdolmetschung auch Informationen und Erläuterungen entsprechend dem Kommunikationsstatus als Kulturübermittler an die andere Partei übermitteln. Parameter des Gesundheitssystems wie nichtsprachliche Elemente, rechtliche und politische Struktur des Gastlandes, gesellschaftliche Normen und Regeln, besondere Beziehungsmuster ("Interaktionsmuster"), medizinische Terminologie und Behandlungsprozesse bilden diesen kulturellen Kontext. Der Dolmetscher sollte in der Lage sein, die Informationen zu interpretieren und zu vermitteln, die der Patient nicht ausdrückt und die aus kulturellen Unterschieden hervorgehen. Auf diese Weise spricht er im Namen des Patienten, kann die Themen vermitteln, die er nicht ausdrücken kann, und fügt so dem Behandlungsprozess kulturelle Elemente hinzu. An dieser Stelle sind das kulturelle Element, Traditionen und Bräuche für den Arzt wichtig, denn nur aufgrund dieser Informationen kann der Arzt eine Vorstellung von den traditionellen Ansichten des Patienten über die Krankheit haben. Der Dolmetscher sollte offen und sensibel für die andere Kultur sein und die Kultur kennen, zu der jeweils der Patient und der Arzt gehören. Unter diesen Bedingungen sollte er jedoch kulturelle Unterschiede erkennen und entsprechend handeln. Vom Krankenhausdolmetscher wird erwartet, dass er die allgemeine Struktur des Gesundheitssystems, Regeln und Normen, Traditionen, Redewendungen und Sprichwörter des Landes kennt, aus dem der Arzt und der Patient jeweils stammen.

9. Parteilichkeit und die Rolle des Patientenberaters

In diesem Modell steht der Dolmetscher ganz klar auf der Seite des Patienten, dolmetscht und vermittelt für ihn. Da der Patient aufgrund der Situation, in der er sich befindet, dem Arzt nicht gleichgestellt ist, ist die Parteilichkeit des Dolmetschers eine natürliche Folge. Es besteht in diesem Fall eine Parteilichkeit des Dolmetschers, die sowohl "explizit" als auch "implizit" stattfindet. Bei vertraulicher Betreuung übermittelt der Dolmetscher dem Arzt die zusätzlichen Informationen, die der Patient dem Dolmetscher übermittelt, nicht; dies führt jedoch zu Missverständnissen im Arzt-Patienten-Dialog. Dieses Modell erfordert, dass der Dolmetscher aktiv und sensibel ist. Der Dolmetscher sollte die Situation sorgfältig abwägen, ob die "vertrauliche Unterstützung" zugunsten des Patienten ausfällt. Der Dolmetscher sollte über Fachkenntnisse (z.B. Ausländer- bzw. Flüchtlingsrecht) verfügen, insbesondere zu Minderheiten und Flüchtlingen. Der Dolmetscher stellt sich aktiv auf die Seite des Patienten, der zur Minderheit oder Randgruppe gehört. Hierbei ist der Dolmetscher nicht nur ein Vermittler, sondern auch Sprachrohr des Patienten. Das größte Problem bei diesem Ansatz besteht darin, dass die Ausdrücke des Patienten und des Dolmetschers ineinander geraten und die Botschaft, die der Patient übermitteln möchte, nicht klar vom Ausdruck des Dolmetschers unterschieden werden kann. Im Patientenberatungsmodell stehen die Interessen des Patienten im Vordergrund. Dolmetscher unterstützen Patienten und nehmen somit eine aktive und partizipative Rolle ein. Der Patient wird in jeder Hinsicht zurückgehalten, passiviert. In dieser Rolle "werden Migranten als Opfergruppe gesehen, die im Gesundheitswesen unterstützt werden müssen" (Weiss und Stuker, 1999: 258).

Es ist unrealistisch, all diese Rollenmodelle separat zu betrachten, da sie in realen Situationen alle zusammen verwendet werden. Der Dolmetscher sollte die Situation gut einschätzen und in der Lage sein zu entscheiden, welche Rolle er einnimmt und welchen Ansatz er verfolgt.

10. Laiendolmetscher und berufsethische Fehlhandlungen

Im Arzt-Patienten-Gespräch im Krankenhaus bildet der Dolmetscher den dritten Ring des Dialogs. Wie die anderen beiden Teilnehmer spielt er eine Rolle im Dialog. Die Definition dieser Rolle ist jedoch für die anderen Teilnehmer und den Dolmetscher selbst nicht festgelegt. Niska (2002) verwendet dazu das Pyramidenmodell. Demnach argumentiert Niska, dass die grundlegende Aufgabe eines Krankenhausdolmetschers in erster Linie darin besteht, das Gesagte zu vermitteln, wortwörtlich zu übersetzen (“conduit”, “nur Dolmetschen”). Er argumentiert auch, dass der Dolmetscher eingreifen sollte (“clarifier”), indem er das Gesagte erklärt – zum Beispiel medizinische Begriffe erklärt, kulturelle Ausdrücke und Missverständnisse aufklärt. Im nächsten Schritt betont er, dass es wichtig sei, den ausländischen Patienten und den Arzt in der kulturellen Dimension näher zu bringen (“culture broker”). In dieser Rolle endet die “Unsichtbarkeit” des Dolmetschers, denn in dieser Phase nimmt der Dolmetscher Einfluss auf das Gespräch. In der Rolle des “advocate”, die eine der umfassendsten Rollen ist, schützt der Dolmetscher die Interessen und Rechte des Patienten (Niska, 2002: 133). Die (Nicht-) Berücksichtigung dieser Rollen zeigt auch die Unterscheidung zwischen professionellen Dolmetschern und Laiendolmetscher (Knapp und Knapp-Potthoff, 1985). Die Ignorierung dieser Rollen in Niskas Pyramidenmodell durch Laiendolmetscher wird in den folgenden Punkten festgestellt. Es wurde beobachtet, dass Laiendolmetscher folgende, grundlegende Fehler bei der Verdolmetschung machen:

- Informationen ausblenden
- Aus der Rolle des Dolmetschers heraustreten (diskutieren, im Namen des Patienten entscheiden, Partei ergreifen usw.)
- Abkürzungen, Auslassungen, Zusammenfassung
- Verkürzung des Inhalts, da Gedächtnis- und Notiztechniken nicht beherrscht werden

- Hinzufügen und Ändern von Ausdrücken
- Übersetzen ihrer Ideen und Empfehlungen an den Dolmetscher
- Ständig wechselnde Anrede (1., 2., 3. Person Singular und Plural etc.)
- Falsche Verdolmetschung

Dies bekräftigt die Aussage, dass der Dolmetscherberuf Professionalität und daher eingehendes ethisches Verhalten in der Übersetzung bzw. beim Dolmetschen abverlangt.

11. Berufsethisches Verhalten des Krankenhausdolmetschers in der Praxis

Wie oben angeführt wurde, beziehen sich die Regeln der Berufsethik auf bestimmte Aspekte, allerdings ist der Dolmetscher gezwungen in realen Situation selbst Entscheidungen zu treffen. Im Folgenden werden einige Situationen angeführt, in denen keine eindeutige Regel anzuwenden ist. Während die Berufsethik in der Verdolmetschung u.a. die Grundsätze wie Unparteilichkeit, Loyalität, und Verschwiegenheit erfordert, bringen diese Forderungen auch Schwierigkeiten für den Krankenhausdolmetscher mit sich. Einige der herausragenden Probleme im Gesundheitswesen werden im Folgenden erwähnt¹¹. Situationen, mit denen der Krankenhausdolmetscher in der Arzt-Patienten-Kommunikation konfrontiert wird, sind folgende:

12. (Un)Parteilichkeit bzw. Neutralität

Ein Krankenhausdolmetscher kann beispielsweise je nach Situation, in der er sich befindet, sich entweder auf die Seite des Arbeitgebers oder des Patienten stellen. Er kann sich einem Patienten derselben Nationalität näher fühlen, wenn dieser in einem

¹¹ vgl. dazu Eraslan und Şener (2019). "Türkiye'de Hastane Çevirmeninin Rolüne Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım". Ebru Dirirker (Hrsg.). Türkiye'de Sözlü Çeviri. Eğitim, Uygulama ve Araştırmalar içinde. İstanbul: Scala Yayıncılık, 215-244.

ausländischen Krankenhaus bzw. bei einem ausländischen Arzt im Ausland ist, und kann in diesem Fall für den Patienten Partei ergreifen. Es gibt aber genau so viele Situationen, in denen die Parteinahme zugunsten des Arbeitgebers (z.B. Krankenhausdirektion) oder des behandelnden Arztes ausfällt.

13. Vertraulichkeit bzw. Diskretion

Was soll der Dolmetscher den Parteien verheimlichen, was nicht? Wenn der Patient nicht will, dass einige Informationen dem Arzt anvertraut werden, diese aber wichtig für die Anamnese ist. Umgekehrt wie sollte er handeln, wenn es sich um eine sehr wichtige Information des Arztes handelt, es aber niederschmetternd für den Patienten ist.

14. (Un)Sichtbarkeit

Ein weiteres ethisches Verhalten beim Dolmetschen im medizinischen Bereich ist die (Un)Sichtbarkeit. Angelelli (2004) betont in seinem *visible model*, dass insbesondere der Krankenhausdolmetscher im Arzt-Patienten-Gespräch sichtbar wird. Einen hohen Grad an Sichtbarkeit weisen Krankenhausdolmetscher während allen Etappen des Arzt-Patienten-Gesprächs auf (u.a. Anamnesegespräch, Aufklärungsgespräch, während der Untersuchung, der Diagnose und während der ganzen Behandlung) (Angelelli, 2004: 85; vgl. auch Turan, 2018: 293-298). Im Weiteren äußert sich die Sichtbarkeit des Krankenhausdolmetschers beim "Aussagen zusammenfassen oder erweitern, das Verständnis sichern und Fachtermini erklären, Kulturunterschiede überbrücken, Partei für eine Gesprächspartei ergreifen. Je häufiger Dolmetscher einen eigenen Text produzieren, desto sichtbarer sind sie" (Angelelli, 2004: 102).

15. Weglassen bzw. Hinzufügen von Informationen

Wie sollte sich der Krankenhausdolmetscher verhalten, wenn z.B. eine Einweisung ins Krankenhaus nicht notwendig ist oder die

Situation des Patienten absichtlich verstellt bzw. übertrieben wird, um dem Krankenhaus Vorteil zu verschaffen. Soll er mit dem Patienten oder mit seinem Arbeitgeber kooperieren? Vom Arbeitgeber erhält er seinen Lohn, allerdings wird ihn möglicherweise sein Gewissen plagen, wenn er dem Patienten seine reale Situation verheimlicht bzw. ihn täuscht.

Eine weitere schwierige Situation, in die der Dolmetscher gerät, ist die Rolle des "Anwalts". In dieser Rolle ist er dazu verpflichtet den ausländischen Patienten vor möglicher Diskriminierung zu schützen. Wenn Laiendolmetscher (z.B. Krankenhauspersonal) die Verdolmetschung übernehmen, zwingt die Pflicht den Dolmetscher dazu Patienteninteressen gegenüber dem Krankenhaus in Betracht zu ziehen und erschwert die Wahrung der Unparteilichkeit (Barkowski, 2007: 53).

16. Abschließende Bemerkungen

In der vorliegenden Studie wurde anhand des Themas "Dolmetschen im medizinischen Bereich" die Übersetzungsethik und in diesem Zusammenhang Fragen wie "Loyalität", "Parteilichkeit", "Verantwortung" und "Diskretion" aufgegriffen und diskutiert. Außerdem wurden die im Zusammenhang mit der Übersetzungsethik häufig aufgestellten Fragestellungen mit ihren verschiedenen Übersetzungstheorien zusammengefasst, um zu zeigen, dass viele Theorien sich mit der Problematik auseinandergesetzt haben. Hierbei kommt besonders zum Vorschein, dass die Einstellung der Übersetzungswissenschaft zu Fragen der Ethik Erklärungsversuche macht. Anhand dieser Auffassungen wurde versucht das Thema zu ethischem Verhalten beim Dolmetschen im Gesundheitsbereich zu erörtern und Versuche zu machen, die einen (angehenden) Dolmetscher in diesem Bereich als Orientierungshilfe dienen könnte. Es hat sich nämlich herausgestellt, dass ethische Grundsätze, so wie wir sie in den Übersetzungsparadigmen erfahren nicht sofort in die Praxis umsetzbar sind. Man kann ethische Grundsätze nicht

direkt ethisch in eine Arzt-Patienten-Dolmetscher-Kommunikation integrieren. Der Krankenhausdolmetscher muss in der Lage sein, je nach Situation sowohl dem Arbeitgeber als auch dem Patienten gegenüber sich loyal und auch ethisch zu verhalten. Hierfür gibt es keine allgemeingültige Formel, nach dem der Dolmetscher sich richten kann. Er müsste sich ein eigenes Konzept zusammenstellen. Allerdings immer im Auge behalten, dass er zum Wohle des Patienten handelt, denn der Krankenhausdolmetscher ist dazu verpflichtet, im Zusammenhang von Krankheit und Gesundheit, Leben und Tod zu entscheiden und dies bürgt ihm eine besondere Verantwortung auf und gerade das macht die Ethik im Beruf des Dolmetschers aus und ist deshalb von so großer Bedeutung. An dieser Stelle stellt sich aber auch die Frage, ob die Loyalität des Dolmetschers ethisch ist. Bei der Lösung des Loyalitätsproblems in einer Dolmetschersituation, kommt zugleich auch der Gedanke auf, ob die erreichte Lösung im Rahmen ethischer Regeln angemessen ist. Bringt die Regel eine Lösung für das aktuelle Problem und handelt der Dolmetscher danach, löst sich das Loyalitätsproblem von selbst, denn es ist keine Frage, ob sich der Dolmetscher im Rahmen der Loyalität ethisch verhält, wichtig ist, ob er im Rahmen der Pflichtethik das richtige Verhalten an den Tag legt und unter Berücksichtigung der aktuellen Gegebenheiten übersetzt oder dolmetscht. Was beispielsweise im Rahmen berufsethischer Regeln bewertet werden sollte, ist nicht die Loyalität beim Dolmetschen, sondern die Haltung des Dolmetschers während des gesamten Übersetzungsprozesses.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass der Dolmetscher das Gleichgewicht zwischen Berücksichtigung ethischer Werte und der Erstellung einer Verdolmetschung in einer bestimmten Situation halten muss, das einem bestimmten Zweck dient. Es erscheint wichtig, dass die Entscheidungen, die der Dolmetscher trifft, auf drei entscheidenden Faktoren, basieren. Zu diesen Faktoren gehören der Ausgangstext, der Skopos und das Zielpublikum. Der Dolmetscher muss seine strategischen Entscheidungen

rechtfertigen können, ob diese auch (moralisch) vertretbar sind. Die zeitgenössischen Übersetzungstheorien zeigen, dass Übersetzungsnormen dem Übersetzer bzw. Dolmetscher als Orientierungshilfe dienen können und bestimmen können, was in einer bestimmten Situation in einer Zielkultur angemessen ist und was nicht. Unter Berücksichtigung der Übersetzungsethik besteht ein klarer Zusammenhang zwischen Übersetzungsnormen und Übersetzungsethik, die sich in den Entscheidungen des Dolmetschers auf eine bestimmte Übersetzungssituation auswirken können und der Akt der Vertrauensbildung zwischen allen beteiligten Parteien zustandebringen. Allerdings können Übersetzungsnormen auch der Übersetzungsethik entgegenstehen, wenn mit Ethik eine wortwörtliche Übersetzung bzw. Verdolmetschung bedeuten soll.

Die vorliegende Studie hat versucht anhand von Dolmetscherrollen im medizinischen Kontext, einige Hinweise in Bezug auf Entscheidungen bei der Verdolmetschung zu geben. Abschließend ist zu beachten, dass es keine bestimmte Formel für ein ethisches Verhalten im Übersetzungsprozess gibt. Der Übersetzerberuf hat, wie andere etablierte und bekannte Berufe auch, einen spezifischen Ethikkodex, der von Übersetzern bzw. Dolmetschern beachtet wird bzw. beachtet werden sollte.

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VOLUME II

AN EVALUATION ON OGRE-KILLER HERO AND OGRE IN KARAKALPAK TALES: DON'T LOSE SIGHT OF THE HERO!¹

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1. Introduction

This study could be written about the ogres in the tales of the Karakalpak Turks because there is no independent study on this subject and it will be the first, but the focus of this study is the ogre-killing heroes. All narratives are hero oriented. In other words, the fact that the giants or ogres are good or evil, play the role of traitor or helper, and all their features, from their names to their actions, actually have a function and meaning according to the hero. Because of this, it is important to take into account the hero who is actually standing next to or opposite the ogres when assessing them and their traits.

For this reason, this study was designed to focus on heroes, and Karakalpak tales an area that has not been thoroughly studied were selected as the research universe. It should be noted that all the features of the ogres identified in this study were put forward to understand and evaluate the hero.

¹ This study was prepared based on the data of IKSAD project numbered 2022/R05.

Ogres, with their massive size and inferior intelligence are one of the most extraordinary beings in the fairy tale universe. In fact, it is possible to think of ogres as very big humans. In her study of Turkish supernatural beings, Umay Günay states that in Turkish fairy tales, ogres are depicted as very large humans who marry, have children, and live like humans, for example, by cooking in large houses and mansions. She emphasizes, however, that there are ogres with many heads and many ears, that there are ogres who eat human flesh and drink human blood, and that there are also those with shape-shifting powers, and highlights that ogres vary from humans in these ways (Günay, 1983: 32).

Ogres in Karakalpak tales are often portrayed as very big human. For this reason, the term ogre (folk narrative) was preferred instead of giant (mythic). The ogres appear to be very different from humans based on their size and the details of the depictions. Öteniyazov, a scholar of Karakalpak folklore, explains the ogre type in Karakalpak tales as follows, paraphrasing K. Aimbetov, a scholar of Karakalpak folklore: The ogre is like a disaster sent by God, with eyes like wells, ears like shields, hands like pitchforks, legs like rakes, a nose like a double-round cauldron. (Ertekler Atawi, 1984: 421-232 as cited in Öteniyazov, 2021:54)². Therefore, the ogres in the Karakalpak tales are not just large for humans, they are supernatural beings with terrifying features. However, some of the ogres in Karakalpak tales live in houses in cities just like humans, and some live in wells and caves. The ogres in these tales have a family structure like humans, namely their mothers, fathers, spouses, children, and relatives. However, it is stated that some of them are not ogres but humans or kempirs (witch women). The ogres who work as the hero's assistants do not appear to consume human flesh, despite the fact that the majority of ogres do. As a result, the traits that Günay listed for ogres also apply to ogres in Karakalpak tales.

2 For translations from Russian, thanks to Prof. Dr. Muvaffak Duranlı.

For the fairy tale protagonists, “These ogres, which appear as an obstacle for the fairy tale hero to overcome, are eliminated in a short time” (Günay, 1983: 35). “In some fairy tales, fairy tale heroes use their intelligence to frighten ogres, gain respect or receive rewards from them” (Günay, 1975 as cited in Günay, 1983:33). As Günay states, the ogres are the obstacle against the hero of the fairy tale, and the hero defeats the ogre by deceiving him. In Karakalpak tales, K. Mambetnazarov emphasizes that even though the ogres in Karakalpak tales are big and powerful, they could not be successful against humans, namely the hero, even with their evil powers. Ogres are portrayed as cruel beings who can also possess dark powers. They live in mountains, mountain passes, caves, where they can hide. They kill or torture people, and they also eat them. They deliberately want to harm the hero (Mambetnazarov, 1981, 45-46; Öteniyazov, 2021:54-55). In the tales of Karakalpak, Öteniyazov divides the ogres into two groups, depending on their features:

1. Ogres with great [physical] strength,
2. Ogres with magical powers (Öteniyazov, 2021:54).

This classification refers to the two main characteristics of the ogre, physical size and strength, and magical powers. However, it is possible for these two forces to coexist. Because the ogre need not be the antagonist. In other words, there are ogres who help the hero in Karakalpak tales. In this case, it should also be taken into account in which case the powers in the classification are used positively and in which cases negatively.

These terrifying enemies, which resemble humans but are much larger, feed on human flesh and blood, smell human life, and exist solely to harm humans or heroes, are typically antagonists and traitors in Karakalpak tales due to their physical prowess and magical abilities.

To understand the ogres’ features and functions, as well as to explain the ogre motif, attention should be directed to the hero as much, if not more, than on the ogre. Many studies on ogres consider

the hero in opposition to the ogre, but in general they believe it is sufficient to declare that the hero is intellectual, brave, and talented. However, it is also necessary to specifically ask: What are the characteristics and functions of the hero who defeated the ogres or received their help?

In this study, 343 tales in 10 volumes (vols 67-76) of the 100-volume large corpus called *Karakalpak Folklore* (2014) were scanned to determine the characteristics of heroes and ogres in Karakalpak tales, and ogre motifs were identified in 36 tales. 17 tales have the word ogre in their names, and the ogres in these tales are antagonists. In 19 fairy tales, ogres take place as evil or good characters. In order to analyze the ogre motif in Karakalpak tales, protagonist, antagonist, extraordinary types, places and objects were considered holistically, and the ogre motif, depending on the features determined, was analyzed by focusing on the hero.

Storytelling: an Encyclopedia of Mythology and Folklore has this note about giants/ogres “Giants are incredibly large human-shaped beings. They are found in folklore and mythology from around the world and are depicted as enemies of humans, indifferent to humans, or, rarely, friends to humans or even heroes.” In this study, it is divided into two as “Mythic” and “Folk Giant”. Mythic giants are often portrayed as primitive, powerful, and sometimes slow-moving creatures. They are the personification of world power. Folk Giants (ogres in folktales) are often portrayed as stupid, often greedy, and sometimes man-eaters (Storytelling..., 2008: 199-200). According to the study giant is symbol of work power and ogre is symbol of physical power.

In this study, giants/ogres in myths, legends and fairy tales were evaluated. Mustafa Duman, who analyzed the negative types in myth, epic and folk tale genres in Turkish folk narratives, emphasizes that the type of giant/ogre is not encountered in the myths and folk tales he examined. On the other hand most of the giants/ogres with negative characteristics in epic genres do not have

human characteristics and they depend on the type of enemy trying to kill the hero (Duman 2020; Duman 2017:247-249).

According to the study edited by J. E. Cirlot “Now, the giant is, in himself, neither good nor bad, but merely a quantitative amplification of the ordinary; hence, as the case may be, there are some legendary giants who are protectors and others who are aggressive. This sense of the giant as ‘that which surpasses’ human stature (here symbolic of power and strength), is also indicative of the broad significance of the giant” (Cirlot, 2001:118-119). Readings such as “world power” and “symbol of power and strength” in these studies emphasize the symbolic relationship of ogres with the body and physical power of either the earth or man. According to the determination of İnayet, this relationship in the mystical dimension is also explained by the relationship between the nafs and the body. The struggle of the hero and the ogre has been interpreted figuratively as a conflict between the spiritual and material worlds, the struggle of mind-nafs (İnayet, 2015: 8). Material and nafs are depicted with the body. The ogre defeated by the hero can be interpreted as material world, nafs, body.

Aaron Koehnemann explains the relationship between ogre and giant in his doctoral thesis on ogres and wolves: “The link between giants and ogres is worth further investigation. There is a definite link between giants and ogres, and their relationship is one of descent, both in terms of chronology as well as status and powers: giants can be seen as the progenitors of ogres” (Koehnemann, 2010:74).

Koehnemann also explains ogres (actually giants and even all man-eating creatures) as symbolic figures representing the part of man that is violent and barbarous, the part that must be stamped out if civilization is to flourish. “Both fulfill the same role in literature and legend as supernatural man-eating creatures of the wild, the antithesis of humanity and its hallmark: civilization. ... In addition to their literal denotation as man-eaters, ogres may serve additionally as symbolic figures, representing the part of

man that is violent and barbarous, the part that must be stamped out if civilization is to flourish” (Koehnemann, 2010: 74). When Koehnemann’s perspective is seen as representing the cravings of the body and the wild/animal instincts of man, it really supports the idea of the ogres as a metaphor of the material world, nafs, and the body as indicated above.

When the ogre-killer hero is taken into account in the narratives, it is seen that the hero, who is weak compared to the ogre, can get the chance to defeat this extraordinarily strong and great being and symbolically the material realm and the desires related to the nafs and the body, by learning and reasoning by using his mind. What the hero overcomes with his intelligence, learning and reasoning abilities are the features of the material world and the desires of the nafs.

In this study, the naming of the hero, his characteristics, the encounter with the ogre and the methods of destroying the ogre were discussed in the Karakalpak tales, as well as the elements related to the naming of the ogre, her/his physical characteristics, magical powers, actions, places where they lived, family and lineage relationship. By comparing the detected characteristics, the ogre-killing hero and the ogre were subjected to a symbolic analysis.

2. Naming and Characteristics of the Hero

The majority of the ogre-killer heroes in the Karakalpak tales, with a few exceptions, are teenagers. In the tale “Genje Bala” (Little Child, 2014: 43-47) “Genje” is “the youngest, last child or offspring”, and “Bala” is a child (Uygur, Karakalpak Turkish Dictionary, 2020). In addition, in the tales “Orphan Child” (2014: 28), “Three Children” (2014: 160-161) and “Ogre and Child” (2014: 406), both the hero and the tales are called “bala”. In many tales, the hero who encounters or kills the ogre is called “bala”. The phrase “child” is frequently used, and it can also denote a young man who has just entered puberty, someone who is very young,

etc. This indicates that the key characteristics of the hero are youth, childhood, inexperience, and lack of physical strength.

In some tales, the hero is both the child and the youngest son. In the tales “Little Child” (2014: 43-47), “Three Children” (2014:160-161), “Grandfather and Brothers and Sisters” (2014:216-218), the youngest son of the poor and old man kills the ogre. The hero is the youngest of nine siblings in the tale “The Tale of the Old Magician Who Was Too Short and Had a Very Long Beard” (2014:119). The fact that the hero encountering the ogre is the youngest child can be evaluated by the method of Axel Olrik, in which he reveals the epic rules of folk narratives in fifteen items (Olrik, 1994a: 2, 4-5, 1994b: 4). Olrik’s method, which has caused many debates, has also been accepted as functional for the determination of the universal common structure of oral narratives and has been applied to many examples. The rules of “importance of the first and last situations,” “contrast,” and “two in one scene” among the fifteen items he proposed explicitly allude to the role of the youngest sibling in the narratives. The hero who encounters the ogre in Karakalpak tales is both very young and may be the youngest brother. In this case, the physical contrast between the hero and the ogre is highlighted, and as we noted before, it is evident that the hero lacks the strength, physical attributes, and experience necessary to fight the ogre.

In all the tales we have examined, the protagonists are men. In other words, there is no female protagonist against the ogre. Interestingly, the gender of ogres is also mostly male. Of course, this does not mean that there is no female protagonist fighting the ogre in Karakalpak tales, but it clearly shows that the tales should be read within the framework of gender. However, this issue is not within the scope of this study. However, if the gender of heroes and ogres is mostly male, it is necessary to ask what the role of women in these tales are.

Female ogres are sometimes daughters of ogres in the Karakalpak tales. The wife of ogres is usually human, and they

serve ogres (Snake Whose Wish is Granted, 2014:22-23), women (human) are mostly prisoners of ogres (White Bird, 2014: 53-56). The most remarkable point is that the hero overcomes the ogre with the secret given by the woman, and it is the secret of defeating the magic feature of the ogre (A Sultan's Daughter Promise to Escape with the Bey's Son, 2014:64-67). In the tales about the ogre, although the female has important functions, it is secondary, but the gender of the ogre will be discussed below under the relationship between the ogre mother and the slender man. The giant's mother, the female ogres, take the form of *mestan kempir*, also known as *yalmavuz*, *alkarısı*, or ogres. In the tale "Little Asan" (2014:119-125), the mother of three ogres is a witch woman.

If we go back to the characteristics of the hero here, the hero is a man, he is young.

In addition to these, his poverty is underlined in some tales. The fact that the hero is poor is less common in tales about ogres than if the hero is a child or very young. Hero is a poor young man named "Jaman (Bad)" in the tale "Bad Groom" (2014:15-21), a child shepherd in the tale "Ogre and Child" (2014:406), an orphan in the tale "Orphan Child" (2014: 28) is a child. Actually, poverty is an important feature for the fairy tale hero to be both happy and rich at the end of the fairy tale. For this reason, it cannot be considered a feature found only in ogre tales, because "they lived happily ever after" reminds us of the joyful ending of heroes who are no longer sultan or king, but also wealthy. The fact that a non-poor hero, in other words, a rich nobleman becomes a rich king, does not give us a story because it is considered commonplace. Because of this poverty is a typical aspect of fairy tale heroes, but in fairy tales about ogre, it may be possible to evaluate the poverty of the hero differently from other tales, because poverty also indicates that the hero will not have any support. The hero lacks manpower, financial support, education, etc. The only tools the hero has at his disposal to succeed in this situation are reason and reasoning skill.

The hero is a poor old man in the tale called “The Old Man’s Trick” (2014:133-134). The old man comes across three ogres and deceives and defeats them. The fact that the protagonist is an old man in this example and a young boy in other examples is related at the same point. Old age is another symptom of physical weakness, just as with children or very young heroes. The old hero defeats the ogres with a trick and the name of the tale is related to this trick. The old man only uses his mind against the ogres and finds a solution by reasoning. The physical strength of the ogre is emphasized as opposed to the hero’s intellect and reasoning ability. In this tale, it tells how the mind, deceit and reasoning ability overpower physical strength. The hero’s advanced age here also demonstrates his wisdom and familiarity with his surroundings. Therefore, he finds a more detailed and complex trick than a young and inexperienced hero.

With a few exceptions, the extraordinary strength, training, and talent possessed by the heroes fighting the ogre is never mentioned in the Karakalpak tales. In the tale “Oral Batır” (2014:272-277), Oral Batır”, that is, the valiant person, is stronger than ogres and can fight them for days. This tale is different from the examples we have given so far. The hero is very strong, and he defeats the ogres with his physical strength, but the hero, who thinks that he cannot defeat more than one ogre in the tale at the same time, tricks them into making them go out in turn and defeats. At this point, reasoning ability and intellect are again the path to the hero’s victory. In the tale “Valiant and the Ogre” (2014:70-71) the name of the hero is not “bala (child) or son” but “valiant”. This hero is also strong enough to defeat the ogre and defeats the ogre with physical strength, but his sister makes a deal with the ogre and saves the ogre. The hero defeats the ogre with his physical strength, but his sister’s treachery is prevented from achieving success. The hero’s success based on physical strength ends in a traitor’s deception. The tale ends only when the hero punishes the traitor. The hero defeats the ogre with physical strength, but cannot achieve victory.

In this case, it is emphasized that the physical strength of the hero who encounters the ogre does not matter. For this reason, in some tales, the hero's helplessness against physical power, which is described by his youth, childhood and poverty, is turned in another direction with his "being smart, pure and clean-hearted and brave" feature. In the tale called "The Tale of the Old Magician who was too Short and had a Very Long Beard" (2014:119), the protagonist is the youngest child and is described as very intelligent. In the tale "Orphan Child" (2014: 28), the hero gains the strength to defeat the ogre by praying, and at the end of the tale he emphasizes that this success is related to faith, and purity. Described as a poor but brave young man named "Jaman (Bad)" (Bad Groom, 2014:15-21) the hero defeats ogres thanks to his courage. In her article about good ogres, Yeliz Bahadur also emphasizes the same that the heroes helped by ogres are poor, orphan, in difficult situations, courageous, hardworking and patient people who are persecuted by evil but accepted by the society as successful with effort and skill (Bahadur, 2019:132).

Courage is a remarkable feature whether the ogres are with or against the hero, but courage is the main feature of all the heroes of all narratives. We cannot say that this feature belongs only to the hero who encounters the ogre. Eric Fromm explains the courage of the hero of the narrative as follows: A hero is a person who has the courage to leave his possessions, his home, his family, his homeland, and his property, to go to the unknown, foreign places. It cannot be claimed that he was completely fearless in his departure. But being able to go against him with courage without succumbing to fear makes him a hero (2003:150). In the interview with Bill Moyers, Joseph Campbell, who discusses the characteristics of the hero through the comparison of the narratives, emphasizes the following about courage. "The courage to face the trials and to bring a whole new body of possibilities into the field of interpreted experience for other people to experience—that is the hero's deed" (2013: 66).

At this point, shines the three characteristics of the hero who lacks physical weakness, youth, inexperience, and other support. Courage is one of them. The other two characteristics of the hero that shine are intellect and reasoning power.

The hero's courage is the main feature of the narrative but for the hero who is the ogre-killer, courage is not enough, so he must use his mind and ability of reasoning. However, in all the tales we have examined, the hero does not emphasize that he is smart, but his other characteristics or deficiencies only underline the necessity of being smart. Yet in a tale the hero is characterized as particularly clever. In the tale called "The Tale of the Old Magician who was too Short and had a Very Long Beard", the hero is the youngest and smartest of 9 siblings (2014:119). There are some examples emphasizing with "cowardice" that the hero has no choice but to use his mind and reasoning ability. In the tales of "The Great Orazimbet" (2014:434-435), "Eşamak and Doşamak" (2014:442-443), "The Coward Kulım" (2014:464-465), "The Coward Seytmurat" (2014:465-467) heroes defeat the ogre not with courage and strength, but with reasoning.

The heroes who ogre-kill are young people, old people, poor and cowards, that is, people who are emphasized to be ordinary without support. Their ordinariness can be read as an indication of the hero's lack of physical strength, experience, and knowledge, unless otherwise stated. Thus, attention is directed to the mind of the hero because the hero, who has no other way/solution, has only his own mind and reasoning ability. When the naming and physical characteristics of the ogres are examined, these features symbolized by the hero encountering the ogre are exactly the opposite of the ogres' characteristics, and the contrast is a kind of confirmation of the hero's symbolic feature.

3. Naming and Physical Characteristics of Ogres

The most common name for ogres in Karakalpak tales is "daw ogre". Besides, the name "daw-peri ogre-fairy" is also used

(Bad Groom, 2014:15-21; Khan Sayat, 2014:100-106; Gülbül, 2014:242-252). In some tales, there is a sultan of the ogre-fairy (Charity Repels Trouble, 2014: 383-385). There is an “ogre girl” in the tale (A Sultan’s Daughter Promise to Escape with the Bey’s Son, 2014:64-67). In the tale of “Little Asan”, the mother of the ogres is the “kempir”. “Kempir” or “mastan kempir” is the old witch woman who has supernatural skills. In the tale “Gray Hunter” (2014:225-227), the mother of the ogre is the seven-headed “mestan kempir”.

In some tales, ogres have special names. “Black Ogre” (Grandfather and Brother Children, 2014:216-218; “Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-225; Oral Yiğit, 2014:272-277; Töre Khan and White Lamb, 2014: 239-242). “The Yellow Ogre” (Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-225; Oral Valiant, 2014:272-277). “White Ogre” (Oral Valiant, 2014:272-277). “The Gourmant Ogre” (A Sultan’s Daughter Promise to Escape with the Bey’s Son, 2014:64-67). “The Water-Exploiting Ogre” (Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-225). “The Long Ogre” (Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-125). “The Blind Ogre” (Alatay Yiğit, 2014:232-238). The special names of ogres are all related to their characteristics. Black, white, and yellow ogres are typical examples of how ogres are named by color. The “The Little Ogre/The Gourmant Ogre”, “The Water- Exploiting Ogre” and “The Long Ogre” are the hero’s assistants and help the hero to overcome the obstacles in the test motif.

These helpers are called “gigantic helpers” in a doctoral thesis on ogres in Turkish folk narratives, and their reason for existence is explained as follows “Gigantic helpers creatures are the subconscious elements that prepare the hero for struggle and directly fight giants when necessary. Man, who wants to have superior power against the nature, but lacks in physical/sensory sense, has completed his inadequacy to some extent by creating mythological creatures in the narratives” (Özdemir, 2019:425-426; Özdemir, 2022). In this paragraph, attention should be paid to the forces of nature and the

human symbol opposite it, because these symbols will be discussed in different dimensions below.

The physical characteristics of ogres are also related to physical size and strength, similar to how they are named. In the Karakalpak tales, the ogres are very big. Ogres look like very large humans but are not human. In the tale called “Has an Big Brother and Younger Brother” (2014: 315) the “ogre-like wrestler” analogy is used. This demonstrates that the ogre does not actually name very large people; rather, it is more of a metaphor. The extraordinary size and power of the ogres are described in Karakalpak tales as follows: Each eye of the ogre is as big as a cauldron (White Bird, 2014: 53-56). The ogre in the tale “Eşmurat Valiant” (2014:221-125) is big enough to hold the birds and clouds in the sky with his hand. The ogre in “The Gray Hunter” (2014:225-227) has ears the length of a shield, eyes the size of caves, and a height comparable to a minaret.

Alimcan İneyet, in his book examining the “yalmavuz” type, draws a parallel between mytic giants and natural events: “From a rational point of view, giants; in fact, it is the embodied form of some very powerful force of nature” (2010: 56). In another study in which the same researcher dealt with Basat and Tepegöz in 2015, he considered Tepegöz “the symbol of the soul in the mystical sense” (8). This determination specific to Tepegöz also can be applied to giants and ogres. Cabbar İşankul, on the other hand, argues that the giant or ogre motif in the tales of the Uzbek Turks is related to the shamans’ first conceptions of the universe (İşankul, 1999:28). The connection that İşankul makes between giants or ogres and the shamans’ conception of the first universe can also be interpreted in terms of the giant motif and nature symbolism, which supports İneyet’s claim that giants are “the embodiment of some very powerful natural forces” and even goes so far as to say that they are nature itself. By reading the hero’s struggle with giants in relation to nature, İneyet adds the following to his comments: “In this sense, man’s struggle with giants symbolizes his struggle

against nature” (2010: 56). About giants and nature relationship, Campbell also takes into account José Ortega y Gasset’s view of the windmills/giants with which Don Quixote is fighting: “Ortega y Gasset talks about the environment and the hero in his *Meditations on Don Quixote*. Don Quixote was the last hero of the Middle Ages. He rode out expecting to meet giants, but instead he encountered windmills. Ortega points out that this story takes place about the time that a mechanistic interpretation of the world came in, so that the environment was no longer spiritually responsive to the hero. The hero is today running up against a hard world that is in no way responsive to his spiritual need.” (Campbell and Moyers, 2013: 171).

This point of view cited by Campbell allows us to symbolically associate the giant/ogre-killer hero with the human desire to live in harmony with nature. On the other hand, Fromm explains the relationship between the hero and nature as valid not only for the hero but also for all humanity: Then the greatest goal of man should be to live in harmony and peace with people, animals, and the land again. But this harmony that will be created will take a very different form from the one in heaven, because in order to regain this harmony, people have to fully develop themselves, to see the necessity of being a full human, to practice justice, and to increase their mental strength as much as possible, and to push aside their irrational desires (Fromm, 1992:259). At the center of these views, the desires and behaviors that prevent living in harmony with nature or “irrational desires” can also be read as “nafs” in parallel with İnayet’s above-mentioned view. It is determined as an inference that the physical properties of giants or ogres are the material, nature and the nafs, which are the opposite of meaning symbolically. In this symbolic match, the body symbol should also be mentioned.

The characteristics of ogres also reveal their symbolic relationship with the body. For example, in Karakalpak tales, ogres can smell human scent very well (Snake Whose Wish is Granted, 2014:22-23;

Little Child, 2014: 43-47; Three Children, 2014:160-161). In the tale called “Eşmurat Valiant” (2014:221-225), the ogre hears very well and walks very fast. Ogres are very gourmand. For example, the name of the ogre in the tale called “A Sultan’s Daughter Promise to Escape with the Bey’s Son” (2014:64-67) is “The Gourmant Ogre”. Ogres can see the distance very well and can drink a lake at once (Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-225). Ogres sleep very deeply. In the tale called “White Bird” (2014: 53-56) the ogre sleeps for a very long time. The duration of sleep and the time to wake up are determined. He sleeps very deeply and does not hear or know anything while sleeping. The ogre in the tale titled “The Tale of the Old Magician who was too Short and had a Very Long Beard” (2014:119) sleeps for seven days. The Black Ogre, in the tale “Grandfather and Brother Children” (2014:216-218), sleeps for nine days.

The point to be noted here is that five senses and physical characteristics of ogres are exaggerated, as are their physical size and strength. These features have the function of drawing attention to body symbolism. The features of the hero stand in contrast to the features of the ogres. The hero opposite the ogres, who are the symbols of matter, nature, nafs and body, is the symbol of mind and reasoning ability.

Aaron Koehnemann, in his work *Understanding The Ogre As Lycomorph*, determines that one of the characteristics of ogres is the desire for wealth, and live in places such as castles and palaces (2010: 7-8). To live in castle or palace can be read as a sign of their desire for wealth. The places of the ogres are similar in the tales of Turkey. Sarpkaya detects that in these tales, the ogre has his own palace, house, mansion, mansion, field, vineyard or garden, and these places are in places such as mountains, forests, roadsides or wells (Sarpkaya, 2014:72; Sarpkaya, 2018:69-71)

Ogres live in wells, castles, houses, palaces and mansions and even cities in Karakalpak tales. However, these places are in places where people cannot reach easily.

Ogres live in the well (Bad Groom, 2014:15-21),) (Leave Your Today's Anger to Tomorrow, 2014:368-370). They live in the houses (Snake Whose Wish is Granted, 2014:22-23). Ogres (Three Children, 2014:160-161) live in a very big house in the tale. In the tale (Grandfather and Brother Children, 2014:216-218), the black house resembling a black mountain is the house of the ogre. Yellow Ogre and Black Ogre Lives in a very big house (Eşmurat Valiant, 2014:221-225). In the tale Ejibek and Kubılı Valiant, the place of the ogre named Erğis is in the city of ogres behind a mountain. The ogres live in the castle (Sultana and Orphan Child, 2014: 42-43) and the palace (Little Child, 2014: 43-47).

The places where ogres live are not places that everyone knows and can easily reach. For example, in the tale (Little Child, 2014: 43-47), an old woman whom the hero sees in his dreams gives the hero the necessary information to find the palace where the ogres live. The places where the ogres live are not easy to find and reach. In the tale "Oral Valiant" (2014:272-277), the place where the ogres live is reached by walking for months. For example, the place where the ogres live is called Barsakelmez, that is, a place where no one returns (Khan Sayat, 2014:100-106).

Wells and caves are relatively rare in Karakalpak tales than urban settings. The well and the cave are images of the underworld, and evil is in any case associated with the underworld. The well and the cave are therefore not accidental places but symbols of evil and the underworld. Still, examples are few. However, the ogres in the Karakalpak tales have a human-like life. Even family relationships are similar. Aaron Koehnemann emphasizes that many characteristics of ogres are human-like, including lifestyle and language capacity. Besides, Aaron Koehnemann points out that ogre is often used to address newly emerging issues of class and gender that were spilling over into the public debate, and also that they cast as exploiters of the working class and members of a tyrannical aristocracy (Koehnemann, 2010:7-8).

The fact that the ogre is a symbol of oppression in discussions of class and gender is somewhat different from the fact that it is a symbol of a threat to civilization. This allows the hero to be read as the hero of the struggle for equality within civilization, rather than as a symbol of the civilized world and humanity.

As common as ogres' characteristic is their stupidity. Ogres are described as mentally weak and stupid beings in many cultures and some ogres also come to the fore with their intelligence (Özcan, 2019: 290-291). There are exceptions according to Özcan's determinations. Although there are exceptions, the most important characteristic of ogres is their lack of intelligence. This characteristic of ogres is used by the hero to kill them. When we examine the heroes' methods of defeating or killing the ogres, we see that the most common method is to produce a solution through trickery. There are variants of defeating ogres with the help of reasoning. They are to frighten, to destroy and to kill. To defeat the ogres, the heroes take advantage of their lack of intelligence.

In the tale "Three Children" (2014: 160-161), the youngest child hides from the ogre by disguising himself as a sheep and steals a *sirnay* (a kind of wind instrument) and scares the ogres away. In the tale called "The Old Man and the Ogre" (2014:167-169), the old man thinks to deceive the ogre he encounters and buy food from them. He extracts oil from the ground with the egg trick, hide the horse's hair and win the longest hair race. He also wins the over-eating claim by digging a hole. He tells his wife to cook the ogres in turn, and scares them. These tricks are repeated in several tales to fool the ogres. Similar tricks are also found in the tale "The Old Man's Trick" (2014:133-134) and the old man scares the ogres away three times with a trick.

There are also different examples of reasoning in Karakalpak tales. In the tale "Ejibek and Kubılı Valiant" (2014:261-263), the hero escapes from the place where he was captured and returns with a big stick. He lets the 40 ogres who came to take him in, one by

one. Thus, to kill him, ogres come one by one and the hero does not fight 40 ogres at the same time. So he takes turns shooting and killing them. This is also a simple trick but it will get 40 ogres killed.

In the tale called “Ogre and Child” (2014:406) the shepherd boy hides in a sheepskin to save the captives held by the ogre. The ogre can’t find the boy. When the ogre takes water from the well, he throws it into the well and kills it. Hiding in sheepskin is a trick used in the tales. For example, in another tale “Three Children” (2014:160-161), the youngest child hides from the ogre by disguising himself as a sheep. One of the tricks that can be seen more than once in the tales is to race lice or fleas. The trick is also often used to scare ogres. In the tales of “Great Orazımbet” (2014:434-435), “The Eşamak and Doşamak” (2014:442-443), “Coward Seytmurat” (2014:465-467), the hero scares away the ogre by trick. It takes a few bets for that. Racing lice or fleas is one of those bets. Since the lice or fleas on the ogre’s body are too large, the hero cheats by replacing the lice or fleas with a blackbird, frog or turtle. A group of heroes fighting the ogre are cowards. Some of them called “Coward”. The cowardly heroes of the tales “The Eşamak and Doşamak” (2014:442-443), “Coward Kulım” (2014:464-465), and “The Coward Seytmurat” (2014:465-467) bet with ogre to extract oil or brains from the ground. “Coward” deceives the ogre by hiding eggs or fish guts in the soil. In the tale “The Eşamak and Doşamak” (2014:442-443), the length of the hairs is bet. The hero cheats with horsehair and wins. In the tales “The Great Orazımbet” (2014:434-435), “Coward Kulım” (2014:464-465), and “Coward Seytmurat” (2014:465-467), The hero makes a plan with his wife to make them believe that they will cook the ogres.

One of the tricks in the tales is to kill ogres while they are asleep. Ogres sleep very deep. Therefore, killing the ogre while it is asleep is also a kind of trick. For example, in the tale “The Tale of the Old Magician who was too Short and had a Very Long Beard” (2014:119), the hero kills the ogre while he sleeps. It is cheating to kill the ogre while he is sleeping, but in the tale “Half-Head”

(2014:256-260), the hero sees it as cowardice. In this tale, the hero is the youngest son, who was named Half-Head because he was born half-headed. While the ogre is sleeping it is easy to kill him, but the hero considers it cowardly and awakens the ogre and fights and kills him. In the tale “Leave Today’s Anger for Tomorrow” (2014:368-370), the ogre asks the hero a question. When the hero knows the answer, the ogre gives him water and gold. In this tale, the hero does not kill the ogre, but defeats it. He beats the ogre with his reasoning ability similar to cheating, that is, by evaluating the possibilities at hand and finding a solution. We accept cheats as one of the methods of reasoning and using the mind.

This group of bets, races and plans appears in various combinations in several tales. These cheats are very simple but very functional to show the ogres’ lack of intelligence.

As explained above, if ogres with the basic characteristics of lack of intelligence, physical strength and greatness can be read as the symbols of matter, nature, soul and body, the hero is symbolized as the opposite of these, as intelligence and reasoning ability. The physical strength and stupidity of the ogres, the main characteristics of the hero and the methods of defeating the ogres strengthen the symbol of reason and judgment. “Reasoning” is explained in the dictionary as “Searching for a way out to solve a problem” and “Reasoning” as “Studying the mind, thinking” (TDK Contemporary Turkish Dictionary).

As explained above, if ogres with the basic features of lack of intelligence, physical strength and greatness can be read as the symbols of matter, nature, nafs and body, the hero is symbolized as the opposite of these, as intelligence and reasoning ability. The physical strength and stupidity of the ogres, the main characteristics of the hero and the methods of defeating the ogres strengthen the symbol of reason and reasoning. “Reasoning” is defined as “Searching for a way out to solve a problem” and “Reasoning” is defined as “thinking through the mind” in the dictionary (TDK Contemporary

Turkish Dictionary). This definition is relevant because of the hero's fighting methods, since he has no weapons for combat other than his reasoning ability. This is exactly what the protagonist against the ogre does: find a way out, identify and use the means available. For this reason, in Karakalpak tales, it is emphasized that the hero is physically weak and helpless, not clever. Polat Öteniyazov, who has done many studies on Karakalpak tales, took into account the views of Karakalpak scientist Kallı Aimbetov, and took into account the extraordinary beings in Karakalpak tales such as dwarfs with a long beard and a length of one inch, one-eyed ogre, two-headed dragon, mastan kempir or witches. He emphasizes that the human being is helpless in the face of them and gradually becomes cunning, and in the end, the feared extraordinary beings become stupid and as a result of this change, people overcome their fear or the beings they fear through intelligence (Öteniyazov, 2022:19).

Ayimbetov and Öteniyazov emphasize that the struggling hero who struggles with extraordinary beings wins the victory with his mind. In the case of the ogre, the hero, who finds a solution with reason and reasoning, defeats the ogre. In contrast to the nafs and body symbols, the mind that increases with education and experience is symbolized. The expression of self-discipline is also noteworthy at this point. The characteristics and struggle of both the hero and the ogre make it possible to be read as a symbol of the intellect and reasoning ability of the hero who encounters the ogre. It is possible to show the comparison based on hero and motion features with a table like this.

Table 1

HERO	OGRE
Meaning-Soul	Matter-Nature
Mind	Body
Reasoning	Nafs

We can also follow the relationships shown in the table in the struggle of the heroes with the ogres. As we gave examples above, most of the heroes defeat the ogres by reason and reasoning. In the tale, the hero prays before killing the ogre and shows prayer as the reason why he can kill the ogre (Orphan Child, 2014: 28). In two tales, the hero is stronger than the ogre (Oral Valiant, 2014:272-277; Valiant and Ogre, 2014:70-71), but he can kill the ogres one by one and finds a solution by using his reasoning ability and while he has the power to defeat the ogres, his sister makes a deal with the ogre and saves the ogre. That is, physical strength is useless without reason and judgment.

4. Magical Powers and the Origin of the Ogre

The magical powers of ogres are another important feature. Therefore, the hero also uses extraordinary objects to kill ogres. Examples in Karakalpak tales are as follows: The hero kills the ogre with a magic feather and an apple given by auxiliary characters (Little Boy, 2014: 43-47). The magic salt used by the hero turns into a horse, the comb turns into a mulberry tree, and the mirror turns into the sea. After all, thanks to these objects, the ogre disappears into the sea (White Bird, 2014: 53-56). In the tale “Half-Head” (2014:256-260), the hero kills three ogres in turn with a diamond sword. The diamond sword is not an extraordinary object, but it is not ordinary either.

The hero’s magic objects counterbalance the ogre’s magical powers because the ogre’s magical properties appear in fairy tales, although not very often. Some of the magic-related actions of the ogres are below:

The ogre in the fairy tale “White Bird” (2014: 53-56) creates a storm. In the tale “A Sultan’s Daughter Promises to Run away with Bey’s Son” (2014:64-67), the ogre turns into a swallow. The Black Ogre in the tale “Grandfather and Brother Children” (2014: 216-

218) turns people into black stone. In the tale “The Coward Sparrow and the Unexpected Gift” (2014:180), when the hero hits the ground three times, an ogre comes out and grants his wishes.

In the tale “Rich Sultanate” (2014:182-186), the king of the ogre-fairies gives the hero a magic garment and three apples. In another tale, when the hero prays, the ogre appears out of nowhere. Sayat, the hero’s wife, prays a lot and appears an ugly ogre and fulfills her wish (Khan Sayat, 2014:100-106). The ogre here resembles the genie in a magic lamp, in its most popular example. The ability of the ogres to move quickly is also among their magical properties. Ogres travel to take the hero somewhere. In the tale (Jansap, 2014:127-133), the khan gives an ogre the task of quickly taking the hero home. The ogre flies with the hero to his brother’s and father’s house. Because ogres are associated with magic, heroes also kill them with the help of extraordinary objects. These two features provide parallelism in the narrative.

Ogres’ relationship with magic is not limited to these actions. One of the ogre names in Karakalpak Turkish is ogre-fairy. These naming ogres associate the most important character of tales with fairies. Ogres are also the sultans of fairies in some tales and are also called ogre-fairy. Examples of these nomenclatures are shown in the title of “naming of ogres”. It is necessary to evaluate the relationship of the ogres with fairies, jinn and witches. In order to understand the relationship of ogres with fairies, it is necessary to examine them in comparison with one of the most common extraordinary creatures of the Turkish world, yalmavuz.

Alimcan İnayet describes the yalmavuz as follows: Yalmavuz is a multi-headed, shape-shifting creature that lives in mountains and caves, sucks human blood, eats people or herds, can hide its soul elsewhere, and is an androgynous trickster. Sucking blood and eating human flesh are its most characteristic features. Yalmavuz also appears with names such as “cadıger”, “witch”, “kempir”, “mestan kempir” (İnayet, 2010:20).

In Karakalpak tales, the mothers of ogres (ogress) are called “mastan kempir” (Little Asan, 2014:119-125) and “seven-headed kempir” (Gray Hunter, 2014:225-227). Mastan kempir is also referred to as “jalmavuz (yalmavuz)” in Karakalpak tales. Polat Öteniyazov describes the mastan kempir or the yalmavuz’s nails as a sickle, and his ears as big as a table and his teeth like a knife (Öteniyazov, 2022:114-115). These depictions are also similar to the physical description of the ogres given above. Ogres’ ability to eat human flesh is also similar to that of yalmavuz. In Karakalpak tales, many ogres eat human meat or state that they want it (Snake Whose Wish is Granted, 2014:22-23; Three Child, 2014:160-161). In the fairy “Ejibek and Kubılı Valiant” (2014:261-263), the ogre named Erğirs catches the hero named Kubılı. He wanted to him eat. In the tale “The Child and the Ogre” (2014: 406), the ogre enslaved people for food. In another tale, ogres cook kebab from human (Little Child, 2014: 43-47). In another, the ogre eats human flesh every day (Orphan Child, 2014: 28). The ogre in the tale “White Bird” (2014: 53-56) breaks the bones of the people it eats and piles it up. The bones look like a black hill from afar.

In his book named “Turkic Mythological System-II”, Fuzuli Bayat states that female ogres with their positive and negative characteristics are a variant of Emegen and turn into kempir type in Central Asian tales. According to Bayat, Emegens emerged from the Mother Earth complex and became an independent protector, but over time, they were pushed to the negative pole and represent the uncontrolled power of nature (Bayat, 2007:28). Through Emegen, Bayat establishes a connection between female ogres and mother earth/mythological mother.

He lists the spirits associated with the stale earth mother: the mother of heroes in the narratives of Yer Ene, Altai, Tuva, Shor, Khakas and partially Yakut, the old woman known as Yer Ene with big ears and a copper beak, Şimeltey/Şebeldey, Huu İney (Lighted Mother) in Khakas. They are the variants of the Mythological

Mother that have gained negative characteristics (Bayat, 2007:29). He states that the stale mountain spirit also turns into a female ogre (2007:224). According to him, the Albastı demonic existence, which has almost lost its connection with the Mythological Mother and the Earth-Water cult, resembles a little Jelmauz-Kempir and a Jeztırnak type with iron claws in Central Asia (Bayat, 2007:325). Therefore, Bayat states that the earth mother, the mythological mother and her different aspects are related to the ogre-mother.

The type of ogre-mother who has to adopt the hero who throws her breasts on her shoulder and sucks her milk that we see in Anatolian fairy tales does not exist in the Karakalpak tales that we have examined. Umay Günay, in her work where she examines the extraordinary being in fairy tales, the ogre states that the ogre has to adopt the hero who sucks milk from his mother's breast (1983:32). The example given by Günay is not seen in the Karakalpak tales studied, but it is important for the relationship between ogres and yalmavuz.

Similar to yalmavuz, some ogres in Karakalpak tales are almost impossible to kill. For example, "Taskeser" (2014:181-182) and "Eşmurat Valiant" (2014: 221-225) arrows do not shoot at ogres and swords do not cut. The reason why these ogres are immortal is that they do not have souls in their bodies. In some tales, the ogres' external soul is hidden in a chest (Little Child, 2014: 43-47). In some, the ogres' external soul is a bird or some kind of fly/insect hidden in the defendant. For example, while the pigeon is in the tale "Taskeser" (2014: 181-182), it is a fly in the tale "Grandfather and Brother Children" (2014:216-218). In the fairy tale "Eşmurat Valiant" (2014:221-225), the soul of the yellow ogre is a yellow fly, the soul of the black ogre is a black fly and is hidden in the chest in their palace. When the hero opens the chest and kills the flies, the ogres also die.

The fact that the ogre's soul is outside of his body is called the external soul. In his article on external soul design, Ali Duymaz

emphasizes that the souls of ogres are composed of evil spirits of the dead. According to him, the ogre-killer hero re-establishes the cosmos (Duymaz, 2008:17-18). Duymaz states that the external soul hides in closed containers such as chests and bottles, ornaments, weapons and war equipment, and eggs, and shelters in the form of bird species, other animals, plants or inanimate beings (2008:6,9). The places where the external soul is found in the Karakalpak tales are in line with Ali Duymaz's determinations.

The purpose of the concept of external soul is to achieve immortality. Another motif related to the immortality of ogres is their second resurrection.

Water is not poured into the place where the ogres are buried. If it is spilled the ogre will be resurrected. As in the tale of Little Child, (2014: 43-47) the ogre can be resurrected when water is poured on the grave or resurrected when shoot a second time. The ogre in the fairy tale "The Gray Hunter" (2014: 225-227) was killed by just one shot through the eye. The ogre insists that he shoot a second time, but if he is shot a second time, he comes to life. The hero's mother knows this secret and tells her little son.

According to Bayat, the Mythological Mother has the functions of creating, managing time and nature (2007:31). Celbegen also has the creation function, the demonized name of Mother Earth in the mythological beliefs of the Tuvanians is Celbegen. Celbegen, who has turned into a negative character, is a mythological entity that both kills and resurrects by swallowing (Bayat, 2007:27). We can see the life-giving feature of the mythological mother in the immortality/impossibility of killing and resurrection of the Karakalpak ogres.

Just as important as killing the ogres is preventing them from resuscitate. Ogres try to make the hero or other characters do the necessary actions for their resuscitation by cheating. Knowledge of how to resurrect the ogre is important because if the hero has this knowledge, he can kill the ogre. With one final test, the Ogre measures the hero's desires, such as greed and ambition. These

desires die with the ogre. The hero who does not shoot second times proves that he does not have these desires.

After the fall of mythic creatures (Mother Earth, Mythological Mother, Emegen, Yalmavuz, Giant etc.) of the great mother variants and losing their creative powers, ogres emerged as very large and powerful human-like but human flesh-eating extraordinary beings. We also notice the signs of this decline / transformation in Western mythology, albeit in various discussions.

According to Koehnemann, Kronos who will serve as the first example of ogreishness, as the template from which others are formed and the yardstick by which they are measured is origin of ogre. Koehnemann has emphasized, quoting Jonathan F. Krell that Krell seeks to split origin of them in associating Kronos exclusively with male ogres but not with female ogresses: “If Kronos is the mythological prototype of the ogre, the ogress has different roots. She descends not from the titanic symbol of time, but rather from his half-sister Aphrodite” (Krell, 2009:107, as cited in Koehnemann, 2010:76). The Koehnemann and Krell discussion in a way points to the relationship between the great mother and ogres, like Bayat. These views indicate that the ogre motif should be considered within the archetype of the great mother. It can be considered as a process and can be evaluated within the processes of decline, transformation, separation of positive and negative characteristics.

5. Conclusion

The hero is at the center of all narratives. For this reason, in order to understand the features and function of the ogre in the narratives about the ogre, it is necessary to make a hero-oriented analysis.

In the Karakalpak tales, Characteristics of the hero: male, young, uneducated and inexperienced, physically weak. The fact that the ogre is physically large and strong is the opposite of the hero's characteristics.

The hero can only use his mind to defeat the ogre. As a method, although deception and cunning are called, reasoning ability is unique solution for them because they cannot defeat the ogres with physical force. To emphasize hero's reasoning ability, and ogre's body/physical strength the lack of intelligent of the ogre is highlighted.

The hero can be read as a symbol of the meaning world, spirit, reason and reasoning ability. In contrast to the hero, the ogres symbolize the material world, the forces of nature, the nafs and the body. Ogres' the irrepressible powers of greedy, bestial desires are those that can upset the moral fabric of the civilized world. The hero almost fights with himself in the face of all this. The hero with his mind and reasoning ability, overcomes the inhuman world. He is the guardian of the civilized world.

The hero receives help from magic and magic objects, because ogres have magical properties and a mythical dimension. Ogres are the continuation of giants related to the creation of the earth. For this reason, they are considered the forces of nature and the symbol of the earth. The relationship of yalmavuz type in the Turkic World with ogre mothers (ogress is also established at this point. Ogres are a continuation of yalmavuz, but they are not the same. First of all, the feminine structure has turned into a masculine structure. From Kronos, who eats his own children, to Emegen, yalmavuz, who drinks human blood, ogres are the continuation of the giant type. However, instead of symbols of the forces of nature in Ogres, nafs and animal desires have turned into individual desires contrary to the foundations of civilization. In the ogre-killing hero, we see a hero who protects human values and the civilized world instead of the human image that defeats nature.

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VOLUME III

COHESION AND INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: REFUGEE CRISIS

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1. Introduction

The European Union (EU) is in a continuous state of crisis: the sovereign debt crisis, the refugee crisis, or growing hostility to the EU from within some of its own Member States. The state of crisis is a clear sign that the European integration process is in trouble, something which years of emergency summits and often dramatic political action have not resolved. (Lehmann, 2018) This essay will focus on the refugee/migrant crisis within Europe, as well as the reaction by the European Union and whether the crisis weakened cohesion among its member states in some ways as proposed by Bauböck the European refugee crisis is also a crisis of European integration which can be explained through a Europeanization of refugee protection.

The refugee crisis revealed an inherent weakness of the EU as a federal project, while at the same time reemphasizing the continued dominance of sovereign European nation-states. The crisis also showed the ineffectiveness of a common migration policy for all EU member countries coordinated from Brussels,

as the EU failed to deal with the sharply increased flow of asylum seekers. (Henrekson et al., 2019) This research paper will explore the crisis and its relation to the European Union, it will be done by approaching the subject in two parts. First, it is necessary to properly contextualize the refugee crisis to give a neutral understanding of the complexity and intricacies of the situation. Second, the role of the European Union will be analysed. The second section will also delve into whether the crisis has weakened linkage within Union and decelerated integration which is vital for the survival of the Union.

2. Contextualizing the Refugee Crisis

Before contextualizing the migrant crisis, Alexander Caviedes provides an important perspective on the concept of immigration and how it is perceived by the public in their paper *An Emerging 'European' News Portrayal of Immigration?* It is important to understand this perspective as well as the context seeing that it helps dissect the process of decision-making within the European Union as an institution and its member states. Caviedes discusses how immigrants have long been cast through media as the role of threatening economic prosperity or cultural identity by the radical right and even mainstream parties. More recently, scholars have also highlighted how discourse and even policy concerning immigration have become securitised, thereby expanding the nature of 'threats' mentioned to include menace to the physical well-being of host populations. Even if immigration has traditionally been evaluated as to whether it promotes economic growth, the argument is that this narrative has been superseded by discourse linking foreigners to issues such as crime and, more recently, terrorism. Caviedes does not refute a developing securitisation tendency, but their article reveals that economic issues remain at least equally important in the press' depiction of immigration. The article rejects the inclination to identify a single mode in the depiction of immigration and migrants, and instead demonstrates that there are still multiple viable narratives

that often interweave with one another to even more profound effect. While immigration-related issues are prevalent across several nations, this research implies that debates over immigration vary in intensity and issue salience between countries, such that they may each sustain their own particular critical narratives. (p. 912)

To properly explain the context of the migrant crisis and understand why there was a massive surge in immigration, I will utilize Alexandra Popescu's paper *The EU "Costs" of the Refugee Crisis*. Popescu provides a well-rounded background on the crisis. The migrant crisis that shook the stability of the European Union in 2015 is not a new threat, but its effects have begun to be felt by European countries when the refugee flux has considerably increased. More than a million migrants and refugees crossed the borders of Europe in 2015, creating great division in the EU and disagreement between its member states over how best to cope with this crisis and resettling people. (Popescu, 2016) The crisis is propelled by people choosing to leave their countries in search for better living conditions and a secure environment. Their principal routes are typically Turkey and Albania. According to Popescu, the main trigger of the refugee crisis is considered to be the Syrian civil war, but there are also other factors that have conducted to an increased refugee flux, such as: the conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq, the increased level of poverty in countries from South-East Europe like Greece, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, and the rise of the Islamic State, one of the biggest threat to the security of the states from the Middle East and not only. (p. 106)

In March 2011, the Syrian civil war broke out when pro-democracy groups protested in the city of Deraa. Some teenagers had painted revolutionary slogans on a school wall. They were caught, arrested, and consequently tortured by the Syrian security forces. After being publicized this event provoked protests. People gathered on the streets and started a protest against the methods used by the security forces, but their actions had unexpected repercussions:

authorities opened fire on demonstrators, killing several. After two years of violence and conflict, the UN said that the civil war in Syria has caused 90,000 victims, a figure that reached, 250,000 by 2015. What had started just as a calm protest turned into a battle against the regime of President Bashar al-Assad. Besides, the rise of the jihadist group Islamic State had added a further dimension to this conflict. As a result of the conflict, more than 4,5 million people have fled Syria since the start of the war, most of them women and children, being afraid for their own lives. Syria's neighbours, such as Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, made great efforts in order to cope with the largest flux of refugees from the late years. Moreover, another 6,5 million people were internally displaced inside Syria, but the government has refused humanitarian agencies access to them. Thus, about 70% of the population is now without access to adequate drinking water, one in three people is unable to meet their basic food needs, and more than 2 million children are out of school, and four out of five people live in poverty. (p. 107)

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3. Cohesion and Integration: EU

Moving on to the second approach, now with sufficient context, we must establish the role of the European Union as well as its fractured cohesion in the face of a crisis and decelerated Europeanization. Maldini et al., posit that the wave of migrants that has hit Europe has taken the European Union aback, which was ill-prepared for such a challenge. The mass wave of migrants and the incompetence of the EU to face the problem have caused, on the one hand, a humanitarian crisis, and on the other hand, a political crisis within the EU. (p. 55) In addition to their general duties to admit refugees, EU Member States have special duties towards each other that include sincere cooperation and a commitment to keep internal borders open. These three duties hang together in such a way that the failure of the Member States to accept their general duties of refugee admission have triggered a severe crisis of European integration through the building of fences and sustained controls at internal borders as well as a more general decline of co-operation between Member States. (Bauböck, 2018)

In order to cope with the refugee crisis, the European Union took long-delayed steps to seal its external borders and relocate the refugees among its member states. Greece, a country greatly marked by the financial crisis, was especially in need of assistance as the largest number of immigrants arrived there by crossing the Aegean Sea in small boats. So did Germany, as the destination of choice for the

majority of immigrants and refugees. (Zięba, 2019) Several individual member states began to introduce border controls by referring to the possibility of exemption from the Schengen Agreement if countries experience a serious threat to public order and internal security. The member states are given considerable scope to decide whether this is the case, and thus whether an exemption may be renewed. Not least Sweden, the country that has received the largest number of refugees per capita, has made use of this opportunity. Border control to other Schengen countries was introduced in November 2015 and following several extensions, such control was still effective in August 2018. (Henrekson et al., 2019)

In response to the refugee crisis in 2015, the European Commission presented proposals to reform the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) in 2016, including a reform of the Dublin System to better allocate asylum applicants among EU countries. However, member states failed to reach an agreement on the proposals how to share responsibility. On 23 September, the Commission proposed a new Pact on Migration and Asylum which sets out improved and faster procedures throughout the EU's asylum and migration system. The new pact constitutes a revision of the Dublin regulation, which determines the country responsible for processing each asylum claim. (European Parliament, 2017) The European Commission sought to lead the way with support for studies on integration policy (Migrant Integration Policy Index), funds to help member states overcome xenophobia, and the establishment of common guidelines for minimum standard of government support and action. This approach suggests that mutual European challenges are best dealt with through a common policy vision, yet the findings advanced here demonstrate divergent narratives across countries, so that perhaps separate, individual nationally tailored solutions might be called for as well. (Caviedes, 2015)

Maldini et al. discuss the relevancy of European public policies in the context of a crisis. They demonstrate that European

public policies, primarily migration and asylum policies, are completely dysfunctional, not only in terms of implementation of possibilities in concrete situations, but also in relation to the fundamental values of the European Union, first of all, respecting human and civil rights, freedom, equality, cooperation, and safety. (p. 55) The immigration crisis quickly led to internal divisions in the European Union. However, the old EU member countries, guided by the values enshrined in the EU's founding documents considered that all the immigrants including those arriving illegally from across the Mediterranean, should be treated humanely and admitted. They considered that all member countries should show solidarity in accepting immigrants. Some of the new EU members were opposed to this. On August 20, 2015, however, the Council of Ministers of Internal Affairs decided, by a majority vote, to divide the first group of 120,000 refugees between the member countries. Poland voted in favour of the agreement, but the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania voted against it, while Finland abstained. (Zięba, 2019) The centralist manner of implementation of these policies and their contradiction to the interests of many member countries has brought into question their legitimacy, it is important to highlight that they are poorly designed and did not anticipate a massive wave of immigration. (Maldini et al., 2017)

The refugee crisis has increased the latent differences among member countries, but it has also brought about new conflicts and disrupted mutual relations. As it was previously mentioned, the concept of immigration has had negative connotations. The crisis has encouraged radical nationalist political options, xenophobia and intolerance towards immigrants and minorities in general. This situation has prompted a re-examination of the validity of the existing structures and functioning of EU institutions, therefore, it is evident that the refugee crisis is reflected as a value and structural crisis of the EU. (Maldini et al., 2017)

Bauböck argues that a just refugee protection system must aim to maximize the number of refugees who will receive effective protection. This entails accepting other criteria for refugee distribution apart from wealth and size of states, including an option for states to choose between relocation of refugees to their territory and financial support for refugee integration in other states. A just system of refugee protection requires, however, relatively strong assurances of compliance by the states involved, which are absent in the international arena. (p. 142) Even if most states fail to comply, the remaining states nevertheless retain moral duties to cooperate in a burden-sharing scheme as long as none of them would face overwhelming burdens in such a cooperation. Bauböck also argues that the European Union offers the best conditions that can be assumed under real-world circumstances for an effective regional refugee protection regime. Given the failure of EU institutions and leaders to Europeanize asylum and refugee policies in time, they now face a populist backlash against refugee admission as well as European integration. (Bauböck, 2018)

Henrekson et al. demonstrate that cross-country differences in the reception of refugees are so large and systematic that it is not meaningful to speak of a common EU asylum policy. The asylum policy is governed by a number of policy tools and as the extent to which countries coordinate their asylum policies at the EU level is largely voluntary, it is mainly determined by domestic politics. When there are large refugee flows and tensions between members, the tendency to stick to a domestic political agenda is amplified. Even though there is a *de jure* asylum system equally applicable to all EU countries, we argue that no such system exists in practice. Nation states continue to control border enforcement, asylum application agencies, and welfare state policies that determine the degree of generosity towards refugee migrants, which means that the *de facto* commitments of EU member countries based on existing agreements are largely symbolic. After having shown that

the EU lacks a common asylum policy, we will discuss whether policies pertaining to refugees are most appropriately determined at the national level, or whether the role of the EU ought to be strengthened. (Henrekson et al., 2019)

At the moment there is a new migration and asylum system proposed by the Commission in September 2020 that aims to introduce a new system of flexible contributions and make solidarity with EU front-line states compulsory when they are “under pressure” from arrivals. The proposal also aims to open up more channels for legal migration, facilitate cooperation with non-EU countries and ensure a faster asylum process at the borders, including swift returns for rejected asylum seekers. The Parliament and member states (Council) will have to find an agreement on those new proposals as co-legislators. (European Parliament, 2020)

4. Final Remarks

Migration and asylum policies, as a part of the public policies of the EU, were marginal until the appearance of the mass refugee wave that hit the EU in recent years. The lack of consistency in conceiving these policies demonstrated their inapplicability in real conditions, which is why they were fully dysfunctional and unsuccessful in resolving the refugee crisis. Their implementation proved to be a serious aberration from the EU’s fundamental values, which consequently had an effect on the de-legitimation of EU government institutions and the process of political decision-making, as well as on the difficult functioning and weakening of cooperation with the EU. This situation has revealed a series of weaknesses in the structure and functioning of EU institutions, and in the mutual relations of member countries and has led to the question of the legitimacy of EU authorities and their decisions. (Maldini & Takahashi, 2017)

The crisis through which the EU is currently passing is brought about not by refugees or sovereign debt. Rather, the inability of the

EU to respond effectively to these events is the result of political dysfunction brought about by an incoherent process of self-organization. Instead, the EU is adopting an ineffective approach that deals with the problems it is facing in a linear fashion which seeks to address the symptoms of this dysfunction rather than its causes. (Lehmann, 2018)

Popescu establishes that the refugee crisis shook the architecture of the European Union, showing how unprepared was this organization to face and cope with such a situation. As a consequence, the European community started to lose the faith of its own citizens and to lose its credibility among other international and regional organizations. (p. 118) All EU member states should develop a common perception of the risk generated by the migrant crisis, in order to allocate necessary resources to identify and implement common measures. After that, countries should decide on the number of refugees they can receive, in accordance with their possibilities and so as not to harm their own interests. And, if the real cause of the refugee problem is not addressed soon, then the migrants will be still fleeing to Europe in the next few years. (Popescu, 2016)

In the international arena, burden-sharing requires a coalition of the willing that is unlikely to come about because of the incentives for states to free-ride on others' contributions to global refugee protection. The EU as a regional union of states with relatively powerful institutions of supranational government is in a nearly optimal position to establish an effective regime of burden-sharing involving all its Member States. Yet when put to the test in the summer of 2015, the EU failed. (Bauböck, 2017)

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VOLUME IV

FACTORS AFFECTING THE CHANGE IN FERTILITY PREFERENCES WOMEN IN TÜRKİYE OVER TIME; A SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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1. Introduction

The decrease in the fertility rate is a current problem that is experienced in almost all countries and is widely discussed in terms of its political, social, economic and demographic consequences. After the Second World War, especially in the 1950s, the “baby boom” was experienced with the increase in the fertility rate in most European countries and America, and the average number of births increased to four or more. This generation, which is much larger than its predecessors, begins to have fewer children when it comes to adulthood. The global fertility rate, which has started to decline since the 1960s, has dropped from a peak of 2.1% per annum in 1968 to less than 1.1% today. Low fertility rates have become the norm in many parts of the world. The number of live births per woman, which was 5.5 in 1970-1975, decreased to 2.3 in 2010-2015 (UN, 2017). Today, 80% of the world’s population lives in countries with a fertility rate

of less than 3 children per woman. In other words, 46% of the world population exhibits a fertility behavior below the population replaced by replacement level of 2.1. In 2020, the fertility rate for the world was 2.4 births per woman (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2021: 5).

According to Eurostat Fertility statistics (2021), the fertility rate in 27 EU countries decreased from 1.64 in 2008 to 1.53 in 2019. Türkiye, with a 1.76 percent birth rate, is higher than the average of 27 EU member countries. The result of Roser (2014) study shows that by 2100, 21 out of 27 EU countries will have a decrease in population. According to the report of the French National Institute for the Study of Demographics (2017), around a quarter of women currently in their 40s are not having children in many Southern European countries, especially in Greece, Spain and Italy. The “childlessness rate” is 18 percent in Western Europe, while it is around 15 percent in Northern Europe. Increasing age at marriage, uncertain job market and family-friendly employment conditions are cited as the main reasons for the decline in fertility (UN, 2017). In modern fertility theory, the demand for children; It has been shown to depend on family income, the value of parents’ time (especially the mother), child quality, and other family variables (Becker, 2009: 2).

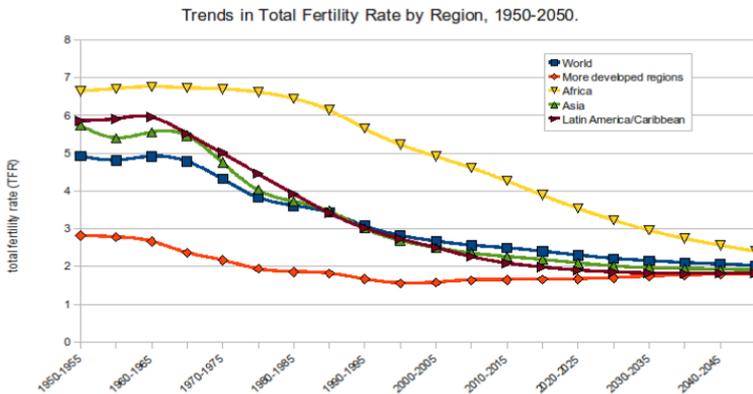
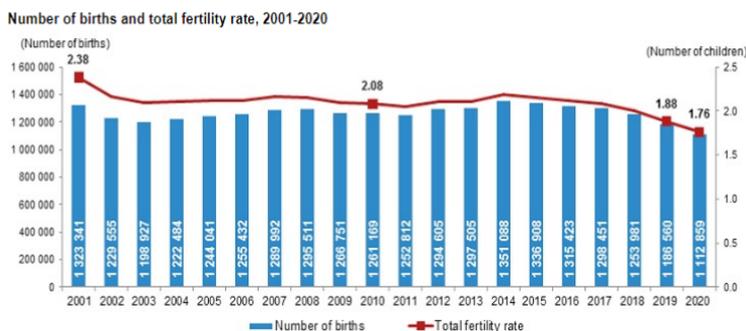


Figure 1. “Country Comparison :: Population size”.
The World Factbook. Central Intelligence Agency.

The birth rate in Türkiye has not been able to exceed the replacement level fertility of 2.10 in the last 10 years. In fact, the fertility rate in the Western regions of Türkiye lags behind European countries with 1.7. According to the results of the Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), the population of Türkiye is 84 million 680 thousand 273 people as of 31 December 2021, and the Syrians under temporary protection are not included. In this state, it ranks 19th among 235 countries in terms of population size; constitutes 1.1% of the total world population. According to TUIK (2021) data, Türkiye's total fertility rate in 2020 is 1.76, and it ranks 114th among 186 countries.

Figure 3: Number of Births and Total Fertility Rate in Türkiye



Source: TurkStat, Birth Statistics, 2001-2020

2. Currents of thought that affect fertility

2.1. Malthus' population theory

Malthus (1798) argued that despite the geometrical increase in the population, the food items increased arithmetically, and after a while the foodstuffs would become insufficient. According to Malthus, keeping the growth rate of the human population at the same level as the increase in the food supply is only possible by controlling the population of natural conditions. Population growth can be prevented by positive controls such as birth control, late

marriage, and celibacy or by negative rules such as war, epidemic, and famine. Neo-Malthusians, on the other hand, advocated implementing policies restricting population growth, especially in developing countries, because fertility rates tend to exceed the population's carrying capacity. While Malthus's suggestions led to debates on the one hand, it was understood that it was influential on the population policies of the countries and the fertility behaviors of the societies on the other hand.

2.2. Feminism

Feminist theorists criticized marriage, family, motherhood, and fertility in the 1960s and 70s; analyzed that women were oppressed by these means. While claiming that motherhood is not sacred, they always brought up the negative aspects of motherhood as an experience and role. They argued that women should abandon institutionalized roles and that fertility-induced motherhood is a social and cultural myth (Oakley, 1974). Firestone (1997) saw female fertility as the reason for the gendered labor division based on patriarchal ideology. According to Friedman, one of the reasons why women are imprisoned at home is because they are mothers (Friedan, 1983). While Firestone (1997) attributes women's oppression to childbearing and child-rearing; Beauvoir also defines motherhood as a kind of slavery (Beauvoir, 1997). According to Firestone, pregnancy is barbarism, and the pregnant woman's body is a corrupted body (Firestone, 1997). With the introduction of birth control methods, the idea that motherhood is a choice rather than an absolute destiny for women has also started to be discussed. Feminist women in Turkiye demanded that the concepts of sexuality and fertility should be separated, the right to abortion should be recognized, birth control should become widespread, and their bodies should be freed from male control. Feminist slogans that became popular in the late 1980's can be an example of "abortion is a right, women's decision, my body, my decision." It can be said that

birth control methods and the demand for abortion are effective and determinant in the liberation of premarital sexuality for women, in family planning according to the wishes of women and men within marriage, and in the freedom of women's sexuality.

3. Factors affecting women's fertility preferences

There are many factors that affect women's fertility preferences. Studies in the literature show that women do not want or delay having children for reasons such as gaining independence through education and being active in the labor market. The rise of birth control, more women's participation in education and labor market, value changes, gender equality, marriage/relationship changes, housing conditions, economic uncertainty and lack of supportive family policies are among the reasons for the delay and decrease in fertility. (Kozáková, 2015; Daniluk ve Koert, 2017).

Engelhardt and Prskawetz (2002) in their study with the data of 23 OECD countries for the period 1960-2000, while the rate of women's participation in the labor market increased; They found that the total fertility rate decreased. According to Our World In Data (2014), in fertility decline; increased women's access to education and labor market participation; reduced child mortality; the increased cost of raising children; Factors such as higher education level and access to birth control are effective. Akın et al. (2014), they found a negative relationship between income level, labor force participation, urbanization and fertility in Sub-Saharan African countries. Ehsan (2015: 47) it shows that the most important determinant affecting women's fertility in Pakistan is labor force participation. 1% decrease in fertility rate increases women's labor force participation by 2.86%. It is seen that studies on the decrease in the fertility rate in Türkiye are few and generally focus on a single factor affecting fertility. Changes in fertility (Başkaya & Özkılıç, 2017; Gemicioğlu, Şahin & Er, 2019). Education and fertility relationship (Akça & Ela, 2012; Selim & Üçdoğruk, 2005; Şengül

& Kıral, 2006), marriage age and fertility (Eralp & Gökmen, 2020; Coşan, 2021), income and fertility (Çalışkan, 2014; Akın et al. 2014). Women's work and fertility (Akça & Ela, 2012; Kutlar et al. 2012; Üçler & Kızılkaya, 2014; Koç et al.2010). Immigration and fertility (Bilgin, 2020; Kaya, 2019), Religion and fertility (Selim & Bilgin, 2020; Karaođlan & Duman, 2017), culture and fertility (Topdemir Koçyiđit, 2012; Önder-Erol, 2018), fertility in cities (Deliktaş et al. 2008).

While the studies in Türkiye analyze the factors that determine fertility from various aspects, it is seen that they ignore the sociological factors that are effective in the decrease of women's fertility. According to the researchers, the decline in fertility can be temporary or permanent, but the common view is that once fertility begins to decline, it is rare for it to rise again. For this reason, it is important to examine the rapidly decreasing fertility rates in Türkiye from a sociological perspective, to determine the situation and analysis and to determine the solutions. The aim of this study is to examine the sociological factors that affect the change over time in the marriage and fertility preferences of women in Türkiye. For this purpose, priorities, currents of thought that are effective on fertility, and the view of culture and religion on fertility are discussed. Then, factors such as education, marriage age, labor force participation, individualization, urbanization-migration, increase in marriage age/postponing fertility, value of the child, widespread use of family planning methods, motherhood status and family structure were examined. The consequences of reduced fertility and what has been done to increase the fertility rate are discussed.

3.1. Fertility and Cultural Factors

Cultural factors include meanings and lifestyles that define a society, manifested in beliefs, values, norms, traditions and symbols. In many countries around the world, considering the cultural and social point of view, giving birth to a large number of children,

especially male children, comes to the fore and this situation significantly affects the fertility of women. Pregnancy, which has been welcomed as a natural source of joy by families for ages, has had an important cultural meaning in terms of social status. While fertility gives women the feeling of being a mother, fatherhood has shown the man as a respected and strong individual in the eyes of the society, who maintains his lineage and is proud of having proven himself. For this reason, women consider having children important both for themselves and for their spouses.

In Turkish culture, fertility is considered valuable as a whole with its economic, psychological and social dimensions. Marriage is associated with having children, while marriage and fertility are promoted. Therefore, newly married couples are expected to have children immediately, and it is thought that childless marriage cannot be possible. Having children helps those who get married gain status in social life, while fertility and motherhood determine the value and status of women. Women who are not fertile are called “fruitless tree”, “drying tree”, “bare soil”, “blind hearth”. According to Turkish custom, a man’s dignity is related to his wife’s giving him a child. Because reproduction and birth; It is also accepted as a symbol of abundance, abundance, beauty and goodness (Baysal, 2020: 282).

It is believed that the child, which is considered necessary for the continuation of life and lineage, will also strengthen the marriage and strengthen the bonds of love within the family. In addition to these, the child is seen as the heir of the nation and a source of dignity for families, especially fathers. The meanings of having a son, continuing the work inherited from the father, continuing the father’s name and keeping his name alive are loaded. While the child was considered very valuable in the old Turks; The status of the woman who becomes a mother in the family and society is also increasing. In addition, in Turkish culture, “child is the pillar of the house”, “a house without children is like a grave”, the child is the

joy of the house; The value of having a child has been emphasized with discourses such as “child is the ornament of the house, the one who does not have a child does not have a state” (Karadağ, 2013: 120). Those who are married but do not have children are not seen as a family and are belittled and excluded by the society. This situation is also reflected as a loss of prestige in the society for men. The expression “family is the state in its own way” in the society reveals the function of the family and each new individual to be added to the family.

3.2. Fertility and Religion

It is the desire of almost every society or religious belief to spread and increase in numbers throughout the world. Religions perceived birth as a blessing and saving of God and ordered their members to act in this direction. When we look at the determinant of religion on the fertility behavior of individuals with Muslim, Christian and Jewish beliefs, we see that marriage and motherhood are given a sacred value and fertility is encouraged. The role that religions impose on women; brings the fertility feature to the fore and includes rules for it. Religions clearly state reproductive rules and norms such as abortion, sterilization, and birth control (Mc Quillan (2004).

Islam attached great importance to marriage and family life and encouraged marriage (Holy Quran, Nûr 24/32; Nahl 16/72; Rûm 30/21). However, he defined the relationship between a man and a woman who did not have a marriage contract as adultery and explicitly prohibited it. ‘Do not approach adultery. For it is an immorality and a very bad way (Holy Quran, İsra: 17/32). Adultery is prohibited not only in the Qur’an, but also in other holy books such as the Torah and the Bible (Torah, Exit 20/14). The religion of Islam encourages marriage by emphasizing the protection of chastity, avoiding prohibited sexuality, ensuring the continuation of the generation, human nature and psychology

needing a romantic relationship (Holy Quran, Araf 7/189; Nûr, 24/33; Rum 30/21).

Studies show that there is a relationship between religion and fertility. In the study of Adsera (2006), which investigated individuals in thirteen developed cities to shape fertility and family structure according to religious belief, he concluded that the ideal number of children of conservative Protestants and Catholics is higher than that of non-conservative Protestants and those who have no religious beliefs. They observed that especially religious individuals prioritize family life and having children in their lives. Selim ve Bilgin (2020) in their research, those who give importance to religious belief in Muslim individuals have 0.003 times more children than those who do not, while this rate is 0.057 times higher in Christians. It is seen that this variable is not significant for Jews. In addition, according to all three religious' beliefs, the number of children they have decreases as the frequency of prayers decreases.

According to *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections (2010-2050)*; the fertility rate, which is 1.6 in general in Europe, is at a low level. The fertility rate is 1.8 for Jews, 1.6 for Christians, 1.5 for Hindus, and 1.4 for non-believers. The total fertility rate of Muslims is higher with 2.1 children per woman in the 2010-2015 period compared to other religious groups (PEW, 2015: 147- 149). The weakening of religious beliefs/secularization leads to a decrease in fertility promoted by religions. In his research, Jones (2006) concluded that fertility started to decrease in places where Muslims are concentrated, and the reason behind this was socio-economic developments and family planning programs, as well as Muslims' birth control methods and their attitudes towards abortion. In the *Research on Gender and Women's Perception in Türkiye (2020)*, abortion should be banned because it is a sin 62% and it is against our tradition 60%. Results show that women are against abortion due to religion and culture. In the studies of Çavlin & Tezcan-Ergöçmen (2012: 56), it has been revealed that the most

important source that prevents abortion is religion. The women interviewed stated that this practice is a sin, that it will go to the power of God, and that it is not right to interfere with this even if there are unwanted pregnancies. Avison & Furnha, (2015) also determined that voluntarily childless couples had lower levels of religiosity.

3.3. Fertility and Education

There are studies showing that higher female education level is associated with lower fertility (Bongaarts, 2003; Schultz 2005; Engelhardt ve Prskawetz 2002; Chani vd., 2012). Schultz (2005: 5) the negative relationship between education and fertility explains a large part of the fertility gap within a country. The study of Gore (2010) shows that there is a relationship between the education level of women and fertility in Türkiye. The study of Carmichael (2011) also shows that the most important variable that increases the age at marriage of women is education level.

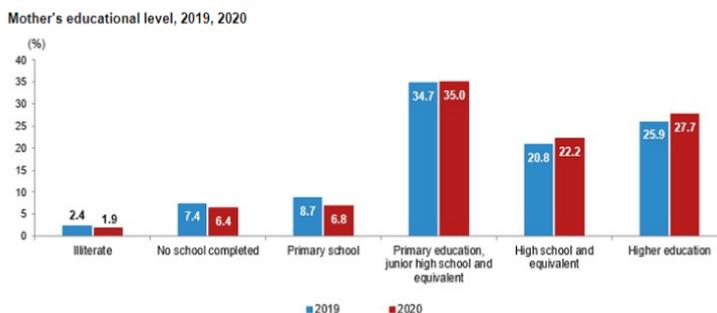
Among the effects of education on fertility, increase in the employment rate, increase in the age of marriage, use of contraceptive methods and awareness of being good parents. Because the woman who has a child stays away from business life for at least a certain period of time and suffers a financial loss and her career is interrupted. In this way, the desire to gain economic gain and make a career overtakes women's desire to have children, leading to a limitation on fertility. One of the factors affecting the decrease in fertility is that the rising education level affects the status of women and their attitudes such as having a voice in the family. This situation is more experienced in underdeveloped or developing countries rather than developed countries (Akın et al., 2014: 113). The Research on Gender and Women's Perception in Türkiye (2020) shows that 6% of women do not have a diploma, 43% have primary and secondary education, 33% have high school, 5% have college degrees, and 14% have university degrees.

Table 1: Changes in Fertility Related to Education in Türkiye (1980-2018).

	1998 TDHS	2003 TDHS	2008 TDHS	2013 TDHS	2018 TDHS
No education	3.8	3.6	2.6	3.7	4.2
Primary Education 1st stage	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.7	3.6
Elementary 2nd stage	1.6	1.7	1.3	2.4	2.8
High school and above	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8.

Source: 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013, 2018 TDHS

There are studies showing that education is the most important factor that increases the age at marriage and affects fertility decline in Türkiye, and that there is a negative relationship between education level and fertility (Deliktaş et al. 2008; Eralp & Gökmen, 2020; Karadon et al. 2021). In Türkiye, the rate of mothers who graduated from primary, secondary or equivalent school increased to 35.0%, the rate of mothers who graduated from high school or equivalent school increased to 22.2%, and the rate of mothers who graduated from higher education to 27.7%. It is seen that 1.9% of mothers who gave birth in 2020 are illiterate, 6.4% are literate but have not completed a school, and 6.8% are primary school graduates (TÜİK, World Population Day, 2021).

Figure 4: Mother's Education 2019-2020

Source: TurkStat, Birth Statistics, 2019, 2020

Education level also differs in the average number of children of women. Women with no education have, on average, one more child than educated women (Akça & Ela, 2012: 233). TAYA (2018) research shows that women who are not primary school graduates are 34% more likely to have one more child. As the level of education increases, the desired number of children decreases. Women who have not completed any school want four children on average, and women with university degrees want 2.8 children (TAYA, 2018). Employment opportunities and wages of educated women are higher than those of uneducated women who cannot participate in the workforce. In this context, increasing employment opportunities increase the number of women participating in the workforce. Therefore, the fertility-suppressing effect of education is greater in women participating (Selim, 2006).

3.4. Fertility Work and Income Level

Becker (1960) stated that there is a negative relationship between fertility and household income. Because as the income of the household increases, investment expenditures such as education and health for the child increase accordingly the cost of the child. The increase in child costs causes a decrease in the number of children. According to Bernhardt (1993), the reason for the negative relationship between fertility and labor force participation is not giving birth to children, but the care process from the birth of the child to adulthood. The two concepts are causally related, as the economic emancipation of women and the increase in female employment coincide with the decline in the fertility rate (Kreyenfeld, 2005: 5). Postponing the birth decisions of women who want to work causes the birth age to advance and the number of children born to the world decreases. The study by Mammen and Paxson (2000: 162) found a negative relationship between per capita income and fertility. In the study, it was concluded that fertility rates are high in economies where the income of women is very low. With

the increase in income, women's participation in the labor force increases and low birth rates are observed (Chani et al. 2012: 1).

TÜİK (2022) Data on Women with Statistics In 2021, the rate of employed women aged 15 and over in Türkiye is 26.3%. The employment rate of women aged 25-49 who have children under the age of 3 is 25.2%. The Research on Gender and Women's Perception in Türkiye (2020) shows that the rate of women who have never worked in their life is 46%. While 14% of working women say they quit their job due to lack of childcare support, 23% of women cite lack of childcare support as the reason for not working at the moment. When the rates of women who prefer to continue their motherhood and working life together are examined, the OECD average is 66.2% and the European Union (EU) average is 68.2%. According to these indicators, it is seen that the country with the lowest rate of working mothers is Türkiye.

Studies conducted in Türkiye show that women's participation in working life has a reducing effect on the number of children they have (Akça & Ela, 2012; Kutlar et al. 2012; Yıldırım & Doğrul, 2008; Emeç, 2013). Er (2013: 36) states in his study that married women with children have more responsibilities at work and at home, and their responsibilities increase especially with the increase in the number of children. The same study showed that married women with many children have a very small place in working life. While the studies of Bilgin (2020) showed that the study in 2008 was not a significant variable affecting the number of children of women; It shows that working women had 0.09 times fewer children than non-working women in 2013. It is observed that the tendency of women working in a job with social security to have more children is 9% less.

3.5. Fertility, Urbanization and Migration

It is known that urbanization has a limiting effect on women's fertility choices by offering a new lifestyle, increasing their opportunities to participate in education and labor force, and reducing

the pressure of family and relatives on them (Koç vd., 2010: 6). In the nuclear family structure in the city, women also prioritize working and delay having children in order to contribute to the income of the family. The cost of raising children better equipped is also rising in the city. Accordingly, families want to have children after they reach better economic conditions. All these factors show the inverse relationship of declining fertility with urbanization. Yucesahin and Ozgur (2008) highlighted that in developing countries, the increase in the education level of women made it easier for them to obtain equal rights with men. While modern women are trying to increase their family income, their inability to spare enough time for childcare is the reason for limiting their fertility.

Cultural factors such as urbanization or westernization have also affected women's fertility decisions in Türkiye. Extended family structure in rural areas in Eastern Türkiye; The nuclear family structure is common in the west and in urban areas. Early marriage of girls deprived of educational opportunities in rural areas of Türkiye causes an increase in the fertility rate. While the average number of children per woman and the ideal desired number of children are higher in traditional rural areas; declining in urban areas. While women who grow up in villages want 3.4 children, women who grow up in provincial centers want 3.2 children. Easy access to birth control methods in cities has a reducing effect on fertility (Akçe & Ela, 2012: 228).

It is seen that the number of desired children decreases as you go from east to west of Türkiye. While the number of children desired in the West Marmara Region is 2.6; It rises to 4.4 in the Southeastern Anatolia Region (TAYA, 2018). Similarly, there are serious differences between rural and urban in terms of fertility rates in Türkiye. While the fertility rate is 1.5 in the West, it rises to 3 in the Eastern provinces. According to TUIK (2020) data, it is seen that the number of children from the east of Türkiye, which is 3.71, decreases to 1.29 as one goes to the west.

Figure 5. Crude Birth Rate by Province in Türkiye, 2020

Crude birth rates by provinces, 2020



Source: TURKSTAT Birth Statistics, 2020

The fertility rate of Syrian immigrants who migrated to Türkiye due to the civil war is high. Due to their traditional cultural behaviors, migrant women consider having a child to be important for the preservation of their status. Religious beliefs are also a factor that limits the use of family planning services (Çalım, Kavlak & Sevil, 2012: 14). As stated by Castles & Miller (2008: 18), migration leads to the continuation of their existing reproductive habits and even more fertile, rather than decreasing their fertility levels. 42% of Syrian women gave birth in Türkiye. Approximately 77% of these women stated that they had one child, 21% had two children, and 1.6% had three children. A Syrian migrant woman in Türkiye gives birth to an average of 5.3 children (TDHS, 2018). In conclusion, although these data show that the fertility rate among Syrians is quite high, it is possible to talk about the increasing effect of migration on fertility rather than decreasing it.

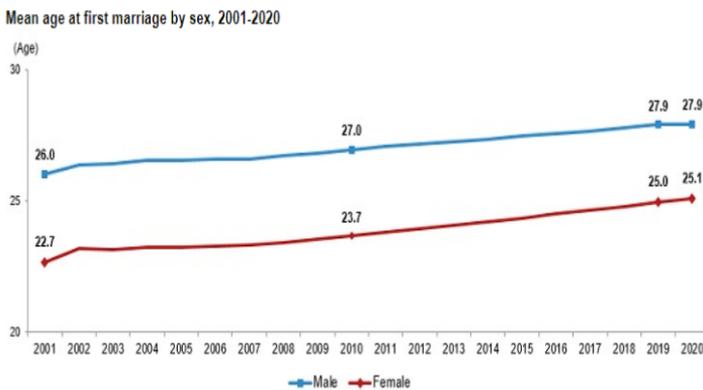
3.6. Fertility and Marriage

Many countries in the world are dealing with the problems caused by the increasing age at first marriage compared to 1990. In societies, the establishment of the marriage bond is generally

accepted as a prerequisite for fertility. Therefore, the postponement of marriage negatively affects the continuity of the lineage, which is one of the main functions of the family institution, and causes a decrease in fertility rates. Marriage in Türkiye is still the only legitimate form of union for men and women to live together. Women are making their first marriages at an increasingly older age. For example, while the age at first marriage for women was 16 in the 1950s; While it was 22.7 in 2001, it is 23.7 in 2010 and 25.1 in 2020 (TÜİK, 2021). In Türkiye, there is a 5-year difference in the age at first marriage between 25-49 years old women with no education and at least high school graduates. Even women who have only completed primary school are 2.5 times more likely to delay marriage than women who have never been to school.

Postponement of marriage increases approximately 6.6 times between a woman with a graduate education and a woman who has never been to school (Eralp ve Gökmen, 2020). As the socio-economic level increases, it is observed that the age at first marriage increases significantly in both sexes, especially in women. Late marriages also affect the process of having children; few children or childless nuclear families.

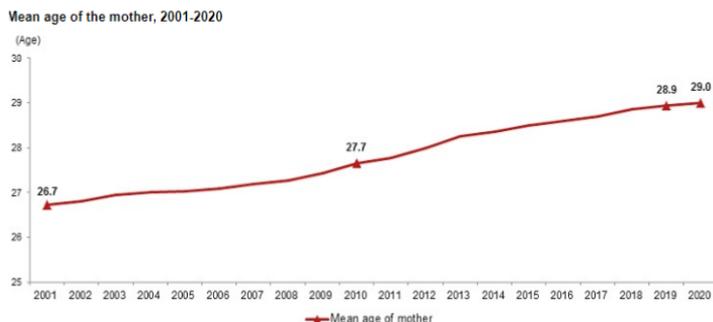
Figure 6: Age at First Marriage by Gender 2001-2020



Source: TURKSTAT, Marriage and Divorce Statistics 2020

One of the factors affecting the fertility of women in the modern era is staying single, that is, not getting married. In Türkiye, 66% of women of reproductive age 15-49 are married, while 30% of them are never married (TDHS, 2018: 45). In Türkiye, women's expectations from the man they will marry are seen as factors that increase the risk of delaying marriage. It is noteworthy that the biggest factor among these factors is "love". According to this result, the probability of delaying the first marriage decision of individuals who care about love for marriage increases by 0.60 compared to individuals who do not (Eralp & Gökmen, 2020). In addition to financial worries such as busy work life and economic inadequacy, the sense of independence also keeps people away from marriage. The destruction of the boundaries of sexuality that took place within the family within the framework of social legitimacy, that is, the fact that people can now meet these needs through illegitimate means poses a threat to the institution of the family.

Figure 7: Average Age of Mother 2001-2020



Source: TURKSTAT, Birth Statistics, 2001-2020

The average age of mothers also differed by years. The average age of mothers who gave birth at the age of 26.7 in 2001 increased to 29.0 in 2020 (TÜİK, Birth Statistics, 2001-2020). Women who marry early have, on average, the potential to have more children, which can often lead to more births during their

lifetime. As the age at first marriage increases, the number of children decreases; Women who marry before the age of 18 have an average of 3.5 children, while women who marry after the age of 30 have 1.2 children. Women married after age 30 are 50% less likely to have one more child than those married before age 18 (TAYA, 2018).

The decrease in fertility due to the increase in the average age of marriage affects not only the demographic structure of the family or society, but also the economy of the country. According to the World Bank's 2019 income-based classification, the loss of population dynamism in Türkiye, which is in the upper-middle income group, poses a risk for Türkiye to be in the upper income group. While the decision to postpone having children 100 years ago was due to poverty, today it is primarily due to women's search for independence. In other words, the tendency of women participating in the labor force to delay their motherhood period is increasing in order to achieve their individual and economic independence. Many women now attend university, join the workforce after the age of 22-23, and try to take part in working life for a few years, perhaps before getting married or even having children in order to consolidate their position in the workplace.

3.7. Spread of Family Planning Methods and Fertility

It is reported that approximately 230 million births are prevented each year with the use of family planning methods González et al. (2010). Of the approximately 190 million women who become pregnant each year, 50 million have abortions to end unwanted pregnancies. Complications due to abortion constitute approximately 13% of maternal deaths (Ahmet et al. 2012). Birth control methods are the most important factor determining the level of fertility in many countries. Couples who want to consciously

control their fertility behavior may choose to use a contraceptive method or for women to have an abortion or miscarriage. Today, the invention, development and spread of modern birth control methods, as well as the use of traditional birth control methods to prevent pregnancy, is considered a turning point in the decline of fertility. It is generally expected or assumed that women do birth control. The vast majority of modern methods of contraception; for example, oral pills, intrauterine device, diaphragm are intended for women.

Women's preference for modern methods is affected by sociodemographic and socioeconomic factors such as the economic status of the family, education level, religious beliefs, number of living children, service intake and content. Since women took their fertility under control; fertility is declining, the average maternal age is rising, the number of women in the business world is increasing, and women's lifestyles are diversifying. Research shows that decisions in family planning are made by women. According to the 2019 Türkiye Demographic and Health Surveys (TDHS) 70% of married women use any family planning method. Compared to women using modern birth control methods in 2013, women who do not use any birth control method have 0.662 times fewer children, while women who use traditional or folk birth control methods have 0.232 times less children (Bilgin, 2020).

3.8. Change in family structure

Modernization and demographic transition change family structures by adding new species to the family. After the 1980s, some changes began to be observed in the family institution and the understanding of marriage throughout the world. In addition, trends such as the increase in the age at first marriage, the decrease in marriage rates, the increase in divorce rates, and the decrease in

fertility have begun to be accepted as an indicator of the disintegration of the traditional family structure. In addition, with the increase in women's labor force participation rates and the gaining of economic independence, new lifestyle alternatives to the family have become more visible (Irwin, 2000). Changes in fertility behavior are more affected by some transition seen in the "family", which is called the building block of modern society. Today, the increase in the number of single-parent and step-family due to the increase in divorce rates, the preference of more individuals not to marry, the married people who prefer voluntary childlessness indicate that the nuclear family has come to an end (Toffler, 2008).

In Türkiye, there is a process of change in terms of family structure. It is stated that three important factors play a role in this change from a sociological point of view, and accordingly family structures and fertility rates are affected. The first of these is urbanization, paid work of women, developments in economic life, etc. socio-economic changes. The second is the increase in the age of motherhood for various reasons, the limitation of the number of children to two, and the narrowing of the gap between the ideal number of children and the number of children they have. The last and the most important factor is the change in the family structure, along with the "change of mindset" or "intellectual change". From this point of view, it is reported that the socioeconomic, demographic and intellectual transformation process in Türkiye affects the individual's thought of having a child (Arslan et al, 2019). We can say that factors such as modernization and demographic transition are also effective on family structure in Türkiye. This process creates an effect that reduces the importance of traditional family values and life by spreading individual lifestyles and new values built around rights and freedom (BASAGM, 2010: 32). It is seen that all these factors affect the family structure. The forms created by single-person households and unmarried couples are more common today.

Table 2: Proportion of Households by Type, 2014-2020

Type of households	Proportion in total households						
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
One-person households	13.9	14.4	14.9	15.4	16.1	16.9	17.9
One-family households	67.4	66.9	66.4	66.1	65.3	65.1	65.2
Couple without resident children	14.1	14.3	14.2	14.2	14.1	13.9	13.5
Couple with at least one resident child	45.7	44.8	44.0	43.5	42.3	42.0	42.0
Lone parents with at least one resident child	7.6	7.8	8.2	8.5	8.9	9.2	9.7
Lone fathers with at least one resident child	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.2
Lone mothers with at least one resident child	6.1	6.2	6.5	6.7	7.0	7.2	7.5
Extended-family households	16.7	16.5	16.3	16.0	15.8	15.0	14.0
Multi-person no-family households	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.8	3.0	2.8

Source: TurkStat, Address Based Population Registration System, 2014-2020

When the table is examined, it is seen that 9.7% of the total household in Türkiye in 2020 consists of single parents and children, while 2.2% consists of fathers and children, 7.5% consists of mothers and children. (TURKSTAT, Statistics on Family 2020). According to the results obtained from the Family Structure Researches in Türkiye, it is stated that as a result of socioeconomic change, especially the extended family structure has been dissolved and the dispersed family structure has become widespread. One of the sub-family forms that make up the nuclear family structure of families in Türkiye, the nuclear family without children is increasing faster than the nuclear family with children. Due to the decrease in fertility, the rate of nuclear families with one and two children is increasing. There is a serious decrease in families with three or more children. It is understood that with the acceleration of the dissolution in the patriarchal family and the increase in divorce rates in recent years, the temporary extended family, which has emerged in the form of articulation with the nuclear family, has also tended to increase.

3.9. Fertility and Individualization

Individuality is a thought that empowers the person as a subject and centers her freedom. Thus, the individual, who sees herself as the center in all matters, demands unlimited freedom in

her preferences and is reluctant to share her freedom with others (Touraine, 2012: 257-296). This situation makes itself visible in terms of marriage and fertility. In particular, the increase in the share of women in working life, the decrease in the influence of social and religious teachings on individuals and effects such as globalization; increased individualization in societies and started to cause erosion in the traditional family structure. The emancipation of women, their participation in the workforce, the change in the gender roles of men and women, the ongoing liberalization and individualization of lifestyles are among the indicators of this process. In today's globalization of modernism, sexual happiness has been placed at the center of life, and the satisfaction of pleasures has become the purpose of living. At the same time, the meanings attributed to sexuality have changed and the idea of sexual freedom has come to the fore. Sexuality is no longer accepted in connection with the notion of continuation of the lineage (Giddens & Pearson, 2001).

Depending on the developments in contraception methods and birth technology, pleasure and pleasure have come to the fore in sexuality, which has been separated from the necessity of reproduction. The rise of individualism, specific to the fertility issue, dynamics such as individuals' choosing not to marry at all, marrying later and/or having children later, choosing voluntary childlessness or having children at a level that satisfies them indirectly contribute to the result of low fertility behavior. Individual life in Turkey gradually increased the age of marriage, decreased marriages and increased divorce rates. The family, which is perceived as making another person and child suffer, has begun to be approached with a distance. This thought has led to a decrease in fertility. Social relations redefined by neoliberalism, 'self-sufficiency' and 'individualism' have come to the fore as rising values. Women associated "stand-on", which defines themselves with market dynamics, with having a paid job.

Eralp & Gökmen (2020) determined in their study that women are more prone to individualization and this has negative effects on postponing marriage. The individual, who created herself independently of the family, now perceives the establishment and maintenance of families as a narrowing of her own freedom. As a result, individual lifestyles and extra-marital relationships become more widespread, while intolerance between spouses increases in marriage (ASAGEM, 2010).

3.10. Value of the Child and Fertility

The child has economic, psychological and sociological / traditional value in her research, which pioneered studies on parents' perceptions of having a child and the values they attribute to children (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca (2005). The economic value/benefit of the child primarily means that it brings income and contributes to the home, does housework and provides care to parents in old age. The psychological value of the child is accepted as bringing joy to the home, providing emotional satisfaction and bringing parents closer together. The social value of the child is; It tells about factors such as ensuring the continuity of the family, giving parents a perception of social success and reputation (Kağıtçıbaşı ve Ataca, 2005: 78). According to Becker (1960), for many mothers and fathers, children are a source of physical income or satisfaction. In this direction, children are considered as durable consumer goods from an economic point of view, while they are considered as production goods in cases where they provide financial income. The main finding of the studies on this subject is that the economic and psychological value given to the child shows different relationship patterns with the macro system variables (equality between women and men in the family, women's participation in working life, women's social status, etc.). In the family model where the child contributes economically to the family, that is, the economic value of the child is high, the tendency to have many children increases,

the preference for sons with a higher probability of income increases and the burden of child care becomes heavier. For all these reasons, women who do not want to have children in line with their own preferences deviate from the norms of the society and may be accepted as less responsible and more selfish by the society. The decrease in the economic value of the child may be a factor that suppresses discrimination in the parents' preferences for girls and boys. The norms of the number of children tend to decrease, since even one child is sufficient to meet emotional needs such as love and commitment. The woman, who is still responsible for childcare due to traditional gender roles, gains a limited freedom in the social sphere, albeit relatively, with the decreasing number of children. Although the fertility rate has decreased over time, the view of the child still maintains its positive quality when compared to Western societies. Topçuoğlu et al. (2010) in their research, 56.5% of the participants reported that two children, 25.5% three, 8.7% four and 7.2% one child were ideal. Family Values Survey in Turkey (TADA) data and SEKAM (2011) findings also support this result.

3.11. The Value of Motherhood and Fertility

It is accepted that capitalism reverses the relationship between fertility and women's status, which means that as the status of women increases, fertility decreases (Caldwell, 1978). Men and women are being equalized in all areas such as education, work, social and political participation, and the traditional boundaries between gender roles are becoming increasingly blurred. The woman is not defined only by the domestic sphere and the status of being a mother. At the same time, she gains the identity of an independent individual who can work, have a profession, earn money with her individual efforts, and therefore has equal rights and responsibilities with men in the maintenance of the house and in making decisions. Discourses that belittle and devalue being a housewife or a mother, and encourage women to gain economic independence based on

the thesis that the family oppresses women, devalues motherhood. The discourses that push the woman to be selfish in her individual pleasures and preferences instead of seeking a life balance with her husband, and that seek her “rights” with a confrontational language, are at least as problematic as the attitudes that prevent the woman from getting an education or making herself available in the society.

Women’s access to economic and professional positions that can manage their own lives and the development of birth control methods have revealed women who never thought of giving birth to children. Kaplan (2011:167) in his study, “good mother”, “good wife”, “good cook”, “good cleaner” and many other skills are accepted as a measure of the success of women, but a social status value has not been defined. According to Kalaycıoğlu & Tılıç (2001:153-154), the work done at home does not bring an income to the woman, nor does it gain a social status. Defining housework as a woman’s duty contributes to the invisibility of this labor and not to be perceived as a job. The worthlessness of housework also affects the way women perceive themselves. In her study, Fidan (2016:135-136) states that when women are asked to evaluate themselves, they evaluate themselves through the eyes of men. According to Kaplan (2011:168), integrating the obligation of housework with women reinforces the secondary position of women in society. Housework and childcare for women have been defined as a cultural value in Turkish society. Thus, women continue their lives with much more responsibilities than men in housework and home care services. This area of responsibility and the material value of the labor produced cannot be formed (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2001).

Berber (2013: 246), in his study with executive women working in the private sector, determined that motherhood is not seen as a status and they do not define themselves only through motherhood. While some added that they were disgusted with the care to be given to the child, others stated that the thought of spending all their time with a baby tired them: “motherhood is like living

alone, from morning to night, with a mentally handicapped person who cannot hold her tongue” (Badinter, 2017: 147). Apart from these women, there are also those who are afraid of the monotony of their mother’s duties or worry about the loss of their identity. According to Badinter, “if this trend is accepted, will we one day see that motherhood is dominated or monopolized by women who are culturally, socially and professionally less equipped?” (Badinter, 2017: 154). Today, for independent and individualized mothers, the concept of “non-working woman” shakes the status of the modern woman as it matches the concept of “traditional mother”. For this reason, the “modern mother”, worried about being seen only as a housewife and mother, considers working motherhood with a diploma more acceptable. In Turkey, housewife and motherhood are desired to be shown among ordinary, simple and useless jobs. Men prefer to marry working women instead of housewives due to the imposition of economic conditions. This situation, on the other hand, makes women hostile to housewifery and motherhood, and encourages them to be working women.

4. Conclusion

This research was carried out in order to explore sociologically the factors that prevent women from preference to have children, as the decrease in fertility causes important consequences for individuals and society. It is expected that this research will contribute to the researches in this field, while discussions continue in Türkiye as well as in many countries of the world. The decrease in fertility rates in the world in general and in Türkiye in particular draws attention. This situation shows the connection between the development/development of the country and fertility. The basic message underlying population planning programs is the idea that having fewer children and socio-economic development are necessarily linked. It is clear that this fact is effective in the falling birth rates in Türkiye, where population planning programs have

been a policy that governments have given importance to for many years and Westernization is the official agenda of the country. Therefore, it has become a necessity to investigate the effect of cultural norms, which change under the influence of world culture, on the strikingly declining fertility rates in Türkiye. When we look at the literature in Türkiye, two important factors draw attention. The first of these is that studies on fertility are not enough to create a literature. Although the decline in fertility rates is an issue that occupies the agenda of the country, it does not attract much attention in the academic world. Another factor is the way fertility is handled in current studies. There are many variables that affect women's fertility decisions. All these variables need to be examined in depth, both in relation to each other and individually. However, studies generally focus on a single factor. Considering the sociological factors affecting fertility in Türkiye, multidimensional studies should be conducted.

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VOLUME V

SOCIOLOGY OF FOOD IN EVERYDAY LIFE AND UNDERSTANDING TACTICAL ASPECTS OF EATING

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1. Introduction

Everyday life is an area of mundane activities which are not usually questioned. Everyday activities such as reading, walking, speaking, or eating constitute strong relations with sociological aspects of social life. However, mundane activities are usually taken for granted and the sociological interest over eating is also a recent area of study. Mainstream sociological attention was over society, social structure and significant social, political, economic events and landmarks like French Revolution, Industrial Revolution or on broad and widely experienced social facts like violence against women, migration, addiction and so on. In fact, Industrial Revolution and French Revolution have drastically changed ideas, thinking patterns, scientific approaches and of course mode of production and led to formation of nation-states. These changes also transformed people's way of thinking, production processes and art and people have adapted to all kinds of changes

and developments in the living space since the day they existed, and people have adapted their works of art and everyday activities to the changes and developments that have taken place (Gün, 2021: 395). Therefore, through that era of historical political, economic, and social transformations, ordinary people and ordinary activities have always been neglected. However, the focus on ordinary people and ordinary activities have gained attention and become more significant since mid-20th century, due to increasing focus on individual, individual rights and identity politics.

Due to that increasing attention of everyday and mundane, Hegel's familiar quotation comes to the forefront; "*What is familiar goes unrecognized*" and this unrecognized aspect became focus of attention for well-known social scientists like Georg Simmel, Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau. Within that framework, eating and cooking have always considered as a matter of social development and social change of societies over centuries. For Simmel, eating is not only an individual basic requirement to survive, but it also constitutes more than a basic everyday activity and he emphasizes consequences of socialization of meal, that regularity and establishing and eating time destroyed the primitive eating conditions based on eating when someone was hungry (Wood 1992: 3). In addition, eating together at regular hours also created social meaning of food.

As Simmel argues the social aspect of eating is strongly related with becoming a part of a group, society, or a family. Eating, as a basic need of any human, is very mundane and unrecognized social relation, that has changed through centuries and through civilisation of human being.

2. Food as a Sociological Matter

The way to recognize and understand what is happening and what is significant in everyday routines is strongly connected with *defamiliarization* and for many scholars dealing with everyday life and this defamiliarization requires a multidisciplinary approach, regarding all aspects of societal, political and economic life.

Thus, for example, shopping preferences are closely interrelated with individuals' class position, income, ethnic and cultural background.

As Lefebvre emphasizes, an ordinary and unquestioned everyday activity can reveal many aspects of individuals' lives, social positions and society's economic conditions and many relationships regarding individuals and social structures. A prominent scholar studying at Sociology of Food, Anne Murcott, relates social inequalities and sociology of food and social realities of contemporary global life. Murcott discusses social stratification of global hunger issues, food market, starvation and relates these social realities to *sociological imagination* of C. Wright Mills and establishes a valuable connection between individual and society. For Mills, sociology is the way to correlate social structure, historical background, personal life with a need of ability or quality of mind, that makes grasping the link between personal life, social structure and historical circumstances on a wider perspective (Murcott, 2019: 15).

Sociological aspect of eating and food, as described above, is not only an issue of basic human hunger anymore. It is strongly related with production networks, capitalist production ties, profits, market, consumption, over-consumption and show off aspect of eating as a social indicator. Therefore, eating and sociology of food emerges as a significant area of study and interest in sociology. Wood et al. describes the possible reasons of this increase in attention over sociology of food as on the one hand increasing visibility of hunger and nutritional inequalities among different nations, through mass media and on the other hand, waste and over consumption of food and additionally eating disorders like bulimia, anorexia nervosa and obesity within industrial societies (Wood et al. 1992:5).

As Wood et al. argues, the phenomenon of eating and sociology of food is very complex. On the one side increasing social inequalities, economic crises, hunger, and starvation makes food scarcer. However, contrary to difficulty of many people access to

healthy food, social stratification makes it possible to utilize food for some as a matter of social status. Therefore, food and eating are significant indicators of social status and social groupings. Seymour indicates that relationship between social belonging and eating as, that who one eats with also defines to some extent one's social group (Seymour, 1983:3). Eating together and dining has close relationships with group identity establishment, and this makes eating and dining an exact issue of group formation.

Within that framework, it is obvious that “food” or “eating” is not a matter of personal basic hunger and this unquestioned and mundane activity is a significant matter of sociological research and different approaches. Functionalism and structuralism are two pioneering approaches dealing with sociology of food, bringing different theoretical aspects to the forefront. For instance, functionalist debates established and developed by Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons are leading approaches explaining eating and food and its societal reflections. Functionalist perspective emphasizes the interconnectedness of society by focusing on how each part influences and is influenced by other parts and society is a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole (Mooney et al.,2007:14).

For functionalist approach social harmony and maintaining social order is one of the most significant social priority and for that sake social institutions with close relationships through social groups and interpersonal communication serve to provide equilibrium in society. On the other hand, another theoretical approach to food and eating as structuralism brought another component, *taste* to the forefront, that made eating and food as matters of culture and more complex components. On two contrary approaches, Strauss, Bourdieu and Douglas as prominent thinkers of structural approach, have emphasized and put forward aesthetic aspect of eating and

food, on the contrary, functionalists highlighted the food itself as a matter of social order.

According to structuralism, 'taste' is a matter of eating and it is socially determined, shaped and culture is a significant determinant for 'taste'. Thus, structuralists usually put aesthetics of eating, cooking, and dining as a social component, that is determined by culture or social positions of individuals and closely interrelated with family. People usually inherit eating habits from their families through their socialization process, where eating choices are shaped culturally within families. Therefore, for household, eating is a matter of acculturation process, where members of family come together to share and express eating preferences, taste preferences and by this way, smell and taste is socially established through cuisine practices at home and so on. In that manner, food is a significant component of material culture. In that respect definition of culture based on visibility of materials and cultural transmission of heritage through generations provide a broad understanding of the concept as;

“Culture is a heritage that is transmitted from generation to generation, produced by human communities in the historical process. It is divided into a visible culture and invisible culture. In the visible culture appears everything that is physically done by human beings, on the other hand in invisible culture appears social beliefs, religions, and mental norms” (Gün and Özkartal, 2020:2882).

Food and eating, as cultural products, are sociologically significant phenomenon that are related with family, taste, cooking, consumption, social groups, social stratification, and economics. In addition to cultural aspect of eating, economical aspect of food production, agriculture, equal distribution of food display varieties of food related scientific studies. Within that regard, it is crucial to highlight that sociology of food is a broad area of study that is far beyond a biological or nutritional necessity. Food and eating is inherited from ancestors and it includes historical and social ties,

regarding modes of production and agricultural social structure. Moreover, food is one of the most significant commodity for market and food production and hence, distribution of food and market equilibrium are also significant matters for the whole world. Thus, food has both material and symbolic meanings, where inequalities based on socio-economic structure, gender, ethnic and racial background, and power relations from family ties to global market and political system are closely interrelated (Boni, 2019:2).

As Boni highlights, food is a way of creating symbolic meaning and hence have a social significant value and on the other hand, food is a component for economic relations. Therefore, what you eat is a two-sided issue regarding, who you are and where your ancestors come from (based on race and ethnicity) and socio-economic position in society regarding your availability to access to food and other needs and your consumption habits. Depending upon power relations in society, from family ties to global food market and system, sociology of food covers a wide range of social and economic aspects of food and food market. Related with social positioning of individual in society, eating habits and hence consumption practices provide a valuable opportunity to grasp peoples' preferences on eating and preparing food. The "heathy" ingredients that cost more than junk food also illustrate individuals' economic capacity to access the healthier products.

Class differences, ethnic and racial identities are also significant determinants for accessing healthy food. Since, healthy, and organic food production is more expensive at food market, income differences directly affect awareness and eating priorities. This awareness of healthy food and healthy consumption can be also discussed in Bourdieu's terms, habitus, and class differences in socialisation process of individuals at home and at school and through education process. For Bourdieu, "the tastes which consumers have been, he argues, the result of the ways in which they have been acquired. Tastes in food, as with tastes in general, are predisposed

to act as markers of social class” (Gufton, 2007: 29). The acquired tastes and preferences are direct results of upbringing and education that also determine habitus of individuals.

Although there is significant fact that, capitalist food chain and food market and income of individuals, determine shopping and food preferences, there is also a visible connection and relation of food preference and income and individuals’ awareness on body, social relations, and self-presentation of the individual. For instance, an exotic meal can be taken as an instrument of show off that will establish a desired image for any one or eating junk food as beans or chips which are available at every market at reasonable prices, without considering non- healthy ingredients in them. For Bourdieu, this differentiation in consumption patterns is strongly related with cultural values that arise from social classes. What people establish as consumption patterns are directly related with their class positions that create their values, attitudes, tastes, preferences, world views and behaviours are directly stemming from habitus of individuals.

Food and eating as discussed above, reveal many social, economic, and cultural realities about societies. Food choices and eating habits are closely related with cultural affinities and income levels of individuals. Production process and economic structures in a society determine all products’ market value and peoples’ welfare that allows people access to food and all kinds of commodities. However, food has a more significant value for market since it is crucial for survival and lack of food or shortages can cause more than a kitchen issue. Socially and economically, lack of access to basic human needs as food and water, create social disorder, destroys public health, destroy faith in government and result in social and political distrust among people. Therefore, food is something more than a beverage or snack. Food is crucial for sustainability in social, economic, and political order.

This significance of food creates a symbolic power and food becomes a social and economic indicator. This significance of social

status indicator is associated with lifestyle and this situation makes food to move from substance to subsistence and its significance in everyday life makes it more visible and more crucial for everyone. Especially in western lifestyle, food has a significant role. In a modern world, food means more than a biological necessity to survive. It carries out the hidden signs of mode of production, availability of consumption and eating serves as a ritual for social interaction. During that social interaction, class and income stratifications of people become visible and market forces are usually being created upon that fact that food can be used as a matter for show off. Therefore, apart from the fact that, there are always people suffering from food shortages and starvation, there are people using food not as a substance to survive, but as a matter of high-class positioning. Rather than its significance on biological survival, eating habits now constitute a social stratification and consumption capacities of individuals.

As mentioned above, in everyday life mundane activities are often unseen and unquestioned. Regarding with that fact, this paper argues that unrecognized activities of everyday life are significant realms of study, since that hide social, political, and economic relations in societies. In that manner, everyday life activities like eating, speaking, walking, playing games, listening to music, or reading both display societal realities. As mentioned above, production and market structure of any society can be traced with eating habits or food preferences of ordinary people. At that point, politics of personal comes to the front and starting from that point, food, politics, and resistance become more related, as Michel de Certeau also argued and established, in his theory of everyday life.

3. Everyday Life and Food as a *Tactical* Matter

Everyday life is a realm of power, hegemony, resistance, and creativity according to Michel de Certeau and his approach. Moreover, Certeau was also interested in invisibility and unseen

parts and significance of production and consumption, which are related to cooking and everyday life. For Certeau, ordinary people create their own ways of doing things rather than it was expected by the society and Certeau focus on those unexpected and unseen tricks of ordinary life performed by ordinary people. He uses binary terms such as, production versus consumption, reading versus writing, tactics versus strategies, space versus place, the written versus the spoken (Highmore, 2002: 154). While establishing his main theoretical framework on *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Certeau deals with production and its counterpart, consumption.

Certeau places consumption at a central point for his everyday life. Consumption in that manner; is considered as a kind of production that ordinary people create. Production is on the one hand expansionist and on the other hand it is variable and there are different variations of production regarding peoples' abilities to distort imposed propriety or regulations. Through that multiple ways of productions and operations of people, productive and multiple assemblages and networks are established (Highmore, 2002: 155). Certeau also calls these kinds of productions as "*ways of operating*" or as ways of creating *hit and run* kind of victories of 'the weak' that do not possess power, over 'the strong' creating regulations and proprieties. Everyday life activities with mundane acts of reading, talking, cooking, dwelling are *tactical* in character for Certeau and at that point, most pioneering concepts of Certeau come to the forefront; *strategies* and *tactics*.

Certeau argues that *strategies* intend to establish a place of their own and this is the place of exercise of power. Therefore, Certeau, defines strategies in power-relationship, where a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be apart from environment. A strategy requires a place defined as proper and that serves as a basis for establishing relationships with an exterior apart from it (competitors, adversaries, clientele, targets, or objects of research) and rationality on politics, economics

and science is constructed upon this model (Highmore, 2002 b: 69). On the contrary, *tactics* cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other (Highmore, 2002b: 70). Thus, *tactics* do not depend on place, and it is created by the weak, where strategic fields do not belong to. Tactics usually depend on creativeness of ordinary people, that seek an opportunity to create a victory, that is temporary. Tactics do not keep what they win, since they do not intend to seize power permanently. Ordinary people find their own ways of doing things, apart and different from strategies that are created by power mechanisms of life, organizing, and determining how to do and how to make. Thus, tactics appear as ways of escaping from regulations of the hegemonic and powerful mechanisms of social, political, and economic life. These *ways of doing* or *tricks of destroying power relationships* are creative and intelligent, described with the Greek word '*metis*'. Certeau explains everyday life, tactics and *metis* as, clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, hunter's cunning, manoeuvres, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike (Highmore 2002 b: 70).

In defining '*metis* and intelligence of ordinary people to distort strategies of the 'strong', Certeau highlights imposing order and imposed ways of living. Thus, tactics of the weak or the invisible and intelligent discoveries of the everyday life, are hidden in mundane activities in everyday life, which are usually unquestioned. However, Certeau shed the light on these ordinary and unquestioned acts in everyday and finds close interrelatedness between food, shopping, cooking and power relations, culture, and societal connections of individual on a resistant basis. Giard, a colleague Certeau has written his second book on *Everyday Life*, establishes this connection between social and cultural side of eating and taste as eating is not only a matter of making the body work as a machine, but they make significant ties between the world

and people. In addition, each meal or food depends on likes and dislikes that are historically and culturally established (Giard 1998: 183-185). The smell, colour, shape or form of food people prefer as meal, are strongly related with their social and historical ties and these preferences and choices do not emerge randomly.

Certeau et al describes that food and relational activities regarding food, consumption, cooking, and eating are strongly interrelated with identity and social ties. Thus, identity is created in power relations over struggle within institutional power and power groups. In that regard, gender comes to the forefront as a regulation, since women are expected to be in accordance with social and institutional power mechanisms and thus to transform raw food to a 'meal' for family and household. In that framework, Murcott shares an example of shared meals, that women prepare, are chosen and designed to satisfy, their husband's eating preferences, tastes and likes (Murcott, 1995: 734). However, women can tactically change dietary habits of the family and can destroy that gender-based power relation and choose to prefer her own likes, tastes, and recipes.

In addition, food and eating habits can become an issue of cultural preservation for the groups of people living as minorities. For these groups, hegemonic groups of the countries they live in, constitute the eating behaviours, and set strategic operations on food and meal. In that aspect, eating an Indian cuisine on Thanksgiving Day can be an example of tactical reproduction through eating practices. Migrants coming from different cultural and historical backgrounds, inevitably have different forms of kitchen, cooking and eating habits that are usually different from the country they settled. For instance, Muslims do not eat pork due to Islamic rules and eating pork meat is strictly forbidden religiously. Thus, as an example, Turkish people settled in Germany due to migration and who define themselves as Muslim, define pork as border line as follows in a study; *"I am not so religious but eating pork is a border for me. In fact, I know that there are some ingredients of pork*

in other German products, but I cannot avoid them. I try to avoid eating pork intentionally. Eating pork is a border for being German for me” (Gökalp Yılmaz, 2014: 45).

In another quotation display that choosing Turkish products also is a matter of protecting Turkish cultural background in household and it is a tactical preference to distort German cuisine and German food as a strategic structure;

“Olive, cheese jam, Turkish sucuk (a spicy sausage) all we have them here God sake. I always prefer them as a Turkish product” (Gökalp Yılmaz, 2014:46).

This expression also illustrates that dwellings are places of tactical establishments, where personal matters become public and political. Thus, eating and cooking should be considered as a significant indicator for individuals’ positioning with the social structure and public realm. These expressions display that, subaltern and disadvantaged groups struggle to maintain their identities and their cultural baggage, take place in everyday life activities more than political sphere. Therefore, preferring to eat cheese from country of origin or resisting to eat pork, becomes an unseen power struggle and tactical operations to distort power of the hegemonic groups in society.

4. Conclusion

Everyday life is a magical sphere that hides and reveals individual, social, political, and economic aspects. However, attention and sociological interest over mundane activities like walking, reading, or eating are contemporary phenomenon for social scientists. Therefore, unseen, and unrecognized everyday activities become a recent issue of social science and different aspects of routine activities became to be analysed and questioned. Food and eating are most significant issues of that unrecognized area of interest since food is considered as matters of nutritional or biological studies. However, food and eating provide a broad framework for

individuals' mundane activities in a strong interrelatedness with market forces, social equilibrium, order, gender, culture, and ethnic backgrounds.

Within that framework, this study focused on sociological analysis of food by revisiting prominent thinkers like Simmel and Bourdieu and prominent approaches on sociology of food such as structuralism and functionalism. Additionally, tactics and strategies as well-known concepts of Michel de Certeau has been analysed to illustrate the connection between societal aspect of food and power relationship. It was emphasized that peoples' choices or preferences of food are strongly related with their social and cultural backgrounds and therefore, for example, minority groups' eating habits display a tactical character, eroding strategies of dominant groups in societies. Moreover, people find a way of establishing areas of resistance for their identities and cultural heritages, through food and cooking habits. In Certeauian terms, different ways of operations or different ways of productions, provide an area of resistance for the weak ones over strategy creating powerful groups. For that reason, unquestioned everyday activities allow an area of struggle for subaltern, disadvantaged or minority groups. Moreover, market and social inequalities created by dominant groups in society and their strategical establishments are forced to be transformed due to alternative ways of doing consumptions and food preferences.

To sum up, what people eat and what people cook seem to be matter of a personal realm in family and household. In fact, family and households are interconnected realms for individual and public spheres. Shopping and food preferences are also food market driven matters, which display the significance of economics and politics in kitchen and households. Therefore, people, suffering from social and economic inequalities, choose to create tactical everyday activities as different forms of productions and then these forms of reproductions become an area of struggle for temporary victories over powerful groups and their strategies.

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VOLUME VI

OUT-OF-CLASS EDUCATION PRACTICES IN GASTRONOMY EDUCATION

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1. Introduction

Education is the activities that a person carries out to improve his knowledge, skills and understanding in order to gain a place in society. However, the training in question is generally carried out within four walls. This makes it difficult to motivate students (Bostan Sariođlan et al, 2021). Today, various educational understandings have been developed in order to ensure that education is carried out effectively. One of them is out-of-class education. Out-of-class education means that students get education by coming out of the four walls. The training in question is carried out in places such as school gardens, camping areas, and the natural environment. Lack of motivation to school and class is one of the biggest obstacles to learning (James & Williams, 2017). The

biggest reason for this lack of motivation is that the educational environments that students receive at school or at home are far from interaction (Ertürk, 1998). However, human is an organism that is in constant interaction with the environment (Sariođlan et al. 2021). In this context, it is seen that extracurricular activities have gained importance in increasing students' motivation towards the lesson in recent years (Füz, 2018). These activities also contribute repeatedly to the emotional and academic development of the student (Cho et al. 2019).

The approaches and philosophies that affect our understanding of education today push students out of the classroom. The social studies curriculum is based on the constructivist learning approach, and it is stated that learning is structured by presenting effective stimuli to learners based on this constructivist approach (Bostan Sariođlan & Deveci, 2021). Therefore, the learning and teaching process should offer students the most effective impulses within the program. Despite advances in technology and science, these stimulants are often not created in the classroom. Therefore, the need to leave the classroom is now an inevitable reality. (Gürbüz & Bostan Sariođlan, 2022). Of course, one of the most important problems of education is that whatever the subject is, teaching is limited to the classroom and teachers generally use traditional methods in the classroom where the teaching takes place. While such a situation reduces the quality of education, the information that students learn is quickly forgotten (Sariođlan, et al., 2020).

2. Out of Class Education

Education is the direct or indirect actions that enable children and young people to take part in society by developing their knowledge, skills, understanding and personality. These actions can be carried out inside the school as well as outside the school (Sariođlan & Sezen, 2017). Out-of-class education is defined in

different ways in the literature. Education outside the classroom refers to the provision of effective learning by performing activities related to the acquisitions that are included in the curriculum but difficult to acquire in the classroom environment outside the school (Bostan Sariođlan & Kűkűkűzer, 2017). While Ford (1986) defined out-of-class education as outdoor activities, adventurism, and observation, Knapp (1996) defined it as experiential approaches that support learning. Dahlgren and Szczepanski (1998) stated that out-of-class education is to gain awareness about nature and cultural environment.

The concept of extracurricular/education; It takes place in the literature with various definitions, naming and classifications. Out-of-school education is commonly referred to as “outdoor education” in foreign literature. (Çepni and Aydın, 2015). In addition, “out-of school/outside-of-school education/learning/teaching” (Hull & Schultz, 2001), “outdoor/out of doors education/learning/teaching” (Kinsman, 2019), “outdoor activities” (Ajiboye and Olatundun, 2010), “outdoor classroom” (Eick, 2012).

In the field of educational sciences in our country, “out-of-class education/teaching/learning” (Okur Berberođlu & Uygun, 2013), “out-of-school education/training/learning” (Saraç, 2017), “out-of-school activity” (Taşođlu, 2010), “extracurricular activity” (Atmaca, 2012), “class/out-of-school activity”, “open field education” (Civelek & Akamca-Özyılmaz, 2018), “out-of-space education/ learning/ It is seen that the concepts of “teaching” (Öztürk, 2009) are used instead of out-of-class education.

The development of non-formal education in Turkish history is relatively new. Especially at the beginning of the 20th century, such activities began to take place in school programs (Yaşın, 2012). Broadoaks Schools, the world’s first official institution to offer extra-class education, was founded in the 19th century by two American brothers to care for orphans. (Okur Berberođlu & Uygun, 2013). Another center for extracurricular learning is Canada’s Strathcona

Park and Vancouver Island Out of Class Education Center, which was established as a result of the personal efforts of Jim and Myrna Boulding. Unlike other out-of-class training centers in this park, people believed they were being kind to nature while teaching them sports like skiing, canoeing, mountaineering. (Okur Berberoğlu & Uygun, 2013).

Teaching outside the classroom is one of the most effective methods or strategies for enabling students to perform practices that may be difficult or impossible in the classroom, and is used to help students progress through the curriculum. (Payne, 1985). Extracurricular activities are not limited to excursions and outdoor classes. In-class and extra-curricular activities and activities in the teaching process; travel observations, field studies, travels, visits to social, cultural and scientific environments (museums, natural history museums, science and technology museums, botanical gardens, zoos, planetariums, meteorology stations, water treatment plants, dams, industrial establishments, public institutions, educational institutions), virtual reality applications, nature and environmental education, environmental club activities, homework and projects related to places, sports activities, social, cultural and scientific programs and spatial applications for lifelong learning.

There are many elements in the literature that include the characteristics of out-of-class education. (Okur Berberoğlu & Uygun, 2013):

- Out-of-classroom education is the activities of education that take place outside the classroom.

- Out-of-class education is a set of activities carried out outside the classroom to enrich the curriculum.

- Education outside the classroom is using the five senses to perceive and observe.

- It is an experimental method in which all senses are used for learning outside the classroom. It is to learn not only the relationship

between natural resources, but also the relationship between nature and society.

- Out-of-class education is a postmodern view of Western society.

- Out-of-class education is the process of educating all individuals through experimental research, with or without regard to the environment, in accordance with the purpose of the program.

Out-of-class education is not unplanned and unscheduled education. As in every education program, there is educational content outside of school and this content has a logical framework. Therefore, argues that the content of out-of-school education programs should include the following three aspects (Bostan Sariođlan, & Kűçűkűzzer, 2017):

- Carefully selected activities: These are activities selected according to the aims of the program.
- Learning process: All training participants can actively participate in the activities in the program,
- Academically designed curriculum: It is the presentation of the subjects in the unity of the subject.

2.1. Out of Class Education in Turkey

Turks BC. It has been on the stage of history since 1000 (Atalay, 2014). When the educational philosophy of the pre-Islamic Turks is examined, it is seen that the education was carried out within the framework of the naturalism movement. In this context, the students who received education learned to cope with the difficulties in nature by gaining the gains that they could not get within the four walls (Sűnmez, 2008). Students mostly learned about hunting and martial arts in this way (Kanad, 1948).

In the Ottoman period, educational activities were carried out outside the classroom in order to develop students in the field of

war and hunting (Akyüz, 2009). In addition, the Ahi organization played a major role in the education of students during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The foundation of this structure, which actively continued its existence in cultural, social and political areas during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, is based on the Fütüvvet organization. In this structure, which completed its organization in the 13th century on the aforementioned basis, an approach, also called on-the-job training, which is based on the students learning the requirements of a profession by doing it outside the classroom, has been adopted (Balçı, 2019). Towards the last years of the Ottoman Empire, importance was given to teacher training and in this context, in-class and out-of-class education activities were carried out. Again, the education in question continued with the teacher schools opened in the villages during the Republican period. In this context, teachers were given agricultural and nature monitoring activities (Ergün, 1997).

In the first years of the Republic, the pragmatist education approach, which was also common in America, was adopted (Akyüz, 1997). Pragmatist philosophy focuses on the practical benefit of knowledge by expressing a continuous change and transformation. In other words, the important thing is that the information works in real life (James, 1986). In this context, John Dewey was invited to our country in 1924 and his views on pragmatist philosophy were taken (Akyüz, 1997). Dewey was of the opinion that students would receive more effective education with real experiences and experiences (Dewey, 1938). In the following period, village institutes were established in 21 regions between 1940 and 1948. In these institutions, it is planned to acquire not only theoretical lessons but also practical lessons (Şimşek & Mercanoğlu, 2018). In this context, it is seen that studies such as beekeeping, tailoring, farming, construction, carpentry, blacksmithing, viticulture are carried out in village institutes (Tural, 2016).

The Human Environment Conference was held in Stockholm in 1972. This conference provided increased sensitivity in terms of raising environmental awareness. In relation to this, the National Education Council in 1974 wanted to develop students' interests and abilities in this field by interacting more with the external environment (Yazıcı & Çobanoğlu, 2017). From the recent past to the present, the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) supports out-of-class education activities. Especially since 1999, the said institution has contributed to the execution of many out-of-class activities throughout the country. In addition, according to the 2023 vision report of the Ministry of National Education, it is aimed to make progress in education, especially in science, history and cultural fields, by carrying out activities outside the school (MEB, 2022).

The literature review also shows that education outside the classroom has been carried out in Turkish culture and in Turkey for a long period of time for purposes such as surviving, learning life, and specializing in the profession. Today, it can be stated that in Turkey, the behaviors and knowledge included in the curriculum of out-of-class education are used for the purpose of gaining students.

2.2. Out of Class Education in the World

Although out-of-class education is a new method in the modern sense (Gilbertson et al., 2006), it is seen that the foundations of education outside the classroom in the world were laid by philosophers and educational scientists such as Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Dewey (Smith, 1995). In the 17th century, Comenius stated that students should communicate with objects and living things related to learning in nature (Kanad, 1948). Brooks brothers Ada and Imelda "Using nature as a laboratory in lessons." They started to practice in the 19th century by including education outside the classroom in the official program of Broadoaks Schools. In this sense, this education was included in a curriculum for the

first time. Also, this school says, “They came on the first day of school in pink dresses and now they come out with worms in their pockets.” It also has a slogan. This view later found its way into the California State Program. In this way, out-of-class education was included in primary education programs for the first time in 1912 (Stine, 1997).

In the 1920s, the concept of out-of-class education was also discussed within the scope of scouting and camping activities (Sharp, 1943). Scouting is defined as a worldwide education and sports organization based on raising young people physically and mentally in a useful and durable way (TDK, 2022). In addition, scouting is an organization that aims to contribute positively to the development and education of the value system of young people. For this purpose, students are provided with camping, hiking and similar activities (TİF, 2022). In addition to scouting activities, camp activities were also carried out in order to support the education carried out at the school, which was stated to be organized by Gunn in 1861 (Gilbertson et al., 2006).

In 1972, the “Human and Environment” conference was held on the impact of humans on the environment. In this conference, it was stated that the source of environmental problems is human. In this context, a number of additional meetings were held. One of them is the Tbilisi Declaration of 1977. In this declaration, the importance of education was emphasized as a solution to these problems. With the Tbilisi Declaration, it was stated that extra-class activities should be given more space in order for students to acquire positive behaviors about the environment (Yazıcı & Çobanoğlu, 2017).

It is seen that out-of-class education activities are used as a complement to education with the influence of various philosophical movements in the world. In particular, the idea of learning by doing with the application of theoretical education in nature has formed the basis of education outside the classroom in the world (Sarioğlu, 2014).

3. Applicability of Out-of-Class Education Model in Gastronomy Education

Learning outside the classroom; lessons are carried out of the classroom, nature activities, environmental activities (Sari & Paidi, 2018), artistic activities, camps, sports, drama, plays, excursions, observations, and applied activities such as (Öztürk Aynal, 2013). Considering the definition of out-of-class activities in the literature, workshops in gastronomy education (Boyras et al., 2018), food and beverage businesses, etc. trip studies (Seçim, 2020) and “Training in Business” activities can be handled within the scope of out-of-class training activities. In addition to these, there are internship activities that are used by common and formal institutions that provide education in the field of tourism and enable students to develop their practical skills (Lam & Ching, 2007). In this way, students receive education in a real business environment (Dario & Štetić, 2017).

In this part of the study, practices that set an example for out-of-class education in gastronomy education are mentioned and a proposal for an out-of-class education model that can be applied in gastronomy education is emphasized.

3.1. Training Course in Business

In recent years, in the gastronomy and culinary arts departments of some institutions, a course that includes out-of-class activities called “Training in Business” or “On the Job Training” has started to take place in the programs. The said education can be chosen as an elective in the spring and/or fall semesters, mostly in the last grades. The aforementioned course can be preferred as a substitute for the theoretical elective course to coincide with one or more courses. In some institutions, this course can also be applied in combination with the summer internship application. In this way, the student can learn continuously for a long time in real business conditions. With the education in business course, students receive practical training

outside the classroom with their real professional experiences in businesses outside the school, in addition to their theoretical courses in the school environment.

3.2. Gastronomy Workshops

Workshop literally means a group of people to come together to discuss a subject to be learned and to do practical work. Activities such as seminars and workshops can also be considered within this scope. Workshops focus on practical activities rather than theory (Lumpe, 2007). In gastronomy education, this type of activity is used intensively to reinforce what has been learned in theory with practices and to develop skills in this regard. In this context; Workshops are held on topics such as coffee preparation, cake making, pastry making, chocolate, international cuisine, and far eastern dishes. These trainings are generally given by kitchen chefs (Boyras et al., 2018).

3.3. Gastronomy Trips

Travel-observation is one of the out-of-class education methods. The method in question includes planned and programmed activities outside the school in order to reinforce the subjects that students see at school. Thanks to these activities, students discover the basis of the subjects they see in the lesson and acquire meaningful learning (Demirel, 2009). Gastronomy trips in general; It consists of activities such as taking part in local food competitions, participating in gastronomy-themed festivals, visiting food production facilities, visiting famous restaurants and restaurants, visiting exhibitions on local food and beverages, tasting (Hall & Mitchell, 2005). Gastronomy trips are also carried out for touristic purposes in order to get to know the culture of the destination visited today (Ignatov & Smith, 2006) and to obtain information about the gastronomic activities there (Başoda et al., 2018).

3.4. Kitchen Training Organizations

Despite the importance given to the educational activities carried out in the field of tourism recently, students cannot find enough practical opportunities (Sormaz et al., 2020). Practices on culinary education, which is one of the parts of the tourism industry, make significant contributions to students' learning by doing (Zengin & KIRMIZI, 2017). However, students who receive education away from the kitchen environment may have difficulties and alienate them from the profession when they work in the sector (Çemrek & Yılmaz, 2010). Recently, various organizations have been organized to support education by filling this gap (Sariođlan, 2016).

In order to support gastronomy education in Turkey; gastronomy and food festivals, culinary days and cooking courses are organized (Sariođlan, 2018). One of these organizations, "Mengen National Cooking Camp", is one of the organizations held for this purpose. Various trainings are given in the field of gastronomy with the participation of students and academicians from various regions of Turkey for a week (Kurnaz et al., 2018).

3.5. Internship Studies

Internships are studies in which students develop their professional skills by applying their theoretical education gains. In this way, students practice and gain experience in workplaces with real working environments. In this context, internship work has a great importance in gastronomy education (Akın, 2018). Students make significant progress in reaching their career goals with the activities they carry out at work (Dolmacı & Duran, 2017). These activities provide significant benefits to the workplace and the industry, as well as to the students. In this context, the industry supplies the qualified workforce it needs with the trainees of the institutions providing training in the field of vocational education (Tektaş, et al., 2016).

3.6. Out-of-Class Education Model Suggestion in Gastronomy Education

The aim of this study is to develop a model proposal that can be applied to the out-of-class education model in Gastronomy and Culinary Arts teaching. This recommendation model has three steps. The aim here is to contribute to classroom education and lifelong learning of students by developing the student's concept of learning.

Studies before the trip: At the beginning of the semester, the Turkish Seafood Museum was chosen as an out-of-class environment based on the achievements determined within the scope of the Seafood course. Environmental analysis is made by visiting the museum, which is designed as an out-of-class environment. The person who will teach or teach the students of the participating institution is informed about the lesson plan and it is ensured that the information presented during the trip is suitable for the level of the student. Then, information about routes and transportation costs is obtained from the school and the excursion area. Educators recommend that instructors and students travel together as a group, rather than traveling individually. After considering all these factors, official permits should be applied stating the scientific justification and economic cost of the travel.

Studies During the Trip: In this learning process, they should learn individually or in groups with their friends or by questioning from the expert/trainer, that is, by doing, by giving worksheets containing the research questions prepared in advance to the students.

Post-Travel Studies: By collecting data outside the classroom and attributing meaning to it, scientific knowledge is structured in the classroom environment with teaching techniques such as brainstorming, question-answer, Socrates discussion, and group discussion. In this process, it is ensured that the misconceptions of the students are detected and eliminated (Türkmen, 2010).

4. Conclusion

Tools and methods in education have always been the subject of research. Today, methods and practices such as ‘out-of-school education’, ‘continuous education’, ‘life-long education’ are widely discussed. Extracurricular/extracurricular activities are being discussed around the world at most levels and disciplines, especially in the natural sciences, and the prevalence of these educational approaches in education is increasing. In this study, it was tried to determine the usability of out-of-class education in gastronomy education. In this context, general practices in gastronomy education were scanned and compared with activities in out-of-class education. In addition, a model proposal has been made regarding out-of-class education in gastronomy education.

As a result of the literature review, it has been determined that activities such as workshops, trips, internships, on-the-job training are out-of-class training activities. It has been determined by the literature review that these activities are also widely used in gastronomy education. The identified activities are listed as follows:

* Education course in business: This course is included in the programs of various institutions like a normal elective course. The student spends a day or half a day working in the business within the scope of the course. In this way, he finds the opportunity to apply what he has learned within the scope of the course in business. In addition, the student can use the business he works for as a reference in his future working life.

* Gastronomy workshops: Workshop activities generally include training from an expert in the field. In this way, students receive education outside the course of the course. This training is usually carried out by different people, sometimes in an environment outside the school.

* Gastronomy trips: Travel and observation activities are widely used in out-of-class education. Visiting places such as

agricultural fields, restaurants and production facilities is widely used in gastronomy education. This enables students to learn effectively about gastronomic elements outside the classroom.

* Culinary education organizations: In recent years, it is seen that there are deficiencies in the quality of practical education in gastronomy education. By avoiding this, gastronomy training organizations are organized for talented students to receive quality practical training, even for a short period of time. Thanks to these organizations, students have the opportunity to work with different tools, equipment and trainers.

* Internship studies: Internship studies, which have been used in vocational education for a long time, are also used in gastronomy education. With this training, the student receives education outside the classroom for a long time (1-3 months). This training takes place in a real business environment.

In this study, besides the out-of-class education practices in gastronomy, a model proposal for the said education method is presented. This model consists of three stages. In this model, it is aimed to gain the competencies related to the seafood course to the students through out-of-class education. The first stage of the model is carried out in the classroom. Theoretical training on the subject and the planning of the trip to be made are carried out at this stage. In the second phase of the model, students and trainers visit the Turkish Seafood Museum. During this visit, pre-planned questions are asked and necessary observations are made. The observations made and the answers obtained are evaluated in the third stage of the model with the support of various educational techniques in the classroom. Thanks to this model, it is aimed to provide students with more effective learning.

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