

Feminist translation practices in Turkey: The case of the feminist websites *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin*¹

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The future of feminisms is in the transnational and the transnational is made through translation. (Castro & Ergün, 2017, p. 1)

Abstract

Feminist Translation Studies (FTS), which examines the interaction between gender and translation emerged in bilingual Quebec in Canada in the late 1970s and early 1980s coinciding with the cultural turn which brought the concept of ideology to the centre of translation studies. Since then, many studies have been conducted within the scope of FTS and they have generally focused on the translation of printed literary texts. However, in recent years, feminist translation scholars have begun to criticize this restrictive tendency in FTS and to call for more studies on the translation of non-literary texts. Paying attention to this call and keeping up with the digital transformation of feminism, this study focuses on the translations on two Turkish feminist websites and tries to shed new light on feminist translation practices in Turkey. This study aims to explore the ways and the extent to which two Turkish feminist websites, *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin*, are engaged in feminist translation practices. To this end, thematic and paratextual analyses were performed on the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* from their establishment until the end of 2018. The results of the analyses showed that both *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* performed feminist translation practices, albeit to varying degrees, thanks to the selection of source texts addressing feminist themes and the usage of paratextual feminist translation strategies, i.e., prefaces and footnotes which make women and translators visible.

Keywords: Feminist translation, *5Harfliler*, *Çatlak Zemin*, Turkey, feminist websites, gender.

Türkiye’de feminist çeviri pratikleri: Feminist web siteleri *5Harfliler* ve *Çatlak Zemin* örneđi

Öz

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve çeviri arasındaki etkileşimi inceleyen feminist çeviribilim, kültürel dönüşün ideoloji kavramını çeviribilimin merkezine taşıdığı bir dönemde, 1970’li yılların sonu 1980’li yılların başında Kanada’nın iki dilli Quebec bölgesinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu tarihlerden itibaren feminist

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çeviribilim kapsamında genellikle basılı edebiyat eserlerinin çevirisine odaklanan pek çok çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ancak son zamanlarda, feminist çeviri alanında çalışan bilim insanları feminist çeviribilimdeki bu kısıtlayıcı genel eğilimi eleştirmiş, feminist çeviribilim kapsamında edebi olmayan metinlerin çevirisine odaklanan daha fazla çalışma yapılması gerektiğini vurgulamışlardır. Söz konusu bu gerekliliğin ve feminizmin yaşadığı dijital dönüşümün farkında olarak yola koyulan bu çalışma, iki Türk feminist web sitesi *5Harfliler* ve *Çatlak Zemin*'in hangi yollarla ve ne ölçüde feminist çeviri pratiği gerçekleştirdiklerini ortaya çıkarmayı ve bu sayede Türkiye'deki feminist çeviri pratiklerine yeni bir ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, *5Harfliler* ve *Çatlak Zemin*'de kuruldukları tarihlerden 2018 yılının sonunda kadar yayınlanan İngilizceden Türkçeye çevrilmiş makalelerin tematik ve yan metinsel analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yapılan analizlerin sonucunda gerek *5Harfliler*'in gerekse *Çatlak Zemin*'in feminist temaları ele alan kaynak metinlerin çevirilerini yayınlamaları ve kadınları ve çevirmenleri görünür kılan yan metinsel feminist çeviri stratejilerinden -diğer bir deyişle önsöz ve dipnotlardan- yararlanarak farklı oranlarda da olsa feminist çeviri yaptıkları görülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Feminist çeviri, *5Harfliler*, *Çatlak Zemin*, Türkiye, feminist web siteleri, toplumsal cinsiyet.

1. Introduction

The interplay between language and gender became one of the most discussed issues of the second wave feminism which began in the 1960s and lasted throughout the 1980s. The slogan of the 1970s, 'La libération des femmes passe par le langage' (women's liberation passes through language) illustrates the importance of language for the feminist movement in this era (Ergün, 2013a, p. 15). The second wave feminism argues that gender is a socio-cultural construct. As Simone de Beauvoir states in her influential book *The Second Sex* "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (Beauvoir, 2011, p. 283). Language is undoubtedly one of the most influential structures that construct gender and womanhood. "Language institutes and maintains social inequalities, and acts as a legitimating tool of patriarchal authority" (Simon, 1996, p. 16). Gender hierarchies between women and men are constructed and sustained in and through patriarchal language use (Ergün, 2013a, p. 16). Therefore, as the feminists emphasize, at first, the patriarchal language must be subverted so as to deconstruct patriarchy and free oppressed women from the patriarchal burden.

The radical feminist writing of Canadian writers such as Nicole Brossard, Madeleine Gagnon, and Louky Bersianik known as *écriture féminine* (writing in/of the feminine) emerged in such a context in the late 1970s and the early 1980s in order to "critique and dismantle 'patriarchal language', make women linguistically visible, and create an alternative 'women's language'" (Ergün, 2010, p. 309). von Flotow explains the main domain of radical feminist writing as follows:

The radical feminist writing of the 1970s was experimental. It was radical insofar as it sought to undermine, subvert, even destroy the conventional everyday language maintained by institutions such as schools and universities, publishing houses and the media, dictionaries, writing manuals, and the 'great works' of literature. Feminists viewed this language as an instrument of women's oppression and subjugation which needed to be reformed, if not replaced by a new women's language. They thus took on the radical position of attacking language itself, rather than just the messages carried by the language (1997, p. 14).

In other words, experimental feminist writers want to attack, deconstruct, or simply bypass the misogynistic conventions of patriarchal language through unconventional spellings, subversions of

grammatical and semantic gender systems, neologisms and puns (von Flotow, 1991, p. 72; Ergün, 2013a, p. 17). Highlighting the urgency of *resexing* language, Irigaray states that “if we continue to speak the same language, we will reproduce the same (his)story. Repeat the same (his)stories”. (Irigaray 1977 as cited in von Flotow, 1997, p. 10).

Translation of this interventionist and resistant feminist writing from French to English requires similar subversive translation strategies, highly political and creative use of language, thereby laying the groundwork for Feminist Translation Studies (FTS) in bilingual Quebec in the late 1970s and early 1980s. FTS, which tries to incorporate feminist ideology to translation and free language, translation, and society from their patriarchal burden, has mainly focused on the translation of literary texts and feminist politics’ effects on translation for many years. However, feminist translation scholars have recently underlined the need to analyse different text types other than literary texts from a feminist translation perspective (von Flotow, 2006; Camus, Castro, & Camus, 2017; Castro & Ergün, 2017). There is also a growing belief that the future of feminism is to be constructed through translation. Meanwhile, feminism has been going through a digital transformation thanks to the internet. Keeping up with these new approaches and transformations which both feminism and FTS are going through, this study aims to reveal the ways and the extent to which two Turkish feminist websites, 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, established by women who publicly identify themselves as a feminist, are engaged in feminist translation practices. To this end, thematic and paratextual analyses were performed on the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of 2018. Considering the literature on feminist translation in Turkey, no previous study has analysed an online or digital source from a feminist translation perspective. Hopefully, this study will fill the gap in the literature and pave the way for further studies which explore feminist translation practices in different language pairs on different websites.

2. Feminist translation studies

Ideologically motivated feminist translators such as Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Linda Gaboriau assert that translation, like language, is not innocent and apolitical act. On the contrary, translation plays an effective role in maintaining and activating gender inequalities (Simon, 1996, p. 1; Ergün, 2010, p. 315). “Language and translation inevitably are tools for legitimizing the *status quo* or for subverting it; tools for gender oppression or liberation” (Castro, 2013, p. 6). Therefore, feminist translators/scholars focus on the feminist poetics of translation (Simon, 1996, p. iii) and try to investigate the interaction between woman and translation. The interdisciplinary natures of both feminism and translation studies, their mutual emphasis on the socio-culturally, and ideologically constructed language use facilitated the works of feminist translators and paved the way for feminist translation theory in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As von Flotow (1997) states, the era of feminism, undoubtedly, triggered the feminist translation practices and theory.

The first and foremost purpose of FTS is to “identify and critique the tangle of concepts which relegates both women and translation to the bottom of the social and literary ladder” (Simon, 1996, p. 1). Throughout history, both women and translation are conceived as secondary, derivative and peripheral. “[T]ranslation is secondary to writing and the translator is in the same position with respect to the author, in the same way that feminisms are peripheral with regard to patriarchy and women with respect to men” (Castro, 2009, p. 6). This twofold inferiority inevitably leads to the close interaction between women and translation. Women, conventionally excluded and discouraged from education, the literary world, and the public sphere, resort to translation which is coded as a reproductive feminine act by

patriarchal institutions, so as to participate in the literary world and hence the public sphere, and to make their voice heard (von Flotow, 1997, p. 76). On the other hand, translation has been described metaphorically as feminine for centuries and many translators and scholars use sexist metaphors to explain their translation process and translation phenomena (Chamberlain, 1988). “*Les belles infidèles*”, used to imply that translation, just like women, is either beautiful or faithful, but never both simultaneously is one of the most prominent metaphors (Castro, 2009, p. 5). Steiner’s hermeneutical model which depicts metaphorically the translator as a man and translation as a woman is another indicator of the feminine position of translation in the patriarchal society (Chamberlain, 1988; von Flotow, 1997; Castro, 2009).

FTS, standing in the intersection of feminism and translation studies and benefiting from feminism’s emphasis on language and the translation conception in the cultural turn⁴, challenges the concept of fidelity in translation studies. Feminist translators who consider their translation practices as a continuum of experimental feminist writing, defend their right to intervene in the source text as a translator in order to deconstruct gender clichés and make the feminine visible in language while translating a text from a feminist perspective (de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1989; Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1997; Federici, 2017). For feminist translation which emphasizes the active and interventionist role of the translator, “fidelity is to be directed toward neither the author nor the reader, but toward the writing project—a project in which both writer and translator participate” (Simon, 1996, p. 2). While problematizing the concept of fidelity and overvalued status of the source text, feminist translation makes use of poststructuralist and deconstructionist approaches in translation studies. Feminist translation theory and practice are particularly inspired by Derrida’s conception of translation which rejects the binary opposition between the source and target text, and “radically change[s] the traditional conceptions of fidelity and of the relationships that can be established between translations and originals” (Arrojo, 1994, p. 158). “In general, it could be said that the erosion of the authority of the Author/Original in post-structuralist and deconstructionist discourses of the last twenty years has certainly been of great importance, giving the translator a much freer rein with the text” (von Flotow, 1991, p. 80).

Drawing on the post-structuralist and deconstructionist approaches, feminist translators claim that translation is a creative production and a kind of original writing, rather than merely a simple reproduction (Chamberlain, 1988, p. 466; Godard, 1989, p. 47). They dare to ‘correct’ and feminize the source text while translating from a gynocentric i.e., women-centred world view (Massardier-Kenney, 1997, p. 56). In other words, feminist translators argue for an anti-traditional, interventionist, reformist, subversive, and aggressive approach to translation (von Flotow, 1991, p. 70). A feminist translation which creates a shock-effect (Godard, 1984 as cited in von Flotow, 1991, p. 70) “constantly disrupt[s] the fluent reading process and remind[s] readers that they are reading a translation” (Ergün, 2013a, p. 25). Feminist translators, who are ideologically committed and resistant, want to *womenhandle* the text and make their presence visible. As Godard clarifies that

The feminist translator, affirming her critical difference, her delight in interminable re-reading and rewriting, flaunts the signs of her manipulation of the text. Womanhandling the text in translation

⁴ The term of “cultural turn” is first used by Snell-Hornby (1990) in the collection titled *Translation, History and Culture* edited by Bassnett and Lefevere to imply the paradigmatic change which Translation Studies has been going through since the 1970s. With the cultural turn, values, ideas, ideologies, traditions, conventions, norms etc. of the target culture and their influences on the translation came into prominence (Chesterman, 2006, p. 11). In other words, “cultural turn gave rise to studies that situated the translated text in its social and historical circumstances and considered its political role, paying attention to ideological values, to cultural, economic and political inequalities, to individual choices and also, most importantly, to the ethics of translation” (Castro, 2013, p. 7).

would involve the replacement of the modest, self-effacing translator. Taking her place would be an active participant in the creation of meaning, who advances a conditional analysis. Hers is a continuing provisionality, aware of process, giving self-reflexive attention to practices. The feminist translator immodestly flaunts her signature in italics, in footnotes - even in a preface (1989, p. 50).

Feminist translators who want to make language speak for women (Lotbiniere-Harwood, 1989, p. 9; Castro, 2009, p. 4) make use of various translation practices and strategies to reach their goals (Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1991, 1997).

Feminist translation practices may cover a wide range of practices such as translating women’s work, translating feminist experimental writings, translating feminist works, criticizing ‘patriarchal’ translations of women’s texts, recovering both women writers and translators’ works lost in patriarchy, recovering the past through women’s voice, reassessing translation history from gynocentric world view, and writing translation herstory (Simon, 1996; von Flotow, 1997; Castro, 2009; Ergün, 2010; Federici, 2017). These practices are macro devices that serve the purpose of feminist translators. There are also feminist translation strategies mostly used within a text. von Flotow (1991) discusses three feminist translation strategies namely supplementing, prefacing and footnoting, and ‘hijacking’ (p. 74).

Supplementing “compensates for the difference between languages, or constitutes ‘voluntarist action’ on the text. [...] [F]eminist translator thus recoups certain loses by intervening in, and supplementing another part of the text” (von Flotow, 1991, p. 75). To illustrate, while translating from English into Turkish whose pronominal system does not communicate gender, a feminist translator may resort to the supplementing strategy (Ergün, 2010, p. 23).

Prefacing and footnoting are the other strategies that become almost routine for feminist translators. They make use of prefaces and footnotes to stress their active presence in the text as a translator (von Flotow, 1991, p. 76). The translator preface of Barbara Godard, one of the most prominent feminist translators in Quebec, contextualizes and interprets the text of feminist writer Nicole Brossard, and discusses the translation process, thereby constituting a good example of prefacing (von Flotow, 1991, p. 76).

The term of hijacking taken from a critique of the feminist translation undertaken by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood is used by von Flotow to mean the feminist translator’s excessive interference during the translation process. Feminist translators feminize and ‘correct’ the source text deliberately, hijack it and use every possible translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language (von Flotow, 1991, p. 79).

Although von Flotow discusses only the three most frequently used feminist translation strategies, she emphasizes that there are numerous strategies that may serve the purpose of feminist translators (von Flotow, 1991, p. 74).

FTS which includes all these practices and strategies is severely criticized by different scholars for different reasons (Arrojo, 1994; von Flotow, 1997). However, it still guides feminist scholars and translators who want to bring feminism and translation together and believe that these two disciplines can contribute a lot to each other.

3. Feminist translation practices in Turkey

When the historical development of feminism in Turkey is analysed in detail, the crucial role that translation practices play in the feminist movement becomes salient. A wide range of feminist translation practices has contributed to raising feminist consciousness in Turkey since the second half of the nineteenth century. Historical development of feminism in Turkey can be discussed within three crucial historical periods (Sirman, 1989; Tekeli, 1995; Yüksel, 2003). The first period which is called the first wave of feminism in Turkey by Tekeli (1998), began with the *Tanzimat* era⁵ (1839-1876), gained momentum with the proclamation of the 2nd constitutional era (1908-1914) and lasted until the foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923. The second period was concurrent with the proclamation of the republic and continued until the 1980s. The third period, as the second wave of the feminist movement in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998) occurred in the 1980s.

During this first period, the position of Ottoman women in their family and society was problematized by the reformist elites through associational and journalistic activities (Yüksel, 2003, p. 26). It was asserted that women's liberation and progress could only be achieved through the education of women (Sirman, 1989, p. 7). In the journals issued by educated, polyglot, middle-class Ottoman women who tried to define a new Ottoman womanhood, there emerged many translated articles which served feminist purposes (Sirman, 1989, p. 8). Ottoman women also made use of translation to enter the male-dominated world of letters. To illustrate, Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) known as the first Ottoman Turkish women translator and novelist, entered Turkish literary scene with her Turkish translation *Meram* (1891) of Georges Ohnet's *Volonté* (1888) (Paker, 1991, p. 279-280; Taneri-Uluköse, 2013). She signed her translation as "a woman" and the 'lady translator' surprized the people how a woman could understand French so well (Paker, 1991, p. 280). In the course of time, Turkish women writers began to enter the literary world through their own works, and they contributed to feminist consciousness even though they refrained from identifying themselves and their works a feminist (Paker, 1991, p. 270).

The second period witnessed important developments for women emancipation in Turkey. With the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, Turkish women gained equality with men before the law. In addition, Turkish women gained the right to vote and to be elected in the municipal election in 1930 and in the general election in 1934. Thanks to these republican reforms, women had a chance to participate in the public sphere more than ever before. However, despite all the accomplishments of this period, women continued to be conceived as mothers and wives above all (Sirman, 1989, p. 12). Moreover, feminism in this period is interpreted and criticized as state feminism on the grounds of strict state control over women's movement (Tekeli, 1998).

In fact, the real feminist awakening in Turkey emerged from the 1980s onwards (Sirman, 1989, p. 27). In the 1980s, for the first time, the feminist movement in Turkey took on an autonomous and radical character (Yüksel, 2003, p. 25). Women strove for their feminist goal on their own (Göl, 2015, p. 5). During this period, feminists managed to fight against women's oppression in the broadest terms through consciousness-raising groups, publications, public meetings and marches (Sirman, 1989; Özman, 2008). The 1980s is a turning point not only for the feminist movement but also for feminist

⁵ "The institutional, legislative, and educational reforms of 1839 (known collectively as the *Tanzimat*), resulted principally from political and economic pressure from the European powers but generated an unprecedented cultural contact with the West, in particular with France. Such contact also paved the way for a new discourse. The introduction of literary genres, such as the novel and European drama, and the development of journalistic writing (in the growing number of newspapers to meet the need for the communication of ideas) were instrumental in foregrounding central socio-cultural questions, a highly complex one of which concerned women" (Paker, 1991, p. 279).

translation practices in Turkey. However, the 1970s which witnessed the Turkish translations of feminist classics of the second wave feminism such as *Le Deuxieme Sexe* of Simone de Beauvoir, *Sexual Politics* of Kate Millet and *The Dialectic of Sex* of Shulamith Firestone should not be overlooked. It is possible to say that the 1960s and 1970s during which the leftist ideologies began to flourish in Turkey, just like in many parts of the world, set the basis for feminist awakening and feminist translation practices in the 1980s and after. When it came to the 1980s, the women, generally adopting the leftist ideologies of the 1960s and 1970s, began to realize that they cannot discuss the oppression that women experience in their daily lives for only being a woman because any effort to focus on women’s movement separately is conceived by male-dominated leftist groups as a betrayal to proletariat (Özman, 2008; Göl, 2015, p. 39). Women noticed that feminist consciousness can only be raised if women’s movement takes on an autonomous character. Therefore, they decided to constitute a free organization which may facilitate feminist awakening in Turkey. *Kadın Çevresi Yayıncılık, Hizmet ve Danışmanlık Şirketi* (Women’s Circle Publishing, Service and Consulting Company) was founded by 13 feminists in 1983 in such a context (Özman, 2008). *Women’s Circle* published the feminist works namely, *Feminism* of Andree Michel, *Wedlocked Women* of Lee Comer, *Women’s Estate* of Juliet Mitchell, Simone de Beauvoir’s interview with Alice Schwarzer titled *I am a Feminist*, translated into Turkish by the women translation group formed within YAZKO⁶ to translate women series. These translations are the good examples of feminist translation practices both because they play a crucial role in increasing feminist consciousness and constructing a feminist discourse in Turkey and because they include feminist translation strategies like long translators’ prefaces which explain translation processes (Göl, 2015). Translated articles published in the feminist journals issued during the 1980s such as *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs* are other examples of feminist translation practices of the 1980s.

Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi (Women’s Library and Information Centre Foundation), which was founded in 1990 to recover women works lost in patriarchy, to reassess history from gynocentric world view, and to write herstory, sets a perfect example of the institutionalization of women’s movement in the 1990s in Turkey. The library’s vigorous efforts to translate women’s journals written in the Ottoman alphabet to the Latin alphabet and to publish them as bibliographies can be evaluated as a feminist translation practice. The translation of European Women’s Thesaurus from English to Turkish, with the addition of some Turkish culture-specific terms, is another feminist translation practice performed by the library in order to construct feminist terminology in Turkish.

Translation still plays an active role in the feminist movement in Turkey. A wide range of Turkish publishing houses, especially those which have a separate women library such as İletişim, Metis, Ayrıntı and Sel, and the Turkish feminist publishing houses, namely Ayizi and Güldünya publish the Turkish translations of feminist and/or women writers’ works. In a similar vein, Turkish women writers continue to be translated into different languages thanks to the initiatives of different translational agents, thereby increasing their visibility through translation.

Despite the crucial role which translation plays throughout all these feminist turning points, the concept of feminist translation, neither as a practice nor as a theory, has not attracted much attention from translators and translation studies scholars in Turkey. The grammatically genderless structure of the Turkish language, the lack of feminist linguistic activism and the perception of translation as a derivative

⁶ YAZKO which was founded by Mustafa Kemal Ağaoğlu in 1980 is the first Turkish cooperation of writers and translators. It published more than 200 books, two literary and translation magazines. YAZKO played an important role in the intellectual environment of the 1980s.

act against the overvalued position of source text in Turkey may be considered as the reasons behind the lack of interest in feminist translation in Turkey (Braun, 2001; Ergün, 2013a, p. 17).

However, the increasing academic and practical interest in feminist translation in Turkey in recent years should not be ignored. The master's and doctoral theses on feminist translation theory and/or practice (Özçelik, 2003, 2009; Göl, 2015; Ak, 2017; Akçasoy, 2017; Pirpir, 2018; Dağabak, 2018) and scholarly articles written by Turkish authors (Koş, 2007; Bozkurt, 2014; Gülal, 2015a, 2015b; Ergün, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2017; Öztürk, 2017; Taş, 2018; Öner, 2018) are strongly indicative of the recently growing academic interest in feminist translation in Turkey.

4. Feminist translation practices on the Turkish feminist websites *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin*

5Harfliler and *Çatlak Zemin* were selected from among other feminist websites in Turkey as the case because they give wide coverage to the translated articles as well as Turkish originals.

5Harfliler is an independent feminist website in pursuit of women's agenda. It was launched in the 2012 summer, in line with the idea that women's agenda needs to focus on everything in which a woman may have an interest just to spite those who restrict women's agenda to only diet, beauty secrets, and relationship advice. In this day and age when the word "woman" is still almost equated with bogey, the website was named *5Harfliler* (lit. quinqueliteral) both to imply the number of letters in the word of "woman" (*kadın* in Turkish is also quinqueliteral) and to refer to the expression 'üç harfliler' (lit. trilateral), which is culturally used to refer to genie (*cin*, the Turkish equivalent of genie, is also trilateral), because it is believed that calling the word *cin* directly will summon genie. Moreover, thanks to the witty use of *5Harfliler* as its name, the website both manages to get rid of the differentiation of girl, woman, Ms, Mrs, Miss, and lady and to imply to "man" and "human" which are also quinqueliteral in Turkish (*erkek* and *insan* respectively) ("Hakkımızda," n.d.). From its establishment in 2012 until the end of 2018, *5Harfliler* published 157 translated articles. Among them, seven were translated from different languages and three were translated from undefined source languages; thus, there appeared 147 articles translated from English on *5Harfliler*.

Çatlak Zemin is the second feminist website that was examined in this study. *Çatlak Zemin* established on October 14, 2016, aims to refresh feminist connections among women and strengthen both women and feminist discourse. Not only the agenda and current feminist policy but also everything in life and feminism attract the attention of *Çatlak Zemin* ("Hoşbulduk," 2016). From its establishment in 2016 until the end of 2018, *Çatlak Zemin* published 73 translated articles. Except for seven articles translated from different languages, there appeared 66 articles translated from English on *Çatlak Zemin*.

To determine the feminist translation practices and strategies carried on the websites from their establishment until the end of 2018, thematic and paratextual analysis were made on 147 translated articles from *5Harfliler* and 66 translated articles from *Çatlak Zemin*.

4.1. Thematic analysis

The aim of the thematic analysis was to identify translated articles which are centred around feminist themes. In this study, feminist theme means any theme which makes women, women's writing, women's history; different womanhoods and gender identities; oppression, discrimination, and derivativeness which women experience for only being a woman; and feminism i.e., women's struggle against this

oppression and discrimination visible. Determining feminist themed translated articles was important because the translation of a source text which treats a feminist theme sets a good example of feminist translation. In other words, translating a source text which addresses a feminist theme means making feminism, the feminist movement, feminist themes and ultimately women visible in the target culture, thereby setting a good example of feminist translation which strives to make women visible through translation. During the thematic analysis, six phases of thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) were followed with minor changes.

In the first phase of the thematic analysis, all articles translated from English and published on 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin from their establishment until the end of 2018 were chronologically compiled for each website and the researchers familiarized themselves with these translated articles. The researchers repeatedly read these translated articles. In the second phase, the researchers generated the initial codes for each translated article. In the third phase, the initial codes generated during the second phase were collated to reach overarching feminist themes. During the third phase, the translated articles such as “Kapakları Ayarlama Enstitüsü” (“Kapakları ayarlama,” 2014); “Plastiđi Hayatımızdan Çıkarmanın 8 Yolu” (“Plastiđi hayatımızdan,” 2017); “Hayvan Çiftiđi: George Orwell Aslında Ne Kastetmiřti?” (“Hayvan Çiftliđi,” 2013); “Philip Roth’tan Wikipedia’ya Mektup: “Benlen Akıl Yarıştıřma” (“Philip Roth,” 2012); “İnternetin Üzücü Mirası: Artık Sır Yok” (“İnternetin üzücü,” 2013); “Belgesel Ahlakı Üzerine...” (“Belgesel ahlakı,” 2013) and “Bir terapist terapiden en iyi nasıl yararlanır?” (“Bir terapist,” 2018) which do not address feminist themes were also identified and excluded from the analysis on the grounds that they cannot be considered as a feminist translation in terms of their themes. Meanwhile, it is surely beyond doubt that textual analysis can be conducted on the translated articles excluded on the grounds of not addressing feminist themes, to see whether textual feminist translation strategies, i.e., supplementing and hijacking are used. However, it goes beyond the scope of this thematic and paratextual analysis-oriented study. In the fourth phase, the determined feminist themes were reviewed by the researchers at first. Then, two experts were consulted to validate the translated articles excluded and the feminist themes determined and thereby improving the overall reliability of the thematic analysis. The experts reviewed the results of the thematic analysis conducted by the researchers. And then, the researchers and experts came together and argued about the translated articles excluded on the grounds of not addressing feminist themes and the overarching feminist themes determined for each website. In the aftermath of discussion and some minor changes, the researchers and the experts agreed on the subject matter. In the fifth phase, clear definitions and names were generated for each theme. In the final phase, the results of the thematic analysis revealed that 31 out of 147 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 1 out of 66 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin do not address a feminist theme. The results also demonstrated that the remaining 116 translated articles on 5Harfliler address one or more of the following 13 feminist themes: (1) Different Feminisms and Feminist Identities (2) Different Gender Identities, Queer Identities, (3) Different Women’s Life and Experiences, (4) Feminist Art, (5) Feminist Struggle, (6) Gender In/Equality, Sexism and Patriarchy, (7) Gender Roles, (8) Sexual and Gender-based Violence, (9) Successful Women throughout History, (10) Women Authors, Women Poets and Women Artists, (11) Woman’s Health, Body and Sexuality, (12) Women’s Labour, and (13) Women’s Rights, Right to Abortion. The results of the thematic analysis also displayed that the remaining 65 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin treat one or more of the same 11 feminist themes as 5Harfliler, excluding from two themes of Successful Women throughout History and Feminist Art. However, it should be noted that compared to 5Harfliler, Çatlak Zemin pays special attention to different feminist struggles around the world by frequently translating different feminist groups’ calls.

Table 1. The results of the thematic analysis

	5Harfliler	Çatlak Zemin
The number of the articles translated from English and published on the website from its establishment until the end of 2018	147	66
The number of translated articles that do not address feminist themes	31	1
The number of translated articles that address feminist themes	116	65

As is seen in Table 1, the results of the thematic analysis revealed that 116 (79%) of the translated articles on 5Harfliler and 65 (98.5%) of the translated articles on Çatlak Zemin addressed one or more of the aforesaid feminist themes. In fact, the results of the thematic analysis become more meaningful when they are considered along with the general policies of 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin. 5Harfliler does not restrict women's agenda and publishes everything in which a woman may have an interest if it is not misogynist and does not contain a hate discourse, while Çatlak Zemin directly aims to strengthen feminist discourse. Therefore, on 5Harfliler, there appeared 31 translated articles which do not address feminist themes, even if they may appeal to a woman. This shows that any text in which a woman may have an interest is not necessarily written from a feminist point of view or does not necessarily make a woman visible. Compared to 5Harfliler, on Çatlak Zemin which tries to strengthen feminist discourse, almost all translated articles address one or more of the aforementioned feminist themes, thereby setting a good example of feminist translation in terms of their themes.

4.2. Paratextual analysis

Considering the results of the thematic analysis, the paratextual analysis was performed on the translated articles addressing one or more of the aforementioned feminist themes to find out the ways and the extent to which the feminist websites make use of paratextual feminist translation strategies, prefacing and footnoting, which make translation and/or translator visible.

Within the scope of the paratextual analysis, the translated articles which do not include any paratext were identified at first. 42 out of 116 translated articles on 5Harfliler and 33 out of 65 translated articles on Çatlak Zemin do not contain any paratext i.e., preface and/or footnote. On the other hand, some translated articles on both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin include both a preface and a footnote at the same time.

Table 2. The results of the paratextual analysis

	5Harfliler (out of 116)	Çatlak Zemin (out of 65)
The number of feminist themed translated articles that do not include any paratext (preface and/or footnote)	42	33
The number of feminist themed translated articles that include a preface and/or footnote which makes translation and/or translator visible	47	4
The number of feminist themed translated articles that include a preface and/or footnote which does not make translation and/or translator visible	27	28

As is seen in Table 2, the results of the paratextual analysis showed that 47 (40.5%) of the feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler include a preface and/or footnote which make translation and/or translator visible. In these 47 translated articles, the translators stress their active presence by

explaining their translation motivation, translators’ choices and translation process in the prefaces and footnotes mostly written in the first-person singular. In other words, in the 47 translated articles, the translators make themselves and their translation visible thanks to the prefaces and footnotes which they write. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the other prefaces and footnotes in which translation and/or translators are invisible, give some information about the source text, topic, author, context and/or a concept and generally reflect the feminist point of view of 5Harfliler. On Çatlak Zemin only 4 (6%) of the feminist themed translated articles include a preface and/or footnote which make translation and/or translator visible. In these 4 translated articles, the translators become visible by mentioning about their translation motivation, translators’ choices and translation process. It should also be noted that the other prefaces and footnotes in which translation and/or translators are invisible, are not only informative about the source text, topic, author, context and/or a concept but also mostly reflect the feminist ideology of Çatlak Zemin. Given the results of the paratextual analysis, it can be said that 5Harfliler more often makes use of prefaces and footnotes which make translation and/or translator visible compared to Çatlak Zemin. On the other hand, 5Harfliler has only 3 feminist themed translated articles in which footnotes are specified as translator’s note, while Çatlak Zemin has 14 feminist themed translated articles in which footnotes are specified as translator’s note. Even if the translators do not mention about their choices and translation processes in most of these informative translator’s notes, these translator’s notes undoubtedly increase the translators’ visibility on Çatlak Zemin.

The following three example excerpts from the translators’ prefaces on 5Harfliler are discussed to illustrate how the translators managed to make themselves and their choices and translation processes visible.

The first excerpt from 5Harfliler:

Matrix film serisinin yapımcı ve yönetmenleri Wachowski kardeşlerin yarısı Lana Wachowski, İnsan Hakları Derneği’nin Görünürlük Ödülü’ne layık görülmüş. 2000’li yılların başında cinsiyet değişim sürecine giren Wachowski, ödülünü alırken aynı anda güldürmeyi ve kalp tellerini titretmeyi başaran yirmibeş dakikalık harika bir konuşma yapmış. [...] Wachowski’nin konuşmasının önemli bulduğum parçalarını Türkçe’ye çevirmek için başına oturdüğumda, önce önemli parçalar uc uca eklendi, sonra okudukça metnin sağını solunu kasaplamak kocaman bir hata olacakmış gibi gelmeye başladı. Neresinin vurucu olduğuna ben niye karar veriyordum? Ben Milliyet kom tere editörü müydüm, tık avcısı gibi Wachowski’nin hikayesini makaslıyordum? Sonunda duygu yoğunluğunun verdiği hafif deli bir enerjiyle görev bilincimi layıkıyla üzerime geçirip konuşmanın tamamını çevirdim (“Odalar ve merdivenler,” 2012).

Lana Wachowski of the Wachowskis, the producer and director of the Matrix film series, was honoured with Human Rights Campaign’s (HRC) Visibility Award. While receiving her award, Wachowski whose gender transitioning process began in the early 2000s, made a wonderful twenty-five-minute speech which entertains and strikes a chord with the audience at the same time. [...] When I set about translating what I deem important in Wachowski’s speech into Turkish, firstly the striking parts came together and then the more I read, the more I felt it would be a huge mistake to butcher the text. Why would I be the one deciding which parts are striking? Why would I butcher the story of Wachowski like a click-hunter editor on milliyet.com.tr? Finally, with slightly insane energy which emotional intensity provided, I translated the whole speech with a sense of mission (Researchers’ backtranslation).

In this preface, the translator expressed her admiration for the source text at first. Then, she talked about her decisions and the translation process in detail. The translator made herself visible thanks to this preface which she wrote in the first-person singular.

The second excerpt from *5Harfliler*:

Avusturyalı yazar Elfriede Jelinek'in, 2004 Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü kabul konuşmasının kısmi çevirisine 2014'te başlamıştım. Jelinek'in ödül töreninde önceden kaydedilmiş bir video görüntü olarak yayınlanan konuşmasının neden özel olduğunu hemen anlayacaksınız. Yazarın dilin kaybı ve dışarıyla ilgili imtihanını bir saç metaforu üzerinden ziyaret eden bu inanılmaz metni, sadık çeviri yapmayı beceremediğim ve becermeyi de istemediğim için sadık olarak çevirmediğim. Ancak metinden götürdüklerimi eşitlemek üzere Amerikalı sanatçı Michael Green'den çeviriye yarenlilik etmek üzere bir GIF çalışması yapmasını rica ettim [...] ("Elfriede Jelinek," 2017).

I started in 2014 to translate some parts of the Austrian author Elfriede Jelinek's 2004 Nobel Prize for Literature acceptance speech. You will immediately understand why Jelinek's speech, published as a pre-recorded video at the award ceremony, is special. I did not translate faithfully this amazing text which explains the author's trouble with language loss and outside through a hair metaphor, because I failed, and I did not want to make a faithful translation. However, to compensate what I lost in translation, I asked the American artist Michael Green to do a GIF that would accompany the translation (Researchers' backtranslation).

In this excerpt, the translator began her preface by setting her translation process forth. Then, she expressed her admiration with the source text. She also admitted that she had made an unfaithful translation and this infidelity led to the translation losses. All these make the presence of the translator clearly visible.

The third excerpt from *5Harfliler*:

Birkaç hafta önce, erkeklik meselesine fazlasıyla kafa yormuş; meseleye kafa yormakla kalmayıp bu kavramı sorunsallaştırmış HETEROSEKSÜEL bir erkekle (onlardan herhalde dünyada toplam 5-6 tane vardır gibi hissediyorum hep) muhabbet ediyordum. Bar sahibi bu kişi (hayır, hayalî arkadaşım değil), müşterisi olarak barına gelen kadın ve erkekler arasında gözlemlediği önemli bir farktan bahsetti: Kadınlar, kendileriyle ilgili sürekli bir sorun tespiti ve o sorunu çözmeye seferberliği halindeyken, erkeklerin çözmeye çalışmak bir yana, özellikle duygusal ilişkileri çıkmaza girdiğinde kendilerinde kesiiiinlikle bir sorun görmemeleri. Onun bu gözlemi, Kanada menşeli 5Harfliler benzeri web sitesi Feminist Current'ta okuduğum aşağıdaki yazıyı hatırlattı. Bu öfkeli ve öfkesinde epey haklı yazıyı (hakklılığı konusunda kadınlarımız da bana hak verecektir hehe) daha fazla okura ulaştırma misyonunu edindim. Çok, pek çok kadının bıkkın bir tonla kafa sallayacağı bir yazı olduğunu düşünüyor; fazlası için yorumlarda buluşabiliriz diyorum ("Anamı da al," 2017).

A few weeks ago, I was chatting with a heterosexual man who chewed over the masculinity issue, who not only chewed over it but also problematized this concept (I always feel that there are probably 5 or 6 guys like that in the whole world). This man, bar owner, (no, not my imaginary friend) talked about an important difference between men and women who came to the bar as a client: while women are constantly detecting problems with themselves and trying to solve them, men, leaving aside finding solution, see absolutely nothing wrong with themselves especially when their emotional relations reach impasse. His observation reminded me of the following article I read on Feminist Current, Canadian-origin, 5Harfliler-like website. I have taken the mission of conveying this angry and quite right in its anger (our women would also agree with me on its rightness, hehe) to more readers. Thinking that many women will nod to this article wearily; I say we can meet in comments for more (Researchers' backtranslation).

In this preface, the translator expressed, at first, the process which reminded her of the source text which she read on *Feminist Current*. Then, she explained her translation motivation in first-person singular and made her active presence as a translator visible.

The following three example excerpts from the translators' footnotes and a preface on *Çatlak Zemin* are given to illustrate how the translators managed to make themselves and their choices and translation motivations visible.

The first excerpt from Çatlak Zemin:

Ç.N. Rıza kavramına taktığım bu dönem karşıma çıkması sebebiyle mi bilmiyorum ama bu yazıyı ufak tefek sıkıntılara rağmen epey sevdim ve dilimize kazandırmaya karar verdim. “Friend zone”un Türkçe muadili var mı bilmiyorum—“kankalanmak” gibi zorlama bir şey yapmak istemedim ve “arkadaş olarak görmek” de bu nadide tabiri tam anlamıyla karşılamıyor (“Friend zone,” 2017).

Translator’s note. (T.N.) I don’t know if this is because I met it in those days when I became obsessed with the concept of consent, but I liked this article very much despite its little difficulties and I decided to bring it into our language. I don’t know if “friend zone” has a Turkish equivalent—I didn’t want to use a far-fetched word like “kankalamak” and “seeing as a friend” doesn’t exactly cover this rare phrase (Researchers’ backtranslation)

In this footnote, which was specified as a translator’s note, the translator explained her translation motivation clearly. The translator also discussed and justified her choices. In other words, she stressed her presence as the translator of the text thanks to her translator’s note written in the first-person singular.

The second excerpt from Çatlak Zemin:

Metnin aslında “kadınlarla para karşılığında seks yapan erkek” anlamına gelen “John” ifadesi geçiyor. Seks yanlısı feminizmin kullandığı “müşteri” ifadesinin kullanılmaması metnin savunduğu seks karşıtı feminist yaklaşımı yansıtmak bakımından önemli olsa da, bu ifadenin Türkçe karşılığı olmadığından dolayı çeviride seks yanlısı yaklaşımın kullandığı “müşteri” ifadesi kullanılmıştır (“Günümüz seks işçisi,” 2017).

In the original text, the author uses the term “John” which means “the man who has sex with women against payment”. Even though not using the term “customer” which pro-sex feminism uses is important to reflect the anti-sex feminist approach of the text, the term “customer” which pro-sex approach prefers was used in translation, because the term “John” has not a Turkish equivalent (Researchers’ backtranslation).

In this footnote, despite the passive sentence structure used, the translator’s choice was clearly stated and justified. This made the translation and translator’s choice explicit for the target reader.

The third excerpt from Çatlak Zemin:

Geçen sene, Miss Turkey 2017 (hani şu Türkiye’nin en güzel kadınının seçildiği yarışma) ve Itr Esen epeyce gündemleşmişti. Itr, BİRİNCİ seçilmiş; ardından attığı bir tweet nedeniyle tacı elinden alınmış ve yarışmada ikinci seçilen Ash Sümen’e verilmişti. Yani Türkiye’nin ikinci en güzel kadını, birinci en güzel kadını oluvermişti. O günlerde tartışmalar daha ziyade Itr Esen’in Twitter’da yazdıkları üzerinden dönmüştü. Bu sene de Miss Turkey gündeme oturdu ve yarışmaya katılan kadınların bedenleri yine tartışma konusu oldu. Biz de, Miss Turkey’in kendisini sorunsallaştırdık ve “Kadınların tarihinde bu konuyla ilgili neler olmuştu?” diye sorduk. Bunun üzerine 1968’de New York Radical Women tarafından gerçekleştirilen Miss America güzellik yarışması protestosuna çağrı metnini Türkçe’ye çevirmeye çalıştık. 2018 yılında, 1968 tarihli bu metni çevirirken hemen aşağıdaki görsel aklımıza geliyor ve dövize katılmaktan kendimizi alamıyoruz. Görsel: I can’t believe we’re still protesting this shit.*

ç.n: Metnin orijinalinde “We will reclaim ourselves for ourselves.” olarak yazılmış olan ifadeyi bu şekilde çevirmeyi uygun gördük. Kendimizi kendimiz için tekrar tanımlayacağız gibi bir anlama denk düşüyor (“Güzel değiliz,” 2018).

Last year, Miss Turkey 2017 (the beauty pageant in which the most beautiful woman of Turkey is chosen) and Itr Esen considerably occupied the agenda. Itr won the contest; then she was stripped of her crown over her tweets and Esen’s title was passed on to runner-up Ash Sümen. In other words, Turkey’s second most beautiful woman became spontaneously the first most beautiful woman of Turkey. In those days, the discussions were mostly over what Itr Esen wrote on Twitter. This year, Miss Turkey came also to the fore and the bodies of women who participated in the contest became the subject of discussion again. We have problematized Miss Turkey too and asked,

“what had happened in the hertory of women about this issue?” Then, we tried to translate the call organized by New York Radical Women in 1968 to protest Miss America beauty pageant, into Turkish. In 2018, while translating this text dated 1968, the following visual springs to our mind and we can't help agreeing with it. The visual: I can't believe we're still protesting this shit.

Translators' note (t.n.): we saw fit to translate "we will reclaim ourselves for ourselves" into Turkish in this way (as "Hayatlarımıza yeniden sahip çıkacağız") It means that we are going to redefine ourselves for ourselves. (Researchers' backtranslation).

In this excerpt which includes both a preface and a translators' note that belong to the same text, the translators stressed their presence by explaining their translation motivation, process and choices in their preface and translators' note.

As can be seen in these example excerpts, on both *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin*, the translators made use of prefaces and footnotes to explain their choices, decisions, translation motivations, and processes. Through these paratextual elements the translators, intentionally or unintentionally, managed to make themselves and their translation visible.

Apart from these paratextual elements, another important factor which affects the visibility of the translator is where the names of translators appear on these two feminist websites. On *Çatlak Zemin*, the names of translators appear at the bottom of translated text while the names of the authors appear on the top of the original Turkish articles. Compared to *Çatlak Zemin*, on *5Harfliler*, the names and profile pictures of translators appear at the same place where the names and profile pictures of authors appear in the original Turkish articles. This situation contributes to the deconstruction of the traditionally inferior position of translators and increases the visibility of translators on *5Harfliler*.

5. Conclusion

Many studies have been conducted to discuss the interplay between gender and translation since the late 1970s in which FTS emerged in Quebec. Previous studies generally focused on the translation of literary texts and the effects of feminist politics on translation practice. However, in recent years, feminist translation scholars have emphasized that the translation of different text types and the importance of translation for the feminist movement should also be discussed within the framework of FTS. Developing information technologies and increasing internet usage continue changing feminist movement. Today, more feminists benefit from internet access to reach more women and to make women's voice heard. Not only the feminist movement but also feminist translation practices have undergone a transformation with increasing internet usage. Keeping up with the transformations which both feminist movement and FTS experience, this study sets out to explore the ways and the extent to which two Turkish feminist websites, *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin*, are engaged in feminist translation practices. To this end, thematic and paratextual analyses were performed on the articles translated from English into Turkish and published on *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* from their establishment until the end of 2018. The results of the thematic analysis showed that 116 (79%) of the translated articles on *5Harfliler* and 65 (98.5%) of the translated articles on *Çatlak Zemin* addressed one or more of the determined feminist themes. This result suggests that both *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* generally, albeit to varying degrees, translated the source texts which address a feminist theme. As is discussed before, translating a feminist source text is a feminist translation practice. Accordingly, it can be said that both *5Harfliler* and *Çatlak Zemin* perform feminist translation practice by translating the source texts addressing feminist themes such as different feminisms and different gender identities; different women's life and experiences; feminist art; feminist struggle; gender in/equality, sexism and patriarchy; gender roles; sexual and gender-based violence; successful women throughout history; women authors,

women poets and women artists; woman’s health, body and sexuality; women’s labour; women’s rights, right to abortion.

Following the thematic analysis, the paratextual analysis was performed on the translated articles which address one or more of the abovementioned feminist themes. The results of the paratextual analysis revealed that 47 (40.5%) of 116 feminist themed translated articles on 5Harfliler and 4 (6%) of 65 feminist themed translated articles on Çatlak Zemin include a preface and/or footnote which make translation and/or translator visible. It indicates both websites, albeit to varying degrees, make use of paratextual feminist translation strategies, i.e., prefacing and footnoting which increase the visibility of translation and translator. Given the results of the thematic and paratextual analyses, it can be seen that Çatlak Zemin, compared to 5Harfliler, benefitted from the prefacing and footnoting to a lesser extent, but almost every translated article on Çatlak Zemin addressed a feminist theme from a feminist perspective. On the other hand, 5Harfliler, compared to Çatlak Zemin, translated feminist themes less often; however, 5Harfliler made translation and translator visible in a more active way than Çatlak Zemin thanks to the prefaces, footnotes, and the place where the names and profile pictures of the translators appear.

To conclude, it can be said that both 5Harfliler and Çatlak Zemin, albeit to varying degrees, were engaged in feminist translation practices through the source texts which they chose and the paratexts which they used. Therefore, it can be asserted that they made both women and translators visible thanks to the published translations. However, it should be noted that the results are limited to the thematic and paratextual analyses and further studies are required to support the findings of the thematic and paratextual analyses. Sociological analysis is required to discover the role and position of the translator in the feminist translation practices performed on the websites while a textual analysis is needed to demonstrate if other textual feminist translation strategies such as supplementing, and hijacking are used. Despite its limitations, this study is supposed to provide a ground for those willing to study on the same corpus and to widen the horizon for FTS by paving the way for further studies which analyse feminist translation practices on different online platforms.

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