

## THE REPRESENTATION OF SECULARISM IN ISLAM UNDER MODERN TURKEY DEPICTED IN ORHAN PAMUK'S *SNOW*

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### Abstrak

Representasi adalah bagian dari studi sastra yang secara subyektif melihat konteks budaya dan kekuatan dalam masyarakat. Ini adalah jenis bahasa yang digunakan oleh orang untuk mengatakan dan mewakili dunia secara bermakna. Pada tahun 2002, penulis Hadiah Nobel "Orhan Pamuk" menerbitkan novel politik-historis pertamanya yang berjudul *Snow*, novel ini menciptakan debat publik selama publikasi. Masalah Islam melawan sekuler muncul dalam novel ini, yang menghadirkan perjuangan gadis Jilbab dan Islam Fundamentalists di Kota Kars. Penelitian ini bertujuan pada tiga bagian berbeda untuk menggambarkan representasi Islam, hal-hal tersebut adalah: Representasi Sekularisme dalam Islam di bawah Media, budaya Jilbab dan bagaimana Ka sebagai karakter utama melihat ketegangan antara kota Modern dan Tradisional. Dengan berfokus pada topik yang berkaitan dengan Islam dan masalah dengan Negara Sekuler dalam novel, penelitian ini menangkap representasi Sekularisme dalam Islam dalam aspek yang berbeda seperti representasi Sekularisme dalam Islam dan Islam itu sendiri di bawah Media, sekuler dan Islam politik. Demikian pula, jilbab sebagai bagian dari aturan berpakaian keagamaan dan media sekuler menggambarkan dalam penelitian ini yang dicapai dengan penerapan teori Representasi Budaya dan Representasi dari Stuart Hall dan membahas tiga elemen representasi seperti: Reflektif, Disengaja dan konstruksionis. Mengacu pada temuan, penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa representasi Islam di bawah Turki Modern menyajikan penggambaran tokoh Islam.

**Kata Kunci:** Representasi, Islam, Sekularisme, Jilbab, Kerudung, Turki, Modern dan Tradisional.

### Abstract

Representation is a part of literary study that subjectively viewed the cultural context and power in a society. This is kind of language used by people to say and represent the world meaningfully. In 2002, Nobel Prize author "Orhan Pamuk" Published his first political-historical novel entitled *Snow*, the novel creates a public debate during its publication. The issue of Islam against secularist appeared in this novel, which presents the struggle of Headscarf girl and Islam Fundamentalist in Kars City. This study aims on three different parts to portray the representation of Islam, they are: Representation of Secularism in Islam under the Media, Headscarf culture and how Ka as the main character views the tensions between Modern and Traditional city. By focusing on the topic that related to Islam and its problem with Secular State in the novel, this study captured the representation of Secularism in Islam in different aspect such as representation of Secularism in Islam and Islam itself under the Media, secularist and political Islam. Similarly, headscarf as a part of religious dress code and secular media portray in this study that is achieved by application of Cultural and Representation theory from Stuart Hall and discussed three elements of representation such as: Reflective, Intentional and constructionist. Referring to the findings, the study concludes that the representation of Islam under Modern Turkey presents the depiction of Islamic figure.

**Keywords:** Representation, Islam, Secularism, Headscarf, Veils, Turkey, Modern and Traditional.

## BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In this era, Islamic societies see that the state is only a political institution and not a religion. This can be seen through the experience and reality of the Islamic community. According to Abdullahi Ahmed in his book "Islam and the Secular State". Islamic ideas (Islamic religious law) with a large role in controlling and developing the norms of Islamic society, which can be described in law and public policy through political processes (Ahmed, 2008: 1). This means that the Shari'a cannot be ratified and applied by the government as a state law and the public term is only in a place that is part of the Shari'a. At present, there are many phenomena that was occurred and are carried out by the community. One interesting issue in the media today is religion as a political weapon. The government is a city that not only does this problem, but also extends to countries in big countries. Not true if Islam is a radical religion. The way of thinking west, seeing and reviewing Islam by connecting terrorism with Islam in the media is a matter of the image of Islam throughout the world.

In addition, this problem has occurred in various parts of the world. There are many countries that are considered as Islamic countries that have different problems than today. The first in Saudi Arabia. This country regulates its countries by the rules of the Qur'an as Guidance. Vogel stated that Sharia rules played a large role in Saudi Arabia. This is a kind of guide to social relations and conflict in life (Vogel, 1999: 3). On the other hand there are Turks placed in the middle of Europe and Asia. According to Kasaba in his book, "Turkey in the Modern World", the history of Turkey as an Islamic state in the era of the Ottoman Empire (Ataturk) was rolled into the circle, the defeat of the War in World War I. He used the concept of Kemalism which looked like a western country rather than an Islamic state to lead, Turkey called it the "Father of the Turks". (Kasaba, 2008: 3). Based on Ahmed's opinion, the state is a complex part of their institutions, people and systems which should be the political action of every society. (Ahmed, 2008:5). Different from the concept of the country. The side of government in Turkey which considers 'secular' is limited as a society and distinguishes the Islamic side. Women experience hijab like that in public areas. Because it is a rule that must be obeyed by the government. People of Islamic origin cannot express their ideas and feel free in participating in political movements in Turkey. At present, the government must be fair under the eyes of the law, it is necessary for people to have the

freedom to express their ideas and decisions to choose their own religion.

In literary texts such as novels, there are many problems of political problems, in which in the novel, they are related to human conflict and human relations which describe it using language. Bernando in the characterization literature says that the existence of characters or people with different characteristics in the novel can represent problems that occur in society (Bernando, 2015). Similarly, the Orhan Pamuk novel entitled "Snow" describes this phenomenon. It has the same idea of Turkey's current problems and representations. This is a good novel, written in long pages and long chapters, this novel contains a good representation of external and internal problems and human relations in social life.

## METHOD

The data source was taken from a novel by Orhan Pamuk which was first published in 2002 with the title "original" *Kar* and translated into English by "Maureen Freely in 2004. All data is available in the form of direct and indirect conversations from character dialogue, depiction of relevant narrators, books and journals, one of which is for the representation of secularism under Modern Turkey.

The closed reading method is a way to analyze data for this thesis. There are not a few theses that exclude the statistical method presented. Library research is also a form of statistical examination. Ideas supporting ideas taken from Books and Journals that contribute to analyzing data.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In this case, there are various literature studies conducted by researchers who reveal the novel "Snow" by Orhan Pamuk. However, there are many people in the form of online journals, and Ebooks which are the games. For example, Daglier (2012) sees if Snow implementing a slight shift in Orhan Pamuk's vision of current politics and modern style patterns in western life. On the other hand Kurdish, women headscarves, and fundamentalist Islam in Snow's novel were drawn in westernization, (Daglier, 2012: 149).

On the other hand, Kubra (2010) who watched Orhan Pamuk work in the city argument and their character from us. In each section, statements that reveal that people use and protect their products and reflect their vision. Similarly, the meaning is based on different positions from those who use their strength (Kubra, 2010: 104-105). As a result, political matters and modernization in Snow

Orhan Pamuk is an interesting topic to explore and describe Islam as a good representative of this research.

Furthermore, there is research to answer the problem through the representation of Islam under Modern Turkey in *Snow* Orhan Pamuk. A description of the theory of representation created by Stuart Hall in around 1997. This theory will succeed in supporting the objectives of the research previously at the beginning of this chapter.

Sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall has presented representation theory. It was chosen for the thesis because novelist Orhan Pamuk made a representation of Turkey in real life for his writings. He made his own vision of modern Turkey through a novel called *Snow*. According to Stuart Hall's representation to make someone use language to say something meaningful about, or to express, a world that matters to others (Hall, 1997: 15),

Most of the characters in *Snow* are mostly considered Turkish, they can be seen from their names. Similarly, Stuart Hall has a natural choice because his mistakes are about cultural studies. The three terms use representations by the crack Hall in the following pages. Especially, one term because it deals with representation part of making meaning in culture. This design raises the name of the term constructionist representation. There are many critics who use Stuart Hall's approach to representation too narrow and focus less on knowledge and power relations (Hall, 1997: 27). As Hall states:

"Representation was understood on the hands of the way words functioned as signs within language. But [...] meaning often depends on larger units of analysis - narratives, statements, group of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of text [...]" (Hall, 1997:42)

In this quote, Hall shows that previous representations only functioned as words in language. The words are understood as signs that are read and translated into meaning by the viewer. However, words are not enough and other principles are considered. Representations are related to social interactions and how knowledge is created and shared in this interaction. The meaning is made through interaction and helping to make pictures. This image is translated across cultures without using language and words.

It is important to understand the concept of culture before going further into Stuart Hall's view of representation. Culture is closely related to

representation because representation theory is part of cultural studies. It is difficult to define cultural concepts because they change a lot. Oxford learner pocket dictionary, it defines culture as '[...] custom, trust, art, from a particular country or group [...]' (Oxford, 2018).

Stuart Hall traditionally views the concept of culture as the best in society and the best products from various genres that are shared with the public. Genres include painting, literature, and philosophy. Modern approach to popular culture and culture. High culture is best described in different genres while popular culture is mass-produced products that are available to all audiences (Hall, 1997: 2). Hall continued and stated that:

" Culture, it is argued, is not so much a set of things - novels, and paintings or TV programs and comics - as a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings - the 'giving and taking of meaning' - between the members of a society or group." (Hall, 1997:2)

In this quote, Stuart Hall shows that he understands how the concept shifts. He explained that culture is about meaning shared on a subject or object. Culture is not defined as a solid concept. Hall sees culture as a concept that involves power relations in society. Politics is connected with culture, but Hall understands that culture has never been reduced to politics. This is caused by social and cultural struggles in a society (Procter, 2013: 2). Politics cannot define what culture should be because culture needs social actors. Culture needs to be part of the struggle and it is necessary because the culture is active and can change (Procter, 2013: 3). Politicians and the public will always debate what culture is and what culture should be.

### **The Terms of Representation**

According to Stuart's research, language and meaning become cultural phenomena. This means that something else, Stuart Hall illustrates this theory in his book entitled *Representation: Cultural representation and signifying practice* (1997) by using a vision from across.

"The cross, only two wooden boards together, but added a view to the two logs, the cross for the Crucifixion of Christ and Christianity. In addition, this is described with words and symbols" (Hall, 1997: 15).



### **Reflective**

The first approach is the reflective and it focuses on how language can influence a pre-existing meaning. Language functions as a mirror when referring to a certain person, idea, or event. Participants. Participants in the conversation need to share the same word concept so that this conversation can be fully understood. Hall uses the concept of roses as an example. Participants in the conversation need to have a code image of this plant in their own culture, otherwise communication will be interrupted (Hall, 1997: 24).

### **Intentional**

The second approach is the intentional where it is examined if language expresses the intended meaning of what is being said by using a certain set of words the speaker always conveys a particular object or an event (Hall:25).

### **Constructionist**

Constructionist is the last approach and researches if meaning is built through language. This approach recognizes that representation is based on social activities and meanings are built into society by using representational systems such as signs. Therefore, meaning is built or produced rather than placed in society or culture (Hall, 1997: 25). The constructionist theorist distinguishes between the material world and the symbolic world. The material world consists of people and events while the symbolic world contains representational tools such as language and meaning. The two worlds should not be mixed, but this cannot be avoided because the material world cannot create meaning without using a representation system of the symbolic world. Stuart acknowledges this shortcoming and illustrates that images made with cameras and sounds are made with human vocal cords (Hall, 1997: 25).

### **ANALYSIS**

This analytical chapter is included in three different parts that are interrelated. The first part focuses on describing secularist representations and the second describes the Veil Girl. The last part is about how the "Ka" vision leads to tension between modern and traditional cities using media. The previous chapter on theory and previous studies was used to analyze data. According to Orhan Pamuk, he said in the interview section that snow was "the last political novel he ever wrote". Located in the south of Turkey, especially in the city of Kars, this novel tells of a freelance journalist named "Ka" who has a

mission to report on the upcoming election of the Mayor and the suicide issue of the Veil Girl in that place. His journey at Kars made him jump into conflict between Muslims and the government secularism movement (Pamuk, 2004: numbered pages). From the experience of "Ka" there were many good representatives about how religion faced the government secularism movement. Below are the types of representations in different parts.

### **Religious representation under the mass media**

Different people mean different points of view. The fact that the Turkish government needs to provide liberal westernization while Islam presents eastern and customary cultures. The dispute in the city of Kars blinds them forever because they have the idea of life that is difficult for them to understand the same word in difference. Through conflict between these two parties, it clearly shows how Islam is represented in Snow's novel. As Moscovici and Markova (2000) state that "it is difficult for us to communicate unless we share different representations" (Moscovici and Markova, 2000: 274. through the narrator's explanation here:

"from the physical side it is difficult to say that he belongs to Islam Fundamentalist. He is extremely handsome, does not have beard or brown hair unlike his portrayed in the Turkish press. People called him 'Blue' because he has deep blue eyes. He is more Western than a Turk".(Pamuk, 2004:74)

The above quote tells about Blue as the "one" of the important characters in "Snow". He was regarded as an Islamic Revolutionary from Turkey and an Islamic political leader in Karate who played an important role in the battle against Russia in the Bosnian war (Pamuk, 2004: 72). The public believes that "Blue" is fundamentalist Islam by only seeing its image in the media, but it is difficult to know because it looks like a western person. On the different side, as a religious young man in the city of Kars named Necip has a different representation of "Blue". This is the conversation between Ka and Necip about "Blue".

"I read in the Turkish papers that he (Blue) a militant political Islamist, " said Ka, "I read other nasty things about him, too. "

"Necip quickly interrupted him, [...] You are secularist, but please do not let yourself fall for the lies about Blue in the secular press. He hasn't killed anyone, not even in Bosnia, where he went to defend his

Muslims brothers, or in Grozny, where a Russian bomb left him crippled." (Pamuk, 2004:69)

The above quote shows how secularists see "Blue" from the media. In this case, Necip did not agree with Ka's statement and the media caught the representation of Blue, he defended "Blue" and asked Kayla not to compare "Blue" with radical terrorists. From this understanding, it can be easily connected with Hall's representation theory. This presents a strong criticism from Stu Hall when he states "characterizing mass communication as a transparent system and directly writing and finding meaning intended in discourse, where the audience reads the meanings meant in media texts for example" (Hall, 1986). But there is always a "lack of conformity" or tension between the translation process, language (mass media) and interpretation by (audience) that creates debate, argument, and opposition (Caroline, 2011: 7). From the quote above, there are two different representations of "Blue" which create debate between Muslims and Secularists. The media stated that the image of Blue was a fundamentalist and Islamic terrorist. While Necip, who knew Blue's original figure, interrupted Ka as part of the media, when he explained that Blue had never killed anyone for any reason, he only defended his Muslim brother in Bosnia against Russia. In this case, Necip showed that Blue was a hero to his country, because he saved Muslims in the war against Russia. But it has always been a memory of Muslims in the city of Kars, because the media as a part of communication refracts Blue's true story.

In addition, the representation of Islam went a long way, Blue as an Islamic leader explained the problem in the city of Kars. Outbreaks of female headscarves suicide is the main topic that spreads in the city. Below is a statement from Blue on this issue:

"Suicide is a terrible sin! This is a disease that grows the more you focus on it! Especially this latest case, [...] girls who commit suicide or not Muslim." (Pamuk, 2004: 77).

From the quote, it can be seen how Blue stated that girls who committed suicide were not considered Muslims. Stuart Hall (1997) argues that "Members of the same culture must share the concept of images and ideas that enable them to think and feel the world under the same path" (Hall, 1997: 17). Girls who commit suicide are completely

different from Islamic culture. From the physical side they are considered Muslims, but their minds are destroyed and infected by Western ideas. That is why "Blue" did not want Ka to write about this problem, because the perception of the Media to translate the truth even to their data was completely wrong. He wants to stop secular statements made through the media that Islam is a bad religion by allowing suicide in his beliefs. Paul as the author "Snow" argues if "it is easy for western media to blame Islam and only a few fundamentalist media in turkey that blame Christianity, this is usually obscured by the media that extremist terrorists belong to Muslims" (Pamuk, 2004: numbered pages).

### Headscarves as Symbols

Wearing headscarves is very important for Muslim women, headscarves are a symbol of the dignity and honor of women in Turkey because religion sees them in very high Islamic rules to cover the body with Muslim dress codes and this is a kind of women's obligation in Islam. On the other hand, it is totally different from the government in the city of Kars that as a protector provides the best solution for them. According to Meltem (1999), he stated in an international women's study journal that "Women in Turkey fought against oppression since Ataturk became the first president in the 1920s. There were three oppression agents who were considered women's freedoms. They were Mediterranean culture with dress codes, and women commit suicide in Turkey ". It has the same idea as the "Snow" problem, wearing a headscarf or other Islamic dress code has become a very serious problem through this novel. That is because the secular government prohibits people from wearing headscarves to existing communities and schools. As the Representation of Religious High School Girls. Likewise, Turkey's representation in real life is reflected in this novel. The women's veil in Orhan Pamuk's work "Snow" is the most important problem, especially for the identity of Muslim women. This shows that headscarvers are a dilemma for wearing any type of hijab or not, they will be expelled from their educational institutions if they are still wearing the hijab there. My most veiled girls, they have no choice but to commit suicide. On the different side for those who follow the rules or take off their headscarves they consider the family necessary and must be protected. As the statement from the deputy governor at the outset of suicidal thoughts will spread as easily as they were infected the first time after a headscarf girl traveled far from Batman to the city of Kars just to commit suicide.

"(Pamuk, 2004: 15). By understanding the issue of the main character (Ka) tried to interview one of the parents of a girl who committed suicide. This is a statement from her:

"When she saw some of her friends give up and open their heads, and the others let go of their head scarves to wear wigs, the girls began telling their father and friends that life was meaningless and he no longer wanted to live." (Pamuk, 2004: 17)

Based on the above quote, the explanation of one parent clearly shows the reason why their daughter committed suicide was 'not wearing a headscarf in a public place'. They want their daughter to take off her headscarf, but she refuses, so the police will warn her everywhere. On the other hand, the Ministry of Religion does not provide a solution to this problem. They only say that "Suicide shows a big sin" (Pamuk, 2004: 17) by placing posters and pamphlets on Kars's wall, without protection from veiled girls and headscarves in educational institutions. Islamic representation goes deeper into the character named Hande. She is described as a woman who seeks the existence of God and religion. Hande was confused about choosing between her parents or her freedom as a Muslim. As Ka said below: "After Teslime committed suicide, Hande's parents pressed him to take off her headscarf, and he agreed, but she had difficulty carrying it." (Pamuk, 2004: 117).

This is why most students in Turkey decide not to study in that country, as Somer (2004) stated in his research "The effect of restrictions in education seems to be the increasing number of Turkish students with Islamic backgrounds who choose to study abroad" (Somer, 2004: 27). This shows how Turkish students are dilemmas about following their religion or obeying the state. Awareness if Muslim women have to wear headscarves to avoid becoming members of other religions makes them feel uncomfortable not wearing a headscarf. Hande felt confused about the school rules so that all students had to take off their headscarves in the education field, afraid that she would be identified as someone else. She stated below about her confusion:

"Even if I sit off my veil, I don't think I will be the type of woman who teases men, or who can't think of anything except sex. After all, when I take off my veil, I won't do it on my free will. alone." (Pamuk, 2004: 125)

This problem made Hande think that without wearing a headscarf she would become a bad person and a naughty woman who saw sex as his main concern. she removed her headscarf because of her parents' request by following the government's rules. She argued that after he removed his headscarf, he would not be free to become a Muslim who could express his freedom. Religious young girls are victims in this story, and disobedient not to wear a veil in a public place. This shows how important veils are for religious people and especially for Hande. It cannot be denied, that the form of government policy that prohibits girls from wearing headscarves is unfair and they cannot freely follow religious orders into sharia.

From this description, this represents a struggle between feelings of security and fear for women in deciding to wear a headscarf. According to Stuart Hall (1997), he used the notion 'Sign' to convincing his theory of representation. He believes that "Language consists of readable signs" (Hall, 1997: 38). Kadife expressed her feelings, when she stated from the quote above using the word "scary" and "laughing" as a sign that she was depressed wearing a veil. Hijab in Islam means protection against God's commands, but if they cannot follow and obey these rules, it will turn into a frightening situation. It seems like the novel's turkey government forbids the use of all types of headscarves for all women in public spaces. This shows Kadife's dilemma and feels depressed when she wears a veil. As a head of a veiled girl, Kadife and other religious students have an emotional bond. As she said above, she wears a veil to make statements, especially in political matters. The reason behind her did it at school, to protect her educational institution, and it was funny for her to remember the time when she was arrested about this situation. (Pamuk, 2004: 116).

Previously, it was explained the reason behind Kadife wearing a headscarf for the first time, to show she was protesting against government policies. This illustrates if women must have idealistic thoughts, to guide them and show the true path in their lives. This is not an extremist way, but a part of the statement for equality in life. On the other hand, Kadife's statement describes the first time he used a veil with the word "frighten". Similarly, the word "scare" from Kadife has a different representation. As already described in the novel, Ladies' father considers her to be communist. Through the quote below, Kadife states from his father's perspective that there are two communist portrayals:



"Faher I sometimes say that it reminds him of the old communist days. There are two types of communists: the pragmatic side is the communists who use force in their own way and are idealists who love justice and equality." (Pamuk, 2004: 117)

From the quotation above, Kadife stated that her father was a communist. This is another answer why she uses the word of "scare" in his statement, it is related to the position of his father who is considered a public enemy. This statement was convinced by Kadife's expression if they had a different point of view from her father, stating that he was "left" and "democrat" from the Turkish government (Pamuk, 2004: 116). But that only happened in the past, now the Turkish government is dominantly criticizing Islam, especially the use of veils in novels. This is the reason why he is afraid to use a veil when making statements about government policies. He was afraid of his similarity with his father who had become a public enemy in the Turkey's past. Wearing a scarf for Kadife does not show that she is dominant in religion. It shows how women think about their social life. As a girl who grew up among religious and government issues, she understood the role of women and how she reacted in this way. The experience of his friends who died and committed suicide, a young girl named "Hande" who protected her family from government threats, made her realize that the veil was a symbol of religion and must be enforced, but she was very worried to make a decision about this situation, because the government was so fanatical prohibit veils and all types of headscarves in public places.

The words of the "Ka" above indicate that Kadife agreed to follow Sunay's orders. A disappointed depiction of Kadife at the beginning of the scene shows that he did not fully agree with the decision. Besides that, the red dress she wore was not the form of the comforter, she thought of her fate and people's views about it later. As Hall states, "This contemporary racist stereotype remains tied to the history of colonial relations, slavery, demigration and economic exploitation of certain cultures and the maintenance of privileges and white hegemony" (Hall, 1997: 103). These things he did only to save Muslim identity in the eyes of the secular. If Blue, known as a Muslim leader in the city of Kars, died at the hands of the secularists, there would be no one who would continue his struggle to defend Islam. The choice is not only about saving Blue, but also to raise other veiled

women to defend their identities. So, Kadife's decision is considered a highly valued norm, even though she still understands if God will sanction this situation.

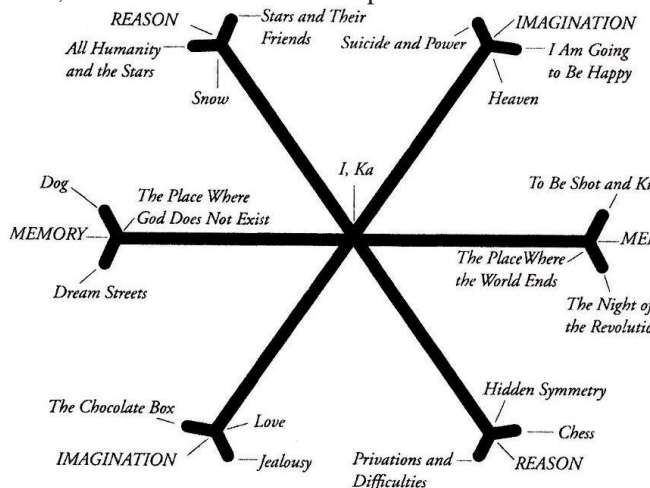
From the depiction of Kadife who struggled against injustice by the government. Ka as the main character and journalist tried to write this situation in the form of his poem entitled "Friendship and Inheritance". According to Kadife, she said in the novel that "Every star has friends, and for everyone who carries a star. Reflect on that, and everyone brings this reflection like the secret of trust in the heart" (Pamuk, 2004: 117-118). Kadife believes that everything she has done to the world, influences other young religious girls and positions her as a modern woman who adheres to tradition in society. This is clearly related to Stuart Hall's statement, when he stated, "Even our two student struggle cultures are not separate, borders, as Hall reminds us that we are all porous" (Diana, 1998: 522). In addition, this shows if everyone cannot live without social life, such as the description of "stars" from his words. Therefore, the state must protect and manage people's lives instead of limiting them to express, as did the Kars city government towards Muslim women.

Pamuk said in an interview session about the novel, "People must be tolerant of women's rights and minority rights, it seems like the problem we face in Turkey today" (Pamuk, 2004). This explains if everyone must be equal, with government law. It seems that the government needs Muslims to run the country and Muslims need the government to protect them. On the other hand, ideas related to religion in novels are part of politics. In this world, secularism is political and Islam is a statement of religion. The city of Kars must be right under the government, there is no word to capture this situation as Islamists supported by secular soldiers, ethnic Kurds and the left are fighting injustice. They have fought for equality since modern Turkey replaced the Ottoman empire in the past.

### **Ka's Point of View**

In Orhan Pamuk's novel "Snow", there is a main character named "Ka". He was a journalist and poet, who returned to the city of Kars, investigating a problem that spread there. In addition, he analyzed the upcoming Mayor Election and also the problems of the city of Kars about a group of veiled women who decided to commit themselves and their lives more than obeying government regulations, which encouraged them not to wear headscarves in schools and public spaces.

All of this is related to the problem between the secular government and the Islamic group. His previous life in Germany made him forget the existence of God, he returned to Turkey to see the difference between traditional Islam and the development of the form of the modern city of Kars. Ka is considered a part of the secularist, from several sides he still remembers the existence of God, as he illustrates from the picture below.



Stuart Hall states that "Signs are always in the form of words, images, photos or even objects and that is part of the marker in the process of interpreting the true meaning" (Hall, 1997: 31). The picture representing the snow above was written by Ka when he was in the city of Kars. This picture was discovered by Orhan Bey (Ka's friend) in a green notebook when he visited Ka's apartment, after 40 days of Ka's death (Pamuk, 2004: 267). This picture is a sign that he wrote about how everything happened in his life. He positioned himself in a picture of snow while the branches of the image represented the title of his poem, the chapter title and his feelings for the event took place in the city of Kars. There is no concrete poem written in the novel as stated in the picture, the author only explains the meaning and mentions it in the form of a title. For example, the poem titled "all humans and stars" (Pamuk, 2004: 277) explains the struggle of Muslims against the state, "The chocolate box" (Pamuk, 2004: 130) explains how Ka felt about Opel and subsequently partially explained one poem by Ka written in a novel.

Ka was part of the Istanbul press whose work only collected data from events that took place in the city of Kars. He was contaminated by westernization like his previous life in Frankfurt and Sheikh Saadettin was a figure who opened his mind to traditional Turkish life and made him remember

the existence of God (Pamuk, 2004: 92). The conversation between Ka and Sheikh Saadettin revealed how traditional and modern it was in the city of Kars, as they stated below:

"Are you atheist?"

"Not. "

"Are you a Jew?"

"Not. "

"Are you a Moslem?"

"Yes. Glory becomes God. Me." (He smiles)

[...]

"That's a very good question. But in a secular state, these problems are separate."

"That's a good direct answer, sir. Can I kiss your hand? Please, sir, don't be afraid. Does the secular word mean godless?"

"Not." (Pamuk, 2004: 39-40)

The quote revealed Ka who was curious about the Sheikh's religion. As a journalist he asks the interviewer's religion to make them comfortable answering the question. In this case Sheikh Saadettin shows how the secular state separates traditional from modern cities. Stuart Hall (1997) argues that "Representation makes identity a question. And that defines what is normal, who is included and who is excluded." (Hall, 1997: 10) This means that other countries are one group because there is a shift between them and westernization that is very widespread throughout the country. I thought he met the right person to discuss the conflict in the city of Kars, it could be seen from the action of Ka who wanted to kiss the Sheikh's hand in his honor. Subsequent quotes about Ka and Sheikh Saadettin will be revealed to clarify it.

"Do they have a different God in Europe, asking Sheikh jokingly ..."

"I want a god who doesn't ask me to take my shoes in front of him, and that doesn't make me kneel to kiss people's hands. I want a god who understands my need for silence."

"There is only one God," Sheikh said. "He sees everything and understands everyone - even your need for solitude. If you believe in Him, if you know he understands your need for solitude, you will not feel so alone." (Pamuk, 2004: 99)



From the quote above, Ka answered the local Sheikh's question with his western idea. He did not know about the concept of godliness. After the sheikh explained to Ka at the end of the dialogue, a feeling of peace filled his head when he used this experience to write a poem entitled "Hidden Symmetry" (Pamuk, 2004: 102) which made him return to the beginning of his life. Early in his life, he grew up in Istanbul that religion was not a big problem and completely different after moving to Frankfurt that religion was replaced by westernization. In this case, he realized that Islam was not as dangerous as stated in the media. As mentioned in the previous quote, he wanted to believe in Islam, it was clear that Islam made him feel better than before his western idea was difficult to accept this situation.

On the other hand, Ka hoped that if he wanted to see his country prosper. Ka debated this because he was very concerned about prosperity and progress when he first lived among wealthy families in Istanbul. Many people who understand the existence of God also do these things, because they seek help in life and express themselves continuously and only intellectuals strive to achieve a better life by realizing an advanced European country as an example for turkeys in the future. In this case, Ka believed that religion was one of the factors that influenced the progress of the turkey. Ka's lifestyle comparison in Frankfurt Germany and his journey in the city of Kars was very different. In this case, Ka exiled to Germany only to avoid conflicts between the Turkish government and Islam. He argued that Germany was a safe country for him (Pamuk, 2004: 62). He often compared his belief in God when he was in Germany, then changed his perception since he met a local sheikh in the city of Kars. Ka revealed his perspective on the problem of the city of Kars to Sheikh Shaddettin below:

"I always want this country to prosper, modernize [...] I want freedom for its people [...] But for me it seems that our religion is always against this [...] I want to believe in God that you trust and being like you, but because there are Westerners in me, my mind is confused "(Pamuk, 2004: 98)

The above quote shows that Ka's argument that modernization and traditionalism are in a different part of the conception of religion. He stated that modernized Turkey while the state ruled out religion did not seem to include traditionalism in Turkey. He lost his faith because of his life in

Germany, he accidentally found someone named Sheikh Shadderrin, if he was human and God existed. Although lately Ka has rediscovered his belief in the existence of God, he believes that these new ideas are very different from the previous (non-religious) lifestyle (Pamuk, 2004: 100). He did not know whether it was possible or not to switch from modernity to traditional identity. Because this is a problem for Turkey, which is used by the secular government to transform traditional Islamic identity into modern Turkey is very different and is divided into two parts ideology which cannot coexist peacefully, because of the different conceptions of them.

When he said that the snow reminded of God's existence, he did not know about his faith through this situation and how long he would believe this if he returned to Frankfurt in Germany. Secularism in Turkey sees traditional Islamic traditions as obsolete and lost since the Ottoman Empire was replaced by republicans. In the city of Kars, Ka was known by people throughout the city and defined him as the person with the highest status in the media. The local newspaper reported it as a respected poet from Frankfurt. This is closely related to Germany which has promoted modernization, so several times people believe that Ka is related to western culture. (Pamuk, 2004: 361). His work as a journalist led him to problems that occurred in the community, and sometimes with the people around him. The interview he did with one of the family girls who committed suicide for Istanbul Press, Ka did a review of the underlying political issues of the incident, but he did not realize every part of it that answered the reason why they did this. Blue, as opposed to this suicide outbreak, argues that if religion is related to political activity, therefore, Ka who is part of the media is seen as a threat to Blue against the traditional Islamic view of life. Like the statement below:

"You are a stranger in our midst. You have sown doubt on this beautiful and godly girl, and the strange things that are happening here are proof. And now you have broadcast all of your arrogant Western views, maybe even have a laugh view deep down at our expense "(Pamuk, 2004: 256)

Ka believes that every individual has his own place in freedom and democracy. With his views on western culture, he assured the idea of secularism that they wanted a modern Islamic identity to respect democracy in society. Blue saw

Ka as a stranger; it refers to its representation as part of the Istanbul bourgeoisie interested in publishing Kars, and this can be described in the real life of turkeys. According to Somer (2004), he states that "the new bourgeoisie has organized its interests at local and national levels, for some reason it can be attracted to liberal democratization" (Somer, 2004: 29). However, Blue as an Islamic leader in the city of Kars believed that they must have the freedom to become a Muslim in many ways. Government policies in the city of Kars demanded that a Muslim not participate in political activities, but Blue understood Islamic identity as part of traditional culture in Turkey should not be too stated.

## CONCLUSION

The first research question, namely the representation of secularism under modern Turkish domination in Snow's novel, presents that political Islam wants to change the dominance of the secular state by using the media. Political Islamists see that banning women from wearing all types of headscarves in public is unfair. Muhtar as party leader struggling to fight this problem by joining the election room stopped the plague of suicide headscarves. This decision made Muhtar and Ka go to prison when they reunited at the Cafe, because they were interrogated by police because of the death of educators. Ka is known as a freelance journalist, who investigated the problem of suicide headscarves and reported upcoming elections in the city of Kars, got a lot of information from Blue (Islamic Fundamentalist Leader) especially how Muhtar lost the election. Muhtar was pleased to show that he could carry out the beatings and he might even be elected in the upcoming election. Ka was defined by the writer as a godless man in the city of Kars. He saw Blue as a terrorist in the newspaper and he read other bad things about him. Necip, a boy who saw Blue as a hero interrupting Ka, said that "Even you belong to a secular party, please don't let yourself fall into the secular press". This condition not only shows the representation of secularism but also the representation of Islam in Snow. Islamic parties that fight and defend their faith against injustice are considered terrorist activities. This idea only came from the west or Muslims infected by the west. On the other hand, the second question is "What is the culture of headscarves according to women in the city of Kars?" It focuses on the struggle of the veil girl which is described through Kadife's characterization. He is the head of the hijab girl in an Islamic school and was inspired by a young veiled girl named Hande. He argued that wearing a

headscarf was frightening, because his father was considered a public enemy and his political statements at school made Kadife arrested by the police. His relationship with Blue illustrates how these two people are defined as abnormalities, Blue with his idea of Islam and Kadife with all veiled women. After knowing his love (Blue) was captured by a secular state, he asked Ka to make an agreement with them. The actor and also the owner of the National Theater (Sunay) accepted the negotiations that I wanted Kadife to play in the drama and take off her headscarf on the stage. Then he finally agreed to play, and Kadife's decision to open his headscarf showed how women should do to save identity.

The next question in this research is "How can the main character Ka 'see the conflict between the traditional city versus the modern Kars". The findings from the discussion show how Ka positioned himself publicly that he always helped the side of Islam even though he belonged to the secular. His meeting with the local sheikh opened his mind if Islam was only a way to answer his confusion. He wanted to believe in Islam, but it was difficult for him because there was a western idea in his mind. On the other hand, the clothes she wore, the coat at the beginning of the novel showed that she was a modern person. In the city of Kars, most ordinary religious men wear Turkish and traditional Turkish clothing. Ka's statement that he wanted to make his country worthy by combining modernism and traditionalism was clearly seen if he wanted to see Islamists and secularists living without conflict. Furthermore, by relating Snow by Orhan Pamuk and Representation by Stuart Hall illustrating that the novel is a product of literary study which is biased from the actual situation. Snow Orhan Pamuk readers can develop their knowledge by knowing Turkish social life, culture, politics and history.

## SUGGESTION

This study uses a representation theory to analyze a novel called Snow by Orhan Pamuk. Although this novel has been widely studied since its first publication, there is still room to be filled to complete analytic studies on this novel. In conclusion, I recommend this study to do more studies and analyze other literature using Stuart Hall's Representation Theory.

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