

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

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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 Islam under the Media, Headscarf culture and how Ka as a main character views the tension 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 Islam in different aspect such as representation of Islam under the media, secularist and political Islam. Similarly, headscarf as a part of religious dresscode and secular media portray in this study which 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, headscarf girl and the main character perspective about traditional vs modernism.

Keywords: Representation, Headscarf, Islam, Secular, Turkey.

Abstrak

Representasi adalah bagian dari studi sastra yang secara subjektif memandang konteks budaya dan kekuasaan dalam suatu masyarakat. Ini adalah jenis bahasa yang digunakan oleh orang-orang untuk berbicara dan mewakili seluruh dunia dengan penuh makna. Pada tahun 2002, penulis yang menerima Hadiah Nobel "Orhan Pamuk" menerbitkan novel politik-historis pertamanya berjudul *Snow*, novel ini menciptakan debat dalam masyarakat selama publikasi. Isu Islam melawan sekuler muncul dalam novel ini, yang menghadirkan perjuangan gadis berjilbab dan Fundamentalis Islam di Kota Kars. Penelitian ini bertujuan pada tiga bagian yang berbeda untuk menggambarkan representasi Islam, yaitu: Representasi Islam di bawah Media, budaya jilbab dan bagaimana Ka sebagai karakter utama memandang ketegangan antara Kota Kars yang Modern dengan Tradisional. Dengan memusatkan perhatian pada topik yang terkait dengan Islam dan masalahnya dengan Negara Sekuler dalam novel tersebut, penelitian ini menangkap representasi Islam dalam aspek yang berbeda seperti representasi Islam di bawah media, sekuler dan Islam politik. Demikian pula jilbab sebagai bagian dari pakaian religius dan media sekuler yang begitu menonjol membuat penelitian ini menerapkan teori Cultural and Representasi dari Stuart Hall dan membahas tiga elemen representasi seperti: Reflektif, Disengaja dan Konstruksionis. Mengacu pada temuan tersebut, studi tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa representasi Islam di bawah Modern Turkey menyajikan penggambaran tokoh Islam, gadis jilbab dan perspektif karakter utama tentang tradisional vs modernisme.

Kata Kunci: Representasi, Kerudung, Islam, Sekuler, Turki.

INTRODUCTION

In this era, Islamic society sees that the state is only a politic and not religious institution. This can be seen through the experience and reality of Islamic society itself. According to Abdullahi Ahmed in his book *Islam and the Secular State*, The ideas of shari'a (Religious law of Islam) play a big part in controlling and developing norms of Islamic society, which can be depicted in a

legislation and public policy through the political process (Ahmed, 2008:1). It means that Shari'a cannot be legislated and applied by the government as a state law and public policy simply on the place that are believed to be part of Shari'a. Nowadays, there are many phenomena happen and done by the society. One of the interesting issues in media today is religions as a political weapon. Government in a city is not only commits this issue, but also expanded to the state in a big country. It is not true if Islam is radical religions. The way western think, see and

judge about Islam by relating terrorisms with Islam in media is the main problem concerning the image of Islam in worldwide.

In literary text like novel, there are many issue of the political problem, where in novel, is related to human conflict and human relationship that describe it by using language. Bernardo in characterization literature said that, the existence of characters or people with different characteristics in novel can represent the issue that happen in society (Bernardo, 2015). Similarly, Orhan Pamuk's novel entitled *Snow* depicted this phenomenon. It has same idea from both problem and representation of turkey today. This is a good novel, which is written in long pages and long chapters, it contains a good representative of external and internal problems and relationship of human in social life. The point of view of this novel is third person that does not show himself until soon in the story.

This novel translated into 46 different languages since its first publication in Turkey in 2004. In English version, *Snow* translated and published by American writer *Maureen Freely* and selected by *The New York Times* as one of 100 best Novel at that time. Actually, this novel creates a debate when it was released in media. Because of the theme of *Snow* contains a religion conflict and restricted issue. On the one hand, there is also interesting part from the novel, it is coming from the characterization of 'Orhan Bey' who replace the investigation of Kars city after the death of Ka in Frankfurt by unidentified assassin. The similarities from the name of this character from the author and his status as a friend from the main character, makes the reader concludes (Is snow by Orhan Pamuk a true story?). Deniz answers the question from one of the reader in quora website; he stated that snow is a fiction novel. Nevertheless, the events that bound the background of the story have many realistic elements about turkey nowadays (Deniz, 2005). Moreover, the ideas of Pamuk in novel entitled snow are kind of reflection from Turkey in modern era.

The statement of the study is "How is Islam Represented in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*" and focused on the Islam society lived under Modern turkey in novel *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk and how Culture and Representative theory be a highly underlying the topic. There are many characters appeared in the novel, but it scoped only for the characters who refers to the discussion and has the most important part in *Snow*. Thus, there are also three limitation are being discussed to see the representation of Islam, they are representation of the whole Islam, headscarf girl as a symbol of Muslim and vision from the main character (Ka) about the modern and traditional city in *snow*.

In this case, there are various literary studies and done by the researchers discussing the novel *snow* by Orhan Pamuk. However, there are many sources in form of journal online, and EBook that written in detail about the following topic. For example, Daglier (2012) sees if snow implies little shift in Orhan Pamuk's vision about politics than problematic self-rebuttal from his beginning interpretation of religion-cultural tradition in Turkey as

problems to identity contemporary and political movements. Similarly, Orhan Pamuk tries to go back in the era of secular republican around 1920's until 1930's and it mostly on defensive type. They are lost touch from the current Turkish political social life and modern pattern of style in west. In different side Kurdish, headscarf women, and Islam fundamentalist in novel *Snow* are interested about westernization. (Daglier, 2012:149)

On the other side Kubra (2010) who observe the Orhan Pamuk works in Kars city argues that characters in novel *Snow* arranged the borderline between the self and other from the beginning of their interest of change. In every single part, as his statement revealed, people use and swallow the product of culture to describe and decide their political visions. Similarly, the different way of participants in his study disclose the Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow*, explain how that people construct the meaning based on the different positions they take and relation of the power around them (Kubra, 2010:104-105). As a result, the researcher above found the political things and modernization in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* is an interesting topic to explore and depict Islamic culture as a good representative study.

Furthermore, there is an explanation of the theory applied to this study in order to answer the statement of problem through the representation of Islam under Modern Turkey in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*. The explanation starts with the theory of Representative which coined by Stuart hall in 1997. This theory will support to achieve the objectives of the study mentioned previously. The sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall has elaborated a theory of representation. It was chosen for this thesis since the author of the novel Orhan Pamuk makes a representation of turkey in real life to his works. He creates his own vision of modern turkey through the Novel entitled *Snow*. According to Stuart Hall representation means when someone '*using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to the other people*' (Hall, 1997:15).

All the characters in *Snow* mostly considered as Turks, it can be seen from their name. Similarly, Stuart Hall has a natural choice since his points of view is about cultural studies. Three terms of representation approach by Hall's are mentioned in the following pages. Especially one term stands out because it deals with representation as a part of shaping meanings within a culture. This approach is named the constructionist term of representation. There are many critics argue that Stuart Hall's approaches of representation are too narrow and lack an important focus upon knowledge and power relations (Hall, 1997:27).

Stuart Hall traditionally views the concept of culture as being the best within a society and the best product from different genres that are shared with audiences. The genres include painting, literature, and philosophy. The modern approach to culture divides the concept in two categories that being high culture and popular culture. High culture is described as the best within different genres while popular culture is mass-

produced products available to all audiences (Hall, 1997:2). In connection to Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* about Political Islam, the adaptations are categorized as representations. There are numerous adaptations and they contain symbols and experience from the original events. The relationship between the real life of Modern Turkey and the adaptations allow readers to acknowledge that the novel *Snow* is a new interpretation of Turkey nowadays. Stuart Hall states that there are three different approaches to representation.

- a. 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 in a conversation need to share the same concept of a word in order for this conversation to be fully understood. Hall uses the concept of a rose as an example. Participants in the conversation need to have a coded image of this plant in their own cultures otherwise the communication will break down (Hall, 1997:24).
- b. The second approach is the intentional where it is examined if language expresses the intended meaning of what is being said. The intentional theory states that the speaker or author has the power of the words and he or she gets a specific meaning through to the audiences. By using a certain set of words the speaker always conveys a particular object or an event (Hall, 1997:25)
- c. Constructionist is the last approach and it researches if a meaning is constructed through language. This approach acknowledges that representation is based on social activities and meanings are constructed within a society by using representational systems such as signs. Therefore, meanings are constructed or produced rather than placed upon a society or culture (Hall, 1997:25). Constructionist theorists differentiate between a 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 meanings.

METHOD

The source of the data in this study is taken from Novel by Orhan Pamuk that first published in 2002 with original title *Kar* and translated into English version by *Maureen Freely* in 2004. All the collected data are in form of direct and indirect speech from the dialogues of characters, narrator depiction, books and journal that relevant to Representative of Islam under Modern Turkey.

Close reading method is a way to analyze the data for this thesis. It is not served in tables and number, because this thesis excluded the statistic method. Library research is also used as an approach in examining this study and finding the best quotations or phrases after the text is fully read. The supporting ideas concerning this study are taken from Book and Journal that contribute to analyzing the data.

DISCUSSION

1. Representation of Islam

Different people means different point of view. The reality that Turkish government needs to gives liberal westernization and modernization while Islam presents eastern and customary culture The contention in Kars city blind them forever since they have distinctive idea of living that difficult for them to comprehend the word equal in differentiation. Through the conflict between these two parties, it clearly shows how Islam represented in novel *Snow*. As Moscovici and Markova (2000) states that *"it is difficult for us to communicate unless we share our different representations"* (Moscovici and Markova, 2000:274. The representation of Political Islam in *Snow* portrayed through the explanation of narrator 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 portrayal 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 quotation above tells about image of Blue as a one of important character in *Snow*. He is considered as Islamic Revolutionary from turkey and the leader of political Islam in Kars that played an important role in battle against Russia in Bosnia war (Pamuk, 2004:72). Public thinks that Blue is an Islam fundamentalist by only seeing his image in media, but it is difficult to know him physically because he looks like a western people. In different side, as a religious young boy in Kars city Necip has different representative of Blue. Here 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 quotation above represents how secularist sees Blue from the media. In this case, Necip does not agree with the statement of Ka and media captured the representation of Blue, he defends blue and asked ka not to compare blue with radical terrorist. From this understanding it can easily be related to Hall's theory of representation. This presents a powerful critique from Stuart hall as he stated *"characterize of mass communication as a transparent and straight forward system of inscribing and discovering the intended meaning in discourse, where audiences read off the intended meaning in media texts for example"* (Hall, 1980). Yet there is always a 'lack of fit' or tension between the process of translating language by (mass media) and the interpreting by (audience) that creates debate, argument and opposition (Caroline, 2011:7). From the quotation above, there are two different

representations of Blue that creates a debate between Muslim and secularist. The media stated that the image of Blue is an Islam Fundamentalist and terrorist. While Necip who knows the real figure of Blue interrupted Ka as a part of media, as he explains that Blue never killed people in any reason, he just defends his Muslim brother in Bosnia against Russia. In this case Necip shows that Blue is a hero for his country, because he save Muslims in the war against Russia. Yet it always be in the memory of Muslims in Kars city, because media as a part of communication refracts its true story of Blue.

2. Political Islam

Moreover, the representation of Muslim under modern turkey can be seen in the following quotation, as Ka explains to Blue if Muhtar is his friend in university who came from Kurd's ethnic and running for election as Mayor in Kars city (Pamuk, 2004:76). Both of them have different representation in this novel, because they come from different ethnic and different class. Below is the evident depicted in the novel concerning the different representation of both Muhtar and main character 'Ka'. *"Ka could tell from his friend's miserable look of resignation that when they reached the police headquarters Muhtar would get a beating while he himself would be spared"* (Pamuk, 2004:66).

From that quotation, it reveals a question "Why Muhtar was beaten and Ka was not in the police headquarters?", it has same idea with the reflection of Kurds in Turkey in real life. As Somer (2004) stated, he argued that *"Turkey's political government restrictions on Kurdish nationalism and driving them out from public political space, this stereotype has negative effect in regard to ethnic politic"* (Somer, 2004:27). In the novel Ka is a member of Istanbul media who investigate Kars city, so he did not get rough treatment since he has a higher status than Muhtar. On the different side of Muhtar represents religious parties, Kurdish and traditional identities, the police feel no innocent in using violent interrogation and physically beating him. Ka regarded as the most important of honorable poets, he embodies the identity of modern Islam, and the government strives, even the police do not want to interrogate him into flat questions, regardless of the fact if he is not relating to the murder. The representation of struggle political leader name Muhtar continued as the quotation stated in the novel here: *"But Muhtar was glad to show that he could take a beating due to the death of educationalist even though he might be running for the election"* (Pamuk, 2004:76).

In this depiction, it shows how Muhtar as a party leader and the person who running for the upcoming election fight against the beating from the police concerning the death of the educationalist. He seems so happy to defend his ethnic and honor as a Muslim that he is in the right path, even he takes a beating in the process of that interrogation. It is represented the struggle of the group Muslims living in the secular country. Afterwards, Muhtar shares his memories to KA about Ipek (Muhtar's Ex-wife). He talked about the reason why they are

divorced and why it is difficult to meet Ipek. Therefore, Muhtar wants Ka to deliver his message to Ipek, as he said here: *"Tell her I am through acting like a jealous provincial husband; that I'm ashamed and sorry for the pressures I put her under during our marriage"* (Pamuk, 2004:64)

The quotation above shows that Muhtar made a mistake by pressures his wife during their marriage. The word pressure in this case comes from Muhtar who wants his wife to wear a headscarf to be Shari'a. Stuart hall argues that, *"Salman Rushdie who translated men and woman in his works, is a part of diasporic consciousness and come into terms with the fact that in modern world identity is always open and moves into future through a symbolic detour and the past"* (Hall, 1990:Unnumbered page). This represented that husband should warn his wife to cover her head. As the leader of political Islam, Muhtar has to get good image in society. But his feeling of jealous makes a movement of identity that Muhtar wants to still running for the election even though his wife decides to not wearing veil and there will be problem for him becoming the mayor while the others threat them not following religious way.

3. Secularist and Others

Furthermore, Stuart hall stated that *"Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture"* (Hall, 1997:17). It is a must to reveal the representation of Muslim under different people in the same culture. Through the novel of Snow the words *Secularist* is spread out in every single chapter, it is a part of Turkish government and dominant in every aspect. According to Oxford learner's pocket dictionary the word secular means: *not religious or spiritual; education* (Oxford, 2008). It is clear that secularist have different concept of godliness with Islamic side. In novel *Snow*, the image of secularist belongs to the owner and also actor of National Theater name Sunay Zaim. In different side, he also considered as coup leader that use the military during the blizzard to limit the city of Kars interact with the outside world. He has his own vision concerning Islam in Kars city, as he stated below:

"[...] the only way they'd ever get to run this country is by terrorizing us. Over time, our fears turn out to have been well founded. If we don't let the army and the state deal with these dangerous fanatics, we'll end up back in the Middle Ages, sliding into anarchy" (Pamuk, 2004:219).

The word Islam in Sunay's mind is equal to terrorist. He stated that Islam is only a dangerous fanatic religion in this world since Islam makes the public fears by terrorizing them, and need to be destroyed by the army. Secularist sees if it is time for them to make a movement in Kars city, excluding traditionalism and changed into modernism. They do not want to go back to the middle ages as ottoman handled the country at that time. According to Somer (2004) who representing Turkey life in his study stated if *"military bureaucratic*

and social secular societal forces interventions have contributed to democratic transition by discrediting certain political paths for Islamic actors in turkey" (Somer, 20004:25). That is why the military and social secular threat Islam differently as previously stated by Sunay. There is a political issue under discrediting certain political Islam figures by comparing image of terrorist and Muslims. It shows religions in this novel are only a political weapon.

Moreover, the representation of Islam by others religion depicted in the communist side. The communist have different conception of Godliness in their life. The person who consider as an old communist is Turgut Bey, he is Ipek and Kadife Father, and the quotation below shows the vision from Turgut Bey about concept of religions in his side:

"But Turgut Bey seemed unperturbed; people gave themselves to religion because they were poor, he said; he went on to remind Ka that even if he didn't believe in what his daughter and her friends were doing, he respected them." (Pamuk, 2004:240)

For Turgut Bey, Islam is the same thing with other religions in Kars city. It has to be treated equally under the law eyes. The respect from him to his two daughters clearly that communist like Turgut Bey totally different with secularist that is not respect with Muslims. On the other hand he also reminded Ka as a part of media should be respected Muslims by not comparing them with terrorist.

4. Representation of Religious High School Girls

Wearing headscarf is very important for Muslim women, Headscarf is a symbol from the dignity and honor of women because religion views them in very high Islamic rules to cover the body with the Muslims dress code and this is kind of women obligation in Islam. On the other hand it is totally different from the government in Kars city that as a protector provides the best solutions for them. According to Meltem (1999), he stated in the journal of women international studies that *"Women in turkey are fought against oppression since Ataturk became the first president in 1920s. There are three agents of oppression considered as women freedom. They are Mediterranean culture with its dress code and honor, traditional Islam with the concept of Shari 'a as a guidance and the ideology from kemalist with thevision of Islamic dress code, and suicidal woman in Turkey"*. It has same idea with issue in *Snow*, Wearing hijab or other Islamic dress code has become a very serious problem through this novel. That is because the secular government forbids people from wearing headscarves to the public and schools that are there.

Similarly, the representation of Turkey in real life reflected through this novel. The veil women in Orhan Pamuk's work entitled *"Snow"* is the most important issues, especially for Muslim women's identity. This shows the veiled dilemma to wear hijab or not, they will dropped out from their educational institution if they still

wearing a veil there. Mostly these veiled girls say, they have no choice but to commit suicide. In different side for those whose follow the rules or remove the head scarf they consider the family to be necessary and should be protected. And the statement from vice governor at the beginning of the novel that *"The thought of suicide would have spread as easily as the illness first infected this occurs after a headscarf girl travels far from Batman to Kars city just to go to suicide"* (Pamuk, 2004:15). By understanding this issue the main character (Ka) is trying to interview one of the parents from the girls whose commit suicide here is the statement from him:

"When she saw some of her friends giving up and uncovering their heads, and others forgoing their head scarves to wear wigs instead, the girl began to tell her father and her friends that life had no meaning and she no longer wanted to live." (Pamuk, 2004:17)

Based on the quotation above the explanation one of the parents clearly shows the reason why their daughters committed suicide is 'the ban of wearing veil in public area'. They want her daughter to take off her head scarf, but she refuses, so the police will warn him anywhere. On the other hand, the Department of Religious Affairs does not provide a solution to this problem. They only say that *"suicide denotes a major sin"* (Pamuk, 2004: 17) by placing posters and pamphlets on the walls of Kars, without protection to the veil girl in educational institutions. The representation of Islam goes deeper in the character name Hande. She depicted as a woman seeking the existence of a god and a religion. Hande confused to choose between his parents or his freedom as a Muslim. As Ka said below: *"After Teslime committed suicide, Hande's parents pressured her to take off her headscarf, and she agreed, but she's having a hard time carrying it through"* (Pamuk, 2004:117).

This is why most of the students in Turkey decide not to study in their country, as Somer (2004) stated in his research study *"The effect of restriction in education appears to have been a rising numbers of Turkish students with Islamic background choosing to study abroad"* (Somer, 2004:27). It shows how Turkish student dilemma about following her religion or obeying the country. The awareness if Muslim woman should wear a head scarf to avoid becoming a sexual object makes her feels uncomfortable not wearing the headscarf. Hande who feels so confused concerning the regulation from school that all students have to take off their headscarf in educational area, is scared that she will be identified as other person. Then she states below about her confusion:

"Even if I did take off my headscarf, I don't think I'd become the kind of woman who flirts with men, or who can't think of anything but sex. After all, when I do take off my headscarf, I won't doing it of my own free will." (Pamuk, 2004:125)

This problems make Hande thinks that without wearing headscarf she will be an evil person and a naughty woman who seeing sex as the primary concern. She took off her veil because of her parent's requests by

following the government's rules. She argues that after she removes her veil she will not be free becoming a Muslim who can express her freedom. Religious young girl is victim in this story, and have to obey not to wear a veil in public area. This shows how important the veil for a religious person and especially for Hande. It cannot be denied, that the government's policy from banning the girl to wear headscarf is not fair and they cannot freely follow religious orders to be Shari 'a.

In Snow, there is an influential female character name Kadife (Ipek's sister). In Kadife's portrayal through the novel, Orhan Pamuk tries to show the struggle veiled woman treated toward government policies that do not allow women to wear veils. Kadife is a part of representation from religious veiled girl in this novel depicted as a young, modern and strong girl who often wears sunglasses. She is a leader of the veiled girls in her school. *"Most of the students called her as Hicran"* (Pamuk, 2002:110). Kadife explains in detail how women in the Kars city are struggle for their life to wear a veil, while the government does not allow them anymore to wear it, so this becomes a difficult part of their lives. The decision of Kadife to wear a veil at school is only for political things and for fun. She afraid of the punishment that will given by the government if she keeps wearing the veil in her school, because the State and his family already warned her concerning this situation. And here is the statement from her in the novel: *"As for me, I put on a headscarf one day to make a political statement. I just did it for a laugh, but it also felt frightening."* (Pamuk, 2004:115)

From this depiction, it represents the struggle between feeling of secure and fear for woman in deciding to wear a headscarf. According to Stuart hall (1997), he used the idea of 'Sign' to convince his theory of representation. He believes that *"language consists of signs which are readable"* (Hall, 1997:38). Kadife expressed her felling, as she stated from the quotation above used the word "Frightening" and "laughed" as a sign that she depressed wearing the veil. Headscarf in Islam means protection and God command, but if they can not follow and obey this rule it will change into frightening situation. It seems like the Turkish government in the novel banned the use of veils for all woman in a public place. This show Kadife's dilemma and felt depressed while she was wearing a veil. As a leader of veiled girls, Kadife and other religious student have an emotional bond. As she said above, she wears a veil to make statements, specifically in political things. The reason behind she did it in the school, in order to protect her friends who are victims through the government's rules at educational institution, and it is funny for her remembering the time as *she arrested concerning this situation.* (Pamuk, 2004:116).

Previously, it was explain the reason behind Kadife wearing veil for the first time, to show her protests about government policy. This illustrated if woman should have idealistic thinking, to guide them and show the true path in their life. This is not an extremist

way, but a part of statement for equality in life. On the other hand Kadife's statement described the first time she used a veil with the word "frighten". Similarly, the word "frighten" from Kadife have different representation. As already portrayed in the novel, Kadife's father consider as communist. Through the quotation below, Kadife stated from her father's perspective that there are two depiction of communist:

"My father sometimes says it all reminds him of his old communist day. There are two kinds of communist: The pragmatist side is a communist person who using power for their own way and idealist is the one who love in justice and equality" (Pamuk, 2004:117).

From the quotation above, Kadife stated that his father was a communist. This becomes another answer to why she uses the word "frighten" in her statement, it related to his father's position considered as public enemy. This statement convinced by Kadife expression if they have different perspective seeing her father, proclaim that he is a "leftist" and "democrats" of the Turkish government (Pamuk, 2004: 116). But it only happened in the past, now Turkish government dominantly criticizes Islam, specifically the use of veils in the novel. This is the reason why, she scares using the veils while making a statement about government policy. She afraid of her similarity with her father that became a public enemy in the turkey's old day. Wearing a scarf for Kadife does not show that she is a dominant in religion. It showed how woman's thinking about her social life. As a girl growing up between issues of religion and government, she understands woman's role and how she reacts for this way. The experiences from her friends who died and suicide, young girl name "Hande" who protects her family from government threats, made her aware if the veil is a symbol of religion and must be upheld, but she is so worried to make a decision regarding this situation, as the government so fanatics banning the veils on public places.

On the other hand, the portrayal from government's oppression to Muslims in the Kars city goes wide. A Muslim should support each other in this situation. Hall's stated that *"Increasingly, everybody lives in a mixed, mongrelized the world"* (Diana, 1998:522). While in novel Kadife said if Blue is the man who more than love (Pamuk, 2004: 370), in this case she thought that both her and Blue's life has similarity. Kadife decision to save Blue caught secular parties, bring her into difficult situation. Veil as honor for woman has lost, the secular party led by Sunay Zaim (Owner and actors in the national theater) push Kadife to open her veil and forced to play the drama in National Theater if she want to see Blue again (Pamuk, 2004: 314). As a respected woman in the school, this situation certainly will affect his reputation among students if she agrees to open the scarf. Representation from a veiled woman explains in the quotation below:

"There'd been the usual spate of conflicting rumors—some holding that Kadife was merely following army

orders to remove her scarf [...] This is why there was such broad disappointment at her low visibility in the early scenes [...] and her long red dress was hardly any consolation for the scarf, whose fate remained unclear." (Pamuk, 2004:393-394)

The words from Ka above showed that Kadife agrees to follow Sunay's orders. The depiction from Kadife that disappointed in the beginning of the scene shows if she did not fully agree on the decision. Besides, the red dress she wore was not a form of her comforter, she thought about her fate and people's views of her later. As Hall state *"These contemporary racist stereotypes remain tied to our history of colonial relations, slavery, the denigration and economic exploitation of particular cultures and the maintenance of white privilege and hegemony"* (Hall, 1997:103). These things she did only to save the Muslims identity in the secular eyes. If Blue who known as a Muslim leader in Kars City died in the secular hands, there will be no people continues his struggle to defend Islam. Her choices are not only about saving Blue, but also to awaken other veiled women to maintain their identity. So, Kadife's decision considered as a highly valued norm, although she still understands if God will give a sanction regarding this situation.

From the depictions of Kadife who fight against injustices by the government. Ka as the main character and journalist tries to write this situation in the form of his poem entitled "Friendship and Legacy". According to Kadife, she said in the novel that "Every star has a friend, and for every person carrying a star. Reflects it, and everyone carries this reflection like a secret confidante in the heart"(Pamuk, 2004: 117-118). Kadife believes that everything she has done against the secular, affects other religious young girls and positioned her as a modern woman that obedient to the traditions in society. It clearly relates with the statement from Stuart Hall, as he state *"Even the two cultures our student struggle between are not discrete, the borders, as Hall reminds us that we are all porous"* (Diana, 1998:522). Besides that, it indicated if everyone cannot live without social life, as the depiction of "stars" from her words. Therefore, the state should be protect and manage the society life instead of restrict them to expressed, as government of Kars city did to Muslims woman.

Pamuk said in his interview session about *Snow* that *"People should be tolerant towards women's rights and the rights of the minorities, seems like the problem we are facing in turkey nowadays"* (Pamuk, 2004). This explains if everyone should be equal, towards government's law. It seems like government needs Muslims to run the country and Muslims need the government to protect them. On the other side, the ideas that related to religion in the novel are a part of politics. In this world, secular is political and Islam is a religious statement. Kars city should be proper under the government, there is no word to capture these situation as secularists army-backed Islamists, Kurdish ethnic and leftists against injustice. They have been fighting for

equality since modern turkey replaced the ottoman kingdom in the past.

CONCLUSION

The research question which is about the representation of Islam under domination of modern Turkey in novel *Snow* presents that political Islam wants to change the domination of secular state by using media. Political Islam sees that banning woman to wear a headscarf in public is not fair. Muhtar as a party leader fights against this problem by joining the election to stop the plague of suicidal headscarf girl. This decision makes muhtar and Ka went to jail as they reunited in cafe, because they interrogated by the police due to the death of educationalist. Ka known as a freelance journalist, who investigates the issue of suicidal headscarf girl and reporting the upcoming election in Kars city, got a lot of information from blue (Leader of Islam fundamentalist) especially how muhtar defeated in election. Muhtar was glad to show that he could take a beating even he might be elected in the upcoming election.

Ka defined by the author as a godless man in Kars city. He sees Blue as a terrorist in the newspaper and he read other nasty thing about him. *Necip* a young boy who sees Blue as a hero interrupted Ka, he said that "Even you belong to secular side, please do not let yourself fall into secular press". This condition showed the representation of Islam in *Snow*. The Islamic party whose fight and defend their faith against injustice, considered as a terrorist activity. This idea is only coming from western or the Muslim person who infected by west. Furthermore, by relating *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk and Representation by Stuart Hall depicts that Novel is a product of literary studies that biased from its real situation. The reader of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* can develop their knowledge by knowing the social life of Turkey, its culture, politic and history.

This study used Representation approach to analyze novel entitled *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk. Although this novel has been widely studied since its first publication, there are still spaces to be filled to complete the analytical study concerning this novel. In conclusion, I recommend to the reader who interesting about this study conduct more studies and analyze other literary work using Representation theory by Stuart Hall.

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