

Muslim Women's Resistance against Secularist's Domination in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*

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Abstrak

Perdebatan masalah jilbab masih membayangi kehidupan Turki modern. Dalam novel *Snow* karya Orhan Pamuk, untuk memodernisasi Negara, para elite sekuler melaksanakan paham atau ideology sekuler dengan cara pencopotan jilbab kaum wanita. Pengimplementasian tersebut dilakukan melalui pelarangan pemakaian jilbab di tempat umum, termasuk sekolah, yang dalam pelaksanaannya mendominasi wanita Muslim. Sebaliknya, wanita muslim, yang diperankan oleh tokoh bernama Kadife, Hande, dan Teslime, melawan dominasi untuk mempertahankan hak-hak wanita atas pemakaian jilbab demi menjalankan ajaran agama mereka, yaitu Islam. Berdasarkan identifikasi fakta dalam data, skripsi ini merumuskan masalah (1) bagaimana dominasi para elite sekuler atas wanita Muslim digambarkan dalam novel *Snow* karya Orhan Pamuk? dan (2) bagaimana wanita Muslim menunjukkan perlawanan mereka terhadap dominasi elite sekuler dalam novel *Snow* karya Orhan Pamuk? Konsep dominasi dan perlawanan berdasarkan pemikiran James C. Scott dan Daniel Miller. Konsep-konsep tersebut diaplikasikan bersama dengan konsep hegemony dari Antonio Gramsci, dan feminisme berkerudung, terutama pergerakan wanita berlambang warna putih oleh Cihan Aktas. Untuk menganalisis data, pendekatan mimesis dengan metode deskriptif analisis diaplikasikan dalam skripsi ini. Terakhir, hasil dari analisis data menunjukkan bahwa dominasi para elite sekuler terwujud dalam lima bentuk: dominasi melalui pembuatan kebijakan, ancaman, drama panggung, penghinaan, dan hegemony. Sebaliknya, perlawanan wanita Muslim terwujud melalui dua cara utama: perlawanan terbuka (*public transcript*) yang meliputi perlawanan melalui demonstrasi dan cemoohan, dan perlawanan tertutup (*hidden transcript*) yang meliputi perlawanan melalui bunuh diri dan dialog secara empat mata.

Kata Kunci: Dominasi, Resistensi, Sekulerisme, Islam, Feminisme Berkerudung, Perdebatan Jilbab

Abstract

Headscarves controversy still overshadows the life of modern Turkey. In Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, to modernize the state, the secularist elites implement secularism by unveiling women. It is exercised through banning the headscarves wearing in public buildings, including school, that its executions dominate Muslim women. In reverse, Muslim women, who are represented by the characters named Kadife, Hande, and Teslime, resist the domination to defend their rights upon wearing the headscarves for the sake of practicing their religion, Islam. Grounded upon the findings, this study questions upon (1) how is secularist's domination upon Muslim women depicted in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*? and (2) how do Muslim women show their resistance against secularist's domination in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*? The concepts of domination and resistance are based on the thought of James C. Scott and Daniel Miller. Those concepts are applied together with Antonio Gramsci's hegemony and veiled feminism, Cihan Aktas' white women's movement. To analyze the data, mimetic approach with descriptive analysis method is applied in this study. Lastly, the result of this study shows that the secularist's domination manifests itself into five forms: domination through policy-making, threat, onstage play, derogation, and hegemony. Meanwhile, Muslim women's resistance manifests itself into two major forms: outward resistance (*public transcript*), which is practiced through demonstration and insult, and inward resistance (*hidden transcript*), which is practiced through suicide and vis-à-vis dialogue.

Keywords: Domination, Resistance, Secularism, Islam, Veiled Feminism, Headscarves Controversy

INTRODUCTION

Ideology has no single fixed definition. This term contains “a whole range of useful meanings” in which “not all of” it “are compatible with each other” (Eagleton, 1991: 1). In other words, it represents that ideology can mean vary, which might depend on whom and what purpose the term of ideology is defined (Eagleton, 1991: 3). *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines ideology as (1) the body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, a group, a class, or a culture; (2) a set of doctrines or beliefs that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system. In this case, the basis of religion system is included likewise. It goes in a hand that “all religion is ideology...not all ideology is religion” (Cassels, 2003: 2). Eventhough “not all ideology is religion,” it reveals that “all religion” has its own belief which represents its “ideology” and, definitely, without being disavowed that certain belief beyond the religion is also ideology. For example, Islam, as a religion, possesses Islamic ideology. The way Muslim—the believer in Islam—think and behave should be based on Islamic teaching or belief, Holy Qur’an (God’s revelation) and Hadith (words or deeds of Prophet Muhammad).

In establishing its new republic country, Turkey puts a huge project upon modernization. Although modernity possibly refers to many aspects, for instance a lifestyle, a culture, a discourse, a historical epoch, a movement, a project, a mind-set, an intellectual trend, to capitalism, industrialization, democracy, constitutionalism, or secularism (Cinar, 2005: 1), Turkey’s case of modernity plays a dominant role in the idea of secularism, nationalism, and West-oriented, which substitute its prior principle upon political and societal institutions and evolve public and private (Cinar, 2005: 4—5). Those three noted ideas become Turkey’s new ideology, which first set by its founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923.

Nonetheless, Kemalist ideology pays most interest on the welfare of the republic rather than its subjects. The justification of such prioritization in order to remind Turkish society “not to fall again...on the verge of foreign domination,” and to defend its “newly established system,” however, underlies its premise. Unfortunately, the society has to pay the quite unfair cost towards the practice of that ideology, such as the limitation of individual freedom, the restrictions of using language, the interpolation of a specific dress code, the undermining of cultural and religious differences, and many more (Islam, 2010: 16). Furthermore, body is one of the most important sites of intervention and parameter to establish the public

sphere in modernizing a country (Cinar, 2005: 53). The Republic government of Turkey measures the modernization of the country in the matter of “women’s attire and freedom,” in which the essence of it is defined in the terms of “unveiling” women and giving them the right to participate fully in public life (Yavuz, 2009: 165). In other words, At this point, Turkey uses female body as a symbol of its nation (Yavuz, 2009: 54), which again evokes a worse problem upon Muslim women.

For Ataturk himself, he sees that “women who put a piece of cloth or a towel or something like it over their faces,” in this case, Muslim women who wear veil, somehow represent “strange manner” and “barbarous posture” and such phenomenon becomes “an object of ridicule” that needs to “be remedied” (Yegenoglu, 1998: 133).

As a result, “the secular state is seen as violating a woman’s privacy and also threatening the honor of her father or her husband, as well as the authority of Islam over her body” (Cinar, 2005: 76). Furthermore, the practices of secularism, the institutionalization of secularism, by Turkish secular state, hence, establish the direct and tight control over “all Islamic authority, practice, and knowledge...the public visibility and presence of Islam” (Cinar, 2005: 70)

Built upon the previous depiction, it is explicitly shown that there is such practice of domination by the dominant elites, the ruling class, the secularist elites and government, upon Muslim women in Turkey. This domination is done due to Turkey’s project upon modernizing country by implementing secularism in the society. Moreover, the domination can be identified vividly through the policies and action of the secularist elites, for instance the most crucial one is banning Muslim women, who wear headscarves, for entering the public places, including school. Additionally, the resistance of Muslim women against the practice of domination emerges as a backlash over it.

Novel, however, is one of literary work, part of literature, which “imitates life” (Wellek & Warren, 1949: 89). Life, in this broad perspective as Wellek and Warren explain more, is “a social reality.” It is due to the fact that only living in the society which results what is called as norms and convention. Therefore, literature uses language as a medium to represent “social institution”. De Bonald, hence, as quoted in Wellek and Warren, states that “literature is an expression of society.” Yet, it does not mean that literature “mirrors” the present life of social situation “correctly.” The writer may depict the whole life story of the society he creates in the novel, anyhow, it is still

not in the form of "the whole life...completely and exhaustively" (Wellek & Warren, 1949: 90).

Nonetheless, *Snow* (2005) is Pamuk's first novel about politics. This novel is Pamuk's description upon Turkish society and state under the issues on Islamist fundamentalist particularly Muslim women, nationalist Kurdish, and secularism. This novel is set in Kars, a small city in the most eastern border of Turkey. It portrays the political life of society, including the story of violence and tension between societies—Muslim women, Islamic fundamentalists, nationalist Kurdish, military, and secularists elites—in Turkey.

Interestingly, *Snow* is selected by *The New York Times* as one of the best 100 books of 2004. Later in 2005, *Snow* receives Le Prix Méditerranée étranger, the award for the best foreign novel in France. Furthermore, *Snow* brings Pamuk to deserve the winning in Nobel Prize Winner in 2006. He becomes the second youngest person to receive the award of Nobel Prize for Literature in 2006.

However, the politic issue which is depicted in *Snow* is that the domination of Turkish secularist elites, including state or government, upon Muslim women. The presence of the Republic brings the project of modernity, secularism, and civilization through the presence of women body in the public sphere over Turkey (Cinar, 2005: 65).

Hence, the state bans wearing headscarf in the public sphere and formal institution which obviously violates Muslim women's rights in practicing their religion. The authority above is obviously represented by the government or state. Hence, the practice of domination is also executed by Sunay Zaim, Funda Eser, Professor Nuri Yilmaz, Z Dermikol, Colonel Osman Nuri Colak, and Ka when there is empty government or vacuum of power in Kars. Still, those people belong to secularist elites.

In reverse, as a form of backlash, Muslim women show one of their resistances against the domination to make their concerns known. In this novel, the Muslim women are represented by Kadife, Hande, and Teslime (even she has committed suicide).

Nonetheless, based on facts lay on the background of the study above, then the problems are emerged and divided into two: (1) how is secularist's domination upon Muslim women depicted in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*? and (2) how do Muslim women show their resistance against secularist's domination in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*?

As referred to the background and statement of the problems above, the objectives of the study are devoted to know two purposes as results of analyzing the problems: (1) to depict secularist's domination

upon Muslim women in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and (2) to describe resistance of Muslim women against secularist's domination in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*.

In accordance, it is expected that this study can give both theoretical and practical significance. In theoretical significance, Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* contains issues on Turkish secularist's domination and Muslim women's resistance. Therefore, this study is hoped can obtain positive contribution towards the development of literary theory, which studies literature and society under the concepts of domination, resistance, and hegemony and theory of veiled feminism.

Additionally, in practical significance, this study is obtained can contribute to the practice of analyzing literary works by applying proper literary concept and theory. This significance is hopefully merit for students, lecturers, and institution. Hopefully, to whom this study may concern, it can be utilized as reference, especially those who conduct studies upon the concept of domination, resistance, hegemony, and theory of veiled feminism. Besides, as reference, it can be used as model or media in studying and applying those above concepts and theory when analyzing the literary works. Furthermore, this study hopefully can assist the institution to provide rich collection of research references.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study takes the data source from a novel entitled *Snow* written by Orhan Pamuk, published in New York by Vintage Books, a division of Random House, Inc. with eISBN-13: 978-0-307-38647-2 and eISBN-10: 0-307-38647-3 in 2005 and translated into English by Alfred A. Knopf.

To collect the data, the first step is doing close reading the novel entirely. It is done over and over in order to be able to catch and understand the core story—intrinsically and extrinsically—of the novel. Besides, it also aims to support in collecting and analyzing the statement of the problems later on. Secondly, it comes to the step of collecting data. At this point, the data is collected through noting the narration and characters' dialogue and action in the novel, which reflects the idea of secularist's domination and Muslim women's resistance in the form of quotation. Thirdly, it then comes to the step of classifying data. The classification of the collected data is divided into two parts—the data which reflects the case of secularist's domination, and Muslim women's resistance. Last but not least, it reaches the final process of collecting data, which is placing the classified data into the table. It is done to simplify in reading the data for the purpose of doing analysis.

Henceforth, in analyzing literary works, Wellek and Warren explain that there are two approaches, intrinsic—encompasses literary work of art, euphony, rhythm, meter, style, stylistic, image, metaphor, symbol, myth, the nature and modes of narrative fiction, literary genres, evaluation, literary history—and extrinsic—encompasses biography, psychology, society, ideas, and the other arts (Wellek & Warren, 1949: 63—282). As a result, since it is clearly shown that Pamuk's *Snow* describes the society of Turkey, it will focus on analyzing the issues upon domination and resistance with touching upon hegemony and veiled feminism. Therefore, it is maintained by using extrinsic approach.

Furthermore, Abrams specifically states that there are four approaches to analyze literary works, which include mimetic, pragmatic, expressive, and objective (Abrams, 1976: 8—29). Mimetic approach itself is firstly recorded from Plato's dialogue and considered as the most primitive aesthetic approach, which oriented on the explanation that art is essentially as an imitation of aspects of the universe. Additionally, Aristotle has the same idea upon art as an imitation. Yet, they both have a different concept of imitation. Plato sees that a work or art cannot be created as the nature of the real world. It is only constructed based on the previous models of the nature of the thing itself, which can be seen that work of art is beneath the fact.

Meanwhile, Aristotle has rejected the previous idea and explains that there is also a specific term of imitation in art, which differentiates it from everything in the universe, and therefore art has its own world. Somehow, for the problems found in this study, it is explicitly depicted that Pamuk's *Snow* closely imitates the society of Turkey. At this point, in order to make easy and best analysis, mimetic approach is used to analyze the statement of the problems since the literary work itself represents society's value of Turkey.

Nevertheless, the most important thing to analyze a literary work, besides those approaches, is method and technique. A method is always needed as a tool while technique is the way a tool (method) is used to solve the existed problems (Ratna, 2004: 34—37). Therefore, based upon the statement of the problems above, this study will be analyzed by using descriptive analysis method. This method, Ratna explains further, is used to analyze a problem by describing the facts that contained in the object of the study and then analyzing it with the specific aim to give best explanation and understanding (Ratna, 2004: 53). To simplify the analysis of this study, there are two important steps needed to be done.

The first is describing the facts. At this point, the facts are the data in the novel which supports the study or the statement of the problems. It is done by describing the collected and classified data based on the subject of this study—secularist's domination and Muslim women's resistance. The description will touch upon mentioning the detail of the subject, the manifestation of secularist's domination (through policy-making on banning the headscarf, threat, onstage play, derogation, and hegemony) and Muslim women's resistance (through public and hidden script). Yet, before describing Muslim women's resistance, the way they position themselves in the middle of secularist's domination will be analyzed first as a background towards the case of resistance done by them.

Last but not least, the second is doing analysis towards the described data. It will dig the information beyond the data deeper by explaining it thoroughly. It is taken from the data in the novel first and, then, it will be analyzed by based on the thought of the researcher. Additionally, the explanation will also be related to the extrinsic element, the society of Turkey in reality. At this point, to make best explanation and understanding of the study, Scott's and Miller's domination and resistance, Gramsci's hegemony, and veiled feminism, particularly Aktas' 'white women's movement' are included.

DOMINATION

In all societies, as Mosca (1939: 50) explains, from societies that are less developed up to the societies that are the most advance and powerful one, there often appear two classes of people, "a class that rules and a class that is ruled." Furthermore, Mosca explains that the first class, a class that rules, always has less numerous than the second one, a class that is ruled. However, the first class greatly "performs all of political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings," meanwhile, the second class inevitably "is directed and controlled by the first."

In order to control and direct, or in other word to dominate, a certain class, power is officially needed. It is because power, according to Weber, comprises the probability of a person to perform his or her volition notwithstanding disagreement and regardless focus on a belief of the probability, legitimacy (Parsons, 1947: 152). Moreover, power always backs up what is called as authority. Therefore, a class, even people, with high levels of power may manage to urge such "acceptance of their domination as legitimate." At this point, they transform power they own into authority (Johnson, 2008: 38).

Similarly, Scott states that power is used against the dominated in order to stabilize the domination. He further asserts that “every visible, outward use of power—each command, each act of deference, each list and ranking, each ceremonial order, each public punishment, each use of an honorific or a term of derogation—is a symbolic gesture of domination that serves to manifest and reinforce a hierarchical order” (Scott, 1990: 45).

The implementation of domination somehow is possible by means of “sufficient coercive force” or “the coercive machinery of the state” so that the acquiescence of the “dominated population” or “civil society” can absolutely be achieved (Miller, 2005: 63; Femia, 1981: 24). Therefore, to fully control and master, Scott (1990: 37) explains that the system of domination always produces kinds of “insults and injury to human dignity,” such as “the appropriation of labor, public humiliations, whippings, rapes, slaps, leers, contempt, ritual denigration, and so on.”

HEGEMONY

Hegemony derives from the Greek ἡγεμών, which means guide, ruler, or leader and ἡγεμονία, which means rule or leadership. In ancient Greece, there are two meanings related to the term ‘hegemon’. First, hegemon means “leader of a military alliance of the various city-states freely and voluntarily entered into.” Second, it means a *polis*, the leader of an alliance, which joins together with other *poleis* freely to military threat. Hence, hegemony nearly is seen as a system of interstate where the power and leadership are exercised by a certain state through an alliance of consenting states.

Generally, hegemony means “the preeminence or supremacy that a state, social group, or even an individual may exercise over others” (Fontana, 2008: 81). In recent fundamental definition, hegemony refers to condition in which the power owned by the ruling class is exercised to convince other classes towards the claim that the ruling class’ interests reflect the interests of all (Ashcroft, 2007: 106-107).

However, Gramsci genuinely uses the word ‘hegemony’ to explain the supremacy of a class or group over other classes which grounded upon “intellectual and moral leadership or *direzione intellettuale e morale*.” Moreover, such leadership is exercised by consent rather than force. Therefore, to control social classes, hegemony exercises it internally by forming personal belief upon a dominant concept in which, to achieve it, “a common social moral language is spoken” (Femia, 1981: 24).

Gramsci relates a term of superstructure to his concept of hegemony. According to him, there are two major structural levels, “civil society or the private” or “public society or the state.” Those two levels contribute to the function of hegemony in which the dominant class or group exercise it through society and the function of direct domination or command, which exercised through the state (Gramsci, 1971: 12).

Furthermore, besides “to describe the activities of the ruling class” or group only, Gramsci also uses the term of hegemony “to describe the influence exerted by progressive forces” for the sake of supremacy. It broadens the perspective over hegemony in which it is the process of the social groups (progressive, regressive, reformist, etc.) to come together in order to gain the power to lead, including on the way how they expand and maintain their power (Brown, 2009: 1).

After all, by looking at “a progressive hegemony,” Gramsci sees that its development involves “openness, democracy and consensus” far greatly rather than “coercion”. Yet, indeed, there exists coercion in so far but it is only used to restrain “those reactionary forces that would thwart society’s development” (Brown, 2009: 1). At this point, it is clear that hegemony is practiced due to the exercise of power over certain groups. In consequence, resistance always emerges as the turning point towards the exercise of power, including domination, itself.

RESISTANCE

The problem of resistance always attaches to the problem of domination (Scott, 1990: 45). However, on Hegel’s analysis of the duelist, he states that the reason why “a person challenges another to duel” is because that person consciously feels “that his honor and standing (including often that of his family) have been mortally insulted.” Furthermore, besides demanding upon retraction or even only an apology, the person also thinks that when he accepts such insult, it means he loses his standing. It is due to the belief (of the warrior aristocrat ideally) that losing a standing means “life is not worth living” and, therefore, to satisfy the failing of honor is “only by a duel to death” (Scott, 1990: 37).

Touching upon a form of domination, Miller describes two common strategies taken to resist the legitimacy, outwards and inwards resistance. Resistance, which facing outwards, involves mass participation. It is based on an appeal to the original text. The mass strive to clean themselves from the manipulation of domination, which forces them to support the dominant regime. On the other hand, the

inwards facing of resistance involves personal salvation (Miller, 2005: 72).

Scott (1990: 2—27) similarly states that there are two forms of subordinate discourse of resistance, openly and closely. He, then, calls the open resistance as *public transcript* while the close, “offstage”, resistance as *hidden transcript*. A public transcript is practiced by the subordinate in the presence of the dominant—the power holders—the open exercise of power. It includes speeches, gestures, and expression. Meanwhile, a hidden transcript is practiced beyond the direct presence of the dominant. The hidden transcript appears due to the case that public expression will somehow be counted dangerous and risky; hence, it is exercised safely offstage. However, hidden transcript includes speeches, gestures, and practices.

VEILED FEMINISM

Generally, feminism is seen as a culture product of the West. It is seen through the early emergence of the idea of feminism itself. Early feminism is identified through the activities and movements done by women for the sake of getting “better treatment at the hands of men” in Modern England (Wright, 2006: 3). In this case, what is being challenged apparently is worse treatment that women get from men in which it leads to the case of patriarchy. In the patriarchy system, men are considered as the superordinate while women are subordinate. In other words, women are seen as the object of men. Therefore, such worse treatment is faced by women for certain and thus they organize movement against the male domination to gain equality and freedom.

In modern days, the manifestations of feminist thought, writing, and action are in the massive variety of ways (Wright, 2006: 3). However, the core idea of feminism, according to Margot Badran, is an embodiment of case related to issue of women’s right, women’s liberation, and gender equality to all women, either women from East or West, Muslim or non Muslim, women of different races, and many more (Badran, 2008: 25). One of the clear examples upon women liberation is women can do, choose, and wear the same as men.

Referring to the core idea of feminism, the activities of Islamic women to defend ‘their rights’ over wearing the headscarves are seen by the media as the activities of feminism. Therefore, the media has named them as *türbanlı feminists* (veiled feminists); though those Islamic women themselves do not want to be called feminist (Sakaranaho, 2008: 53). The word “veiled” is embedded before feminism due to one main reason. It is the fact that those women, who defend

their rights, are wearing veils or headscarves. As a result, they are considered as veiled feminist and hence their activities are referred to veiled feminism.

Cihan Aktas, one of those Islamic activists, is an important figure engaging with the veiled feminism. Aktas refers those Islamic women activities as a white—not black, red, or purple—women’s movements. It is explained further that white here refers to “the white scarf worn by Muslim women when they pray.” Meanwhile, “the black color refers to a demonstration organized by the new feminists for the rights of prisoners; red indicates socialist feminists, and purple indicates feminists in general” (quoted in Sakaranaho, 2008: 53—54).

Furthermore, as engaging to feminism, this veiled feminism however grounds its activities upon Islamic theology. Aktas reveals that “Western-type feminists have been alienated from their nature in their fight against male hegemony” (Sakaranaho, 2008: 53). It is identified that Western feminists tend to see men as their enemies and, in accordance, they fight against men in order to be able to get the same rights as men; and they liberate themselves from the object of men. Consequently, Aktas does not include the idea of western feminism in her movement. Furthermore, as referred to Islamic teaching, men and women have the same (equal) rights and, due to that case, women are not men’s enemy and vice versa, but rather their friends and helpmates. As a result, one of the aims of veiled feminism activities itself is to emphasize upon “peace and harmony in gender relation” (Sakaranaho, 2008: 53).

However, in the case of Turkey, the main opponent of the veiled feminists—Islamic activists or Muslim women—is the present situation of Turkey itself (Sakaranaho, 2008: 54). Moreover, by claiming upon state modernization, the secular state and its apparatus forcedly implement their new ideology—secularism—without even think that their previous state lies its root upon Islamic teaching. Yet, as supposedly the freedom of thought and practicing religion, including wearing headscarves, is guaranteed, it works otherwise.

The secular state sees women with veiled as people who are jailed by the religious matter. Therefore, as assumed the western feminism works, they want to liberate women from religious practice by unveiling them. In reverse, veils save women from harassment which means it is women’s freedom. One of Islamic writer notes in Islamist newspaper *Milli Gazete* “The covering protects its wearer like a shield from being enslaved by all those eyes. It is only after [wearing the covering] that a woman acquires her true

identity and belongs only to her husband who rightfully deserves her" (quoted in Cinar, 2005: 76). In this case, veiled women see the idea of unveiling is a turning point of the idea feminism itself. Unveiling women means pushing them as the object of men in which it harms their rights as women. Consequently, the Islamic women see it as "an imperialist system" (Sakaranaho, 2008: 54) which harms the citizen of Turkey, especially themselves. Thus, it is at this very point, the Islamic women organize their movement against it. In other words, those veiled feminists are working to solve the headscarves banning as refer to their 'white women's movement'.

SECLARIST'S DOMINATION UPON MUSLIM WOMEN

Based on the analysis, the practice of secularist's domination upon Muslim women manifests itself into five forms. Those are domination through policy-making, threat, onstage play, derogation, and hegemony.

However, firstly, the practice of domination upon Muslim women by secularist elites is due to "the Republic's westernizing project" (Pamuk, 2005: 20) to lift the state to get the West's recognition. Thus, to create homogenous society, the idea of secularism and regulating women's dressing are considered important to be practiced by the whole society in the state.

The first manifestation of secularist's domination is domination through Policy-making. The secular state restricts and restrains upon one's rights as a citizen, especially the rights over a belief or ideology of either an individual or a group. Specifically, the state bans headscarves women from entering public places, particularly school. In consequence, those headscarves women are barred from the classroom and even the school.

In Turkey, based on the current state policies, women, even the ministers' wives, are strictly forbidden entering the public places, for instance, schools, universities, other public buildings, and even the formal state dinner (Yavuz, 2009: 165). Such policy is enforced to headscarves women without any exception. It happens in the case of the daughter of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Sumeyye Erdoğan. Before the policy upon banning headscarf is lifted, due to wearing the headscarf, Ms. Erdoğan cannot study in her home country. She has to pursue her higher education in the United States and United Kingdom (Seibert, 2010: 1).

The second manifestation is domination through threat. To uncover Muslim women, the secularist elites extremely threat them. Pamuk (2005: 119) describes

the threat that is faced by Teslime. She is threatened in three cases. Firstly, if she still wears headscarf at school, she will be expelled. Secondly, the secularist elites will close down her father's grocery store. Thirdly, the secularist elites will run her family out of Kars where they live now. It is a representation of the term of ranking or classification. Basically, Muslim women are threatened over some troubles which is due to force them to take off the headscarves.

The third manifestation is domination through onstage play. It is practiced through the excessive advertisement or publicity which says that a headscarf leader, Kadife, will bare her head on the play (Pamuk, 2005: 393). The effect of such saturation publicity then results public speculations in which Kadife's name as a representation of Muslim women is used as a material betting. The secularist elites intentionally let the public know the issue to announce them that the headscarves have finally left behind by women in Kars in which it is a manifestation of secularist's domination.

The fourth manifestation is domination through derogation. The secularist elites derogate Muslim women because of their wearing headscarves. One of the facts is exercised by Funda Eser, who has devoted her act in the play for the sake of secularism and enlightenment, by burning a headscarf (Pamuk, 2005: 150). Thus, it is perceived by the public of Turkey that the scarf is going to vanish, annihilated. It is just as the victory of scarf when she previously performs unfurling the headscarf like "a flag", but then the headscarf is destroyed by the fire. It shows that the secularist elites underestimate headscarves and Muslim women as well. This act of burning the scarf however is a form of derogation through nonspeech act.

Last but not least, the last manifestation is derogation through hegemony. The practice of hegemony is done through "moral and intellectual leadership" and becomes one of means to rule the society in which it is included as the manifestation of domination. The secularist elites work on to guide the society's thought upon the politic of wearing the headscarf which is due to the secular state's project, unveiling Muslim woman.

One of the examples upon domination through hegemony is Professor Nuri Yilmaz's statement that is addressed towards an Islamist fundamentalist. He signifies that without the scarf women will find no harm as he states "When a woman takes off her headscarf, she occupies a more comfortable place in society and gets more respect" (Pamuk, 2005: 45). He leads the thought that occupying more comfortable place and getting more respect are two advantages that are offered by not wearing the headscarf.

By claiming these two advantages, the secularist elites tend to construct the society's mind. Firstly, it guides them to the view over social interaction. Without being disowned, a certain group prefers to associate with the members who belong to that group. Mostly, a solidarity and close relationship can be achieved when people who interact have the same background, either historically or socially. It can be based upon class strata, nation, race, and even a sensitive matter, religion. Secondly, it refers to the stereotype of Muslim people that engages to the term of "terrorism" and Muslim people in relation with the West and the East. Islam is referred to the East where—as the West recognize—occupies the lower level, uneducated, and uncivilized. Thirdly, however, is about physical appearance. The way Muslim women dress with wearing the headscarves. The secularist elites assume that the treatments of covering the body are too much and limit the movement of women. Lastly, it is the view upon the case of women and freedom. Women in the West practice the same freedom as men. Western women are as independent as Western men which represent intellectuality. As a result of this matter, the professor as a representation of secularist elites thus intellectually encourages Islamist fundamentalist that by taking off the scarves, Turkish women will occupy more comfortable place and respect.

Those five manifestations of domination by secularist elites reveal that Muslim women's rights, particularly wearing headscarves, have been limited.

MUSLIM WOMEN'S RESISTANCE AGAINST SECULARIST'S DOMINATION

Resistance always arises due to the exercise of power. The idea of resistance comes from a disagreement state upon the policies, which basically the idea, of the power holder. In the case of domination found through the object of the study, Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, the case of resistance hence emerges as defiance against the practice of such secularist's domination.

Notwithstanding, in advance of the emergence and even the practice of resistance by Muslim women in order to resist secularist's domination, there is a state where they see and therefore position themselves under that domination. The case of Muslim women positioning themselves reveals the current stance of Muslim women which can give the grounding knowledge upon the case of resistance practiced by them.

Based upon the analysis, it reveals that although under secularist's domination, Muslim women position themselves as pious Muslim, just as supposedly they

are. They follow the game conducted by secularist elites but it does not meet the idea of the game itself, which is implementing the idea of secularism by unveiling women. Therefore, as this stance are shown by them under the secularist's domination, thus, their efforts to resist the domination can be identified and analyzed thoroughly.

The resistance of Muslim women manifests itself into two major forms, public transcript, which is outward resistance through demonstration and insult, and hidden transcript, which is inward resistance through suicide and vis-à-vis dialogue.

Public transcript is the practice of resistance done by Muslim women against secularist's domination by the presence to the power holder, the secularist elites. The first case of Muslim women's resistance is due to the policy upon banning the headscarves students from entering the school. The headscarves students stage a demonstration to vocalize their voices in front of their school (Pamuk, 2005: 43). By staging demonstration openly or outwardly, those headscarves students, who have barred from the classroom and even school, let the public know that they reject the idea of banning the headscarves wearing.

The outward resistance through insult is practiced by Muslim women and men. One of it is represented by Kadife. Kadife insults Sunay Zaim when they both are performing onstage play at the National Theater as she states "I'm going to kill you to rid our country of a microbe, an enemy of our nation, our religion, and our women!" (Pamuk, 2005: 402). Sunay is seen as a microbe that endangers the life of other creatures, particularly people in Turkey. Due to the fact that microbe causes terrible effects in which basically it harms the others, thus, to overcome with, the microbe (Sunay Zaim and secularist elites as well) must be eliminated. By insulting Sunay, Kadife voices her resistance against Sunay who has dominated Muslim women.

Hidden transcript is the practice of Muslim women's resistance against secularist's domination without the presence to the power holder, the secularist elites. The case of hidden transcript is practiced inwardly or closely behind the public. Hence, the practice of Muslim women's inward resistance in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* can be identified through two forms, inward resistance through suicide and vis-à-vis dialogue.

Inward resistance through suicide is practiced by Teslime. She commits suicide because she is forced to take off her headscarf. In order to resist secularist's domination upon her and other Muslim women, which is banning the headscarf wearing, she liberate herself

from the domination by committing suicide. The main reason women suicide is because they want to save their honors, their prides. It is then justified by Kadife that since she feels God's love inside her heart, her decision to commit suicide to save her pride is better than losing it.

As in the case of inward resistance through vis-à-vis dialogue, it refers to face to face dialogue between Muslim women as well as Muslim men and secularist elites. Still, that vis-à-vis dialogue is one of means to represent Muslim women's resistance against the domination. It is practiced personally, without the direct presence or intervention of other people.

This resistance is to convey their ideas and belief upon the case of headscarves to the secularist elites. Those secularist elites who involve are Professor Nuri Yilmaz and Ka. This vis-à-vis dialogue results a better understanding upon the case of headscarves and Muslim women's attitude towards it.

A Muslim man reveals the functions of headscarves for women to the professor. A Muslim man rejects all the secularist ideas upon unveiling women which represents his resistance against the secularist's domination upon Muslim women. He does it to defend Muslim women's rights to wear headscarves.

Meanwhile, Kadife bravely rejects Ka's offering to play a rebel heroine by baring her head. She is aware what the secular state wants from her herself as a headscarf leader. Kadife shows her resistance against the domination upon her eventhough the resistance she practices is only known by Ka which makes Ka knows the meaning of headscarves for Muslim women.

In short, Muslim women's resistance against secularist's domination is exercised through both outward and inward means. Thus, without considering the effects of their resistance, Muslim women move against the domination, secularist's domination, upon themselves.

CONCLUSION

Based on the previous analysis upon secularist's domination and Muslim women's resistance in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, there can be identified some important finding facts. The manifestation of secularist's domination upon Muslim women is identified into five forms. These are domination through policy-making, threat, onstage play, derogation, and hegemony. Meanwhile, as a form of backlash, Muslim women's resistance against secularist's domination is identified into two major categories, public transcript, which consists of outward resistance through demonstration and insult, and hidden transcript, which consists of

inward resistance through suicide and vis-à-vis dialogue.

Last but not least, based on the findings of the study, it implicates three cases, which can be maintained for the next study. Firstly, the novel shows the idea of domination done by the secularist elites upon Muslim women. Hence, it implicitly also comprises the idea of hegemony. It is due to the findings that there is a practice of persuasion and consent, exercised by the secular state and society, upon modernity. Secondly, the domination is mainly addressed towards Muslim women; however, Muslim men are included in the practice of it. Therefore, the next study can reveal it further. Lastly, the story of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* is set in Islamic rooted country, which contains the idea of women's movement. However, since the women who involve in the movement are headscarves Muslim, thus veiled feminism is applied to underlie the analysis of the study. Henceforth, veiled feminism is recommended to be applied in analyzing women's movement in other Islamic rooted novels.

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