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READING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE THROUGH THE ITALIAN NEWSPAPER LA NAZIONE WITH HABERMAS' THEORY OF COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

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Abstract

Newspapers are mass media that convey a wide range of news from local, national and global developments on a daily or weekly basis and were used to inform and persuade societies about current developments from the ancient period when the first examples were seen, until today. They were shaped by the social and political contexts of their period and have often been a reflection of dominant ideologies, hegemonies and power structures. This research is about a historical newspaper analysis that aims to reveal the communication field between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Italy in the relevant historical period through newspapers. The study utilizes news reports concerning the Ottoman Empire published in the Italian newspaper La Nazione as research data, focusing on the ten-year period between 1860 and 1870, during which Italy achieved political unity and transformed into the Kingdom of Italy. The data are classified quantitatively using the content analysis method and discussed in the context of German theorist Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action. This research is original as the first and only study-aside from the author's previous works- to focus specifically on the newspaper La Nazione within the broader scope of representations of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century Italian press. In terms of its subject matter, methodology and scope, it is the first study to contribute to the existing literature on this topic. Habermas' theory of communicative action serves as a guiding framework for understanding how

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newspapers created a "communicative space" within a historical context and how this space established a relationship between the lifeworld and the system. The quantitative variability of the research findings reveal how the Ottoman Empire was differentiated and defined through fragmentation based on national and ethnic identities within an ideological, nationalist framework from an Italian perspective.

Keywords: Communication, Newspaper, Habermas, Ottoman Empire, Kingdom of Italy.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu İtalyan La Nazione Gazetesinden Habermas’ın İletişimsel Eylem Teorisi ile Okumak

Öz

Gazeteler günlük veya haftalık olarak yerel ve ulusal olaylardan küresel gelişmelere kadar geniş bir yelpazede yer alan haberleri kitlelere aktaran kitle iletişim araçlarıdır. İlk örneklerinin görüldüğü Antik Çağ’dan günümüze toplumları güncel gelişmelerle ilgili bilgilendirmek ve onları ikna etmek amacıyla kullanılan gazeteler, üretildikleri dönemin sosyal ve politik bağlamları tarafından şekillendirilmişler ve sıklıkla baskın ideolojilerin, hegemonyaların ve güç yapılarının birer yansıması olmuşlardır. Bu araştırma da bir tarihi gazete analizini konu almakta ve ilgili tarihsel dönemin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İtalya Krallığı arasındaki iletişim alanını tarihsel gazeteler aracılığıyla ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında, İtalyan La Nazione gazetesinde yayımlanan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na ilişkin haberlere araştırma verileri olarak ele alınmış, İtalya’nın siyasi birliğini sağlayarak İtalya Krallığı’na dönüştüğü, 1860-1870 yıllarını içeren on yıllık bir süreçle sınırlandırılmıştır. Söz konusu veriler içerik analizi yöntemiyle nicel olarak sınıflandırılarak Alman teorisyen Jürgen Habermas’ın iletişimsel eylem teorisi bağlamında tartışılmaktadır. Araştırma 19. yüzyıl İtalya basınındaki Osmanlı İmparatorluğu temsilleri genelinde yapılmış olan (yazarın daha önceki çalışmaları hariç), La Nazione gazetesi özelindeki ilk ve tek çalışma olması açısından özgündür. Araştırma, konusu, yöntem ve araştırma evreni açısından literatüre bu konuda katkı verecek ilk çalışmadır. Habermas’ın iletişimsel eylem teorisi, tarihsel bağlamda gazetelerin nasıl bir "iletişim alanı" oluşturduğunu ve bu alanın yaşam dünyası ile sistem arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurduğunu anlamada yol gösterici olmaktadır. Araştırmanın bulgularının nicel dağılımı da dönemin iletişim alanının günlük yaşam pratikleri ile askeri, siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel sistem arasındaki bağlamını anlamlandırabilmek için önemlidir. Böylelikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun İtalyan perspektifinden ideolojik milliyetçi bir çerçevede ulusal ve etnik kimlikler üzerinden nasıl ayrıştırıldığı ve bölünerek tanımlandığı araştırma sorularının cevabına ulaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İletişim, Gazete, Habermas, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İtalya Krallığı.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, Italians have shown close interest in the Eastern Mediterranean region which they call the Levante (East) and therefore in Anatolia and the people living there, for political, economic and religious reasons. The relations of Italian city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Naples and Florence which were interested in the riches of Anatolia, with the Turks who dominated these lands were a continuation of the relations with the Byzantine State which dominated the region before the Turks. In a sense, the Turks acted as the heirs of the political authority before them while dominating Anatolia. Naturally, the Italians were curious about this new people who dominated Anatolia and showed interest in them. The communication and interaction that continued uninterruptedly between the two nations for centuries entered its most intense period with the 19th century and during this period, Ottoman-Italian relations continued to gain different qualities depending on both historical ties and periodic developments. The 19th century was a period of modernization in the Ottoman Empire when social, economic, political, international and cultural changes, especially military, took place and innovations were brought to the lands of the empire. For Italy, the 19th century represents a period in which the Italian nation attempted to achieve political unity and the Italian nation state was unified and transformed into the Kingdom of Italy. The 19th century represents a period in which the political map of Europe was reshaped as nation states took the place of empires and kingdoms that collapsed and disintegrated under the influence of nationalist ideology. The most important dynamic of this period is undoubtedly the imperialist policies pursued by the established nation states and the intense and frequently changing agenda depending on these policies. This dynamic agenda was simultaneously reflected in the newspapers, the mass media of the period.

This research aims to reveal the communication field between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Italy through newspapers which were the mass media of the period. The communication field refers to the production of narratives in newspaper news and their understanding and interpretation by the reader. The communication field of the research was defined through the headlines of news about the Ottoman Empire published under the main heading of "Foreign News" (Notizie Estere) in the newspaper *La Nazione* (The Nation) which was used as the data source within the scope of the research. The newspaper which was the data source of the research was reached through an archive scan. The research was not conducted in a digital environment, but physically in the city of Rome, in the National Library of Rome (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma). Therefore, the scope of the research includes the issues of the newspaper *La*

Nazione in the National Library of Rome and its news about the Ottoman Empire. The scope of the research is limited to a ten-year period covering the years 1860-1870. Because the Kingdom of Italy was officially established in 1861 and as of this date, it started to take its place as an official actor and a single Italian state in the European political environment. Therefore, in order to define the communication and interaction process with the Ottoman Empire in the context of international relations, the period when Italy achieved political unity and the following ten years were determined as the research universe. The reason for choosing the La Nazione newspaper in the research is that, according to the records in the library newspaper catalog, its printed issues for the relevant dates are complete. This newspaper was chosen for the research because it was thought that it would prepare the ground for homogeneous findings in terms of the quantity of data that can be reached in the research. All issues of the newspaper between 1860 and 1870 are printed in the National Library of Rome and there are no digital copies. However, during the research it was found that the August and September editions of 1860 were missing/incomplete (*mancante*) and this was stated as a written warning in the annual fascicle. Newspapers from all years and months except this restriction are included in the research. The news items that constitute the research data were analyzed quantitatively using the content analysis method.

Content analysis essentially deals with the literal level of communication, it can and does reveal the frequencies of expression of values and attitudes within this level and the patterns related to them (Fiske, 2015, p. 259). Within the scope of the research, the news which are the research data, were analyzed quantitatively on a yearly and monthly basis with content analysis and then evaluated in the context of German theorist Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action. Habermas speaks of two types of action in social relations: "strategic action" and "communicative action" (Habermas, 1986, p. 285). Habermas' theory of communicative action is a framework developed to understand social relations in modern society. This theory advocates a form of action based on mutual understanding and consensus where individuals come together rationally through communication. According to Habermas, communicative action is a process in which discourse is used not only as a tool, but also as a basic means of creating social meaning. Habermas sought the potential for human development and human values in communicative action and the public sphere (Akkol, 2019, p. 172). Therefore, this research focuses on how newspaper news creates a communication field in communicative action and how this field establishes a relationship between the life world and the system. The findings of the research reveal how this multifaceted communication and cultural exchange between

Turkish and Italian societies throughout their common history, including political, military, economic, cultural and social, was shaped in the context of the nationalist ideology that was the hegemony of the period, through news headlines and their quantities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In communication studies, historical newspapers can reveal the levels of rational discussion in societies at a time, depending on the research topics. Evaluating whether the discussions in newspapers are manipulative or consensual offers an interpretive framework based on Habermas' theory of communicative action. From this point on, the distribution of news about the Ottoman Empire published in the Foreign News section of the historical newspaper *La Nazione* according to their numbers and titles can reveal how the discourse of the period was constructed. Habermas emphasizes that newspapers play a critical role in the construction of the public sphere in modern societies. The public sphere is a part of a daily life where individuals can freely discuss, share their ideas and shape social norms. Historical newspapers functioned as part of this sphere, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries when they became widespread. Habermas defined the public sphere as specific where emerging from civil society (Özbek, 2004, p. 27). The public sphere primarily refers to a part of social life where ideas and trends that can be described as "public opinion" are formed. In order to speak of a public sphere, access and participation in this part of social life must be possible for all citizens. The public sphere is all environments where individuals come together and communicate with their free behavior (Habermas, 1974, p. 49). These social sphere shares have carried the ideals of equality, human rights and justice forward. The narrowing of this public sphere and its exposure to interventions, structural forces and commercial mass media assuming roles that negatively affect the social sphere, have resulted in the "public sphere" losing its effectiveness day by day (Habermas, 2007, p. 62-63).

Jürgen Habermas, considered the last member of the Frankfurt School, similar to his teachers such as Adorno and Horkheimer, viewed capitalism and instrumental reason as corrosive forces that prevent liberating, ethical and democratic forms of human association (Smith, 2007, p. 72). He argued that a healthy social structure should be based on a communicative action in which all individuals participate on the basis of equality and freely exchange ideas in an ideal conversational environment. Therefore, Habermas' theory of communicative action is based on the legacy of Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* in the Frankfurt School tradition (Smith, 2007, p. 75, as cited in

McCarthy). Habermas, in his theory of communicative action, has mentioned that the freedom of the individual is restricted in the process of socialization. When technical applications and mass manipulation are added to the definitions of instrumental reason and strategic reason, individual freedom is damaged. In a society where the individual cannot be free, real socialization cannot occur. The suppression and manipulation of the free public sphere by the system, ideology and state mechanism has eliminated the free public sphere. The reestablishment of the free public sphere can be possible with “communication ethics”. According to Habermas, “common sense” is beyond instrumental and strategic sense. Through communicative ethics, ideas can be developed by speaking freely. Social consensus will only occur as a result of a free speech environment. The foundation on which the modernization project will be built is also social consensus. The transformation of the public sphere into an atmosphere where different ideas are freely expressed and competed overlaps with the theory of communicative action at this point (Habermas, 2007, p. 135). In the research, making a pragmatic assessment in the context of Habermas’ theory of communicative action will contribute to the analysis. Because, owing to pragmatics, the perspective of the participant in social action gains a new meaning for critical theory. While Adorno and Horkheimer emphasize the forms of victimization that participation in large segments of cultural life requires, Habermas will show how the possibilities of criticism are built into the communicative competence that the participant uses even under distorted communication conditions (Grahame, 2010, p. 290).

Horkheimer and Adorno argued in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* that reason had reached an impasse within the bureaucratic rationalization of society. Habermas argued that if reason were redefined in a new way, the enlightenment project (which saw reason as leading to freedom) could be saved. He argued that we should work with a communicative reason that consists of the undistorted actions of people who sincerely attempt to achieve open and mutual understanding (Smith, 2007, p. 75). According to Habermas, like other members of critical perspectives, capitalism and modernism which are based on the instrumentalization of reason, are the greatest obstacles to human liberation. The instrumental reason created by the Age of Enlightenment has created patterns; through these patterns, authoritarian, oppressive systems that suppress and enslave cultures have been established. Only through critical rationality can we escape from this unfree situation created by instrumental reason which is a product of the Age of Enlightenment. According to Habermas, freedoms can be achieved through revisions within the current system (Karagöz, 2010, p. 204). Habermas thinks that mass culture production is based on the needs of capitalism.

Commercial culture is largely devoid of internal critical potential. It owes its existence to the passive audience. Habermas' evaluations of modern culture are largely based on these premises. He looks for the critique of dominant rationality in bourgeois salon society and discovers a liberatory and utopian logic there (Çakır, 2014, p. 356). Habermas argues that in modern societies the system (power centers such as economy and politics) can suppress the world of life. In this context, information can be obtained through historical newspapers about whether or not journalistic practices in a period were under the influence of the system (censorship, propaganda, etc.).

METHOD

The newspaper named *La Nazione* is the main source of this research which was reached through an archive scan. The research was physically conducted in the National Library of Rome (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma), department of Newspaper Archive (Emeroteca) and there is no ethical statement is required for this study. The data obtained from *La Nazione* is evaluated by content analysis method. Content analysis has been a method frequently used to count certain key words in news items from a quantitative perspective or to reveal distinct patterns of language used and to create categories. The first definition of content analysis, one of the most frequently used analysis methods in communication and media research, is "a research technique that can provide an objective, systematic and quantitative explanation of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952, as cited in Gunter, 2002, p. 220). In a newspaper archive scan conducted on a certain subject; analyses conducted to understand how frequently and in what context words directly and indirectly related to the research topic were used in the columns of that period are included in the scope of content analysis. Content analysis techniques aim to get rid of subjective factors in understanding and interpreting a discourse. They bring objective reading principles to the interpretation made easily and automatically, depending on the reader's knowledge, intuition, attitudes, values and frame of reference. Instead of the visible, easily caught, exhibited and perceived at first glance content of the discourse, they enable the hidden, implicit content to be revealed. Therefore, content analysis is a "second reading" aimed at determining the elements in the message that affect the individual without being seen (Bilgin, 2014, p. 1).

Within the scope of this research, first the data which obtained from *La Nazione* will be evaluated by the content analyses, then the findings of the research will be interpreted through Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action. At this point, before giving the findings of the research, a short information about

the newspaper La Nazione will be beneficial in order to understand the context of that period.

La Nazione is Florence's leading and longest-established daily newspaper, founded and was first published on July 14, 1859. It was the part of the QN (Quotidiano Nazionale) group, it serves as the go-to source for local news, politics, the economy, and events in Florence and throughout Tuscany. Its founders were Alessandro D'Ancona, Piero Puccioni, Carlo Fenzi and Leopoldo Cempini. During the first ten years, the newspaper focused on the national cause, namely the political unification of Italy (Forno, 2015, p. 203). For this reason, the front page of the newspaper was always devoted to politics. The newspaper existed until July 28, 1944 when it was renamed "La Nazione Italiana". However, on the occasion of its centennial, it was renamed "La Nazione" on July 14, 1959. La Nazione is the main daily newspaper of Florence and is distributed nationwide. According to Naldini (2009), the orientation of the newspaper has always been moderate-conservative.



Figure 1. The first issue of La Nazione Newspaper, July 14, 1859
Year 1, Issue 1 (Archive Today: Biblioteca Digitale Toscana)

La Nazione newspaper is a text-based newspaper that mostly includes very few visuals due to being a political newspaper. Based on the research conducted on the newspapers published in this period, it can be said that the newspaper was designed by dividing it into columns and sections within the framework of the journalistic approach published in that period. These sections consist of sections/main headings such as News from Italy, News from Europe, Foreign News, Telegraph News and Evening News, starting from the geography (city/city-state or region) where the newspaper was published. There are subheadings under each section. Within the scope of the research, all news published under the Foreign News section/main heading regarding the Ottoman Empire were collected and classified as data sources. The news published during the ten-year period focused on by the research is presented in the tables chronologically by year and month. The news published during the ten-year period on which the research focuses are listed in the tables chronologically by year and month. The column headings in the tables were determined based on the subheadings that were reported two or more times. The numbers with “*” in the monthly and yearly totals indicate that the news items listed below the table which were published only once and which do not appear among the news items in the table are also included in the total calculation. As stated in the introduction to the article, the August and September editions of 1860 are not available.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The findings of this research derived from quantitative data are presented in tables on an annual basis. The news titles in all tables are given with their original subheadings as published in the newspaper. It is observed that the headings "Türkiye" and "Constantinople" appear in most of the news reports concerning the Ottoman Empire. The term Türkiye (Turchia in Italian), instead of Ottoman Empire (Impero Ottomano in Italian) which was first used by Italians in the 11th century to emphasize that the Seljuks who settled in Anatolia were Turks and Turchia (Turquia) to indicate their lands, became widespread over time and has survived to the present day (Çelebi, 2007, p. 20). For this reason, Italians have mostly called the lands where Turks have lived for centuries Türkiye even though its name is the Ottoman Empire. Constantinople is also the old name of Istanbul. However, Italians and even the Western world still use the old name of Istanbul today.

In Table 1, Türkiye, Egypt, Türkiye & Egypt, Constantinople, Türkiye & Constantinople, Belgrade, Servia, Servia and Türkiye titles were seen in 1860's news headlines. Egypt (rarely Cairo and Alexandria) is heavily featured in the

news because it was Ottoman territory. To give brief information about it because it is less known Serbia is a town in the Western Macedonia region of Greece. It was one of the Ottoman Empire's sanjaks in Rumelia between 1881 and 1912. Serbia is current due to the uprisings that took place in the Ottoman lands in the Balkans in this historical period. Belgrade was one of the Ottoman sanjaks since 1521 when it came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and with the state's lands in Europe. A large part of the city was damaged in the Austro-Ottoman wars and after a while, its rule passed to the Habsburg Monarchy. The city remained directly under Ottoman rule until the Serbian rebellion of 1815. In 1815, it became a city of autonomous Serbia under the Ottoman Empire. When Serbia became an independent state with the Berlin Treaty of 1878, Belgrade officially passed out of Ottoman territory.

Table 1.

1860 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt, Türkiye & Egypt	Constantinople, Türkiye & Constantinople	Belgrade	Servia, Servia & Türkiye	Monthly Total
1860	January			4	1		6*
	February			4	2		6
	March	1		4			5
	April			5			5
	May	3	2	6			11
	June	8		4			12
	July	15	1	5			21
	August						
	September						
	October	6				4	10
	November	6		1			7
	December	8	1			1	10
Total		47	4	33	3	5	93*

* +1 Alexandria (January)

In the Table 2, there are four main titles and five additional news about Ottoman Empire is given below. Also, the whereabouts of Kotor may not be known. Kotor, from Italian historically known and named as Cattaro is a town in the Coastal region of Montenegro. It is located in a secluded part of the Bay of Kotor. The

reason why Kotor is given in the same news context as Türkiye is due to diplomatic relations in the region.

Table 2.

1861 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Türkiye: Constantinople	Türkiye: Kotor/Catarro	Servia & Türkiye	Monthly Total
1861	January	10	1		1	13*
	February	4	1			6*
	March	5	1			6
	April	11				11
	May	16				16
	June	15	1			16
	July	12	1			14*
	August	7	1			8
	September	9				9
	October	5	1	1		9*
	November	16		1	1	18
	December	8	2			10
Total		118	8	2	2	136*

* +1 Africa (Tunisia) (January), +1 Servia & Egypt (February), +1 Türkiye & Egypt (July), +1 Egypt (October) and +1 Servia (October)

According to Table 3, due to the militarian and political activity in the Balkans, 1862 was the year in which the largest number of news and articles about the Ottoman Empire was published during the decade. Mostar, Servia and Belgrade took place under the rule of Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. Mostar which is the capital of Herzegovina located on the banks of the Neretva River, was one of the most important centers for Ottomans in Balkans territory. Alongside these territories in Balkans, the Ottoman Empire's African territories were also important. For instance, in Africa, Tunisia is as important as Balkan provinces like Mostar, Servia and Belgrade for the Ottoman Empire in this historical period. The additional news about Ottoman Empire is given below the table.

Table 3.

1862 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Türkiye & Constantinople	Servia	Servia & Belgrade	Monthly Total
1862	January	16			2		18
	February	7		4			11
	March	12	1		1		14
	April	13	3	6	2		25*
	May	11		5		1	17
	June	12			5	4	21
	July	12			5	5	22
	August	12		1	3	2	18
	September	9			1	3	13
	October	10			13		23
	November	11			2		13
	December	6	3				10*
Total		131	7	16	34	15	205*

* +1 Servia: Türkiye (January), +1 Türkiye: Mostar (April), +1 Africa: Tunisia (December)

1863 stands out as the year in which the least news about the Ottoman Empire was published during the decade as seen in Table 4.

Table 4.

1863 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Monthly Total
1863	January	7	2	9
	February	1		1
	March			0
	April		1	1
	May	1	1	2
	June	4		4
	July			0

	August	2		2
	September	1		1
	October	3		3
	November	6		6
	December	1		1
Total		26	4	30

In La Nazione from 1864 onwards, Foreign News ceased to be the main heading. It was now printed with side headings and smaller fonts. The fact that foreign news is not given as a main headline undoubtedly indicates a cultural experience for Italy. According to Habermas, newspapers constitute a space where ideas are discussed and public opinion is shaped. So, newspapers offer a "life world" analysis to understand the cultural values and social conventions of a particular period. Sometimes even a small development and change like this can make it possible to understand this social, cultural, political or ideological life world. According to Habermas, life world is the totality of cultural values, norms and social contexts that people share constitutes the context of communicative action.

Table 5.

1864 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Tunisia	Servia	Serbia	Monthly Total
1864	January	1				1
	February					0
	March	2		1		3
	April	1	1			2
	May	5	14	1		20
	June	3	12			16*
	July		12			12
	August		7	1	1	9
	September	1	8		2	11
	October		5			5
	November	1	5			6
	December	3	2			5
Total		17	66	3	3	90*

* +1 Tripoli (June)

In 1865, there was a cholera epidemic in Egypt, the effects of which were intense. For this reason, in addition to the Balkan issue, which was on the map of that

period, the majority of the published news was about this epidemic and they belong to Egypt.

Table 6.
1865 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Tunisia	Belgrade	Monthly Total
1865	January						0
	February			1	1		2
	March	2		2			4
	April						0
	May	1	2				3
	June	1	6	1	2	1	11
	July	12	7	1			20
	August	3	6	1			10
	September	3	1	1		1	6
	October	2	1				4*
	November	3					3
	December		1	1			2
Total		27	24	8	3	2	65*

* +1 Servia (October)

A serious diplomatic crisis arose between the Ottoman Empire and Greece due to the major Cretan Revolt that took place between 1866 and 1869. For this reason, numerous news reports concerning both Candia and the Balkan region have been published in La Nazione

Table 7.
1866 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Candia	Monthly Total
1866	January	1				1
	February	3				3
	March	5	2			8*
	April	5	2			7
	May	5	1	1		7
	June	7	1			8
	July	2		1		3
	August	6		1		7
	September	7			2	9
	October	8		1	9	18
	November	2	1		5	8
	December		2		9	11
Total		51	9	4	25	90*

* +1 Tunisia (March)

Table 8.
1867 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Tunisia	Candia	Belgrade	Serbia	Servia	Monthly Total
1867	January	4	1			8				14*
	February	6	2	1		5				16*
	March	6	1	5	1	4	1	1		19
	April	6		3		6	4	1		21*
	May	4	1	2	1	5				15*
	June	4		3		3				10
	July	4	1	5		1				11
	August	5	1	4		6				16
	September	6	1	4		1			2	14

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October	6	1	4	1	3	1		1	18*
November	5	1	4	1		1	1		13
December	1	1	3			3			8
Total	57	11	38	4	42	10	3	3	175*

* +1 Bosnia (January), +1 Smyrna (February), +1 Lebanon (February), +1 Salonika (April), +1 Beirut (May), +1 Scio Island (May) and +1 Bulgaria (October)

Table 9.
1868 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Tunisia	Candia	Belgrade	Servia	Serbia	Monthly Total
1868	January	5	2							7
	February		1						1	2
	March	2	1	1		1				6*
	April	4	2			2				8
	May	3	2	3	4		1			13
	June	2	2		1		7	2	1	15
	July	4		1	1		16	3	1	26
	August	9		4		1	5			19
	September	3	1	1	2					7
	October	1	1	3	1	2	1			9
	November	2		2	1	2		1		8
	December	5	1	3	1	3	2			15
Total		40	13	18	11	11	32	6	3	135*

* +1 Alessandria (March)

In 1869 there is a noticeable increase in the number of news about Egypt. The construction of the Suez Canal was commissioned by Said Pasha, the governor of Egypt in the Ottoman Empire to a French company with the decree of Sultan Abdul-Aziz dated 1866. The Canal Project was completed in 1869 during the reign of Ismail Pasha, the governor of Egypt. England who opposed the opening of the Suez Canal, invaded Egypt in 1882 and took control of the Canal while Egypt remained loyal to the Ottomans until 1914. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire organized the First and Second Canal Operations in order to retake the Suez Canal. However, these operations were unsuccessful.

Table 10.

1869 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Tunisia	Candia	Belgrade	Servia	Cairo	Monthly Total
1869	January	6		1		4		1		12
	February	6	4	6		1	1			18
	March	4		4						8
	April	3	2	3					1	9
	May	3	1	1	1					6
	June	4	1		1			1		7
	July	3		1	6					12*
	August	3	4	2	1					10
	September	3	3	2	1					10*
	October	5	10	4	2					22*
	November	6	6	3					1	16
	December	4	7	3	3		1	2		18
Total		50	38	30	15	5	2	2	2	148*

* +1 Tripoli (July), + 1 Serbia (July), +1 Suez Canal (September) and +1 Jerusalem (October)

Table 11.

1870 News statistics by headlines

Year	Month	Türkiye	Egypt	Constantinople	Tunisia	Cairo	Monthly Total
1870	January	2	2	4		1	9
	February	3	2	5	4		14
	March	3	1	6	3	1	14
	April	5	1	1	4		11
	May	3			1		4
	June	7	1	1			9
	July	1	1	1			3
	August	2		6			9*
	September	2		5	2		9
	October			4			4

November	2		1			4*
December	2		4			6
Total	32	8	38	14	2	96*

* +1 Belgrade (August) and +1 Serbia (November)

These tables which emerged as a result of the content analysis conducted with the research data, provide us with findings sufficient to reveal the dominant ideological discourse of the media. Undoubtedly, the emphasis that all texts can be read multiple times, depending on the subject positions and perspectives of the readers, constitutes one of the most important contributions of cultural studies. People belonging to distant groups will also read texts differently; at this point, cultural studies can explain why and how various audiences consume media culture in different ways and produce different readings of texts (Kellner, 2008, p. 162). But despite these different perspectives and interpretations, in the news about the Ottoman Empire which attracted the attention of European countries, especially Italy, that adopted imperial policies with its multinational structure, the ideology of nationalism was emphasized.

Nationalism is a doctrine that emerged in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century (Kedourie, 1994, p. 1) and can be defined as placing the concept of nation at the main focus of political organization (Tok, 2022, p. 102). British sociologist Anthony D. S. Smith (1939-2016) defined the concept of nation as “a named community of people residing in a place considered as a homeland, having common myths and a shared history, a distinct culture, a single economy and common laws and customs for all its members” (Smith, 2013, p. 25). However, it is not nations that create states and nationalisms, but nationalisms that create nations (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 24). First of all, nationalism is considered as a modern idea that emerged in the last quarter of the 18th century. Nationalism in its modern sense is considered as a political product or need of objective conditions such as developing and transforming industrialization, industrialization, press-publication activities, education and the sociological environment that developed with them. However, although nationalism is a modern phenomenon, it is also accepted that it has a historical background. When nationalism emerged or was invented, it found a structure and a place waiting for it to rise on. For some, this structure was ethnicity, for some, nation, for some, national consciousness, etc. (Ertan and Örs, 2018, p. 80-81). Nationalism in the 19th century, unlike its content in the previous century, had some universally valid common standards that would establish international solidarity. Nationalism in this period was seen as a natural consequence of individualism and democracy and in a sense, it gradually became more democratic. The rights of nations were largely derived from human rights and made dependent on them. Accordingly,

every nation should save itself from foreign control and imperialism and should have the right to self-determination by establishing a free and national state that derives its legitimacy from its own people (Mazlum-Aksoy, 2021, p. 666). Jürgen Habermas states that in the late 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, European governments constantly used the driving force of nationalism to direct the social conflicts that emerged within themselves outward rather than internally and to provide balance with the contributions they would make in foreign policy (Habermas, 2015, p. 78). The number of news in the Figure 1 shows that newspapers function as a public sphere where individuals discuss social issues. In this context, it is found that newspapers contribute to social consensus through communicative action.

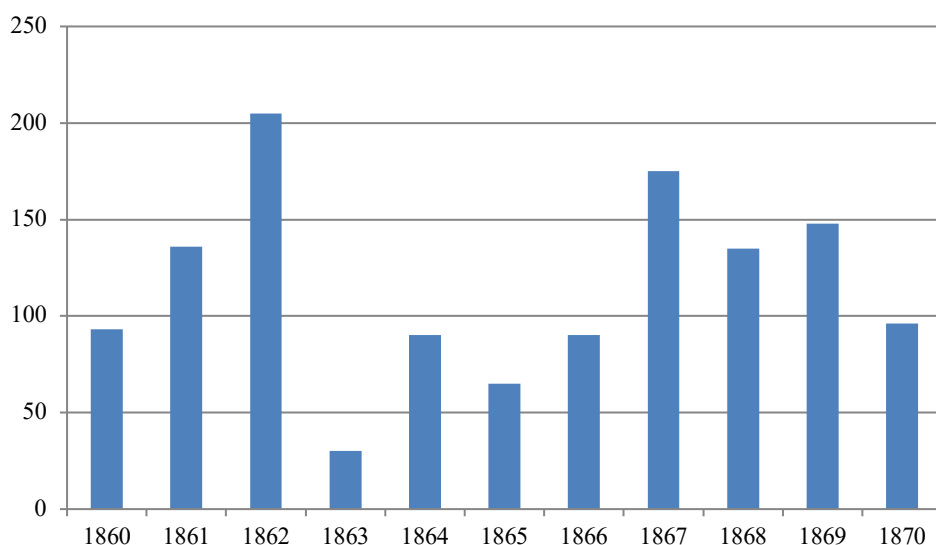


Figure 1. Number of annual news

In the Ottoman Empire, the concept of “nation” means a community affiliated with a religion or sect (Eryilmaz 1990, p. 17). The empire had a diverse population structure consisting of many nations and ethnic identities such as Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Croats, Circassians, Africans, Lezgins, etc. (Bekâr and Yaban, 2019, p. 146). Therefore, with the support of newspapers, the capture of cultural and historical similarities and accordingly, the establishment of a satisfactory agreement between the nation and the state in the formation of the state and independence movements, forced the effort (Calhoun, 2012, p. 172). According

to Habermas, existing culture enables critical dialogue forms and turns viewers into addicts. The dominant discourse of the media is responsible for the asymmetrical reproduction of social groups (Çakır, 2014, p. 338). Therefore, the news published about a different country, different national and ethnic identities living in that country also reveal the ideal of turning the ideology of nationalism into hegemony (Figure 2).

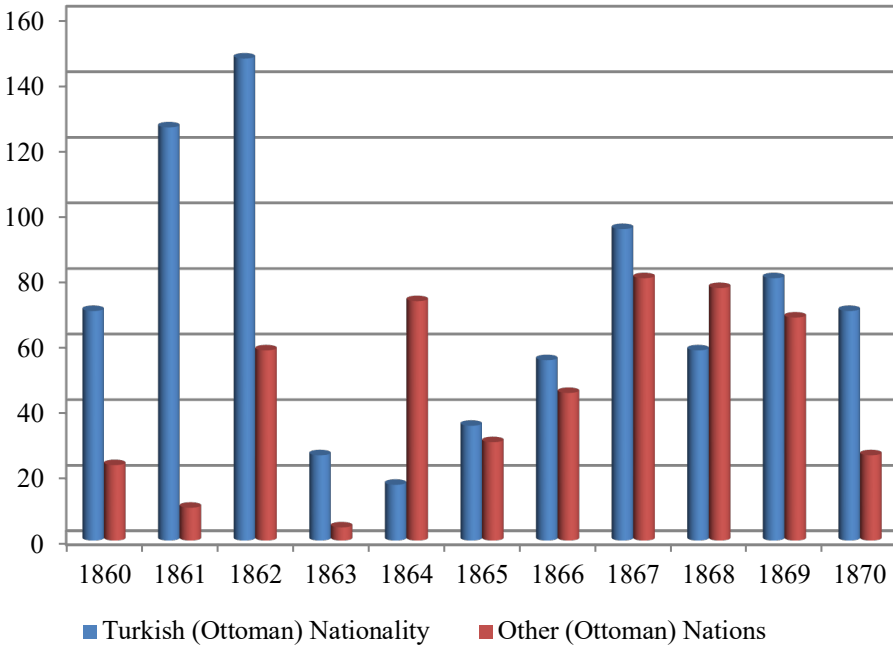


Figure 2. Number of annual news according to nations

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this research and article ten years of issues of La Nazione newspaper which started its publication life in the city-state of Florence in Italy in the 19th century and continued in the Kingdom of Italy which achieved political unity were examined. A total of 1263 news items about the Ottoman Empire were found in the newspapers. All subheadings published under the main heading of “Foreign News” were included in the research. News found in newspapers is classified

according to their headlines. The news items in question were summarized within 11 tables for each year according to their headlines, topics and news titles.

After the evaluation of the data, which emerged that the emphasis on nation and national identity in the subtitles of newspaper articles was used to directly evoke and emphasize the "nation state" in the context of nationalist ideology. The quantitative densities of the published news items were evaluated as evidence of the national and ethnic discrimination that was intended to be emphasized or underlined. Because almost all of the news discourses support the ideology of nationalism. Pointing out the multinational structure of the Ottoman Empire by specifying every national and ethnic identity is a direct result of this discourse. Although the hegemony of the period was nationalism, the discourse used by the Italian newspaper *La Nazione* in its news about the Ottoman Empire was considered divisive. The news was given from an ideological nationalist framing of decomposition. The nationalist ideological framework read through communicative action is critical and interpretive.

At this point within the framework of Habermas' theory of communicative action, it becomes clear that communicative action refers to the social and subjective worlds simultaneously whether or not there is a common interpretive process. In this period when communicative action takes place through newspapers and when newspapers are extremely effective, ideologies will be produced and disseminated by the media, just as usual. The important point here is social consensus. The fact that Italy was currently in the process of establishing political unity legitimizes the effort to spread the ideology of nationalism in this period. It is also quite natural that it carries out this communicative action through newspapers read by its own citizens. However, while doing this, it also reveals its imperialist dreams and goals (for which it is already late) in the messages and discourses just like other European states. For this reason, all news given from a nationalist perspective was evaluated as nation divisive messages not only for Italy but for all nations or people due to the current hegemony of the history. Therefore, it is concluded that emphasizing the different nations under the administration or control of the Ottoman Empire in news was a direct contribution to hegemony. When the features of mass media to influence, direct, liberate or blind the public are taken into consideration, communicative action processes which are the source of social consensus, are of great importance. Therefore, while considering and evaluating communicative action processes, it should not be forgotten that they are the outputs of a systematic political, military, economic, social and cultural production.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

İtalyanlar, tarih boyunca Levante (Doğu) dedikleri Doğu Akdeniz bölgesine yani Anadolu'ya ve Anadolu halkına siyasi, ekonomik ve dini nedenlerden ötürü yakından ilgi göstermişlerdir. Anadolu'nun zenginlikleriyle ilgilenen Venedik, Ceneviz, Napoli, Floransa gibi İtalyan şehir devletlerinin bu topraklara hâkim olan Türklerle ilişkileri; bölgeye Türklerden önce hâkim olan Bizans Devleti ile ilişkilerin devamı niteliğindedir. Bir anlamda Türkler, Anadolu'ya egemen olurken kendilerinden önceki siyasi otoritenin mirasçısı gibi davranmışlardır. Haliyle İtalyanlar da Anadolu'ya hâkim olan bu yeni halkı merak etmişler ve ilgi göstermişlerdir. Yüzyıllar boyunca iki millet arasında hiç kesintisiz süren iletişim ve etkileşim 19. yüzyılla birlikte en yoğun dönemine girmiş, bu dönemde Osmanlı-İtalya ilişkileri hem tarihsel bağlara hem de dönemsel gelişmelere bağlı olarak farklı nitelikler kazanarak devam etmiştir. 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, başta askeri olmak üzere, sosyal, ekonomik, siyasal, uluslararası ve kültürel değişimlerin yaşandığı, imparatorluk topraklarına yeniliklerin geldiği bir modernleşme dönemi olmuştur. İtalya için ise 19. yüzyıl, İtalyan milletin siyasi birliğini sağlama girişimini hayata geçirdiği ve İtalyan ulus devletinin birleşerek İtalya Krallığı'na dönüştüğü bir süreci ifade etmektedir. 19. yüzyıl, milliyetçilik ideolojisinin etkisiyle yıkılan ve dağılan imparatorluk ve krallıkların yerini ulus devletlerin almasıyla Avrupa siyasi haritasının yeniden şekillendiği bir dönemi ifade etmektedir. Bu dönemin en önemli dinamiği ise şüphesiz, kurulan ulus devletlerin yürüttükleri emperyalist politikalar ve bu politikalara bağlı olarak yoğun ve sıkça değişen gündemdir. Söz konusu hareketli gündem, dönemin kitle iletişim araçları olan gazetelere de eş zamanlı olarak yansımıştır.

Amaç ve Kapsam: Bu araştırma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İtalya Krallığı arasındaki iletişim alanını, dönemin kitle iletişim aracı olan gazeteler ile ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. İletişim alanı, gazete haberlerinde yer alan anlatıların üretimi ile okuyucu tarafından anlaşılması ve yorumlanması anlamına gelmektedir. Araştırmanın iletişim alanı, araştırma kapsamında veri kaynağı olarak kullanılan La Nazione gazetesinde “Dış Haberler” (Notizie Estere) ana başlığı altında yayımlanan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile ilgili haberlerin başlıkları üzerinden tanımlanmıştır. Araştırmanın veri kaynağı olan gazeteye arşiv taraması ile ulaşılmıştır. Araştırma dijital ortamda değil, fiziki olarak Roma şehrinde, Roma Milli Kütüphanesinde (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma) gerçekleştirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla araştırmanın kapsamı, La Nazione adlı gazetenin

Roma Milli Kütüphanesinde bulunan sayılarını ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu konu alan haberlerini içermektedir. Araştırmanın kapsamı, 1860-1870 yıllarını içeren on yıllık bir süreçle sınırlandırılmıştır. Çünkü İtalya Krallığı resmen 1861 yılında kurulmuş ve bu tarih itibarıyla Avrupa siyasi ortamında resmi bir aktör ve tek bir İtalyan devleti olarak yer almaya başlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, uluslararası ilişkiler bağlamında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile iletişim ve etkileşim sürecinin sağlıklı tanımlanabilmesi için İtalya’nın siyasi birliğini sağladığı dönem ve onu takip eden on yıl, araştırma evreni olarak belirlenmiştir. Araştırmada La Nazione gazetesinin seçilmesinin sebebi, kütüphane gazete kataloğundaki kayıtlara göre, ilgili tarihlerdeki basılı sayılarının tam olmasıdır. Araştırmada ulaşılabilecek verilerinin niceliği açısından homojen bulgulara zemin hazırlayacağı düşünüldüğü için bu gazete araştırma için seçilmiştir. Roma Milli Kütüphanesinde gazetenin 1860-1870 yılları arasındaki tüm sayıları basılıdır ve dijital kopyaları bulunmamaktadır. Ancak araştırma sırasında, 1860 yılının Ağustos ve Eylül ayı baskılarının eksik (mancante) oldukları, yıllık fasikülün içerisinde yazılı uyarı olarak belirtildiği görülmüştür. Bu kısıt dışında kalan tüm yıl ve aylara ait gazeteler araştırmada yer almaktadır.

Yöntem: Araştırma verileri olan haberler içerik analizi yöntemiyle niceliksel olarak çözümlenmiştir. İçerik analizleri nicel açıdan, haberlerde yer alan belli anahtar kelimelerin sayılması ya da kullanılan dilin belirgin kalıplarını ortaya çıkarmak ve kategoriler oluşturmak için oldukça sık başvurulan bir yöntem olmuştur. Belli bir konuda yapılan bir gazete arşivi taramasında; araştırma konusuyla doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak ilgili kelimelerin, o dönemin köşe yazılarında ne sıklıkla ve hangi bağlamda geçtiğini anlamak için yapılan analizler içerik analizi kapsamına girmektedir. Araştırma kapsamında, araştırma verileri olan haberler, içerik analizi ile yıl ve ay bazında nicel olarak çözümlendikten sonra Alman teorisyen Jürgen Habermas’ın iletişimsel eylem kuramı bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. Habermas, toplumsal ilişkilerde iki türlü eylemden söz eder: “stratejik eylem” ve “iletişimsel eylem”. Habermas’ın iletişimsel eylem kuramı, modern toplumdaki sosyal ilişkileri anlamak için geliştirilmiş bir çerçevedir. Bu kuram, bireylerin iletişim yoluyla rasyonel bir şekilde bir araya geldiği, ortak anlayışa ve uzlaşmaya dayalı bir eylem biçimini savunur. Habermas’a göre, iletişimsel eylem, söylemin yalnızca bir araç olarak değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal anlam yaratmanın temel bir aracı olarak kullanıldığı bir süreçtir. Dolayısıyla bu araştırma iletişimsel eylemde, gazete haberlerinin nasıl bir iletişim alanı oluşturduğuna ve bu alanın yaşam dünyası ile sistem arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurduğuna odaklanmaktadır.

Bulgular: Araştırmanın bulguları, Türk ve İtalyan toplumları arasında ortak tarihleri boyunca yaşanan siyasi, askeri, ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal bu çok

yönlü iletişim ve kültür alışverişinin, dönemin hegemonyası olan milliyetçilik ideolojisi bağlamında nasıl şekillendiğini haber başlıkları ve sayıları üzerinden ortaya koymaktadır.

Sonuç ve Tartışma: Bu araştırmada, 19. yüzyılda İtalya'nın Floransa şehir devletinde yayın hayatına başlayan ve siyasi birliği sağlayan İtalya Krallığı'nda yayın hayatına devam eden La Nazione gazetesinin on yıllık sayıları incelenmiştir. Gazetelerde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile ilgili toplam 1263 haber bulunmuştur. Dış Haberler ana başlığı altında yayınlanan tüm alt başlıklar araştırmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Gazetelerde bulunan haberler başlıklarına göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Söz konusu haberler her yıl için konu ve haber başlıklarına göre 11 tabloda özetlenmiştir. Gazete makalelerinin alt başlıklarında ulus ve ulusal kimliğe yapılan vurgunun, milliyetçi ideoloji bağlamında "ulus devlet"i doğrudan çağrıştırmak ve vurgulamak için kullanıldığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Yayımlanan haberlerin niceliksel yoğunluğu, vurgulanmak veya altı çizilmek istenen ulusal ve etnik ayrımcılığın kanıtı olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu noktada Habermas'ın iletişimsel eylem kuramı çerçevesinde, ortak bir yorumlama süreci olsun ya da olmasın, iletişimsel eylemin toplumsal ve öznel dünyalara aynı anda gönderme yaptığı ortaya çıkar. İletişimsel eylemin gazeteler aracılığıyla gerçekleştiği ve gazetelerin son derece etkili olduğu bu dönemde, ideolojiler her zamanki gibi medya tarafından üretilecek ve yayılacaktır. Burada önemli olan nokta toplumsal mutabakattır. İtalya'nın şu anda siyasal birliği sağlama sürecinde olması, milliyetçilik ideolojisini yayma çabasını meşrulaştırmaktadır. Bu iletişimsel eylemi kendi vatandaşlarının okuduğu gazeteler aracılığıyla gerçekleştirmesi de gayet doğaldır. Ancak bunu yaparken, diğer Avrupa devletleri gibi, emperyalist hayallerini ve hedeflerini (ki bunun için çoktan geç bile kalmıştır) mesajlarında ve söylemlerinde ortaya koymaktadır. Çünkü söylemlerinin hemen hepsi milliyetçilik ideolojisini desteklemektedir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok uluslu yapısını her ulusal ve etnik kimliği belirterek vurgulaması, doğrudan bu söylemin bir sonucudur. Kitle iletişim araçlarının kamuoyunu etkileme, yönlendirme, özgürleştirme veya körleştirme özellikleri göz önüne alındığında, toplumsal mutabakat kaynağı olan iletişimsel eylem süreçleri büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle, iletişimsel eylem süreçlerini ele alırken ve değerlendirirken, bunların sistematik bir siyasal, askeri, ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel üretimin çıktıları olduğu unutulmamalıdır.

Note: *This article was written as part of my post-doc research completed at Sapienza Università di Roma under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fabio L.*

Reading the Ottoman Empire through the Italian Newspaper La Nazione with...

Grassi. I would like to thank my esteemed professor for his contributions throughout the process.

Çıkar Çatışması Bildirimi

Bu makalenin araştırılması, yazarlığı ve/veya yayınlanmasına ilişkin herhangi bir potansiyel çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

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