

## The Role of Tan Newspaper (1969-1999) in the History of Kosovo in the Context of Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory

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### ABSTRACT

In this study, within the framework of Latour's Actor-Network Theory, the role of Tan Newspaper, which was published in Kosovo between 1969 and 1999, in the political, educational, cultural-artistic, economic, and Turkish language preservation efforts of the Kosovo Turkish community is examined. The research is based on oral history interviews conducted with five former journalists of the newspaper. The data obtained from these interviews were analyzed using qualitative content analysis with the MaxQDA software. The analysis focuses on how journalists perceived the key issues of the Kosovo Turkish community and how these issues were reflected in the newspaper's pages. The study reveals that Tan Newspaper was not only a means of communication but also a tool for preserving cultural identity and drawing attention to social issues. The integration of first-hand testimonies with qualitative content analysis enhances the historical and methodological significance of the study.

**Keywords:** Actor-Network Theory, Tan Newspaper, Kosovo Turkish Communities, Cultural Identity, MaxQda

### INTRODUCTION

Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is an approach that examines social structures not only through individuals but also through the mutual interaction of all actors within them. This theory analyzes the role of both human and non-human actors to understand how a particular social system is constructed. In this context, this study explores the role of *Tan Newspaper* in the process of preserving the cultural identities and shaping the social networks of the Kosovo Turkish community. The Kosovo Turkish community has struggled to preserve its identity throughout history. In this regard, *Tan Newspaper* has been not only a media organization that transmits news but also a significant actor in the construction and preservation of community identity. The newspaper has functioned as a platform guiding the community in terms of education, cultural heritage, and language sustainability (Tacoğlu, 2008; Okumuş, 2015; Okumuş, 2025b).

This study aims to evaluate the socio-cultural impact of *Tan Newspaper* on the Kosovo Turkish community within the framework of Latour's Actor-Network Theory and Callon's translation approach. Existing oral history studies on the role of *Tan Newspaper* in the literature are limited; therefore, this study represents one of the significant academic initiatives that examine the newspaper's position as a social actor. Within the scope of the study, qualitative research methods such as oral history interviews and textual analysis were employed. The newspaper's social impact was analyzed through Callon's Translation Process approach, focusing on stages such as problematization, enrollment, interessement, and mobilization of alliances and black box. In this regard, *Tan Newspaper* is revealed not only as a media institution but also as an active actor in social transformation.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Theoretical Framework of the Actor-Network Theory Approach

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is a significant approach developed in the social sciences, particularly in media and communication studies, to understand the relationships between knowledge and power. This theory, introduced by Bruno Latour, Michael Callon, and John Law, is primarily associated with the conceptualization of networks by Callon and Latour. Latour defines a network as "the instantaneous and unmediated transfer of each piece of information without deformation" (Durmuş & Ekşi, 2021). This perspective highlights a crucial aspect of the transmission of knowledge. ANT emphasizes the free circulation of information among individuals and institutions while ensuring that this process occurs without disruption. However, the actors in these networks are not limited to humans; they also include machines, buildings, written documents, and abstract concepts. Latour and Woolgar (1986) argue that the circulation of knowledge is a social product, shaped through various interactions (cited in Gündüz & Ertong Attar, 2020).

In the media ecosystem, the circulation and accuracy of information have become increasingly complex due to the dynamics introduced by digitalization and new media environments. Latour's approach provides a foundation for explaining how information flows between actors and actants in news dissemination. The increasing speed of news distribution and the abundance of media sources make it more challenging to assess the accuracy of information, emphasizing the necessity of media literacy. At this point, ANT asserts that the circulation of knowledge should not be interpreted solely through human interactions but also through non-human actors. Elements such as newspapers, digital platforms, algorithms, and even printed press materials influence information flow. Therefore, understanding how knowledge is shaped in news media requires analyzing the relationships between actors and actants (Paköz, 2020).

Latour introduces two fundamental concepts to explain the process of knowledge formation and circulation (Figure 1):

- **Actor:** Refers to individuals and various social structures.
- **Actant:** Includes non-human entities such as machines, objects, and even abstract concepts that play a role within an interaction network.

Additionally, ANT incorporates the concepts of intermediaries and mediators, which play a critical role in knowledge transmission:

- **Intermediaries:** Entities that transfer information without transforming it, merely directing the flow of knowledge.
- **Mediators:** Factors that influence and often reshape the flow of information. (See Figure for details)



**Figure 1:** Actant-Actor-Mediator-Intermediators

When ANT is applied to understanding the dissemination of information within the media and news ecosystem, the roles of both human and non-human actors in journalistic practices become prominent. In the case of *Tan Newspaper*, journalists, news agencies, and readers can be identified as actors, while press materials, digital platforms, algorithms, and even the news itself function as actants.

### The Theoretical Framework of Callon's Translation Approach

Callon's translation approach has been adopted as the primary theoretical framework in this study.

- In the **problematization** stage, the newspaper brings attention to the issues faced by the Kosovo Turkish community.

- In the **enrollment** stage, journalists collaborate with associations and educators to develop solutions.
- During the **interessement** process, the news published by the newspaper mobilizes social actors.
- In the **mobilization of alliances**, the newspaper functions as a binding actor that strengthens relations between Turkey and Kosovo.

Within this context, the study's methodology encompasses both historical and qualitative research techniques. Callon's translation approach is considered a significant tool for understanding the formation and dissemination of news within journalistic processes. The findings indicate that news evolves through the stages of problematization, interessement, enrollment, and mobilization of alliances.

The application of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in analyzing information circulation in journalism allows for a broader understanding—not only of who writes the news but also of which actors and elements influence the content within the news ecosystem. The table illustrates the application of this approach in journalism. (See Table for details)

**Table 1.** Translation Approach and Its Equivalent in Journalism

| Stage                 | Definition                                                                                                       | Journalistic Equivalent                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Problematization      | Highlighting a particular issue or topic in the news production process.                                         | Deciding which event to report on and framing the news.                                                                                                       |
| Interessement         | Convincing other actors of the significance of the identified issue.                                             | Editors, reporters, or sources being convinced of the news value.                                                                                             |
| Enrollment            | The acceptance of roles by actors involved in the process.                                                       | Readers, news sources, and other media entities endorsing or sharing the content.                                                                             |
| Alliance mobilization | Collaboration among actors involved in news production to disseminate the news.                                  | News agencies, social media, traditional media, and algorithms circulating the news.                                                                          |
| Black box             | The roles of actors in the process becoming invisible over time, with decisions being accepted without question. | The dominance of certain actors or sources in news production, leading to a standardized narrative and the gradual disappearance of alternative perspectives. |

### ANT and the Translation Approach in Media Studies and Its Application

In light of this theoretical framework, the study aims to revisit *Tan Newspaper*, a publication that has secured its place in history. Beyond serving as the voice of the Kosovo Turkish community, *Tan Newspaper* is regarded as a key actor shaping the community's social, political, and cultural dynamics. By reaching firsthand witnesses and employing qualitative data analysis techniques, the study presents significant findings on issues related to politics, education, culture and the arts, the economy, and the preservation of the Turkish language within the Kosovo Turkish community.

Building on Latour's Actor-Network Theory, this study analyzes how *Tan Newspaper*, which was active between 1969 and 1999, represented efforts related to politics, education, culture and the arts, the economy, and the survival of the Turkish language in the Kosovo Turkish community. The analysis is conducted through the oral history interviews of former journalists. Within this framework, *Tan Newspaper* is examined not merely as a news source but as a component shaped within a broader social and cultural network, influencing and defining its dynamics.

*Tan Newspaper* is recognized for acting as a bridge between Kosovo Turks and both Kosovo and the Republic of Turkey by reporting on the issues facing the Turkish community and bearing witness to historical events. Over a span of 30 years, the newspaper consistently covered discussions and planning efforts regarding the preservation of the Turkish language, alongside broader issues related to politics, governance, culture and the arts, the economy, and education.

The primary reason for employing oral history in this study is that, in addition to archived newspapers that serve as historical witnesses, retired journalists provide invaluable firsthand accounts. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Kosovo underwent a restructuring process, leading to a fragmented press archive and weakened administrative mechanisms. Due to these conditions, *Tan Newspaper* archives exist in varying formats—some only in print, others as irregularly maintained digital (PDF) files. The data extracted from these archives have been cross-referenced with the testimonies of retired journalists, thereby enhancing their historical value. Oral history studies are based on recording spoken interviews, often accompanied by audio or visual materials, centered around specific themes that serve as historical testimony.

In this context, the testimonies of retired journalists who once worked at *Tan Newspaper* hold particular significance. Interviews conducted with five journalists—Reşit Hanadan, Enver Baki, Şerafettin Ömer, Altay Suroy, and Aziz Serbest—all of whom are now over 60 years old, provide insight into Kosovo's political agenda and the long-standing challenges faced by the Turkish community.

## METHODOLOGY

### Question Types and MaxQDA Analyses

In this study, interview questions were directed to journalists who participated in the oral history research (Anderson & Jack, 1998), and their responses were transcribed and analyzed. The collected texts were examined using single-case analyses within a hierarchical code and sub-code framework through the MaxQDA software. This analysis aimed to identify how the fundamental issues of the Kosovo Turkish community were perceived and addressed by journalists. Particular emphasis was placed on the structure of networks formed within the framework of Actor-Network Theory and Callon's translation process approach, identifying actors and actants, and determining which networks these issues interacted with.

The primary research problem focuses on the fundamental challenges faced by the Kosovo Turkish community and how Tan Newspaper addressed these issues in its pages. The problems were compiled using qualitative analysis techniques, and the research questions were formulated as follows:

What are the political, cultural, economic, educational, and linguistic challenges of the Kosovo Turkish community as reflected in Tan Newspaper?

How is the Actor-Network structure shaped within these relationships? Through which actors and actants are these connections established, and what kind of network pattern emerges?

In the study, interview questions were categorized into general inquiries, education news, cultural and artistic topics, economic issues, political matters, and efforts to preserve the Turkish language (See Table for details).

**Table 2.** Interview Questions Used in the Oral History Study

| Topic                               | Interview questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>General questions</b>            | 1. Can you introduce yourself? (brief biography, year, and place of birth) 2. During which periods and for how long did you work at tan/new era newspaper? (year/duration) 3. What positions did you hold at the newspaper? (reporter, editor, manager, etc.) 4. Did you continue your profession after the newspaper was closed? If not, what other jobs did you pursue? |
| <b>Education news</b>               | 1. What are the main educational problems of the kosovo turkish minority? 2. Which news related to these issues did you prioritize in your newspaper? 3. How do you think your newspaper contributed to solving educational problems?                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>Culture and arts news</b>        | 1. What are the cultural problems of the kosovo turkish minority? 2. Which cultural issues did you highlight in your newspaper? 3. How did your newspaper contribute to solving cultural problems?                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Economy news</b>                 | 1. What are the economic problems of the kosovo turkish minority? 2. Which economic issues did you prioritize in your newspaper? 3. How did your newspaper contribute to solving economic problems?                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Politics and governance news</b> | 1. What are the political and governance issues of the kosovo turkish minority? 2. Which political and governance-related issues did you highlight in your newspaper? 3. How did your newspaper contribute to solving political problems?                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>Turkish language activities</b>  | 1. What are your thoughts on the use and sustainability of the turkish language among the kosovo turkish minority? 2. Since your newspaper was published in turkish, which news related to turkish language use did you highlight? 3. How do you think the newspaper contributed to language policies and linguistic problems?                                            |

### Data Collection Tools

In this study, oral history interviews were conducted with five retired journalists who had previously worked for *Tan Newspaper*. The participants were selected from among experienced journalists who had worked at the newspaper for many years and had directly witnessed the challenges faced by the Turkish community in Kosovo. The selection criteria were as follows:

- Having worked at *Tan Newspaper* for at least 10 years,
- Having held various positions within the newspaper (e.g., manager, reporter, editor),
- Possessing knowledge of the Kosovo Turkish community's perception of the newspaper.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview technique and lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using content analysis (See Table for details). The participants are:

**Table 3.** Participating Journalists

| Journalist | Roles and Contributions |
|------------|-------------------------|
|------------|-------------------------|



*literature, writing, and drawing. Each association had its own literary guest. Tan Newspaper played an important role here. As you know, Turks have always lived alongside Albanians, Serbs, and Macedonians. They loved and were loved by all. Therefore, they also appreciated and contributed to their literatures. This was made possible through translations. During its thirty-five years of existence, Tan Newspaper's publishing organization published around 250 to 300 books. We published poetry, stories, and novels in Albanian, Serbian, and original Turkish. Our translations were also published."*

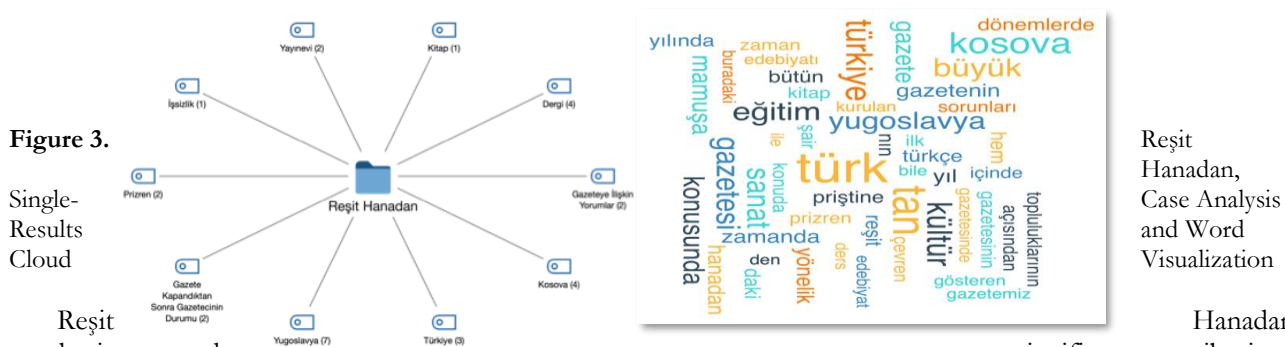
The newspaper extensively covered and supported news related to association activities. Emphasizing its importance, Enver Baki stated, "*The newspaper reflected not only the problems of Turks but also those of Albanians and Serbs. However, it was primarily the voice of the Turkish community.*" He also added, "*Thanks to the efforts of Tan Newspaper, children's magazines and books were published within our associations, which should also be noted.*"

Enver Baki worked both in the newspaper and in radio broadcasting. Regarding the Yugoslav period, he noted that due to the publishing identity of *Tan Newspaper*, the organization published books in Albanian, Serbian, and original Turkish, including poetry, stories, and novels, while also supporting translation efforts. Within the context of Kosovo, he pointed out that today Kosovo lacks a Turkish-language newspaper and stressed that political initiatives should be undertaken to establish one for the Turkish community.

The oral history texts were analyzed in the MAXQDA software using word cloud analysis. According to the word cloud visualization, the most frequently used word in Enver Baki's oral history interview was "newspaper." Naturally, given that Baki's statements focused on Tan Newspaper, this word appeared most frequently. The second most frequently mentioned words were "Pristina" and "Kosovo," indicating his emphasis on these locations. Additionally, the words "radio, magazine, and newspaper" highlight Tan Newspaper's publishing role and its active engagement in these areas. Furthermore, Baki frequently used terms such as "children, culture, problems, people, political, Turkish, Turkey", indicating his focus on news related to the Turkish language, culture, and community issues. He also strongly emphasized "association," reinforcing its significance in preserving Turkish identity. The word cloud appears to be well-aligned with the overall content of his statements.

*Reşit Hanadan – Journalist*

Reşit Hanadan worked in the cultural and arts section of *Tan Newspaper*. In relation to the Yugoslav period, seven distinct codes were identified. His primary emphasis was on the importance of *Tan Newspaper* as a guiding force for the Turkish community during the Yugoslav era. His statements also included references to the status of journalists after the newspaper's closure (2), Prizren (2), unemployment (1), publishing house (2), books (1), magazines (4), comments on the newspaper (2), Kosovo (4), and Turkey (3). (See Figure for details)



emphasizes the significant contributions of Tan Newspaper in the field of magazine publishing, particularly due to its publishing identity. He states that over a period of 30 years, thousands of books were published under 150 different titles, covering various genres such as research, poetry, short stories, novels, and anthologies. This contributed to the support of contemporary literature in Kosovo and the publication of intellectuals' works in book format. In the narratives of Tan Newspaper journalists regarding the pre-war period, Rešit Hanadan highlights the publishing identity of the newspaper, emphasizing its role in providing and producing books in education and supporting writers and poets in literature by publishing their novels, short stories, and poetry collections. Additionally, Tan Newspaper played a foundational



role in the establishment of numerous magazines. During the post-war period, it is observed that journalists transitioned to working in newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasting.

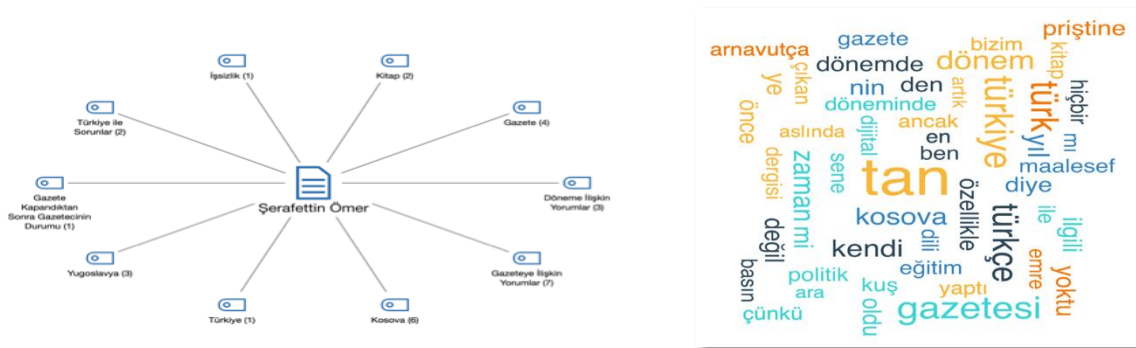
Reşit Hanadan also underscores how the newspaper supported cultural, artistic, and Turkish language preservation efforts through its news coverage of Turkish community activities. He explains that on significant occasions such as Atatürk's birth anniversaries or the "Yunus Emre World Year" declared by UNESCO in 1991, Tan Newspaper and various associated magazines organized international symposiums, attracting researchers from Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, and other countries. Furthermore, Hanadan places particular emphasis on the role of cultural and artistic associations in addressing challenges in the field. He describes how the newspaper had dedicated pages for culture, literature, and arts, which were prepared with comprehensive information. Even in earlier times, the newspaper continuously covered the performances and activities of cultural and artistic associations, such as Doğru Yol in Prizren (founded in 1951), Gerçek in Pristina, and Aşık Ferki in Mamuşa. The work of many artists who were active in these associations was closely followed and supported.

He further explains that whenever an association from Pristina, Prizren, Mamuşa, Vıçitrin, Mitrovica, or Turkey participated in a festival or an event, the newspaper regularly featured their performances and activities in its culture and arts section. Instrumental masters and soloists performing within these associations were frequently highlighted. He also notes that the newspaper placed great importance on theater, closely following and covering the activities of the theater group supported by the Prizren Municipality. Plays staged by artists were reported on, ensuring their performances reached a broader audience. These efforts significantly contributed to the development of Turkish culture and arts in Kosovo and helped them gain wider recognition.

In summary, Reşit Hanadan asserts that Tan Newspaper successfully guided the community while providing substantial support to literary figures and artists. According to word cloud analysis based on his statements, the most prominent words include Turk, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Kosovo, Education, Newspaper, Culture, and Tan. The prominence of these words indicates Hanadan's focus on Turkish identity and culture, the historical processes of Yugoslavia and Kosovo, education, and media. Additionally, he makes specific references to literature, mentioning poets, literature, poetry, and the magazines Kuş and Çevren, as well as books. The cities of Pristina and Prizren, along with the village of Mamuşa, which held significance during the Yugoslav period, also emerge as key terms, highlighting their relevance to his narratives.

### Şerafettin Ömer-Journalist

Journalist Şerafettin Ömer was responsible for managing the political and current affairs sections of *Tan Newspaper* for an extended period and later took on additional responsibilities in organizing its culture and arts pages. In the textual analysis of his statements regarding the Turkish community and *Tan Newspaper*, the following codes were identified: Comments on the Newspaper (7), Kosovo (6), Turkey (1), Yugoslavia (3), Journalist's Status After the Newspaper's Closure (1), Issues with Turkey (2), Unemployment (1), Book (2), and Newspaper (4). (See Figure for details)



**Figure 4.** Şerafettin Ömer, Single-Case Analysis Results and Word Cloud Visualization

Journalist Şerafettin Ömer highlights Tan Newspaper's contribution to education, stating, "In 1975, for the first time, we brought educational literature from Turkey in bulk. Teaching aids, maps, encyclopedias, dictionaries... These were all provided by Tan Newspaper and distributed to schools free of charge." According to him, the educational issues of that period could be categorized into three main areas: first, students' inability to attend school due to their obligation to assist their families in agricultural work; second, the insufficiency of textbooks; and third, difficulties in adapting to the curriculum changes imposed by the Yugoslav government. After 1975, ties with Turkey were strengthened, and material support was received in later years.

Ömer also provides a different perspective from the other journalists who participated in the oral history study. He states, “In my opinion, Tan had its own financial resources, meaning it did not constantly face budget constraints. The newspaper was already being funded through a budget provided by Parliament. Magazines, on the other hand, generally received support from the Ministry of Education on a project basis.” While the closure of Tan Newspaper was primarily attributed to the Yugoslav war, Ömer additionally points to financial difficulties as a contributing factor.

Moreover, he emphasizes that the newspaper had a high level of subscription. He explains, “Our highest number of subscribers was in Gostivar. Interestingly, Prizren was second. We printed 4,000 copies of the newspaper, sending 400 of them abroad. We had subscribers in 28 countries. Apart from Turkey, we had subscribers from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Argentina.” This statement highlights that Tan Newspaper was not only widely read locally but also had a global distribution network, making it a highly regarded and widely circulated publication of its time.

Ömer frequently underscores the significance of Tan Newspaper for the Kosovo Turkish community, describing it as an institutional reference point. He notes, “Whenever our teachers had a problem or needed to organize something, they would always turn to Tan. Anything related to Turkish identity had its center in Tan.” Regarding association activities of the period, he states, “They did excellent work, but their objectives were different. For instance, Tan organized an international symposium to commemorate the anniversary of Yunus Emre’s death. We hosted academic guests from Turkey, Moldova, and Romania.” This indicates that the newspaper also played a pivotal role in supporting and promoting cultural and scholarly events.

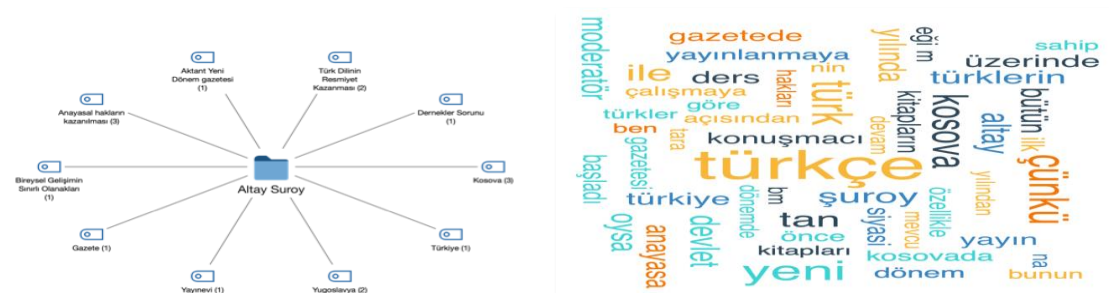
In relation to the preservation of the Turkish language, Ömer highlights Tan Newspaper’s efforts to establish Turkish-language departments at universities. He states, “If Tan Newspaper had not made an effort and criticized the situation at the time, there would be no Turkology department today. My own article played a crucial role in the establishment of the department. After I published the article in Turkish, it was also published in Serbian, which created an impact in the Serbian press. As a result, Serbian and Montenegrin professors on the council decided to establish a Turkology department. This was not just my achievement; it was Tan’s success. Furthermore, medical faculties were opened in Gilan and Pristina. We also facilitated Turkish students’ ability to take their medical exams in Turkish.”

According to the word cloud analysis, the most frequently used words in Ömer’s writings include Tan, Kosovo, Turk, Turkey, Turkish, Albanian, and newspaper. The prominence of these words indicates his strong emphasis on language and identity issues. His statements highlight his focus on the Turkish and Albanian languages, Turkish identity in Kosovo, ties with Turkey, and media-related discussions. Additionally, textual analysis reveals that Ömer addressed budget constraints, the preservation of the Turkish language, and the challenge of maintaining newspaper archives following the closure of Tan Newspaper.

### Altay Suroy Recepoğlu-Journalist

Altay Suroy Recepoğlu worked for both *Tan Newspaper* and *Yeni Dönem Newspaper*. At *Tan Newspaper*, he primarily wrote opinion columns on current affairs. In 1999, during Kosovo’s transition to a republic, he actively contributed to Kosovo’s legal struggle. His analyses cover a process of **social change from past to present**.

According to the findings, his statements reflect key issues concerning the Turkish community, categorized under the following codes: Acquisition of Constitutional Rights (3), Kosovo (3), Limited Opportunities for Individual Development (1), Yeni Dönem Newspaper (1), Official Recognition of the Turkish Language (2), Issues Related to Associations, Turkey (1), Yugoslavia (2), Publishing House (1), and Newspaper (1). (See Figure for details)





Turkish community, while Yeni Dönem Newspaper took on a leading role in addressing legal rights, economic issues, and the continuity of the Turkish language in the newly established Republic of Kosovo.

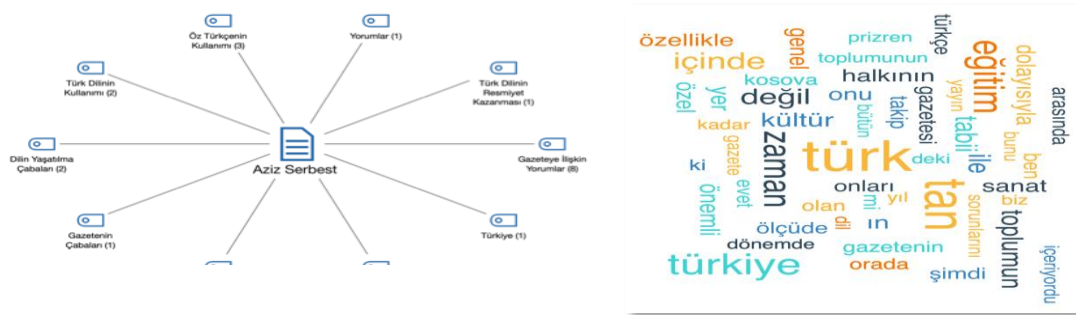
Discussing Turkey's contributions to education and the efforts of Tan Newspaper, Suroy states, "Supplementary textbooks or primary textbooks were provided from Turkey. Tan Newspaper facilitated the arrival of novels, short stories, poetry books, and readings on authors included in the Kosovo Turkish curriculum." His remarks indicate his recognition of Turkey's support both during the Yugoslav period and in the newly established Kosovo Republic. However, his analyses particularly underscore the significance of Tan Newspaper.

According to word cloud analysis, the most frequently mentioned words in Altay Suroy Recepoğlu's statements include "Turkish, Kosovo, Turk, Turkey, New, and Constitution." The prominence of these words suggests that he placed great importance on language and identity issues. His statements highlight his emphasis on the Turkish language, Turkish identity in Kosovo, strong ties with Turkey, and the significance of new constitutional regulations.

### Aziz Serbest- Journalist

Journalist Aziz Serbest, who was primarily responsible for the middle pages of Tan Newspaper and mainly covered culture and arts news, is also known for his book titled "What I Wrote in Tan", published in 2021. He emphasizes that Tan Newspaper's culture and arts pages played a crucial role in highlighting all issues concerning the Turkish community and describes these pages as foundational sections of the newspaper.

Aziz Serbest underscores the significance of featuring the works of Necati Zekeriya, a prominent figure in Macedonian and Kosovo Turkish literature, within these pages. He highlights the importance of both introducing Zekeriya to a wider audience and recognizing Tan Newspaper's contribution to supporting Turkish literary figures. (See Figure for details)



**Figure 6.** Aziz Serbest, Single-Case Analysis Results and Word Cloud Visualization

In the analysis of Serbest's statements, the following codes were identified: Comments on the Newspaper (8), Turkey (1), Newspaper (1), Journalist (1), Efforts of Newspapers (1), Efforts to Preserve the Turkish Language (2), Use of the Turkish Language (2), and Use of Pure Turkish (2). His comments on the newspaper were more detailed (8) when providing an overall panoramic view of the period. Serbest also provides valuable insights into the use of the Turkish language and efforts to preserve it. Regarding the foundation and role of Tan Newspaper during the Yugoslav period, Serbest states:

"I place great importance on the early years of Tan. The early years of Tan were crucial because it brought together the most significant figures of the Turkish community at the time, set off on a journey with them, and succeeded in establishing a momentum that could serve as an example for younger generations. One of the areas where Tan was particularly successful, which I want to emphasize, was in education—its school pages and children's pages. Because it was a weekly newspaper, its children's pages were filled with reading pieces, student interviews, language columns, and puzzles. Students followed it with great interest. Therefore, in terms of education in schools, it served as an important contemporary resource for students."

Serbest highlights that Tan Newspaper provided substantial support for children and youth, particularly in the fields of education and culture. He notes that following the war and the establishment of the Republic of Kosovo, the challenges faced by the Turkish community increased, whereas the Yugoslav period was seen as a time of relative prosperity for the Turkish community.

Discussing the role of the newspaper in culture, arts, and education, Serbest explains how cultural associations played a fundamental role in preserving Turkish identity:

"One of the most important pillars that sustained and preserved Turkish identity in the Kosovo Turkish community was cultural and artistic associations. These were not just ordinary associations; they functioned as institutes, safeguarding and fostering the existence of the Turkish community, training new cadres, and preparing them for service within society. As journalists, we followed their activities closely. For example, covering the work

of Doğru Yol, which operated in multiple fields, was in itself a major task. Doğru Yol encompassed music, literature, cultural activities, and interactions with other communities through cultural and artistic exchanges. Keeping track of such associations was essential in documenting and reflecting the artistic and cultural vibrancy of the Turkish community."

Serbest also underscores Tan Newspaper's role in preserving the Turkish language, stating: "This was not just about keeping the Turkish language alive—it was about sustaining it and ensuring its protection at a certain level. While I was at Tan, we maintained this understanding through strong relationships, both internally and externally. We worked to sustain connections with literary circles in Turkey while also ensuring that Kosovo and the broader Yugoslav and Macedonian contexts were represented in Turkey. Tan Newspaper functioned as a bridge that facilitated these bilateral cultural and diplomatic interactions."

Serbest explains that the linguistic landscape of the Kosovo Turkish community was different in the past compared to today, which sometimes led to difficulties in Tan Newspaper. He states:

"Reflections of Turkish linguistic trends from Turkey in the 1980s and 1990s inevitably made their way into Tan. The movement for Pure Turkish, which sought to replace foreign-derived words with native alternatives, occasionally caused tensions—not only among the general public but even among intellectuals and writers. Nevertheless, I would say that, in general, the publication of a Turkish-language newspaper was always a source of joy and pride for the Turkish community. The understanding that 'we have our own regularly published newspaper' reinforced cultural continuity and historical awareness. Until its closure, Tan successfully remained the voice of a small community—a voice that had no other means of expression."

According to word cloud analysis, Aziz Serbest appears to place greater emphasis on the words "Turk, Tan, Education, Time, Culture, Turkey." The prominence of these words in his texts indicates that he values national identity and culture, places special emphasis on education, and highlights the concept of time. Additionally, it reveals that he attaches importance to cultural topics, traditions, and social values.

#### Analysis Based on Latour's Actor-Network Theory and Callon's Translation Analysis Table

##### General Approach

The study identified *Tan Newspaper* as a significant actant of its time. The analysis revealed that *Tan Newspaper* functioned as "the voice of the community" and played a crucial role in preserving Turkish culture. In single-case analyses conducted using MAXQDA, it was observed that *Tan Newspaper* brought the challenges faced by the community to public attention, facilitated communication among members of the community, and acted as a supporter of solidarity within the Turkish population. (See Table for details)

**Table 4.** Analysis Based on Latour's Actor-Network Theory and Callon's Translation Analysis

| Actor (Actor)             | Reşit Hanadan                                                     | Enver Baki                                               | Şerafettin Ömer                                                   | Altay Suroy Reçepoğlu                           | Aziz Serbest                                                      |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Role                      | Journalist-Literary Figure-Writer                                 | Journalist-Literary Figure-Writer                        | Journalist                                                        | Journalist-Lawyer                               | Journalist                                                        |
| Problematization          | There must be a newspaper guiding the Turkish community in Kosovo | Problematization                                         | There must be a newspaper guiding the Turkish community in Kosovo | Problematization                                | There must be a newspaper guiding the Turkish community in Kosovo |
| Interessement             | The actors have significant responsibilities                      | Interessement                                            | The actors have significant responsibilities                      | Interessement                                   | The actors have significant responsibilities                      |
| Enrollment                | Strengthening of culture and arts fields                          | Strengthening of institutions and their administrations  | Strengthening of politics/governance fields                       | Strengthening of law/politics-governance fields | Strengthening of culture and arts fields                          |
| Mobilization of Alliances | Associations-Publishing House-Education                           | Turkey and International Collaborations-Publishing House | Internationalization and Kosovo                                   | Turkey and International Collaborations         | Turkey and International Collaborations                           |

The table presents a structured evaluation of the perspectives of five different journalists and writers on the necessity of a newspaper guiding the Turkish community in Kosovo. In the "problematization phase" all actors

emphasize the need for such a newspaper to provide leadership. In the “interessement phase” they acknowledge the significant responsibilities of the actors involved. During the “enrollment phase”, each actor highlights the strengthening of different sectors based on their area of expertise (e.g., culture and arts, politics, law, institutional governance). In the “mobilization of alliances phase”, the focus shifts to the role of national and international collaborations, along with contributions from associations, publishing houses, and educational institutions.

### ***Evaluation of the Newspaper's Approach to Cultural and Artistic Issues***

In the interviews, each journalist problematized the same key issue through *Tan Newspaper*: the idea that “There must be a newspaper guiding the Turkish community in Kosovo.” This indicates that the participants recognized the significance of the Turkish community and understood that the newspaper was a crucial written media tool in addressing and resolving problems. During the interessement process, it was observed that the actors had significant responsibilities. In the enrollment phase, Reşit Hanadan, Enver Baki, and Aziz Serbest were able to contribute to the cultural and artistic sphere of the Turkish community, while Altay Suroy provided expertise in legal matters.

According to Actor-Network Theory and Callon's translation process, in the final stage—mobilization of alliances—efforts were directed toward association activities, the publishing identity of the newspaper, relations with Turkey, and recognition and rights during the final years of the Yugoslav era. According to them, the key problems were the challenge of preserving Turkish culture, issues related to cultural associations, lack of support for literature, insufficient support for festivals, the need for a Turkish cultural center, challenges in maintaining cultural relations with Turkey, and lack of support for theater artists.

Cultural and artistic problems were generally linked to issues within the cultural economy. These included lack of facilities and venues, insufficient support for artists, deficiencies in arts education, and inadequate activities and investments for the preservation of cultural heritage. The primary goal and expectation were to organize cultural and artistic events to enrich the cultural life of communities. It was also acknowledged that such efforts would contribute to economic development.

### ***Evaluation of the Newspaper's Approach to Economic Problems***

In single-case analyses, it was observed that although there were fundamental issues in the field of culture and arts, journalists had confidence that economic problems could be addressed, particularly through Turkey's diplomatic and economic engagements.

As seen in the table, the key actors in cultural and artistic activities included the President, Journalists, Politicians, Artists, and Intellectuals. According to Callon's translation analysis, during the interessement phase, these actors were found to be engaged in collaborative efforts. (See Table for details)

**Table 5.** Actors and Processes on Economy

| Actor                                                                                      | Problematization                                  | Interessement                                                     | Enrollment                                                                                          | Mobilization of Alliances                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Reşit Hanadan<br>Şerafettin Ömer<br>Enver Baki<br>Altay Suroy<br>Recepoglu<br>Aziz Serbest | Existence of Economic Problems in Turkish Society | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Leading Journalists<br>Politicians | Social Contributions through Symposiums<br>Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts         | Civil Society Organizations<br>Relations and Support with Turkey |
|                                                                                            | Staffing Issues in Local Government               | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Leading Journalists<br>Politicians | Educational Assemblies for Social Contributions<br>Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts | Civil Society Organizations                                      |
|                                                                                            | Representation Problem in Parliament              | Leading Journalists<br>Politicians                                | Media<br>Official Institutions                                                                      | Politics-Law                                                     |

The study found that artists—including writers, poets, theater actors, minstrels, and folk poets—played an active role in addressing various cultural problems. During Callon's mobilization phase, it was observed that associations played a crucial role in organizing cultural activities. In particular, well-established associations in Kosovo, such as “Doğru Yol, Aşık Ferki, Mamuşa, and Gerçek”, were found to have adapted to each phase of the process and contributed to the expansion of cultural and artistic activities.

### ***Evaluation of the Newspaper's Approach to Educational Problems***

Journalists discussed the key educational challenges faced by the Turkish community. As shown in Table 6, these issues primarily centered on the shortage of textbooks, student competency, teacher shortages, the decline in the use of Turkish, and the inadequacy of school buildings. According to Callon's analysis, problematization processes in the field of education were mainly focused on infrastructure deficiencies, the role of the Turkish language in education, and teacher-student competency issues.

**Table 6.** Education Actors and Processes on Education

| <b>Actor</b>          | <b>Problematization</b>         | <b>Interessement</b>                                            | <b>Enrollment</b>                                 | <b>Mobilization of Alliances</b>                                    |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Reşit Hanadan         | Lack of Textbooks               | Journalists - Politicians<br>Academicians<br>Parents - Teachers | Social Contributions through Symposiums           | Civil Society Organizations Relations and Support with Turkey       |
| Şerafettin Ömer       | Lack of Students                | Journalists - Politicians<br>Academicians<br>Parents - Teachers | Social Contributions through Educational Councils | Civil Society Organizations                                         |
| Enver Baki            | Insufficient Number of Teachers | Journalists - Politicians<br>Academicians<br>Parents - Teachers | Social Contributions through Educational Councils | Politics - Law                                                      |
| Altay Suroy Recepoğlu | Non-usage of Turkish            | Journalists - Politicians<br>Academicians<br>Parents - Teachers | Social Contributions through Symposiums           | Civil Society Organizations Politics - Law Educational Institutions |
| Aziz Serbest          | Lack of School (Buildings)      | Journalists - Politicians<br>Academicians<br>Parents - Teachers | Social Contributions through Educational Councils | Educational Institutions                                            |

Within the scope of the study, the actors playing a role in the interessement process were identified as journalists, politicians, academics, teachers, and parents. In particular, educational policymakers and academics carried out public awareness initiatives through education congresses and symposiums. Additionally, legal initiatives and policy discussions emerged prominently regarding structural issues such as the shortage of textbooks and teachers.

During the enrollment phase, concrete steps toward education reforms were examined. Symposiums, education congresses, efforts to increase public awareness, and legal regulations were found to be influential in shaping educational advancements. Relations with Turkey were evaluated as a supportive factor in terms of procuring educational materials, teacher training programs, and improving educational infrastructure.

In the mobilization phase, collaboration among civil society organizations, educational institutions, and governmental mechanisms was particularly notable. The need for legal reforms and the strengthening of education policies was emphasized as a means of addressing issues such as the shortage of school buildings and the insufficient use of Turkish in education. An analysis of journalists' perspectives on the subject revealed divergent viewpoints. While some journalists highlighted the importance of political processes in education, others focused on the infrastructural deficiencies of the education system. For example, some reports praised the societal contributions of education congresses and symposiums, whereas others stressed the need for more concrete steps to address the shortage of textbooks and teachers.

### **Evaluation of the Newspaper's Approach to Issues Related to the Turkish Language**

The preservation and continuation of the Turkish language are regarded by journalists not merely as a linguistic issue but also as a matter closely linked to cultural identity and education. According to Table 7, journalists identify the most significant challenges related to the sustainability of the language as the efforts of newspapers, the limited opportunities for individual development, and the lack of active language use. In this context, the

President, the Prime Minister, journalists, and politicians emerge as key actors in maintaining the vitality of the Turkish language. Legal regulations, bilateral relations, and educational activities are considered crucial processes in supporting the official status of the language and its daily use.

Journalists advocate for strengthening the role of the media in these efforts, while also emphasizing that external support mechanisms, such as civil society organizations and relations with Turkey, play a critical role in the process. However, differences in journalists' approaches to language preservation have been observed. Some argue that raising awareness through media should be the primary focus, while others emphasize the priority of legal regulations and education policies. Enhancing the role of the Turkish language in education and supporting it through cultural activities stand out as key proposed solutions. Ultimately, journalists share the common perspective that the preservation of Turkish cannot be achieved solely through individual efforts but requires collaboration between the state, media, and civil society.

**Table 7.** Actors and Processes on the Preservation of the Turkish Language

| Actor                                                                                                       | Problematisation                                        | Interessement                                             | Enrollment                                                                 | Mobilization of Alliances                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tan Newspaper<br>Reşit Hanadan<br>Şerafettin Ömer<br>Enver Baki<br>Altay Suroy<br>Recepoglu<br>Aziz Serbest | Issue of Newspaper Efforts                              | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Journalists<br>Politicians | Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts                           | Civil Society Organizations<br>Relations and Support with Turkey |
|                                                                                                             | Issue of Limited Opportunities for Personal Development | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Journalists<br>Politicians | Educational Activities<br>Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts | Civil Society Organizations<br>Associations                      |
|                                                                                                             | Efforts for the Preservation of Language                | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Journalists<br>Politicians | Educational and Cultural Events<br>Official Institutions                   | Politics - Law                                                   |

### *Evaluation of the Newspaper's Approach to Political Issues*

Journalists shared their perspectives on the key political challenges faced by the Turkish community. As shown in the table, these issues primarily focus on the political implications of Turkish-language education, the official status of Turkish, and censorship/self-censorship in the media. According to Callon's analysis, the key problematized areas revolve around the political aspects of Turkish-language education, the legal status of the language, and the issue of press freedom within the framework of censorship. The institutional struggle and efforts of the newspaper were frequently emphasized by journalists and brought to the forefront. In the interessement process, the President, Prime Minister, politicians, and journalists were identified as the main actors. The state's stance on Turkish-language education and its political positioning was seen as a determining factor. In this context, educational congresses, symposiums, and legal agreements were regarded as important tools for fostering societal contributions.

Furthermore, mechanisms of enrollment, such as establishing a legal framework, organizing educational activities, implementing media policies, and securing support from civil society organizations, were highlighted. Relations with Turkey and initiatives led by civil society organizations played a role in shaping the mobilization process. As a result, legal regulations, media dynamics, and the role of official institutions in shaping political processes were evaluated by both journalists and academics.

In particular, journalists demonstrated divergent attitudes toward censorship and self-censorship. Some journalists at Tan Newspaper argued that the media should remain independent from state control, while others believed that the relationship between the media and the state was inevitable. While some reports highlighted the positive contributions of the state to Turkish-language education, other articles took a critical stance on censorship issues. In conclusion, qualitative data analyses from oral history studies indicate that journalists developed varying perspectives on the intersection of Turkish-language education and politics. However, they generally agreed on the necessity of preserving the status of the Turkish language and supporting education policies.



**Table 8.** Education Actors and Processes on Polity-Politics

| Actor                                                                                                       | Problematization                                | Interessement                                                     | Enrollment                                                                                               | Mobilization of Alliances                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tan Newspaper<br>Reşit Hanadan<br>Şerafettin Ömer<br>Enver Baki<br>Altay Suroy<br>Recepoglu<br>Aziz Serbest | Turkish Education Issue and Political Attitudes | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Leading Journalists<br>Politicians | Social Contributions through<br>Symposiums<br>Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts           | Civil Society Organizations<br>Relations and Support with Turkey |
|                                                                                                             | Official Status of Turkish Language Issue       | President<br>Prime Minister<br>Leading Journalists<br>Politicians | Social Contributions through<br>Educational Councils<br>Legal Agreements<br>Bilateral Relations/Contacts | Civil Society Organizations                                      |
|                                                                                                             | Censorship - Self-Censorship Issues             | Leading Journalists<br>Politicians                                | Media<br>Official Institutions                                                                           | Politics - Law                                                   |

## CONCLUSION

This study reveals that Tan Newspaper was not only a source of news but also a significant actant in the cultural and social memory of the Kosovo Turkish community. Analyses based on Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory demonstrate that the newspaper played a crucial role in shaping networks related to the preservation of Turkish identity, education, culture, arts, economy, and politics in Kosovo. When examined through Callon's translation process approach, it becomes evident that Tan Newspaper played a critical role in bringing social issues to the agenda and mobilizing actors toward solutions.

Findings indicate that the influence of Tan Newspaper was shaped through the following networks:

- **Education Network:** The sustainability of Turkish-language education in Kosovo was largely supported by teachers, academics, and journalists. Educational support from Turkey, textbooks, and curriculum development efforts were communicated and endorsed through the newspaper. By addressing educational challenges, Tan Newspaper helped raise awareness about the importance of preserving Turkish-language education and influenced policymakers and community leaders.
- **Culture and Arts Network:** Tan Newspaper contributed to preserving Turkish culture in Kosovo by collaborating with artists, writers, poets, and literary figures. It worked with associations such as Doğru Yol, Aşık Ferki, and Gerçek, as well as publishing houses and theater groups, to promote cultural activities. Journalists and educators played a key role in sustaining cultural production through these connections.
- **Political and Legal Network:** The study identifies that Tan Newspaper highlighted the political and legal rights of the Kosovo Turkish community throughout the Yugoslavian period. By engaging with politicians, legal experts, and military officials, the newspaper sought to create public awareness regarding the recognition and protection of Turkish identity. Issues such as the official status of the Turkish language, educational policies, and community rights were frequently addressed.
- **Economic and Media Network:** Tan Newspaper covered economic structures through a network that involved journalists, businesspeople, and politicians. By making economic issues visible and highlighting the difficulties faced by the Kosovo Turkish community, the newspaper served as a platform for strengthening trade relations with Turkey and securing economic support. Additionally, it played a crucial role in shaping public discourse as a prominent news source within Kosovo's media ecosystem.

In this context, Tan Newspaper functioned as a network-building actor that shaped social dynamics and held a central position in preserving the identity of the Kosovo Turkish community.

The primary limitation of this study is that, since the newspaper has ceased publication, only digital archives in PDF format were accessible. The physical archives of the newspaper have largely been lost, which has restricted the scope of historical research. Furthermore, to systematically analyze the newspaper's content, big data and text

mining methodologies should be employed more effectively. Future studies should incorporate natural language processing (NLP) techniques to conduct deeper analyses of the newspaper's publications, thereby gaining a more comprehensive understanding of its social role.

In conclusion, Tan Newspaper functioned not merely as a media platform but as a mechanism for identity formation, solidarity, and cultural continuity within the Kosovo Turkish community. This study aims to document the historical and sociocultural functions of the newspaper and contribute to future academic research. Understanding the history of the Kosovo Turkish community and making this heritage more visible in academic literature requires the continuation of similar oral history studies.

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