CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION IN TURKEY IN THE 1950s: AN EXAMINATION OF HAYAT MAGAZINE

by

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An Abstract of the Thesis of Fatma Berin Okur for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken September 2007

Title: Conspicuous Consumption in Turkey in the 1950s: An Examination of Hayat Magazine

This study aims to examine the ascendance of social mobility opportunities in Turkish society in the 1950s. In so doing, it draws upon Veblen's notion of conspicuous consumption. Veblen's notion is striking in that it highlights both the continuous nature of striving for higher status positions and the role of wealth display for status aspirants. The main body of the thesis is shaped around some social transformations in the 1950s, regarding the perception of marital relationships, social mobility, and consumption patterns. In this respect *Hayat* magazine is considered both a valuable source to trace such changes and a social phenomenon to be examined in its own respect.

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Başlık: Türkiye'de 1950'li Yıllarda Gösterişçi Tüketim: Hayat Dergisinin bir İncelemesi

Bu çalışma 1950'li yıllarda Türkiye'de sosyal mobilite fırsatlarında gerçekleşen artışı incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun için, Veblen'in gösterişçi tüketim kavramından faydalanmıştır. Gösterişçi tüketim kavramı, hem statü edinme mücadelelerinin sürekliliğini hem de bu mücadelelerde parasal gösterişin oynadığı rolü vurgulaması bakımından dikkat çekicidir. Tezin ana hatları evlilik ilişkileri, sosyal mobilite ve tüketim kalıplarından hareketle 1950'lerde ortaya çıkan bazı sosyal dönüşümler çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir. Bu hususta, Hayat dergisi hem bu değişiklikleri gözlemlemek için değerli bir kaynak, hem de başlı başına bir sosyal olgu olarak ele alınmıştır.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The 1950s is an interesting period to study in human history. While peoples' imagery still oscillated between the bitter memories of the Second World War and a belief in future prospects, major political, economic, and social transformations were set on course globally. Within an intensifying cold war environment, millions' lives were increasingly altered with the encroachment of mass production, mass consumption, and the mass media.

While Turkish dynamics were also altered in the immediate post-war period, it was the 1950s that can be defined as a "watershed in modern Turkish political history."[1] Whereas the debut of the political and economic changes, such as the transition to multi-party politics and the inducement of agricultural development, can be traced back to the late 1940s, the decisive character of most transformations was landmarked by the Democrat Party (DP) rule (1950-1960). Populist style politics designed to benefit rural segments of the population, the proliferation of infrastructural projects, the increasing mechanization of agriculture, and the consequent wave of rural to urban migration formed some examples of social transformations induced by the DP's policies. Because much has been written on the political and economic implications of those policies, this study focuses instead on the social aspects of the decade, and hopes to contribute to the historiography of modern Turkey in providing an account of the social history of the 1950s.

For this aim, the study examines consumption as its central theme; for it enables a broad perspective that merges the social characteristics of the era with the

[1] Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p.221.

well-written political and economic ones. Relying on Veblen's conceptualization, consumption is studied in relation to social positioning strategies; and it is aimed to demonstrate the ascendance of social mobility opportunities in Turkish society in the 1950s. To this end, the thesis draws upon an examination of *Hayat* magazine. This is because, in order to observe whether conspicuous consumption existed in the 1950s, one needs more than to simply looking at total consumption levels.

The thesis starts with an introductory chapter on Veblen's theory of the leisure class, with a special focus on his notion of "conspicuous consumption." The chapter limits its goals to providing a broad framework of Veblen's conceptualization, while in-depth examination of Veblen's theory is spared for the later chapters.

In the second part of the introductory chapter, the primary source for examining conspicuous consumption in Turkish context is presented. Research underpinning the study consisted of approximately 170 volumes of *Hayat* magazine, one of the first popular culture magazines in Turkey that achieved mass circulation. Apart from information on *Hayat*'s technical characteristics, such as the content, the cadre and the distinguished printing method of the magazine, the question of how far to take the magazine as a spokesman of the fifties is posed. In this regard, *Hayat*'s lineages, particularly those with the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası (Construction and Credit Bank, YKB) and the government, are examined.

The main body of the thesis brings forth some salient notions and recurrent themes in *Hayat* magazine with a focus on their implications for status positioning. Thus, the second chapter is devoted to marriage, which is among the most salient themes of the magazine. The fact that marital relations are intermingled with status positions makes marriage a relevant topic for the aims of thesis as well. Benefiting

from numerous documents *Hayat* provides the reader with; definitions of marriage and ideal spouse, marital relationships and parenthood, as well as the implications of marriage for social stratification are examined.

The third chapter is spared to the notion of celebrity. Being an essential feature of *Hayat*, along with any other popular magazine, the presentation and implications of celebrity features are discussed. Particular emphasis is put on the function of celebrities as symbols of social mobility. Yet, a further examination of *Hayat*'s celebrity presentation reveals the limits of the accredited celebrity behavior, implying the socially accepted boundaries for an aspirant.

The fourth chapter brings together a number of phenomena under the banner of consumption. Following Veblen's framework, consumption of time and commodity goods is examined through the first consumer culture magazine in Turkey. While the examination of the former encapsulated a focus on leisure time in general and vacation practices in particular, the latter is discussed with a wider range of criteria, varying from the consumption of household products to the changing notion of beauty and fashion, highlighting urbanization trends as well as the changes in housing. Also, the perception of conspicuous consumption is noted from the perspective of military officers, and the relevance of conspicuous consumption is questioned for the rural settings.

Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*

Thorstein Veblen was a Norwegian-American social scientist who lived in America at the turn of the nineteenth century. Regarded among the founders of the American school of institutional economics, his observations and conceptualization about

American society have inspired scholars of economics, sociology, and history ever since. Veblen's most famous work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1889), introduced concepts like "conspicuous consumption," "leisure class," and "pecuniary emulation" into wide-spread usage.

In a nutshell Veblen's thesis can be summarized as "the richest echelon in society constitutes a leisure class that makes a virtue out of conspicuous consumption and utilizes leisure as an insignia of distinction, displaying freedom from the need to engage in paid employment."[2] Designing his work as a premonitory caution, Veblen aimed his work to reverse the "nonproductive" trend in society. Although he did not succeed in changing the character of social interactions, his explanation constituted a breakthrough in observing societal relations. As far as this thesis is concerned, his emphasis on status positions in a society is what makes Veblen notable.

For Veblen, the main indicator of status honor in a society is wealth: "The possession of wealth confers honor; it is an invidious distinction."[3] Veblen accounts for possession of wealth as a mechanism for honor and distinction by highlighting psychological aspects such as envy and emulation. The reason why possession of wealth bestows status is that it agitates feelings of jealousy, envy and emulation on the part of the not-haves. The display of wealth, then, acts as a key strategy to enhance social stature for Veblen; for both those who have already attained a certain level of distinction and those aspiring to attain. The former engages in an "invidious comparison" with the other members of his group, while the latter tries to emulate behavior and tastes of the high-status strata. Ultimately, striving for status emerges as a constant struggle in society, for "as fast as a person makes new acquisitions, and becomes accustomed to the resulting new standard of wealth, the new standard

[2] Chris Rojek, *Leisure Theory: Principles and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.148.
[3] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: New American Library, 1953), p.35.

forthwith ceases to afford appreciably greater satisfaction than the earlier did. The tendency in any case is constantly to make the present pecuniary standard the point of departure for a fresh increase of wealth."[4]

In order for the possession of wealth to establish a distinguished position for the person, however, it should be displayed. A conventional evidence of wealth, as Veblen suggests, is "conspicuous leisure." For Veblen, industrial differentiation of classes created a taboo on labor, which resulted in the qualification of unproductive labor as honorary while diligent work is denigrated. Accordingly, abstention from labor emerges as a requirement to maintain a high tenure in society, and a "leisure class" is born along the distinguishing characteristic of exemption from work. Yet, Veblen does not suggest that the leisure class is a totally idle one. On the contrary, it specializes in occupations that further emphasize its abstention from productive labor. Veblen's examples of such occupations include government, war, sports, hunting, and devout observances. Veblen acknowledges the productive outcomes of such activities, yet, as he suggests the main motive for engaging in those actions is to obtain an honorable position rather than pursuing productive ends of such employment.

At this point, it should be pointed that Veblen acknowledges the importance of "manners and breeding, polite usage, decorum, and formal and ceremonial observances"[5] for the leisure class. This is because the acquisition of refined tastes, manners and habits of life, not to mention good breeding, requires time and expense, all of which ultimately highlight the further non-productive employment of time. Before concluding Veblen's conceptualization of the leisure class it should be noted that in Veblen's conceptualization, leisure time activities are not totally under the

[4] Veblen, ibid., p.38.
[5] Veblen, p.47.

monopoly of members of the high status groups. He mentions a "vicarious leisure class," that is also exempt from productive labor. These are the servants of the "proper" leisure class whose conspicuous leisure is indeed derivative and a signifier of their masters' status. Vicarious leisure class is to be examined further in the celebrity chapter.

"Conspicuous consumption" forms another salient cursor indicating one's wealth, thus, status in society. "Conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure,"[6] states Veblen, formulizing his most widely known concept. It might take the form of consuming food, clothing, dwelling, furniture, etc. or the organization of costly entertainments, such as balls and feasts, as well as the exchange of presents. What differentiates such consumption from ordinary consuming behavior is the "conspicuous waste" inherent in the activity. It is wasteful because the expenditure does not serve human life or human well-being on the whole, not because it does not serve utility to the individual consumer.[7]

Dressing is among the most salient of conspicuous consumption behavior, and Veblen highlights it with special emphasis. This is because dressing has the potential to express conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption at the same time: "It not only shows that the wearer is able to consume a relatively large value, but it argues at the same time that he consumes without producing."[8] Examples of such dressing include the patent leather shoe, the lustrous cylindrical hat, and the walking stick for men; and the high heel, the drapery skirt, the impracticable bonnet, as well as the corset for women. Highlighting "the imperative requirement of dressing in the latest accredited manner," Veblen also sought to provide the reader

[6] Veblen, p.64
[7] Veblen, pp.78-80.
[8] Veblen, p.121.

with an explanation of fashion.[9] According to Veblen, fashion serves a strategy in status maintaining strategies because it is based on conspicuous waste. The fact that fashion rests on the principle of novelty, and changes from season to season, distinguishes high status groups from those without the pecuniary strength and taste to appreciate the latest fashion. For Veblen, fashion denoted women more than men; the beauty, the stylish dressing, and the leisure time activities of women represent more the household than their individual position. This is because Veblen perceives women as the properties or servants of men, who are the ultimate heads of the household. Much debatable, one can not refrain from thinking

Veblen's conceptualization, then, can be pointed to highlight the consumption of mainly two sets of entities: time and expensive commodities. Thus, for the high-status personae, "time is spent on productively useless activity and money on a superabundance of things."[10] Nonetheless, emphasis on conspicuous consumption is bolder. This is because, Veblen suggests, as economic development goes further and the community increases in size consumption emerges as a better strategy to signal pecuniary strength and to impress "transient observers." Thus, the question of applicability of Veblen's conceptualization on the twentieth century society, when a fully leisure class disengaged from economic activity is hard to be observed, ceases. While it is true that there was much industrious activity partaken by the upper echelons of the society in the post-war era, this should not mean that Veblenian striving for status positions was disposed. On the contrary, as Veblen predicted, it shifted from the consumption of time to the consumption of expensive commodities. As Roger Mason suggests, conspicuous economic display has been modified and used as an important element in demand management, with the development of mass

[9] Veblen, pp.122-127.
[10] Max Kaplan, *Leisure: Theory and Policy* (New York: Wiley, 1975), p.171.

consumption societies.[11] The fact that American consuming patterns began to be globally transmitted in the aftermath of the Second World War makes examination of Veblen's theory more noteworthy.

Another key notion upon which Veblen rests his theory of leisure class and his notion of conspicuous consumption is emulation. Emulation is the imitation of the tastes and behavior of the socially distinguished groups. Emulation implies that advancing in social status is possible. It is because we endeavor to equal or excel those who are capable of conspicuously consuming that we imitate the strategy of conspicuous consumption. Nevertheless, the notion of emulation suggests that Veblen's theory rests on what Ben Fine calls "trickle-down effects." According to Fine, differentiation and emulation in consumption necessarily imply a hierarchy of tastes, because the wealthier is in a better position to set consumption trends. "As a corollary, preferences for consumption goods trickle down through the hierarchy, ultimately creating mass markets out of the innovation initiated at the top."[12] Similarly, Max Kaplan points to the relationship between leisure and social class in Veblen's theory. He suggests that while in Marx's conceptualization each social class develops its own culture and morality, Veblen denotes that lower classes emulate the higher.[13]

On the one hand, notwithstanding its top-down character, Veblen's conception forms a fertile paradigm among his contemporaries, for it acknowledges the relationship between different classes rather than perceiving them as segregated. What is more, Veblen recognizes social mobility to a great extent. Yet, on the other hand, the top-down imposition of culture, tastes, or values fell under surmounting

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[11] Roger S. Mason. *Conspicuous Consumption : A Study of Exceptional Consumer Behavior* (New York: St. Martin's Press, c1981), p.13.
[12] Ben Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption," in *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* ed. by Daniel Miller (London: Routledge, 1995), p.141.
[13] Kaplan, ibid., p.170.

criticism in the post-modern era. For instance, in pointing to the effects of the mass media in general and television in particular, Kaplan further suggests that in contemporary society there has been a break between the association of a person with stereotypes of his class. Thus, "leisure that may have once been a symbol of class, especially the upper classes as a means of conspicuous consumption, is now a fundamental release of break from class limitations."[14] Notwithstanding the justifiability of the class criticism brought into Veblen's theory, and acknowledging the ever-increasing bottom-up influences in the social system, I hold that his conceptualization still forms a valuable source, in highlighting status positioning as an important rationale for economic and social phenomena. Whether emulation acted upon a one-way street or not, Veblen's conceptualization proved important for the development of literature on status maintaining strategies.

The growth of further literature on status positions, however, formed another important source of criticism for Veblen's work. Providing the most notable contemporary explanation of status positioning, the works of Pierre Bourdieu, especially his notion of "cultural capital," is brought forth to undermine Veblen's emphasis on wealth. Comparing Bourdieu to Veblen, for instance, Colin Campbell asserts that both theorists emphasize the hierarchical nature of the status system of modern society. The difference in their conceptualization, for Campbell, is Bourdieu's emphasis on the importance of symbolic or cultural capital vis-à-vis Veblen's stress on material possessions. A corollary diversification is that Bourdieu acknowledges an individual might not succeed in moving up merely on acquired

[14] Kaplan, ibid., p.346.

wealth, because of deficiencies personal cultural inheritance or as a consequence of their "habitus."[15]

Yet, it is questionable that Campbell's criticism is a valid one. While it is true that wealth constituted a significant exponent of Veblen's explanation, it cannot be concluded that he discounted cultural inheritance. According to Chris Rojek, for instance, Veblen anticipated work on leisure and class of theorists such as Bourdieu, Clarke and Critcher, for he "recognize[d] that wealth alone is not a sufficient basis for acceptance as a bona fide member of the leisure class."[16] Thus, an aspirant's success for status maintenance is linked not only to the possession of wealth, but also to that of manners. To quote Veblen: "Closely related to the requirement that the gentleman must consume freely and of the right kind of goods, there is the requirement that he must know how to consume them in a seemly manner."[17] Hence, it can be concluded that Veblen's conceptualization is immune from criticisms that it leaves behind cultural or symbolic interactions, by simply focusing on material accumulation.

All in all, what made the concept this popular is the novelty in explaining economic activity. Veblen's main contributions have been asserted to be pointing to the institutional role of consumption as a symbol of social status and expressing non-economic functions of wealth in a social system.[18]

Introducing *Hayat* Magazine

For almost a quarter century, *Hayat* achieved an unrivaled success of being *the* popular magazine in Turkey. Started to be published in 6 April 1956, it became the

[15] Colin Campbell, "The Sociology of Consumption," in *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*, ed. Daniel Miller (London: Routledge, 1995), p.104.
[16] Chris Rojek, *Leisure Theory: Principles and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.89.
[17] Veblen, p.64.
[18] Arthur K. Davis, "Veblen on the Decline of the Protestant Ethic," in *Social Forces* 22, no.3. (Mar., 1944), p.282.

most influential and enduring Turkish magazine, and provided the measure stick for the following popular culture magazines.

From the beginning *Hayat* achieved a high circulation rate. The first issue was published in 170,000 copies and was sold within days. In his editorial celebrating the third anniversary of the magazine, Şevket Rado states that the normal circulation rate was near 500,000. Unlike most of the newspapers and magazines, *Hayat* reached a wide readership, including the large rural population of the country, back then comprising 80 percent of the total population. Achieving such circulation rates, it served as a locomotive for a number of publications which proved to be as successful as *Hayat*.[19] Among these magazines, some actually acquired circulation as high as *Hayat* did. As Rado expresses, "the first example in Turkey of nowadays what they call photo-novels, *Resimli Roman* (Photo Novel) magazine was loved by the reader so much that for some time we published it twice a week."[20] Similarly, the first fascicule of *Hayat Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of *Hayat*), which started to be published in 1961, sold over 110,000 copies in a week.

In most accounts, *Hayat*'s popularity is attributed to its unraveled quality of print. It is known to be the first Turkish magazine that was published with the "tiefdruck" press-technique, which elevated the pictures of the magazine to the level of paintings.[21]

> First of all, the quality of its printing paper was quite different from what Turkish readers got used to. Second, thanks to *tifdruck* printing method, photographs laid out on the pages of *Hayat*, that each was like a painting, had been charming the readers. While *Hayat* was printed on

[19] To cite a few: *Ses, Resimli Roman, Ayna, Hayat Tarih, Hayat Spor, Hayat Ansiklopedisi, Aile Ansiklopedisi*.

[20] "*Bir ara Türkiye'de ilk defa geniş ölçüde benim başlattığım, şimdi foto-roman dedikleri Resimli Roman mecmuası halk tarafından o kadar tutuldu ki bir devre haftada iki çıkıyordu*." Şevket Rado, "Preface" in *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı* by Giambatista Toderini translated by Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Tifdruk Matbaacılık, 1990), p.10.

[21] Tiefdruck is a German word literally meaning deep-print. In Turkish, the printing technique is referred as *tifdruk*, *çukur baskı*, and *rotogravür*; while in English it is often called rotogravure.

> lustrous imported papers, other magazines of the period such as *Hafta* could barely able to utilize poor-quality papers with dull surfaces.[22]

Innovative in many ways, *Hayat* was surely not the first example of popular culture magazines. For one thing, it was the upgrade of *Resimli Hayat* (Illustrated Life), a monthly magazine that had maintained publication between 1952 and 1955. Apart from magazines like *Akis* (Echo) that covered the political agenda of the country, in the post-war era, Turkey was blessed with all kinds of magazines: there were women's magazines like *Evim* (My Home) and *İnci* (Pearl), popular culture magazines like *Yeni Yıldız* (New Star), *Her Hafta* (Weekly), as well as men's magazines like *Cennet* (Paradise) and *Seksoloji* (Sexology). *Hayat* on the other hand offered its readers a combination of all of these genres. Besides coverage of major political and economic developments in Turkey as well as the international community, *Hayat* targeted women readers with fashion and home decoration pages, men with the pictures of beautiful women; provided young people with information on the most recent movies and movie stars, and gained the approval of the elderly with heroic stories as well as posters of sacred places.

History, health, fiction, celebrity gossips, travel memoirs were among the permanent themes of the magazine. It is interesting, however, that *Hayat* did not target, at least in the fifties, children as readers. The only page that might have appealed to children was the caricature page, which was composed of mostly situation comedies with no text. Yet, this evident lack of emphasis on children stems from the fact that Yapı ve Kredi group was already publishing a successful children's magazine called *Doğan Kardeş* (Brother Doğan). Indeed, this children's magazine

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[22] "*Bir kere kağıdı, Türk okurlarının alışmadığı kadar parlak ve güzeldi; sonra, tifdruk sisteminin sağladığı, her biri birer tablo gibi, sayfa boyu verilen fotoğraflar mecmuayı eline alanları derhal etkiliyordu. Hayat pırıl pırıl lüks kağıda basılırken, Hafta ve benzerleri gibi piyasa mecmualarının gücü ancak üçüncü hamur, mat kötü kağıtlara yetiyordu.*" Eser Tutel, "İlk Tifdruk Dergimiz Hayat'tan Anılar", *Tarih ve Toplum* 27, no.160 (1997), p.30, quoted in Bilgen Komut, A Reading Practice as the Consumption of Leisure Time: Hayat Magazine 1980-1986, MA Thesis, p.49.

was the starting point of the Bank's venture in publishing, and it brought together the founder of the bank, Kazım Taşkent, with Vedat Nedim Tör, and Şevket Rado for good. While Tör had the responsibility of *Doğan Kardeş*, the former journalist of the newspaper *Akşam* and press counselor of Yapı ve Kredi Bankası Şevket Rado emerged as the owner and the editor of *Hayat*. *Hayat* was a publication of Neşriyat Inc., and its main financial supporter was the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, being the major stakeholder.

At this point, I it is relevant to have a few words on the relationship between the Bank and the magazine, as to whether this was a parasitic or symbiotic one.

Hayat as a "Cultural Service" of the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası

In his writing about "the innovations in Turkish printing and periodical publishing,"[23] Şevket Rado recounts the stories of *Doğan Kardeş* and the Tifdruck printing houses, as well as the publishing of *Hayat*. Throughout his account, Rado emphasizes the distinguished "cultural services" of Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, the first private bank in Turkey, as well as the salience of the bank's owner Kazım Taşkent's role in the realization of these services. The first of these cultural services was to publish a children's magazine in memory of Taşkent's deceased son, Doğan. Upon the admirable comments of the parents who bought *Doğan Kardeş* for their children, Taşkent demanded an adult version of this magazine. The result was *Aile* (Family), a quarterly magazine in line with the Readers Digest format. *Aile*'s cadre comprised many famous poets and writers, including, for instance, Yahya Kemal, Orhan Veli, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, and Nurullah Ataç.

[23] Şevket Rado, "*Türk Matbaacılığında ve Mecmuacılığında Yenilikler*" in Toderini, ibid., pp.143-173.

Yet, the fact that these two ventures were not profitable stimulated criticism among the bank's circles. To avert the charges of economic burden, an independent printing house was established to publish *Doğan Kardeş* and *Aile* in which Vedat Nedim Tör took care of the publishing while Şevket Rado managed the personnel. Thus, having successfully established a printing house and two magazines that were designed to be "beneficial" to Turkish children as well as Turkish families, Yapı ve Kredi Bankası gained much prestige for its cultural services to the country. For this reason, one wonders the incentives for starting up the whole process again with *Hayat* magazine.

The answer that can be traced in Rado's account is rather an economic one, and is related to the advertising strategy of the Bank. According to Rado, Taşkent altered the hitherto practice by insisting on publishing the Bank's advertisements on the second and third pages of the national newspapers, rather than the accustomed last page. At first, the Advertising Company (*İlancılık Şirketi*) agreed on Taşkent's conditions. Nonetheless, as more and more people appreciated the value of the front pages for advertising, it became difficult for Yapı and Kredi Bankası to reserve its place. Indeed, over the dispute for the front pages, the Advertising Company declared that it would not put the Bank's advertisements in the newspapers upon such insistence. Thus, some newspapers withdrew the Bank's advertisements altogether.

Being newly found, Yapı ve Kredi Bankası desperately needed advertising. The managers of the Bank came up with the solution to publish their own magazine (the option of publishing a newspaper was discarded because it would be "politically inappropriate" for the Bank.) For the new magazine to act as a medium for advertising, it needed to achieve high circulation rates. Introduction of a new printing

technique emerged as the main answer for the circulation problem; and even though it took four years to establish the new *Tifdruck* printing house, Yapı and Kredi Bankası finally gained a reliable medium to publish its advertisements.[24] Indeed, the "cultural services" of Yapı ve Kredi proved so successful for the advertisement of the bank that even its strongest rival had to imitate this strategy. As the directorate general of *Türkiye İş Bankası* (Turkey Business Bank) reported already in 1955: "In truth, examining the strategy of our rival . . . it is observed that it has made a perfect propaganda . . . through publishing magazines for both children and adults. It is observed that part of the money spent on the intense propaganda that their establishments provided the cultural scene with great services is gained back as sales revenues, which is further added with prestige.[25]

On the other hand, it would be fallacious to state that Yapı ve Kredi Bankası was the sole party to benefit from this affiliation. For one thing, even though it was published under the banner of an independent establishment, the Bank proved a firm financial partner for *Hayat* magazine. Apart from the prestige of publishing one of the most successful magazines in Turkey, the bank did not profit much financially, contrary to its rivals' anticipation. Indeed, its financial support was so crucial for *Hayat* that the withdrawal of Yapı ve Kredi Bankası from the venture ended the 22 year old episode.[26]

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[24] Indeed, throughout the first year of *Hayat*, *Yapı and Kredi* Bank was almost the only advertiser. With time, the advertising portfolio of the magazine expanded; nonetheless the Bank never lost its place on the second page to other companies.

[25] "*rakibimizin hareket tarzı incelendiğinde,*(. . .) *neşrettiği mecmualarla gerek çocuklara ve gerekse büyüklere hitap etmek imkanı bulmaktan başka,*(. . .) *bu neşriyatla bankalarının propagandasını mükemmelen yapmakta olduğunu, bu maksatla sarfettiği paraların bir kısmını satış hasılatı olarak geri aldığı ve müesseselerinin kültür alemine büyük hizmetler ifa ettiği yolunda yapılan kesif propagandanın temin ettiği manevi itibarın da haliyle bu kazanca inzimam ettiği görülmektedir*." Directorate General Report of *Türkiye İş Bankası* submitted to the board of directors, 9 June 1955, cited in Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, *Türkiye İş Bankası Tarihi* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001), p.351.

[26] As Şevket Rado denotes, after the Bank handed over its shares to the printing company, an immediate repayment of a 12 million lira loan was demanded. While the magazine, which annually had a net gain of 1-2 million liras, could not meet the demands of the Bank, a nine-month strike halted

The Content and the Cadre of *Hayat*

Apart from strong financial support, *Hayat* was endowed with a strong cadre. The editor himself was an asset, for his blend of modern innovations with conservative advices appealed to many. "Besides his usage of solid, careful, and harmonious language, Şevket Rado gained appreciation and admiration with the realistic ideas and sentiments he declared."[27] Indeed, due to his careful and compromising approach, Rado emerged as an arbiter for readers' questions, ranging from neighbor disputes to generational conflicts.

Another important figure in the magazine was Hikmet Feridun Es, whose travels across the world were among the most interesting articles in the magazine. While Es informed the reader about the "bizarre" habits of distant cultures, the photographs taken by his wife Semiha Es evoked equal interest. Their ten week-long series depicting the lives of the Turkish soldiers at the Kunuri front in the Korean War was among the most notable writings of *Hayat*.

Photography was an integral part of the magazine. For one thing, the magazine made wide use of photographs, especially those of foreign movie stars, from the international press.[28] With respect to national coverage, Ara Güler and Suavi Sonar were in charge. Usually Sonar took the portrait photos of Turkish celebrities, while Güler took landscape photos as well as those of the important social events. It should be noted that while *Hayat* is considered a popular culture

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the publishing altogether. Eventually *Hayat* was sold to Kemal Uzan, and continued its publication until 1996, though with decreased popularity.

[27] "*Şevket Rado'nun Türkçesi; sağlam, itinalı, âhenktâr olmakla beraber beyan ettiği fikirler ve duygular da gerçeklere uygun olduğu için takdir ve hayranlık toplamakta idi*.."Osman Akkuşak,11 March 2007, Commemorate: "Şevket Rado, Türkan Rado", http://www.yenisafak.com/yazarlar/?i=4215&y=OsmanAkkusakPazar [27 April 2007].

[28] It should be noted that as stated in the magazine, the copyrights of all the photographs, serial novels, and cartoons were legally obtained.

magazine today, international political and economic developments were also covered by the magazine.

Serial novels were also an indispensable part of *Hayat*. In the beginning, the magazine started publishing the works of the renowned writers Refik Halit Karay and Halide Edip Adıvar along with translations of romantic fictions from foreign languages. The magazine published as many as three series in a single issue. Yet, as the magazine became more confident with its content, the salience of serial novels diminished, and they left their places to a series of memoirs and interviews.

It should be noted, however, that these novels, especially the ones written by Turkish authors, represented more than merely love stories. Halide Edip Adıvar's trilogy *Akile Hanım Sokağı* (Akile Hanım's Street), *Sallan ve Yuvarlan* (Rock and Roll), and *Cıbıl Gız* (Striptease) should be considered more as attempts to question social reality than as the profiteering endeavors of the writers. Adıvar explains her reasons for dealing with such topics in an interview with *Hayat*:

> Just as *Sinekli Bakkal* represents the life and spirit of the people of every class as well as of individuals who lived on a street of Istanbul some fifty years ago, these novels, in much the same way, represent a street of Istanbul of the present day, I picked the titles *Sallan ve Yuvarlan* and *Cıbıl Gız* because these two unrhythmic American dances reflect our psychological aspect as it stands today, and our philosophy of life, which, in fact has no grain of philosophy in it.[29]

Indeed, social transformations induced par foreign trends is a frequently referred theme in *Hayat*. Yet, the magazine's attitude is rather contradictory. On the one hand, *Hayat* played an important role in introducing global trends via its coverage of international celebrities, the latest music trends, and the latest developments in the entertainment sector. On the other hand, the cautious tone in most of the articles in *Hayat* clearly signaled the magazine's concern about the negative effects of imitating

[29] Mustafa Baydar, "An Interview with Halide Edip Adıvar", *Hayat*, no.41 (19 July 1957), quoted in Emel Doğramacı, *Rights of Women in Turkey* (Ankara: s.n., 1982), pp.89-90.

foreign popular cultures at excess. Since this point will be further examined with various examples in the following chapters, it is sufficient for the time being to note that *Hayat*'s editorship assumed the responsibility to guide its readers in their adoption of western ways of life.

American or Continental: Which Way to Go?

The promotion of the western life style has been associated by most scholars with the Republican project of modernization. There have been further suggestions that the 1950s signaled a shift in Turkey's orientation towards the west, highlighting the role of the United States while downplaying that of Europe. Regarding *Hayat*, this shift seems to be validated, though not with utmost clarity.

The magazine examines both American and European centers of fame and their life-styles very closely. In doing so, it surely makes use of foreign popular culture magazines, among which European ones seem to be more frequently recoursed. This is partly due to technological importation. *Hayat*'s printing technique was imported from Germany, along with a crew to educate Turkish technicians. Thus, it was natural for the magazine to take, at least, German magazines as measures. Indeed, the exemplary magazines that appeared in the first issues of *Hayat* were all German ones, apparently brought along by the German technicians. Although technological transfer influences the direction of attention, the main reason why the reflection of the European press overshadows that of the American press was related to the long lasting tastes and preferences of the writers of *Hayat*. As mentioned before, from the beginning *Hayat* was designed to be a high circulation magazine; and the owners of the magazine believed that the only way to accomplish

this was to achieve a printing quality on a par with the European magazines. Thus compatibility with European standards emerged among the raisons d'être of *Hayat*. This is not surprising, and, indeed, part of a two-century-old westernization process.

Indeed, it is such an embedded process in Turkish society that the readers share the valor of reading a European-standard magazine with the editors' aim to publish one. To quote a reader, telling the story of an airplane journey to the United States: "The American lady [sitting next to me] first considered it an Italian magazine, and was surprised on learning that it had been published in Turkey. Throughout the journey she curiously scanned the pages. . . [after landing New York] she waved to me from afar with *Hayat*'s second issue in her hand and disappeared. I could not decide whether to laugh at or be angry with this, yet I took great pride in this situation."[30]

Yet, even if compatibility with the quality of European magazines formed a baseline for *Hayat*'s self-evaluation, it does not necessarily follow that the magazine excluded the American press as a point of reference. Indeed, *Hayat* would not have been able to achieve this, even if it deliberately aimed to do so. This is because most of the European magazines were mere copies of the American magazines like *Life*, and their content was dominated by Hollywood celebrities as well as the United States' rising leadership in European affairs, such as the foundation of NATO.

Thus, although European magazines formed *Hayat*'s major source of comparison, as well as that for news and photographs, the content of the magazine was shaped, to a great extent, by the Cold War and the United States' assumption of

[30] "*Amerikalı bayan bunu önce bir İtalyan dergisi sandı, Türkiye'de basıldığını öğrenince de hayret etti. Atlantik okyanusunu aşarken hep merakla sahifeleri karıştırdı. New-York'a vardığımız zaman ben telaş içinde gümrük ve pasaport işleriyle uğraşırken baktım, uzaktan biri bana el sallıyor. Amerikalı bayan elinde Hayat'ın 2. sayısı olduğu halde gülerek arabasına bindi ve gözden kayboldu. Gülmek mi lazım kızmak mı o anda pek kestiremedim, ama gene de bu durumdan iftihar ettim*."*Hayat*, no.125 (27 February 1959), p.30.

command in international affairs. Hence, news on the Korean War, NATO, the Baghdad Pact, as well as themes such as the Soviet threat frequently appeared in *Hayat*. Furthermore, these news reports were directly quoted from American sources, or brought about by *Hayat* journalists' personal observations. Thus, Turkish-American rapprochement was a frequent theme in the magazine, with series like the portrayal of the Turkish soldiers at the Korean War, or visiting of NATO headquarters.

All in all, the question as to whether Turkey's orientation changed from Continental centers to United States is lagged behind the question as to whether the latter's politics and culture started to dominate Europe in the post-war era. Thus, be it a conscious decision or a follow-up of the European trend, *Hayat*'s celebrity features were mainly inspired by American way of life.

Hayat's Relationship With the Government

Before concluding the chapter on *Hayat* magazine, there is one issue that needs to be examined. It is the government affiliation of Hayat, and especially of its editor. Considering the characteristics of the decade, it would be surprising for a popular magazine to take an oppositional stance against the government. This is not to suggest that the populous adored the government, but that the press law in effect made it very difficult for dissident voices. However, main reason for *Hayat's* assumed affiliation with the government is not its compliance with the requirements of the press law, but an existential one. It is ironic that the main strength of the magazine, that is its unraveled printing quality, has formed the source of main criticism against *Hayat*.

The printing method of *Hayat* required a special type of paper that is imported from abroad. After eleven issues, however, the paper stock of the magazine was extinguished.[31] Further importation was troubled due to the great foreign exchange shortage, experienced in the second half of the 1950s. Neither could it be produced domestically because of the technical incompetence of Izmit Paper Factory. The paper problem, which left *Hayat* out of publishing sector for six months, could only be resolved upon the prime minister's initiative, and the paper could be produced at Izmit Factory. This is because in its first issues, *Hayat* appraisingly covered some works of the government that Menderes took great pride in. These included new city-plans for Istanbul and opening up of new road systems. The editor Rado, expressed the fact that *Hayat* covered such changes sympathetically and with big beautiful pictures made Adnan Menderes very pleased.[32] After the resolution of the first crisis, paper acquisition became a recurrent problem for the magazine. Every time the stocks were extinguished, personal intermediation of the prime minister was needed. Yet, as Rado expresses, within time Menderes got the habit of inviting Rado to the meetings of his party, so that they are published in the magazine.

Despite, the friendship between the editor and the prime minister, however, it would be greatly unfair to categorize *Hayat* as a source of government propaganda. For one thing, *Hayat* crew never published party meetings of Menderes as he wanted them to. Thus, factory openings and official summons remained main source of information about the prime minister and the cabinet members, not to mention

[31] Rado attributes the high popularity of the magazine as the main reason of this early exhaustion. While the preliminary estimation of the circulation of the magazine was approximately 50 thousand; it turned out to be 170 thousand, consuming ten months' stock in eleven weeks.
[32] Rado, in Toderini, ibid., p.159.

several entertainment occasions. In its coverages of the government, hardly any accent was given to daily political issues.[33]

All in all *Hayat* proved to be a good enough source for observing many social aspects of Turkish society in the 1950s. While the magazine had lineages with the Yapı and Kredi Bankası and the government, it cannot be argued that these lineages led *Hayat* to assume biased publishing. The wide variety in the content of the magazine, as well as the fact that *Hayat* was designed to be a mass circulation magazine targeting several segments in the society accounts for *Hayat*'s eligibility for historical enquiry.

[33] This is valid in the national political issues. *Hayat*'s stance for the foreign political decisions of the government was a supportive one, with a corroborative tone in the writings. For instance, just like many contemporary journals and newspapers *Hayat* approved government's decision to participate in the Korean War wholeheartedly and its comments on the outcome of the war bore celebrating tones.

CHAPTER II

MARRIAGE

Marriage is an indicator of many social relations within society as well as being an important aspect of human life. Marital relationships, inter-marriage varieties, and mating strategies have inspired scholars in a vast area of studies, varying from the sociology of family to the history of gender; and on a number of phenomena such as the expansion of the state's power and the development of social stratification in a society.

Marriage related issues have also been a constant source of popular interest, as expressed in folk tales, songs, as well as in cultural industry products. Thus, I find it highly relevant to study the popular magazines of the 1950s to observe the marital relations of the decade, and to examine some implications of these relations for the social stratification norms within Turkish society.

As I will point out in the forthcoming sections of this chapter, marriage patterns enforced and worked according to the social stratification norms within Turkish society in the 1950s. These norms and taboos about marriage are difficult to pin down, since the issue of marriage has not been fully appreciated by the academic literature on the 1950s, neither was it taken into account by the contemporary sources. Thus, it is a particularly difficult task to examine the marital relationships and the alterations they underwent in the 1950s without over-imposing present prejudices about the past on the study.

Studying popular magazines in this respect can offer a partial remedy, for they are full of "trivial" information that is discarded in most scholarly accounts. This function of the popular magazines can be actualized provided that taking the

magazine's content as representative of the era under question is avoided. Thus, after establishing an understanding that considers popular magazines an important primary source while not treating their agenda as the exact projection of that society, one can conclude that the popular magazines provide us with the knowledge of the existence of certain values in the society, if not their absolute frequency.

Hayat's Definition of Marriage: The First Step to "Happiness"

Life in matrimony is a topic that is frequently addressed in the popular magazines of the 1950s. Celebrity comments on the issues of marriage, famous couples' married lives, questionnaires and tests about marriage related topics are also frequent subjects in *Hayat*. In its presentations of marriage, the basic attitude of *Hayat* is to guide its readers in matters related to marriage. The magazine attempts to draw a neat picture of marriage, and aims to protect the "sanctity" of the "institution" vis-à-vis the instillations of the modern lifestyle. Thus, the writers of *Hayat*, foremost of whom was the editor Şevket Rado, use a cautious language that aims to combine the promotion of the modern lifestyle with the continuity of the traditional values and expectations about marriage. Hayat's definition of marriage forms a good example to this conciliatory, synthesizing attitude.

Scanning through *Hayat*'s pages, one word catches the eye, as it almost always takes place in conjunction with "marriage." The word is "happiness" and its usage is so linked to marriage that one gets the idea that these two words are synonyms. Reading the statements of the interviewees as well as the reader letters, one observes that the linking of marriage with happiness is not confined to the writers of the magazine. To quote from one interview: "[singer] Gönül Akın asserts

on the issue of happiness: 'I am suffering from the despair of not finding happiness. I was not able to be happy in my first marriage. I searched for 'happiness' for long years. I decided to get married after finding it. As I am to marry soon, it seems I have come near to 'happiness'.'"[34]

Similarly, one can observe the fastening of happiness with marriage in famous singer Müzeyyen Senar's statement. In response to her interviewer's questions about her life Senar says: "There were two *Müzeyyen*s. One acted on the stage, crying inside, the other waited for a husband in her residence on the Baltalimanı shores (...) Living a hypocritical life does not bring happiness. I want to be Müzeyyen the cook, the servant, the mistress of a home, and finally the beloved wife of a husband."[35]

Looking at these examples one can state that in line with the traditional understanding, marriage was portrayed as an essential condition for living a content life. Yet, the emphasis on happiness hints at the importance of individual satisfaction, elevating matrimony from the rank of duty to that of a prerequisite. While marriage formed the first step to happiness in the pages of *Hayat*, the next step for the married couples to achieve complete happiness was to have children. This brings forth the issue of parenthood vis-à-vis marital relationships, which I will be examined in the following to sections.

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[34] "*Gönül Akın saadet konusunda diyor ki: 'saadeti bulamamanın üzüntüsü içinde kıvranıyorum. İlk evliliğimde mesut olamamıştım. «saadeti» uzun yıllar aradım. Bulduktan sonra evlenmeğe karar vermiştim. Yakında evleneceğime göre «saadete» yaklaşmış sayılırım.'* ", Interview with Gönül Akın, *Hayat*, no.119 (16 January 1959), pp.20-21.

[35] "*iki Müzeyyen vardı. Biri sahnede gözyaşlarını içine akıtan* (. . .) *Müzeyyen, öteki de* (. . .) *Baltalimanı'ndaki yalısında bir eş bekliyen kırık kalpli Müzeyyen*(. . .) *iki yüzlü kadın olarak yaşamak mutluluk vermiyor insana. Evinin ahçısı, hizmetçisi, hanımefendisi, nihayet kocasının sevgili eşi olan bir Müzeyyen olmak istiyorum*." Interview with Müzeyyen Senar, *Hayat*, no.121 (30 January 1959), pp.8-9.

Marital relations in *Hayat*

As mentioned above, the main function of *Hayat*'s articles on marriage is to guide the readers, especially the young ones, and to teach them the secrets of a happy married life. Yet, although marriage comprises the relationship of a couple, *Hayat* targets female readers as the objects of education in its editorials. The readers are informed on the qualities of the ideal housewife, the ideal mother, the ideal wife, as well as implicitly the ideal lover, while there is little mention of the ideal husband apart from his role as the breadwinner. This brings forth the representation of gender relations in *Hayat*.

Gender relations are indeed frequently addressed by the magazine under the topic of marital relationships. The real bone of contention that is displayed in *Hayat* is not that stemming from the inequality of power between the husband and the wife, but that women and men do not behave according to the roles traditionally established as the norm. Thus, conflict between the sexes is marginalized as the peculiarity of the delinquent behaviors of the spouses, as if the traditional division of labor had nothing to do with it.

For a more thorough exploration of these traditional roles attributed to the husband and wife, I shall refer to two articles and a test.

What to Expect from a Perfect Wife?

Hayat's interpretation of the expectations of a husband from his wife can be traced in a test called "Are You a Perfect Wife?"[36] The test comprises 20 questions that

[36] "*Mükemmel Bir Zevce Misiniz?* ", *Hayat*, no.111 (21 November 1958), p.30.

directly address whether an expected asset is possessed or not. A quarter of the questions relate to preserving the high status of the husband in public. The questions "Do you seek opportunity to increase your husband's esteem in other people's eyes" or "Are you careful not to shadow your husband's character in a social gathering" can be cited as concrete examples in this respect.[37] Also, a perfect wife is expected to be careful in abiding the "norms and regulations" in daily life, thus making sure the family keeps up with the standards of the social circle to which the family aspires to belong.

Following the test's conditions, we may summarize a perfect wife's characteristics as follows. First, "a perfect wife" is kind and caring; she bestows the kindness she shows to others on her husband as well, and continues to show him the care she did during their newlywed days. A perfect wife is also understanding and tolerant; she is serene in the face of her husband's wrong doings and she does not laugh at his faults. Nor does she bring out past faults as matters for discussion. She also lets her husband to enjoy spare time hobbies such as hunting and sports alone.

For the magazine, a perfect wife is exempt from negative traits like jealousy and indiscretion, for she does not tell her secrets to others "unlike most of the women." She is not jealous of her husband's interest in other women, nor is a working wife jealous about her husband's success at work. Furthermore, she has the merits of promptness and harmoniousness, as she does not make her husband wait and does not repeat acting the way he does not like. The perfect wife is also compatible with her husband's tastes, when, for instance, new furniture is to be bought for the house.

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[37] "*Eşinizi başkalarının nazarında kıymetlendirmek için fırsat arar mısınız?* " and "*Bir toplantıda eşinizin şahsiyetini gölgelememeye dikkat eder misiniz?* " See Appendix A, for all of the test's conditions.

Housewife skills are not cited as a condition for a perfect wife, rather, it is taken for granted. Thus a perfect wife does not excel in house-works per se, but is ready to spare time from house-works to entertain her husband. For instance, she quits her task at hand to talk about "general subjects" or to spontaneously go out with him. Last, but not least, a perfect wife is grateful, because she does not say she is "capable of doing the things her husband did for her alone."

All in all, the magazine's test can be said to confirm most traditional convictions about an ideal wife on a number of grounds. The diligence, compassion, and docility that *Hayat's* test installs upon its female readers heavily draw from traditional notion of womanhood. Plus, as mentioned above, there are a number of traits that the ideal wife is expected to possess without question. If excellence in house-works is one, undoubtedly good motherhood is another. Interestingly, however, the magazine does not refer to the latter in any form. The question of whether this can be considered another example of a taken-for-granted traits or a hint for the divergence from the widespread convictions of the time is a rather delicate one that needs further exploration, which I will attempt to do in the next sections.

Hayat alters the image of the traditional woman in a number of ways. First, notwithstanding its predominant emphases on domestic life-style for women, the magazine presumes a level of sociability that is beyond the traditionally accepted norm. Reading through the test's statements, one observes that "the perfect wife" is expected to develop advanced social skills, and is required to educate her mind and tastes so that she can entertain her husband in public and private. She should, for instance, be a good speaker to manipulate others' opinion to the advantage of her husband; having understood that the inner workings of social intercourse rest upon appealingness, she should not be jealous about her husband's interest in other

women. Second, *Hayat* professionalizes the woman image. In *Hayat's* test, being a working woman is considered normal, if not the standard, provided that working life does not inhibit women from marriage. Thus, although working wives are not criticized, they are reminded that their career is subordinate to that of their husbands, and that they should not be jealous about it. But more importantly, *Hayat* presents housewifery as a profession in itself. Hence, rather than acting like twenty-four hour moping, sewing, cooking, and cleaning agents, housewives are invited to possess professional traits like promptness and organization skills so that their chores are finished by the time the husband comes home.

All the same, *Hayat's* alterations of the traditional image of woman are confined to the characteristics to be possessed, rather than a profound division of labor within the family. All in all, *Hayat's* definition of a perfect wife combines traditional understanding with contemporary ways of life, and aims to improve women's abilities, if not their capabilities.

How to Found A Happy Marriage?

A second source of exploration for *Hayat*'s understanding of marriage is the fifteen week-long "How Did They Marry" series, in which over fifty marriage stories are published as exemplary cases. *Hayat* started the series as a "survey" to determine the best way to meet the future spouse, and asked its readers two questions: "How did you meet your spouse?" and "Did this encounter make you happy?" The significance of this series is that the published marriage stories are presented as guidelines to be followed. To quote the editors of *Hayat*, "by publishing how our readers met, as well as the consequence of this meeting, we want to help our readers who want to marry.

The best path to pursue on the marriage topic will be determined at the end of the survey."[38] As *Hayat* expresses, the main aim of this series was to guide young couples with the experiences of their elder brothers and sisters.

The magazine purports that the criteria for the selection of the letters to be published are "usefulness and being interesting." Unsurprisingly, most of the letters end with advisory comments on who to choose as a life companion as well as how to choose one's spouse. Naturally, one cannot even be sure about the authenticity of the letters. The formal language, common expressions, and similar organization of the stories[39] –as if answering a written examination- can be interpreted as signs of imposturage. On the other hand, these can equally be taken as the characteristics of the writing practices of the era. Indeed it is those few stories that diverge from the mentioned characteristics that evoke suspicion of inauthenticity.

All in all, the fact that the stories are presented as guidelines to follow makes them relevant to study for inquiring values about marriage in the 1950s.[40] There are no judgmental comments on the letters from the writers of *Hayat*, apart from the titles attached to the letters. These titles are often chosen from the phrases that are used in the letters, yet one notices the conveyance of messages in some negatively charged titles, such as "Beware the Neighbors" or "Beware the Mother-in-Law." Thus, although the readers are supposedly the ultimate authors determining the socially accepted ways of starting a relationship, the selection of the cases indicates a certain pattern and the readers are directed at particular methods for taking the first step for marriage.

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[38] "*Okuyucularımızın eşleriyle nasıl tanıştıklarını ve bu tanışmadan nasıl bir netice doğduğunu mecmuamızda neşretmekle evlenmek isteyen okuyucularımıza yardım etmek istiyoruz. Evlenmek bahsinde hangi yoldan gidenlerin mesut oldukları anket sonunda belli olacaktır*", "*Eş Bulma Anketi*", *Hayat*, no.41 (19 July 1957), pp.26-27.

[39] Usually the first part of the letters tells the story of meeting, thus answering the first question of the magazine, while in the second part the suggested characteristics to be sought for in the future spouse are listed.

[40] The majority of the couples whose stories are published got married at the first half of the 1950s.

Before stating these methods, however, let me summarize commonalities that are emphasized in the letters. To briefly mention some quantitative observation about the series: Of the 52 marriage stories, the women, two of which are widows, write only five. Of all the meeting stories, neighborhood acquaintances indicate an outstanding figure with a total of thirteen instances. Meetings in social gatherings like weddings and friend invitations (11), on the public transportation vehicles and on the streets (9), at the school library (3), at pubs and casinos (2) etc., come respectively. The rest of the couples met on various occasions, ranging from telephone calls to pastoral walks. There are six arranged marriages cited, half of which ended bitterly. Overall, one notices a variety of the ways to meet the future spouse, and the salience of individual initiation rather than third party assistance in *Hayat*'s exemplary series. Yet, notwithstanding the diversification of the match making methods, which enables encounters from outside one's social milieu, the overwhelming majority of the marriages occurred between the men and women of the same social status.

Although there are a few upper-class stories, the majority of the letters refer to middle and lower class marriages. There are four instances in which the marriage was realized without the consent of the woman's family because of the economic situation of the groom. The result of such marriages is attested to be positive; and the substance of these stories can be formulized as: love between the husband and wife smoothes the hardships of life.

Unlike its otherwise dissuasive attitude towards platonic lovers with poor economic situations, *Hayat* shares the glorification of marriages based on mutual romance throughout the series. Indeed the series on the marriage stories itself becomes a means for a young couple to marry. Upon the letter of a poor groom

candidate who asks for a "great person" to lend 1000 Turkish Liras with on long-term conditions *Hayat* embarks on a charity campaign.[41] The lovers finally get married with the help of the readers; yet, this community chest turns into a mating strategy as well as a display of economic power for some of the lenders. To quote from *Hayat*: "Recently, the 20 dollar aid of our reader Ahmet Türki, who lives in Kuwait B.P. 433, was delivered to the engaged couple. In his letter, Ahmet Türki states that he got tired of the bachelor's life, and that he wants to marry a young lady from Turkey with whom he will correspond via mail."[42]

As *Hayat* introduced the "How Did They Marry" series as a guideline to determine the best way for matchmaking, the stories of the marriages that did not work out are worth a closer look. There are eleven "object lessons", which are almost always induced by parent and social environment pressures. Two exceptions are the self-criticizing letters of a man blaming his inexperience for falling in love with a pub singer despite the cautions of his family; and a woman blaming her pathetic jealousy crises for ruining a happily started relationship. In *Hayat*'s presentation, the prime reason for an unhappy marriage is parental pressure. A reader from Ankara says: "Upon the pressure of my parents I married someone I never knew. I am miserable. I try to be happy but I cannot."[43] Another letter from Izmir says: "Unable to offend the wish and insistence of my mother, who dedicated her life to me and raised me alone after my father died when I was too little, I married at the end of my

[41] "*Yuva kuracak paraları olmayan iki gence yardım etmek ister misiniz?*", *Hayat*, no.48 (6 September 1957), p.27.
[42] "*En son olarak Küveyt'te B.P.433, Kuwait, Arabian Gulf adresinde bulunan okuyucularımızdan Ahmet Türki iki gence 20 dolar karşılığı olan 105 lira göndermiş ve bu para nişanlılara verilmiştir. Ahmet Türki bize yazdığı mektubunda artık kendisinin de bekar hayatından bıktığını, Türkiye'de mektuplaşacağı bir genç hanımla evlenmek istediğini bildiriyor*." "*Bay Ahmet Türki'nin Hediyesi*", *Hayat*, no.54 (18 October 1957), p.26.
[43] "*Ebeveynimin tazyiki ile hiç tanımadığım bir kimse ile evliyim. Çok bedbahtım. Mesut olmaya çalışıyorum, fakat olamıyorum*." *Hayat*, no.55 (25 October 1957), p.26

military service. I didn't want her. I didn't love her. . . I always consider my situation a hell on earth."[44]

Parents, mostly mothers, emerge not only as the creators of mismatches, but also as an important source of tension between the spouses within the married life. Two readers, for instance, express that their marriage ended due to the mother-in-law factor. The writer of the first letter mentions his mother-in-law's unrealized intention of having the young couple in her house as the reason of her damaging behavior. As his first marriage ended bitterly, the writer advises the bachelors to "examine the familial situation and the morals of the girl [they] intend to marry, rather than her beauty and wealth." He alarmingly adds: "Act upon the character of your mother-in-law. If she is malevolent, prevent her from visiting your home frequently."[45] The second writer, pointing to the "mother-in-law question," relates that living with his mother became a problem for his wife.[46] While he seriously considered getting divorced, his friends saved his marriage by making him move into a separate house. It is interesting to note that in both cases it was the mothers of the readers who had initiated the marriage. Yet, the readers do not cite any objections to this method for marrying; rather they focus on the mal-effects of letting the mothers gain too much authority in their lives. Thus, considering these two examples, the main problem between the mother-in-law and the son/daughter-in-law appears to be letting the newly wed to have an independent life, an essential condition for which is living in a separate house.

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[44] "*Askerliğimin sonunda, çok ufak yaşta ölen babamın yokluğunu belli etmeden beni büyüten, hayatını bana vakfeden annemin ısrarı ve arzusunu kıramıyarak evlendim. İstemiyorudum. Sevmiyordum* (. . .) *Ben daima durumumu... Cehennem azabı olarak kabul ederim*." *Hayat*, no.56 (1 November 1957), p.26.

[45] "*Alacağınız kızın güzellik ve zenginliğini değil, ailevi durumunu ve ahlakını inceleyin. . . Kayınvalidenizin huyuna göre hareket edin. Yanlış düşünceli ise sık sık evinize gelmesine mani olun*." *Hayat*, no.47 (30 August 1957), p.27.

[46] *Hayat*, no.53 (11 October 1957), p.27.

Social milieu pressure is also given as an important factor that leads to many unhappy marriages. One such case is Altan Öymen's sketch of the neighborly inspection on young people in the 1950s: "there was a circle of control around them [the girls of marriageable age] which the families exerted with the concern of not having a bad name. Not only the families of young girls, but also those of young men exerted such control. The latter, too, considered themselves charged to 'protect' the neighbor girls."[47] Another "unhappy marriage" of *Hayat*'s guideline series was initiated as a result of such concerns. Writing from Keşan, a reader tells how his unfortunate marriage began: "While taking water from the fountain along with my aunt, the neighbor girl arrived. We looked at each other. Returning home, her mother severely scolded her. I decided at that moment that I would marry and save this girl, who had been reproved because of me."[48] Neighbor mal-effects are also mentioned as the source of household discontent in one instance. The reader said his ex-wife "was very fond of the neighbors. They were frequently having discussions at home. So much so that she eventually left the home and we divorced."[49]

It is not coincidental that *Hayat* pointed to the problems created by the family and social circle pressures.[50] Even though the magazine does not explicitly confront the extended family pattern, the portrayal of an ideal family in *Hayat* is that of a nuclear family. The division of familial duties and responsibilities are defined with respect to the spouses and the children, and disregarding the mother/father-in-laws.

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[47] "E*traflarında ailelerin oluşturduğu 'Aman adı çıkmasın' kaygısının oluşturduğu bir denetim çemberi vardı. Sadece genç kız ailelerinin değil erkek ailelerinin de... Onlar da kendilerini, komşu kızlarını 'korumak'la görevli sayarlardı*." Altan Öymen, *Değişim Yılları* (Istanbul: Doğan, 2004), p.19.

[48] "*Halam ile kuyudan su alırken komşularının kızı da su almağa geldi. Bakıştık. Eve dönünce anası kıza demediğini bırakmadı. O anda kararımı verdim. Benim yüzümden bu kadar laf işiten kızla evlenecek, onu kurtaracaktım*." *Hayat*, no.48 (6 September 1957), p.27.

[49] "*Bu kız komşulara çok düşkündü. Onlar zamanla evde kavga çıkarıyorlardı. O kadar ileri gitti ki neticede evi terkedip İstanbul'a gitti ve ayrıldık*." *Hayat*, no.57 (8 November 1957), p.26.

[50] Nor are the titles *Hayat* attached to these stories unsubjective. In these three instances, the magazine chose titles that are negatively charged: "Beware the Mother-in-Law", "The Mother-in-Law Problem", and "Beware the Neighbors."

In case of conflict, the writers advise not to hurt feelings of their elders, but affirm the right to self-determination for the young couples. Thus, the position of a mother/father in law is reduced to the role of senior citizen in society from that of a salient center of authority in the family. Regarding social pressures, *Hayat*'s attitude is more complicated. On the one hand, it denounces the authority of society on the individual choices. On the other hand, the young people are expected to rely more on their social milieu, on which their mating strategies depend.

On the whole, love marriages seem to have been the object of great emphasis in the 1950s. One observes the advertisement of individual initiative for starting a marriage and an accompanying denunciation of the traditional arranged marriage. Yet it is questionable if love marriage was a novelty of the period, for there are studies pointing to its existence much earlier. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, for instance, trace the origins of "the so-called move from the arranged to love marriages" back to the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless they add that "these pure forms were in all likelihood only pure in the minds of the people, not in their actualization. Some sort of love relationship under the guidance and sponsorship of families was the more common, certainly the increasingly predominating arrangement, while the idea of love carried an implicit threat to family and social order."[51]

In line with the authors, it can be stated that *Hayat*'s coverage of family and marriage in the 1950s was centered on sustaining the idea of love with emphasis on conjugal happiness and satisfaction. Even though exploration of *Hayat* magazine of the 1950s per se does not permit us to speculate about the extent of acceptance of love marriages in society, the reader letters make it clear that they are existent not

[51] Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1860-1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.246.

only in *idea* but also in practice. What is more, the practice of love marriage is not restricted to the supposedly more westernized/modernized upper classes, but endorsed as a right by the economically lower classes living outside the culturally dominating cities of Istanbul and Ankara. If the move from the arranged marriage to love marriage is not peculiar to the fifties then, its expansion and embrace by the larger segments of the society can be speculated to be a characteristic of the decade.

Marriage and Parenthood

As mentioned above, marriage is considered a "first step to happiness" in the *Hayat* magazine. The next step for fulfilling a happy family is, of course, having children. Thus, parenthood is represented to be an essential part of being a couple. Yet, in its presentations of intra-marriage relationships, the magazine focuses on the women rather than men. Thus, one can trace the presentation of motherhood much more easily than that of fatherhood.

The emphasis on motherhood as part of womanhood is an outstanding feature of the popular magazine *Hayat* in the 1950s. First of all, the magazine addresses the symbols of feminine attractiveness as also the symbols of ideal motherhood. Among others, Grace Kelly stands out as the prime example of devotedness to the offspring because, once the indisputed queen of the Hollywood, Kelly left her career for raise heirs to the Principality of Monaco. Pictures of the famous mothers with their children are considered of high value by the magazine and, as in the example of Shirley MacLaine and her daughter Sachi, as well as that of Grace Kelly and princess Caroline, they altered the classic cover of *Hayat* that showed a beautiful girl to feature them.

Second, being a mother is almost unexceptionally an upgrading quality for the magazine personae, making the subject a decent model to imitate rather than simply a lucky person who has acquired fame. Indeed, among the highest compliments of the magazine for both the foreign and Turkish stars comes affectionate motherhood, uttered right after that of a successful marriage. Frequently, dossiers about international and national celebrities are published with unexceptional emphasis on the family lives of the subject person. To cite an example, I may quote *Hayat*'s remarks on the Turkish classical music performer, Perihan Sözeri: "The performer, who believes that marriage is a 'bond of happiness', worked hard to protect this happiness. She gained the good will of her husband and worked on stage. She fusses over her children . . . The performer found the happiness in her home, in her husband."[52]

The same way motherhood is presented as a distinguished characteristic of the famous women, parenthood is presented to be an essential element of happy marriages. For instance, *Hayat*'s coverage of an Italian contest for choosing the best wife of the year carries the title "The Champions of Happiness." The picture attached to the coverage is that of the tertiary contestant, her husband, and her 12 children. The passage states that the family "lives in a two-room house. The children sit at the dinner table in turns. Despite all of this, nothing shadows the happiness of [this] family."[53] Similarly, almost all of the happy ending marriage stories of the aforementioned "How Did They Marry" series finish their essays pointing to the fact that they have children –preferably sons. To quote a letter from Istanbul: "We are so

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[52] "*Evliliğin bir 'saadet bağı' olduğuna inanan sanatkar bu saaadeti korumak için çok çalışmıstır. Bu arada eşinin gönlünü almış, hem çalışmış hem sahneye çıkmıştır. İki çocuğunun üstüne titrer. . . . Sanatkar saadeti yuvasında, eşinde bulmuştur*." Interview with Perihan Sözeri, *Hayat*, no.117 (2 January 1959), pp.8-9.

[53] "*Zorgi ailesi iki odalı bir evde yaşamakta, yemek masası müsait olmadığı için çocuklar sofraya sıra ile oturmaktadırlar. Bütün bunlara rağmen iki ailenin saadetini hiçbir şey gölgeliyememektedir*." "*Saadet Şampiyonları*", *Hayat*, no.44 (9 August 1957), p.26.

happy and fortunate that with this delight we ask God for a son." Another from Izmir expresses that "Now we are very happy. We are sure that the baby we are expecting will reinforce our happiness."[54]

Having children is presented in these examples as a factor that upgrades the couple's love and happiness, which evidently existed before marriage. In the more traditional arranged marriages, having children appears to be a factor that generates affection between the spouses itself. A reader named Şükrü Ateşli posits that "now [after seven years of marriage] we can sincerely confess to each other that we started to love each other after the birth of our child."[55]

Notwithstanding this classical understanding that praises motherhood as an integral part of womanhood, and parenthood as an integral part of the marriage, there are signs of a new perception of married life. To begin with, some reader letters explicitly put that they are avoid,ng having kids for the fear of sharing the love the couple has for each other.[56] A reader asserts: "despite all the complaints of my parents, I do not want to have children, not to disunite my Melis's[his wife] love for me."[57] The fact that children are seen as obstacles for a couple's reciprocal care and affection reveals a change in the perception of marriage itself, making it less of an institution that sustains the hereditary continuity and more one that sustains personal satisfaction.

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[54] "*Şimdi çok mesuduz. Gelmesini beklediğimiz yavrunun saadetimizi daha da perçinleyeceğine eminiz.*" *Hayat*, no.45 (16 August 1957), p.26.
[55] "*Şimdi, birbirimize, «Ben seni çocuk doğduktan sonra sevmeğe başladım» diye samimi olarak itirafta bulunabiliyoruz.*" *Hayat*, no.50 (20 September 1957), p.27.
[56] The fact that such concerns are uttered in response to the aforementioned "How Did They Marry" survey makes these remarks important since the letters published in these series were introduced by the magazine as exemplary cases for the young couples to be married.
[57] "*Annemin, babamın bütün söylenmelerine rağmen, Melis'imin bana olan sevgisinin bölünmemesi için çocuk bile istemiyorum. –F. Yılmaz Koşular/Beşiktaş*" "*Nasıl Evlendiler*", *Hayat*, no.58 (15 November 1957), p.26.

Marriage and Social Stratification

Among the prime reasons I find the marriage themed articles of *Hayat* important is that they help us observe some of the social stratification strategies of Turkish society in the 1950s. To begin with, it shall be noted that both upper and lower class marriage stories are given space in *Hayat*'s pages, yet with differing coverage.

Marriage related topics regarding the upper classes first appear in *Hayat* as stories of Hollywood actresses as well as those of royal families. The marital relations of Shah Pehlevi and Princess Soraya, Sophia Loren and Carlo Ponti, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, and Liz Taylor's several marriages are among the most frequently addressed ones in *Hayat*. Evidently, almost all of these stories, as well as the photographs that accompany them, were translated directly from the international press. Yet, by the end of the decade, *Hayat* began to publish the marriage stories of Turkish high-society as well. Photographs of the engagement ceremonies and weddings that sustain conspicuous consumption patterns are covered by the magazine for weeks, with detailed listing of the guests as well as elaborate information on what those guests wore.

Usually, the ceremonies published in *Hayat* are those of famous businessmen's families. One such example is the engagement ceremony of the daughter of the renowned businessman Kemal Sadıkoğlu. The ceremony took place in the Sadıkzade residence on the Bebek shore, which "gathered the most beautiful and chic women of Istanbul together (. . .) so much so that one could successfully organize a fashion show."[58] Along with the photographs of the stylish guests of the occasion, the readers are informed that there were three buffets which served an

[58] "*İstanbul'un en güzel kadınları bu nişan töreninde toplanmıştı desek yalan olmaz. O kadar güzel ve şık kadın vardı ki . . . Sadıkzade yalısında nişan gecesi bir defile yapılsaydı muvaffak olunurdu*." *Hayat*, no.114 (12 December 1958), p.29

exhaustive menu, and that the famous singer Perihan Sözeri performed a mini-concert. Similarly, the wedding of businessman Selahattin Beyazıt at the Hilton Hotel is covered in *Hayat* with a particular focus on the clothing of the guests. Indeed, the dresses of eigtheen invitees were photographed and described to the tiniest detail.

While there is much speculation about the married lives of the world-wide celebrity, and much emphasis on the weddings of Turkish high society, one can not find much to spoil the fairy tale configuration about the latter's marriage stories. Thus the married lives of the Turkish upper classes are represented as a haven from the hardships of life or from sensations created by the moral deficiencies that gripped the global high society.

On the whole, the cases submitted by the magazine make it clear that socio-economic equivalence is of primary concerns for the success of a marital match. The vivid portrayal of the social gatherings of the rich promotes the differences of those who are attending it and those who read about it in *Hayat*. Yet they affect the readers' expectations of married life, as well as their expectations about an ideal spouse.

Expectations about who to marry are shaped by concerns of equivalence in a match, which in turn is much related to keeping social group boundaries intact. As Weber points out, there are restrictions on social intercourse for individuals from different groups of "status honor." These restrictions, coupled with differences in life-style expectations, "confine normal marriages to within the status cycle and may lead to complete endogamous closure."[59] In this respect the effects of popular magazine culture on individuals' choices of marriage partners can be speculated to

[59] Max Weber, *Economy and Society,* Volume 2. ed. By Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978), p.932.

be two-fold. On the one hand, by providing the reader with some practical information on social intercourse rules, otherwise restricted to a particular status cycle, the magazines can smooth some restrictions for social intercourse. Similarly, by introducing higher status groups' tastes and life styles, the magazines can work to increase the number of possible candidates from outside the group cycle. On the other hand, the advertisement of the tastes and life styles of celebrity can create new restrictions for they emphasize the differences and the insufficient quality of life on the part of middle and lower classes. Similarly, "high society" can be expected to create new rules of interaction, new trends and develop new tastes once the old ones become widespread. Overall, the ultimate effect of the popular magazine's on the issue of marriage boils down to keeping the public interest live in high society conducts and values, thus consolidating the upper-class normative supremacy.

It is interesting to see that the socio-economic inequality of the to-be-married partners is problematized not only in derivation from the writings of the magazine but also by the readers themselves, as observed in most of the reader letters. Most of the reader letters published in *Hayat* comprise a problem, be it neighbor disagreements or familial disputes, which they expect the writers of the magazine to resolve. Among the top of such problems comes the despair of couples that cannot unite due to economically inferior situation of one party, which is usually that of the male. The typical response of *Hayat* to such grievances is advice to keep a determined stance and to work to fulfill the objecting party's criteria. Economic hardships are presented as a test of the strength of the couple's love, provided that it's a reciprocal one. "We owe our happiness to our loyalty and determination,"[60] says the Sayın couple, who managed to get married after three years of struggle to

[60] "*Saadetimizi sadakat ve azmimize borçluyuz.*" "*Nasıl Evlendiler?*" *Hayat*, no.47 (30 August 1957), p.26.

overcome the woman's parents' opposition to her penniless suitor. The Sayıns' story, which is published as part of the exemplary marriages series, conveys the idea that happiness is possible under every circumstance provided that the couple works for it.

If sustaining material welfare is one important criterion that is problematized in the reader letters of *Hayat* in their attempts for marriage, the other is getting higher education. While the magazine regards the first as an open-ended process, the prospects of which are considered adequate for proceeding in the marital agreement, the completion of the second is construed as a prerequisite for engaging into a serious relationship with the opposite sex. Thus, whereas economic hardships are presented as a test of the strength of the couple's love, any venture that jeopardizes an individual's educational prospects is considered ephemeral and the advice given is to terminate.

An interesting merging of these two lacking qualifications that are sought in a groom candidate appears in an anonymous letter from the provincial city Bolu. The reader, who remarks on his economic dependency on his elder brother to be able to continue his studies, expresses his despair at learning his brother's wish to marry the girl he loves. The magazine's response is reproving rather than relieving: "You are not only still a student, but also desperately in need of your brother's assistance. In such difficulties, rather than seeking to finish your studies, you attempt to fall in love; what's more, you compete with your brother for this girl! Keep studying, you have time to get married."[61]

Education appears to be among the most frequently mentioned obstacles to a young couple to enter into matrimony, so much so that editor Şevket Rado is

[61] "*Hem mektepte okuyorsunuz, yani henüz talebesiniz, hem ağabeyinizin yaptığı para yardımına muhtaçsınız. Bu güç durumda tahsiliniz bitirmeye bakacağınıza bir de aşık olmaya kalkıyor, üstelik bu kız yüzünden ağabeyinizle çatışıyorsunuz. Oldu mu ya! Siz derslerinize çalışın, daha evlenmiye vaktiniz var*." "*Gönül Postası*", *Hayat*, no.126 (6 March 1959), p. 27.

compelled to write an article called "Marriage during the Study Years."[62] The article remarks:

> Regarding the letters that came to me, the primary concern for most of my readers is to get married (. . .) The majority of them ask for my opinion; these are the ones who attempt to marry at very young ages while continuing their studies (. . .) Young people should always keep in mind that studying and marriage are very different things. Experiences have shown, not once but a thousand times, that these two does not work together.[63]

Hayat's editorials, as well as the responses to the reader letters, reveal a "prioritization of education" discourse, which suspends many instances of life until the educational activities are successfully terminated. Yet, it should be noted that *Hayat*'s advice stating the priority of education over marriage encompasses young men rather than young women, as in the example of two female high-school students. The girls ask the magazine to help them decide whether to keep the word to their parets and go to university, or to follow the wishes of their boyfriends, who are also high-school graduates, and not push for higher education. In response to "shall we choose higher education or marriage" question *Hayat* responds: "It seems from your letter that higher education is your parents' wish, rather than yours. We think, rather than pursuing a purposeless education, you should marry and have children!"[64]

Yet, it would be more convenient to interpret the reason for these adamant remarks as the perceived lack of interest in education, rather than the gender of the letter's writer. This point is clarified once we consider an earlier editorial on the same topic. In response to another letter, Rado wrote an article titled "The Girls Who

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[62] Şevket Rado, "*Sohbet Köşesi: Tahsil Çağında Evlilik*", *Hayat*, no.114 (12 December 1958), p.5.
[63] "*Bana gelen mektuplara bakarsanız okuyucularımın başta gelen dertleri evlenmek üzerindedir... Bunların arasında bilhassa çok genç yaşta bilhassa tahsillerine devam ederken evlenmeğe kalkan ve benden fikir soranlar çoğunluğu teşkil ediyor* (...) *Gençler şunu daima hatırlarında tutmalıdırlar ki tahsil başka şey, evlilik başka şeydir. Yapılan tecrübeler bu iki şeyin bir arada yürümediğini bir defa değil, bin defa göstermiştir*."
[64] "*Yüksek tahsil ailenizin arzusudur, sizin öyle bir niyetiniz hatta gayeniz bile olmadığı mektubunuzdan anlaşılıyor. Maksatsız bir şekilde yüksek tahsil yapacağınıza, bizce evlenip çoluk çocuk sahibi olun, daha iyi*!" "*Gönül Postası*", *Hayat*, no.126 (6 March 1959), p.27.

Wait Destiny"[65] pointing to the differences of opinion on the marriage versus higher education quandary. The writer of the letter is an eighteen year-old institute graduate who complains about her parents' limited perspective of education for a young woman: "My family's philosophy of life for a young woman is to wait at home for *kismet*, having received the education they limited according to their wishes."[66] Rado expresses that it is only "enlightened parents" who think: "the daughter, too, should continue her education if she has the capacity; so that she is not prevented from taking the mission and the position in the society that she can achieve. If she gets married and has children she does not lose anything, on the contrary feels herself stronger in the society."[67]

On the whole, in *Hayat*, while higher education is considered almost an obstacle for young men to marry, it is nearly the opposite for young women. It is because higher education as a recognized ground for postponing marriage appears to be an exception for women, since a university degree is seen as suited for the women of "enlightened" families, as well as those with natural aptitude and determination.

Hayat's Portrayal of Family

Hayat's emphasis on marriage should be taken into consideration in conjunction with the promotion of family as the essential unit of society. The family that is normalized in the publications of *Hayat* is, first, a nuclear one. Extended family relations are largely ignored and the relationship of the married couple with their in-laws is

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[65] "*Sohbet Köşesi: Kısmet Bekliyen Kızlar*," *Hayat*, no.67 (17 January 1958), p.5.
[66] "*Ailemin bir genç kız hakkındaki hayat felsefesi kendi arzularınca hudutlandırdıkları bir tahsilden sonra evde oturup kısmetini beklemesidir*," ibid.
[67] "*Ancak münevver ailelerdir ki çocuklarını kız olsun, erkek olsun, onları bir tahsilden geçirmenin lüzumuna inanıyorlar. Onlar: «Kız çocuk da, eğer istidadı varsa okumalıdır, cemiyette alabileceği vazifeyi almaktan geri durdurulmamalıdır. Evlenir de çoluk çocuğa karışırsa kaybedeceği bir şey yoktur; bilakis kendini cemiyette kuvvetli hissedecektir » diye düşünürler*."

problematized. Second, the internal division of labor within the ideal family is in line with the traditional breadwinner husband-caring housewife pattern. Even though the working woman is implicitly celebrated as a symbol of Turkish modernization, it is clearly put that the primary duty of a working woman is not pursuing her career but successfully establishing a home. Third, the idealized family is an independent and self-sufficient one. The magazine highlights individual methods for matchmaking vis-à-vis the traditional arranged marriage methods that involve kinship, neighborhood and parental circles. Having successfully established the marriage with individual efforts, the young couples are advised to keep the influences of the above-mentioned people minimal.

Regarding these characteristics, the modernization paradigm emerges as the main legitimating factor. The nuclear family, in contrast to the extended family, is in line with the projections of the founders of the Republic, who aimed to circumscribe ethnic, religious, or local belongingnesses and emphasized, in return, a modern state-citizen rapprochement. In this context, the nuclear family emerged as the basic unit of society, responsible to no one but itself and the state.

The Republican elite also considered the participation of women in professional life an important sign of modernization. Although the notion of working women was not a strange one, considering that the rural division of labor did not exclude outdoor labor from the chores of women, it was peculiar for urban, well-to-do Ottoman women to pursue professional careers. In an effort to emancipate the Turkish woman from the Orientalist image of the lady yawning at the window of her house, Republican project of modernization acknowledged an active role for women. Turkish women were envisaged not only as the educating mothers of a brand-new generation but also as role models to be followed in their altruistic services to

society. The Republican woman was "enlightened", industrious, and determined; the scope of her career was not limited to "feminine" professions, such as teaching and nursing, but endorsed most ambitious professions, such as being a pilot or a lawyer. Yet, notwithstanding the sublimating discourse on women's crucial role in "serving society", the sexual division of labor within family was not changed and the traditional breadwinner husband-caring housewife pattern continued. Nonetheless, despite the persistence of gender roles within the family, the notion of family changed to make a difference in the duties and responsibilities of husbands and wives.

Hayat's promotion of family as an independent and a self-sufficient entity, hints at another phase in Turkish modernization; one in which the American experience emerged as the leading example. Evidently, self-dependency was represented an essential characteristic of American society, as well as the indication of an individualistic societal organization, much different from that in Turkey. Surely, by promoting that every family is an enclosed and independent entity that determines its own destiny, *Hayat* configured the family as the primary unit to benefit from the freeing spirit of democracy. Yet, it is difficult to observe the same approach regarding intra-familial relations, especially those between the spouses, as *Hayat*'s formula considers the husband/father's word that of the family.

Concluding Remarks

In recapitulating the sections above, *Hayat*'s notion of marriage can be addressed as one that follows the middle-class American model, which rests upon the bread-winner husband/father and elegant housewife/mother couple. Even though this

model's division of labor can be speculated to be in line with that had been experienced in Turkey since the Ottoman times, increasing emphasis on the physical maintenance and beauty on the part of the wife can be considered a sign of divergence from the traditional Turkish understanding of marital concerns. This is because the reference of beauty was no longer the "pleasingly plump" but the well-groomed Hollywood star that appeared on the cover of the magazine every week.

Apart from the altered representation of intra-marriage relations, one notices a constant accent on the variation of the ways to get to know one's spouse. This partially derives from the fact that the magazine was confronted with an overwhelming number of readers' letters on this subject matter. Often these letters came from the young readers demanding the authors of *Hayat* arbitrate between their choices and their parents' cautions. In general, the position of the magazine is to reconcile the parties by reminding the older generation that the times have changed, and the youth that they had better listen to the experienced. Nonetheless, in the end, there is no question that *Hayat* opted for the more "contemporary" methods for starting a relationship, such as flirting, against the traditional arranged marriage.

Besides reader letters, marriage and marital relationships are frequently raised in the articles in *Hayat*. In most instances, the writers of the magazine clearly remark that their purpose in bringing forth marital issues is to guide the readers who seek advice. The profile of such readers is likely to be single young men who are away from their hometowns either because of their studies, or their work.

Thus the prevalent position of marriage-related topics in *Hayat* becomes more meaningful when considered as a part of the urbanization process, which gained momentum starting with the mid-1950s. With the enhancement of the transportation networks of the country, via the building of extended high roads that

linked village to the city, more and more people acquired the chance to observe urban life style. Moreover, with the on-taking of mechanization in the agricultural sector, as well as the increasing demand of the expanding industrial sector, the first considerable migration phase within the country started in the 1950s. Whatever the incentives were, it was generally single men who migrated from town to city. In Leila Erder's words: "It is the influx of males, not females, that characterized the shift from villages to cities until the mid-1960s."[68] It is particularly these young men that the magazine designed its guideline for marriage, because once outside the arranged marriage circles of the village, these men were seriously challenged in marital matters, for they were not familiar with the city practices of meeting eligible females.

The second objects of the education were unquestionably women, who were taught the middle-class norms about a "happy" married life. Men were considered less in need of such education because the assumption was that the husband was the superior party within a marriage, be it economic, social, or intellectual. Thus, although the magazine cherished successful professional women, the prototypical *Hayat* wife was not one dependent on (or independent of) the husband, but an indicator of the husband's status. Hence, on top of the traditional perceptions of a good wife (such as handiness, industriousness, thriftiness, cleanliness, motherliness, etc.) an ideal wife is expected to look neat, well-dressed, and be a knowledgeable practitioner of middle class societal manners. She is celebrated when having a career, but it does not liberate her from household chores, including the full responsibility for raising children.

[68]Leila Erder, "The Women of Turkey: A Demographic Overview," in *Women in Turkish Society* ed, Nermin Abadan-Unat, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), p.53.

As much as the wives served to indicate the husbands' status in their manners and appearance, the latter's status was of an equal concern for the former. It should be noted at this point that marriage seems to be endorsed as a means of social ascendance more by women than by men. This is because prescribed with housewifery as the main occupation; women had limited opportunities to enter into prestigious professions themselves. If not born to a high-status family marrying one emerged as a viable option to achieve social esteem. Thus, in choosing their future husbands most women opted for men with prestigious occupations. As Rado suggested in one of his articles, these were mainly professions that guaranteed wealth in the 1950s: trading, engineering and medical practice.[69] Hence, the tendency to desire to marry socially high-positioned men formed a sign of the changing status positions in the country. While wealth gained salience in social standing, military offices, for instance, lost their traditionally prestigious position. As a result, many officers endured troubles in their marriage attempts in the fifties. As Ersin Kalaycıoğlu notes, "the society columns of the Turkish dailies of the time indicated that young officers were having a hard time to find suitable ladies to wed!"[70] All in all, observing marital relations proves helpful for highligting the rising ascendance of the business sector in social status and the declining social esteem of the bureaucratic professions in the 1950s.

[69] Şevket Rado, "*Hayat Arkadaşı Seçerken*," *Hayat*, no.109 (7 November 1958), p.3.
[70] Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.82.

CHAPTER III

CELEBRITY

> Media stars are spectacular representations of living human beings, distilling the essence of the spectacle's banality into images of possible roles. Stardom is a diversification in the semblance of life – the object of an identification with mere appearance which is intended to compensate for the crumbling of directly experienced diversifications of productive activity. Celebrities figure various styles of life and various views of society which anyone is supposedly free to embrace and pursue in a *global* manner.
>
> Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*

Celebrity gossip is the sine qua non of popular culture magazines; indeed, it is among the prime reasons that the magazines become "popular" in the first place. This is why every magazine that aims to achieve high circulation rates refers to celebrity lives, though in varying degrees. It is because the notion of celebrity is an eternal one, as well as the interest in celebrity gossip. From the very earliest ages, celebrity has marked the distinctive features of social hierarchies, and provided substance for communication. All the mythological tales about gods and goddesses, gossip about the private lives of semi-sacred kings and queens, not to mention sensational visual stories of today's mass media point basically to what is esteemed in a given society. Nonetheless, the notion of celebrity is more suggestive in a context of democratic politics, consumer society, and mass media rule; for celebrities symbolize individual achievement, advertise consumption, and owe their publicity to the mass media. Examining the celebrity features of *Hayat* would suggest the actuality of such a context in the Turkey of the 1950s.

Hayat's Celebrity Profile

Occupying almost one-third of the magazine, celebrity features form an important part of *Hayat*. Celebrity reports have a far-reaching content, varying from famous people's love affairs to career plans, family lives to health problems. The background of the advertised celebrities in *Hayat* is diverse, changing from a crown prince to an exotic dancer, bringing a Swedish actress side by side with an Iranian princess. The magazine provided its readers with extensive information on both foreign and national celebrities. Yet, there occurred a chronological gap between the coverages of foreign movie stars and the national ones, and the latter appeared later than the former. This might be explained by the increasing professionalization of the magazine, considering that it takes time for the photographers of the magazine to adopt photojournalism. Nonetheless, there is evidence that this time lapse is due to a protective reflex of the magazine rather than technical limitations. Indeed, as it will be pointed shortly after, *Hayat* approaches national celebrity with a special cautiousness to preserve its honor, and keeping celebrity faces—and more importantly bodies— out of sight is one way to achieve this.

Celebrities as Cultural Agents

It was discussed in the introductory chapter that *Hayat* was influenced heavily by the political leadership of the United States. Yet, politics was not the only area in which American influence showed itself. Indeed, such influence was exerted mostly through means that appear to have had nothing to do with politics. The entertainment sector and celebrity figures are two important criteria for observing the increasing emphasis on American way of life. Reading *Hayat* alone, one can observe a great

collusion among the American and European entertainment industries. The transfer of actors and actresses formed the most important part of this collusion: Sophia Loren, Anita Ekberg, and Ingrid Bergman to name a few. As much as European actresses contributed to Hollywood, a reverse trend was also true. As one *Hayat* column puts it, there was a "rush from Hollywood to Europe." "American movie stars have one foot in European cities (. . .) The reason movie stars prefer European countries is to have a good time as well as bypassing the high tax rates of the United States (. . .) The inhabitants of Hollywood are producing films on their own account in the low-tax European countries."[71].

Notwithstanding the mutual relationship of the American and European movie-making sectors, Hollywood was the headquarters of the entertainment industry globally in the post-war era. It was the aspiration of every actor and actress to become a Hollywood star, while dancers and singers aimed to take part in the Hollywood movies to make their art global. In the fifties, a trend started among the nationally successful performers in Turkey. Aiming to become worldwide celebrities, they chose to go to the United States, rather than Europe, which historically had been the direction of attention for aspirant Turks. In their urge to achieve international celebrity status, *Hayat* undertook an encouraging discourse: "In the last two or three years, some of the renown acting, dancing, and singing performers of our country have been going to the United States; and they have started to get their first achievements."[72] It is not clear what the magazine means by achievement, though. Surely, the ultimate goal for these people was to get a significant part in a Hollywood

[71] "*Amerikalı sinema yıldızlarının bir ayağı Avrupa şehirlerindedir. Sinema yıldızlarının ise Avrupa memleketlerini tercih etmelerinin sebepleri var: Hem değişik muhitlerde tatlı, eğlenceli vakit geçirmek, hem de Amerikadaki yüksek vergi hadlerinden kurtulmak. . . Hollywood sakinleri vergi hadleri düşük Avrupa memleketlerinde kendi hesaplarına da müstakil kordeleler çeviriyorlar.*" "*Hollywood'dan Avrupa'ya Akın*", *Hayat*, no.148 (7 August 1959), pp.22-23.

[72] "*Son iki üç seneden beri memleketimizde isim yapmış film dans ve ses sanatkarlarında n bazıları Amerikaya gitmiş ve ilk başarılarını elde etmeğe başlamışlardır.*" "Amerika'daki Türk Sanatkarları," *Hayat*, no.132 (17 April 1959), pp.18-19.

movie. Yet, as it happens, the most profound achievement for Turkish performers in the United States was to work in a nightclub. Nonetheless, even this, is portrayed by *Hayat* as a great success: "A Turkish performer works almost in every oriental night-club in New York. Afet Sevilay is one of them (. . .) Only until last year, the young performer sang with her sweet voice in Istanbul nightclubs and on the Anatolian stages. Now she sings and performs oriental dances in a nightclub in the United States."[73] In presenting these performers, among which Muzaffer Tema, Ayhan Işık, Afet Sevilay, Necla Ateş, Mine Coşkun, Celal İnce, and Necla İz formed the most notable ones, the magazine partakes a patriotic stance, making the personal struggles of these performers a matter of national pride: "Our performers bring the American continent a part of our country . . . They gain success by adapting Turkish folk dances and melodies to the requirements of the milieu they are in."[74] Often, these performers are portrayed as cultural agents of Turkey: "Necla İz is a prominent propaganda element of our country in distant Mexico, with the tangos and rumbas she sings in Turkish; her beauty; and the elegance of her dressing."[75] All in all, obtaining celebrity status globally is portrayed as a great achievement, which would bring prestige not only to the person but also to his/her nation.

Royalty and the Self-Made Celebrity: A Trend from Ascribed Status to Achieved Status

A ready synonym for celebrity is, historically, royalty. It is normal for the ruling nobility to possess distinction and publicity, especially in the absence of autonomous

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[73] "*New York'un oriyantal havalı gece kulüplerinin hemen hepsinde bir Türk artisti çalışıyor. Afet Sevilay da bunlardan biri... Genç sanatkar daha geçen yıla kadar İstanbul'un gazinolarında, Anadolu sahnelerinde tatlı sesiyle şarkılar söylerdi. Şimdi Amerika'da bir gece kulübünde şark dansları yapıyor, şarkılar okuyor*." "*Bir Amerika Mektubu*," *Hayat*, no.123 (13 February 1959), p.22.

[74] "*Sanatçılarımız Amerikaya memleketimizden bir parça götürüyorlar. . . Türk folklorunu Türk bestelerini içinde bulundukları çevrenin icaplarına uygun bir şekilde göstererek, dinleterek başarı kazanıyorlar*", *Hayat*, no.132 (17 April 1959), p.19.

[75] "*Necla İz okuduğu Türkçe tango ve rumbaları, güzelliği ve kıyafetinin zarafeti ile uzak Meksika'da mühim bir propaganda elemanımızdır*." *Hayat*, ibid.

channels for news emanation. However, after two world wars, the second of which ended with the victory of the democratic rule, the effectiveness of royal families was diminished to a great extent in world politics. Yet, even as late as the fifties, royalty formed a fundamental part of what is called celebrity.

Royal personae form an important part of the celebrity features in *Hayat* as well. Although writers still mention royal people with a certain level of reverence, the royal life style is delved into in the most trivial detail in popular magazines. Thus sensational love stories among the nobility and the common, glorious wedding ceremonies of the royalty and their married lives occupy a large portion of *Hayat*, as well as its Continental counterparts. At this point I shall remark that most of *Hayat*'s royalty coverage is translations from foreign magazines, such as the series revealing "all peculiarities of Queen Elisabeth and her husband Prince Philip" and the memoirs of Princess Sorayya's doctor. Yet *Hayat*'s royalty news is not totally copy paste journalism, considering that a significant number of royal individuals visited Istanbul in the fifties. The royal families of Iran, Egypt and Great Britain constitute the most frequently referred ones. Among others, Iranian Shah Pehlevi's marital affairs occupy the most frequently mentioned royalty coverage in *Hayat*. In his marriage to and divorce from Sorayya, his search for a new empress and later his marriage to Farah Diba, the emphasized party is always the female. Diba's engagement to Shah, for instance, forms "the" issue of the 1959 summer, with seven news stories and three covers depicting and contrasting moments from Diba's early modest student life and her sublime life as an empress. This is, perhaps, due to *Hayat*'s photojournalism, which focuses on beautiful women.

It is indeed interesting to observe such deep coverage of royal life style in a country that had denigrated its own social aristocracy only two decades earlier.

Having exiled most of the Ottoman royal family, aristocracy became an irrelevant term in the Turkish context. Yet royal people arouse public interest, even in Turkey. This is because they are "untouchable," distinct, and aloof. It is perhaps the excitement of unraveling the unknown that makes the knowledge of even the most trivial detail of royal life style so appealing.

The wide-spread portrayal of royal families might also seem at odds with the democratic aura of the post-Second World War. One should bear in mind however that the interest in royalty and nobility life-style is not unrivalled; on the contrary, challenged by the increasing publicity of movie stars and singers. This juxtaposition of the blue-blooded against the lowborn hints at a trend in the status positions world-wide; a trend from ascribed status to achieved status. Indeed, the juxtaposition of self-made movie stars with members of royalty becomes more meaningful when considered in the democratic context of the post-era. The prime advantage of democratic system over any other has been suggested to be its promotion of equality of opportunity to a greater extent. The most common example is the peasant-boy-becoming-the-president-story, which happened, by the way, more than once in Turkish history, not to mention world history. The adoption of democratic rights by the masses and a political culture resting on individual political participation, however, is not an overnight process, and it takes decades of parliamentary practice to alter political culture in the direction of democracy. One facilitating step for promoting democracy, however, is the encouragement of the idea of individual achievement.

Being the epitomes of personal achievement, Hollywood stars actually helped to make this idea global. In so far as the success stories of the famous became promoters of democracy, the actions of the famous were influenced by the

democratic ethic in the fifties. Thus, the profile of Hollywood star also underwent a change from aloof, inaccessible god/goddess to one appreciating the importance of their admirers. In *Hayat*'s words: "The fame of Hollywood abandoned to have fun in their private pools surrounded by high walls; they now flirt and joke with one another on public beaches. . . The famous of the old days avoided their fans who traveled hundreds of kilometers to take a picture. The new generation gains sympathy more easily for they do not think that way."[76] For a more thorough exploration of this trend, we shall look into self-made celebrities: the movie stars and singers of the 1950s.

Foreign Movie Stars and Their Turkish Counterparts

Celebrity status, the fact that ordinary people might become reputable and wealthy through public scrutiny, signals that the notions of self-achievement and social mobility are welcomed in a given society. In effect, celebrity status might promote what Daniel Lerner and David Riesman call "psychic mobility," that is "the fluidity of identification which precedes actual physical movement, but which creates a potential for such movement."[77] Hence "mobile sensibility can precede actual mobility, and that the media are harbingers, or perhaps more accurately indices, of the widening orbits of empathy, ideology, and self-awareness."[78] What Lerner and Riesman correctly point out is that, if not directly encouraging mobilization,

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[76] "*Artık Hollywood'un şöhretleri etrafı yüksek duvarlarla çevrili havuzlarında eğlenmekten vazgeçip, umuma mahsus plajlarda herkesin içinde şakalaşıyor ve flört ediyorlar. . . Eski günlerin şöhretleri kendilerinin resimlerini çekmek için yüzlerce kilometre katederek Hollywood'a gelen hayranlarından kaçmaya bakarlardı. Yeni nesil böyle düşünmediği için daha kısa zamanda sempati topluyor*." "Stars in the Beach", *Hayat*, no.140 (12 June 1959), pp.22-23.

[77] David Riesman, "Oral Tradition, Written Word, Screen Image," in *Abundance for What? and Other Essays* by David Riesman (Garden City, N.Y. : Doubleday, 1964), p.439.

[78] David Riesman and Daniel Lerner, "Self and Society: Reflection on Some Turks in Transition"[1956] in Riesman, ibid., p. 414.

exposure to mass media and celebrity status increases the prospects for social mobility by building up imagery.

Hayat stands at a crucial point to draw the line between what is imagery and what is attainable for Turkish aspirants for fame. Having introduced foreign celebrities to the Turkish public at an unprecedented rate, the magazine tells the readers celebrity status attainment strategies as well. Yet, in doing so, it differentiates Turkish celebrity from its foreign counterparts, and implies that what is permissible for foreign circles of fame may not be acceptable for the Turkish ones. A comparison of *Hayat*'s presentation of international and national celebrities, thus, might prove helpful.

To begin with, it should be noted that the majority of *Hayat*'s celebrity features comprise those of the foreign movie stars and royal families whereas Turkish celebrity coverage mainly displays singers and what the magazine calls "*sosyete* (society)." Since royalty had just been discussed and "society" will soon be done so too, I will limit my comparison of global and national celebrities to the movie-stars and singers.

Notwithstanding the scandals and morally troubled choices of most Hollywood stars, the magazine's attitude towards foreign self-made celebrities is sympathetic and they are generally presented as success stories. This positive attitude towards foreign celebrity is endorsed by their Turkish colleagues; scanning through *Hayat*'s pages one notices a certain emulation of Hollywood stars by Turkish actors and performers, often expressed in imitation of clothing, hair styles, and even facial expressions. It is not surprising at all for Turkish actresses and singers to follow American and European trends, since novelty is among the most employed strategies

in the position acquaring struggles within the artistic field.[79] Having no material or cultural inheritance whatsoever, these zealous, talented artists needed to try new strategies to become public figures. Yet, in doing so, they confronted the risk of evoking public protest and marginalization. Hence, a successful strategy, for those who achieved fame and respect at the same time, was recourse to the tradition along with the novel. As a result, even if they confirmed the trend-setting role of global celebrity figures, most domestic celebrities resorted to local values in order to rationalize their adoption of foreign trends. Zeki Müren's comments mark this attitude perfectly: "Vocalists take stage like penguins and crows, in their black and white suits. Yet, how nice are the costumes of the Western singers we see in the movies. Besides, do not our *efe*s and *zeybek*s wear ornamental clothes?"[80] All in all, providing a liaison with the modern trends, Turkish celebrity turned the "degenerate" popular cultures of the West into adoptable trends for the masses.

The most visible difference in *Hayat*'s celebrity features of Turks and American/Europeans is the extent of private life examination. In contrast to the global celebrity figures, the coverage of Turkish actresses and singers primarily focus on their performance, rather than their personal conduct. Yet, the editors of the magazine were surely aware of the public interest in the private lives of the celebrities. For one thing, they could not have avoided the private lives of domestic famous people, while they provided the reader with extensive information on that of the foreign celebrity. The end result was that the magazine took up a prudent attitude towards Turkish performers' personal lives, details of which were mentioned so long

[79] Pierre Bourdieu, "Principles for a Sociology of Cultural Works," in the author's *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Columbia University Pres, 1991), pp.183-187.
[80] "*Ses sanatkarları sahneye penguin gibi, karga gibi siyahlara beyazlara bürünerek çıkarlar. Oysa filimlerde gördüğümüz batılı şarkıcıların kıyafetleri ne güzeldir. Hem bizde de efeler, zeybekler allı pullu elbiseler giymez mi*?" *Hayat*, no.108 (31 October 1958), pp.8-9.

as they were found "decent" by the magazine. Hence, in most instances, the interviews with Turkish celebrities focus on their marital and familial lives.

Thus, it is no coincidence that the first comprehensive series about Turkish celebrity ("We Are Telling the Private Lives of Turkish Vocalists"[81]) focuses on singers rather than actresses. It should be noted that there is a distinction between singers and actresses. The fact that the latter's success rests on bodily disposition, while the former need not necessarily be seen by the audience, made singing a more respected genre than acting. Indeed, as will be pointed out shortly, a further distinction between performers who sing on the radio, and those who sing on stage is prevalent in *Hayat*'s coverage of Turkish celebrities. A second factor for making actresses less favored role models for *Hayat*'s readers than the singers is related to the perception of acting. Until recently, the spectators identified the actors and actresses with the characters they played in the movies.[82] Interestingly, one can trace the same approach in the articles of the magazine, too. For instance, while actresses like Belgin Doruk, who played innocent and respectable young women in the movies, are praised for their successful marriages and lady-like behavior in real life, the femme fatales of Turkish cinema, such as Neriman Köksal, are presented merely by their sexual attractiveness in or out of the scenes.

Coming back to "We Are Telling the Private Lives of Turkish Vocalists," the series comprises two-page long interviews with the famous voices of the radio, and aimed to "bring forth the unrevealed aspects of famous people's daily lives." Yet, in doing so, one notices a certain concern for keeping the good names of the person under question. This is because, unlike their foreign colleagues, Turkish movie-stars

[81] "*Türk Ses Sanatkarlarının Hususi Hayatlarını Anlatıyoruz*"
[82] For instance, Erol Taş, the most famous "villain" of Turkish cinema, was booed and stoned at Adana Golden Boll Film Festival in the 1970s, by the crowd moved by his cruel behavior in the movies.

and performers are pictured as role models for Turkish teenagers. Thus, almost every female performer is praised for her dignity, and the interviews focus on how they became famous and how they got married.[83] Typically, the singers' talents are discovered while the auditioning for Istanbul or Ankara radio, and they are married to one of their fans, who proved to be honest, diligent men. The magazine then takes photographs of the happily married couples and their children.

What is most striking in the interviews of Turkish female performers is the stated contentment with the salaries. Unlike foreign movie stars and stage performers, whose earnings are reflected as a measure of success by the magazine, Turkish performers' earnings are of secondary importance for their professional aptitude. Safiye Ayla, the indisputable diva of Turkish classical music, for instance, declared "she has been able to earn only 300 thousand Turkish liras in her 27-year career."[84] The examples are plenty. Young singer Ayla Doğanay, answers the interviewer's question of whether she would perform at nightclubs that pay high wages: "No, I only want to sing on the radio, perform a stage concert once a year, and be content with this."[85] Another performer, Behiye Aksoy, is praised for she "withstood nightclub owners' alluring offers of money and marriage, for nine whole years. At last she approved an offer made this year [1958]. For this winter, Behiye Aksoy is given 250 thousand Turkish liras."[86] Naturally, one cannot expect Turkish actresses and performers to gain earnings on a par with Hollywood movie stars; and hence it is comprehensible that headings such as "How Much Do They Earn?" or

[83] Almost all of the interviewees are women, with the exceptions of Zeki Müren, Alaeddin Yavaşça, and İlham Gencer.
[84] "*27 yıllık sanat hayatında ancak 300bin lira kazanabilmiş*." *Hayat*, no.113 (5 December 1958).
[85] "*Hayır diyor, ben yalnız radyoda okumak, yılda bir defa da sahne konseri vermek ve bununla yetinmek istiyorum*." *Hayat*, no.103 (26 September 1958), pp.6-7.
[86] "*Behiye Aksoy tam 9 yıl gazinocuların cazip para ve gelinlik tekliflerine karşı koydu. Sonunda, bu yıl yapılan son teklifi uygun buldu. Bu kış sezonu için Behiye Aksoy'a 250 bin lira verildi.*" *Hayat*, no.111 (21 November 1958), pp.10-11.

"Where Do They Spend Their Money?" refer to the latter rather than the former. Yet, there is more to the story than a simple economies-of-scale.

To start with, in its comments about the Turkish entertainment sector, *Hayat*'s attitude is nothing but optimistic. On every occasion the readers are informed that large amounts of money are circulated in the business; and the writers of the magazine often inform the reader that "a fine voice brings millions to its owner." Indeed, one could deduce this fact simply by looking at the advertised celebrity life-style. Notwithstanding the declared modesty about the earnings of female singers and performers, one can observe a dazzling accent on consumption for Turkish celebrities. Most of all, the abundance of clothes and jewelries, the richness as well as the elegance of home decoration are highlighted in the celebrity life-style. What is striking is that the emphasis of consumption comes right after the modesty discourse. For instance, right after pointing out her limited earnings, Safiye Ayla is presented to "have a rich emerald collection, as well as costumes, dresses, and shoes, the number of which is unknown to her."[87]

Even though it was a lucrative business, the refusal of stage performance by most female singers (especially by the younger and single ones) is related to the prevalence of preserving a good name for young women. As mentioned above, stage performance requires bodily disposition, which makes it more difficult for the performer to sustain the image of a decent lady. However, the most important reason why most performers, especially the female ones, opt to trivialize their salaries is related to the social role they are expected to play. Portrayed as epitomes of Turkish career women, these singers and actresses are charged with the duty of proving that pursuing a professional career is compatible with being a housewife. Indeed, the

[87] "*Zengin bir zümrüt koleksiyonu var. Tuvaletlerinin, elbiselerinin, ayakkabılarının sayısını bilmiyor*." *Hayat*, no.113 (5 December 1958).

latter is offered as a requisite for a woman to assume professional success, since a woman without housewifery skills or feminine tastes was not considered a genuine woman. Thus, behind the financially unambitious statements of female celebrities, one can trace the anxiety to keep up with the societal standards for a proper lady of-the-house, and the anxiety not to overshadow the husband's earnings. Singer Mediha Demirkıran's words perfectly summarize housewife-career women's position: "Cooking and cleaning are every housewife's chore. I am the woman of my home until 10:00 to 18:00 . . . only after 18:00 does my stage life begin."[88]

All in all, Turkish self-made celebrity is represented as the role-models for the readers. This is because, advertised as a blend of talent and hard-work, they became the embodiments of social mobility. Their actions also showed what was permissible in society, for instance, while working women became a more widely accepted category in society, they did so not undermining the socially attributed wife/mother role. Although not the trend-setters, for it was the American and European celebrity who determined the trend, they functioned as the trend-adopters in society.

Hayat's Answer to the "Who to Imitate" Question: Businessmen

The last category of celebrities that appears on *Hayat* is what the magazine calls "Turkish highsociety." Although represented since the very first issues of the magazine, it took a little longer for this group to be covered in a separate column. It is the long-lasting "News from Society Life"[89] that projected information about "the society." First published after 1959, the column became a hallmark of *Hayat*.

[88] "*Yemek pişirmek, ortalığı süpürmek ev kadınının vazifesidir. Ben 10'dan 18'e kadar evimin kadınıyım. . . ancak 18'den sonra sahne hayatım başlar.*" *Hayat*, no.109 (7 November 1958), pp.6-7.
[89] "*Cemiyet Hayatından Haberler*."

Scanning through *Hayat*, one can state that Turkish "high society" is highly visible. Yet its openness to public scrutiny is much more restricted than any other category of celebrity that is represented in the magazine. Unlike the foreign and Turkish circles of fame, *Hayat* does not provide its reader with detailed information about highsociety's private lives. The main focus on the highsociety is spectacular gatherings of the prestigious people, be it a ball or an engagement ceremony.

Before commenting on these spectacles, however, let me have a few words on the composition of this "highsociety" to what *Hayat* refers so frequently. Historically, the most prestigious groups of Turkish society was the bureaucratic elite. During the early Republican era, as well as that of the late Ottoman, the bureaucratic elite possessed policy-making power alongside a great status honor. Yet, according to many scholars, the 1950s formed a break in the power distribution among the bureaucracy/military and the business sector. Examining Turkey's prime popular magazine in the 1950s, I may suggest that a break occurred in the status system of Turkish society, as well.

Tracing the people *Hayat* identified as highsociety, one observes that the majority is from the business sector, while some academics and professionals are also named. This is not to suggest that women are not included among Turkish high-society; on the contrary, they are the focal point in most of the celebrity coverage of *Hayat*. Nonetheless, the women who are named (and more importantly photographed) at the "society" gatherings are only made so as the wives or daughters of renowned gentlemen. While the composition of *Hayat*'s celebrity coverages tells us a lot about the high status groups in the 1950s, the presentation of these groups is as important.

As mentioned above, the distinguishing character of *Hayat*'s projection of Turkish highsociety is an emphasis on the spectacle rather than an indulgence in sensational information. Thus, Turkey's most prestigious families are represented in conjunction with their style and etiquette. "The Friday teas" can be pointed out as an example for these occasions during which style and manner are exposed. From late in 1958, *Hayat* started to cover the teatime gatherings of the society ladies at the Hilton Hotel. The most common compliment of the magazine to "the ladies of Istanbul" is their grace and elegance, for these ladies "bring along fashion with themselves."[90] Depending almost entirely on the photographs of the ladies that attend the occasion, the Friday-teas coverage of *Hayat* acts almost like a verification of one's belongingness to the high-society. This trend becomes contagious and soon *Hayat* publishes photographs of Friday-teas in Ankara and Bursa, too, at the Barıkan and Çelik Palas hotels.

Configured as a new trend of the fifties, the Friday-teas at the Hilton also represent the new face of Westernization in Turkey. For one thing, they formed a locational break from a century-long tradition. The activity, which once was a symbol of Westernization, shifted from old Beyoğlu to a location American in architecture and character. To quote from the magazine:

> Tea-time or 'five o'clock', which is almost like a divine service hour for the British, has been practiced in Istanbul for almost a century. Indeed, with the Constitutional era when Western traditions entered our lives entirely, Beyoğlu filled with tea saloons in which people from various nationalities gathered together. Years have past, (. . .) but *Lebon* stayed as it was. With its neighbor Markiz, which opened later, they became a meeting place for artists and writers, just like Le Dome and Deux Magosts of Paris. Even today these tea saloons have not lost their color.[91]

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[90] " *'Cuma Çayı'na katılanlar buraya son modayı da birlikte getirirler*." "*Hilton'da Cuma Çayı*," *Hayat*, no.116 (26 December 1958), pp.22-23.

[91] "*Britanya adası sakinleri için adeta bir ibadet saati sayılan <Tea-Time> veya <5o'clock> bir asra yakın zamandır İstanbul'da da tatbik edilmektedir. Hele Meşrutiyette memleketimize büsbütün giren batı adetleriyle, Beyoğlu, içinde türlü milletlere mensup insanların kaynaştığı çay salonlarıyla*

As the heading of this article suggests, the Lebon-Markiz forms the older "axis" of five o'clock tea tradition vis-à-vis the more frequently advertised Hilton axis.

Another genre of occasion at which members of "society" meet is the balls that are organized on every possible occasion. While the new-year's celebration balls formed the most crowded balls, those organized in honor of a visiting statesman were the most elite ones. Indeed, one could measure the degree of extravagance of such occasions by checking the attendance of prime minister or the cabinet members.

Style and etiquette surely form important characteristics of *Hayat*'s coverage of the "society" spectacles. Yet, the most emphasized item in these spectacles is wealth, making it the distinguishing feature of "Turkish highsociety." Indeed, glancing through the balls, parties, and ceremonies of "Turkish highsociety;" all praised for the abundance of food, liquor, and fashion; all photographed to document the luxuriance running over the dress of this elegant lady or that gentleman's manner of holding a glass of champagne, one remembers Guy Debord's caption: "The spectacle is capital accumulated to the point where it becomes image."[92] *Hayat*'s photojournalism, indeed, turned capital into image, an image submitted to the observation and envy of millions.

Fast-Track Routes for Becoming Famous

Before concluding, I shall remark on the class dimension of the story. Concisely, the celebrity attainment strategies of the lower classes are much more tolerantly

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dolmuştu. Aradan yıllar geçti bu salonların kimi banka, kimi mahallebici oldu. Ama Lebon olduğu gibi kaldı. Sonradan açılan karşı komşusu Markiz ile birlikte, bir bakıma Paris'in <Le Dome> ve <Deux Magosts>su gibi, sanatçı ve ediblerin birer toplantı yeri de oldu (. . .) *Bugün için bile bu çay salonları renginden kaybetmiş değildir*." "*Lebon-Markiz Mihveri*," *Hayat*, no.130 (3 April 1959), p.18.

[92] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York : Zone Books, 1995), p.24.

presented by the magazine than those of the upper middle classes. Display of physical attractiveness is one such strategy that reveals the class differences. While there is tolerance, even encouragement, for lower class girls to make use of their beauty, upper strata young women are discouraged from making public exhibits of beauty apart from in-group occasions. The comments of the Turkish beauty queen of 1959 capture this aspect beautifully: "There exists a class named 'society' in Istanbul. Among these families, there are very beautiful girls. I know most of them well. However, they cannot go beyond showing off on the stands, when a beauty contest is held. Even some families we call conservative make their daughters participate in these contests, despite the milieu pressures."[93]

At the first glance, it is surprising to notice that "society," presumably the most modern segment of the population, refrains from one of the most outstanding symbols of Turkish modernization. The beauty contest of 1932 was, indeed, the first global occasion to demonstrate Turkish orientation towards the West, and thereafter beauty contests came to be considered tokens of modernization in Turkey. The reason "society" refrained from participating in these contests has nothing to do with disapproving of the public display of female beauty; *Hayat* pages are covered with photographs of "society ladies" exhibiting their grace, elegance, but most importantly beauty at balls, parties, and ceremonies. It is rather the identification of beauty display with lower class status aspirations which made the upper status groups disdain participating in. Indeed, beauty contests globally proved a very successful means for accomplishing celebrity status. The most notable examples in

[93] "*İstanbulda sosyete denen bir zümre mevcuttur. Bu aileler arasında çok güzel kızlar bulunmaktadır. Bir çoğunu yakından tanıyorum. Fakat bunlar müsabakalar yapıldığı zaman, tribünlerde gösteriş yapmaktan ileri gidemezler. Bazı mutaassıp dediğimiz aileler bile etrafın bütün baskılarına rağmen, cesaretle kızlarını bu müsabakalara iştirak ettirirler*." Figen Özgür [1959 Beauty Queen], "*Güzellik Müsabakalarının İçyüzünü İfşa Ediyorum*," *Hayat*, no.156 (2 October 1959), pp.6-7.

the fifties included Sophia Loren and Anita Ekberg, who owed their star status to the earlier recognition they gained in beauty contests.

Nonetheless, the crudest strategy for celebrity aspirants, nudity, was also publicized by the magazine.[94] Even though professedly disdained, nudity in its different forms—be it pin-up photography or strip dancing—was implicitly approved of by the magazine. *Hayat* granted those young women right by portraying it as an act conducted in dire circumstances by the desperately poor. In most instances, this opinion was solidified with a before-and-after portrayal of the person, who obtained lady-like behavior after achieving a firm stance in the acting centers. The presentation of Sophia Loren by the magazine can be given as an example of this attitude. Presenting the actress as a young country girl who had nothing but charms, *Hayat* reports her striving to achieve celebrity status. Juxtaposing a photograph of Loren with her husband to four earlier examples of her "courageous" photographs, the magazine denotes that the actress protests her earlier doings for she "arrived at the dignity and the peace of a housewife."[95]

Even though presented mostly as a strategy of the foreign "wannabee"s, nudity became an increasingly endorsed means for Turkish women who aspired to fame too, in the 1950s. So much so that Halide Edip Adıvar, who remarked her interest in displaying social reality in her works, was compelled to write a serial novel for *Hayat* titled "Nude Girl,"[96] which depicted the life of a country girl who

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[94] While in *Hayat* nudity was only hinted to be a short-cut means for fame, some other popular culture magazines directly pointed this strategy among the essentials for being a world-wide celebrity. To quote a celebrity feature from *Yeni Yıldız*: "How did Anita, who used to be an insignificant person till very recently, became the most famous woman in the world? Art? I don't guess... I think it is the magnificent beauty that nature bestowed upon her, her luck (which is very important in film industry), and the fact that she posed naked for a renown photographer which took her this far. . . . Just like most of her colleauges, Anita Ekberg achieved her current status through nude pictures." ("*Dünyanın En Meşhur Kadını Anita Ekberg'dir*," *Yeni Yıldız*, no.87 (24 January 1957), pp.6-7.)

[95] "*Ev kadınının ağırlığına ve huzuruna kavuşmuş*," "*Dünün Sophia Loren'i*," *Hayat*, no.140 (12 June 1959), pp.4-5.

[96] *Akile Hanım Sokağı: Cıbıl Gız*.

sought recognition by the upper classes in Istanbul through strip tease shows. Indeed, exotic dancing was a novelty of the 1950s in Turkey, and it set off great repercussions in the popular culture magazines of the decade. Even *Hayat*, which set its editorial principles with the aim of being a "family magazine," occasionally covered strip tease shows in the luxurious nightclubs of Istanbul and Ankara, some of them with photographs. Introduced by foreign dancers, these performances were eventually endorsed by Turkish aspirants of fame. The leading article of the celebrity gossip magazine *Yeni Yıldız* (New Star), for instance, validates nudity among the novelty strategies of the aspiring poor:

> The first herald of nudity in Turkish boundaries was Nana. Nana, who started dancing at the age of 14, chose this way. She was young. There were great dancers on the market. Some of them were making tours of the United States and Europe. She chose to climb up among the ones that stayed in the country by exposing her petite slender body. In the first place she did not dance naked. . . Whenever performances called 'Strip tease' were engaged in Istanbul's de-luxe night clubs; these tricks obtained the high favor of the people, overshadowing our native dancers; our dancers embarked on nudity there after.[97]

Ayşe Nana, indeed, initiated a global scandal in November 1958 with a striptease performance at a party of the Italian high-society. *Hayat*'s presentation of this scandal is noteworthy for it tells about the perception of celebrity status attainment strategies. The first notice of the scandal is on 21 November 1958, captured by the title "Rome Outrage." Focusing on the dissolute life-style of some members of the European aristocracy and movie stars, the magazine sadly reports that "the name of a Turkish dancer is also involved in the scandal."[98]

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[97] "*Çıplaklığın Türkiye hudutlarında ilk elçisi Nana olmuştu. 14 yaşında dansözlüğe başlayan Nana, bu yolu seçti. Küçüktü. Piyasada büyük dansözler vardı. Bir kısmı Amerika'da, Avrupa'da turnedeydiler. Memlekette kalanlar arasında küçük ve narin vücüdünü teşhir ederek yükselme yolunu tuttu. İlk defa çıplak oynamıyordu* (. . .) *Vaktaki İstanbul'un lüks gece gazinolarına Streap teas denilen numaralar angaje edilmeğe başlandı. Bizim yerli dansözlerimizi bastıran bu numaralar halk arasında rağbete mazhar oldu. İşte dansözlerimiz bundan sonra çıplaklaşmağa başladılar.*" Arif Hanoğlu, Leading Article: "*Ders-i İbret* (Object Lesson)" in *Yeni Yıldız*, 3 April 1957, p.3.
[98] "*Roma'daki rezalete bir Türk dansözün de ismi karışmıştır*." "*Roma Rezaleti*," *Hayat*, no.111 (21 November 1958), p.12.

In its first presentation, the incidence is portrayed as an outcome of a degenerate free-lance life style. One and a half months later, further information about Ayşe Nana, who became internationally famous after the scandal, is provided. This time the column is colored green to capture the eye and the title has milder tones: "The Latest Fashions in Rome: Brazier and Nana."[99] Indeed, one can sense a pinch of pride in the magazine's writing, for "the brazier and the water pipe, which are launched by the dancer, became very favored commodities among the members of the [Italian] high society."[100] Thus, the magazine implicitly confirms the exposition of physical attractiveness—and even nudity— so long as it proved a means for status attainment. In this particular case, it proved a successful method both at the individual level, providing Nana with of parts in movies; and at the international level, for the magazine evidently perceives the endorsement of the Turkish items by the Italian high society a status boosting matter for Turkey in the international arena.

Using sexual attractiveness as a fast-track to fame was surely not a strategy peculiar to Nana; neither was it peculiar for *Hayat* to recognize such strategy for status amelioration. Particularly, dancers Afet Sevilay and "Turkish delight" Necla Ateş were among those that were considered as success stories for the magazine. In its coverage of the Turkish performers in the United States, the main criteria for success rested on the number of Hollywood star acquaintances. "Dancer and singer Afet Sevilay (. . .) succeeded in meeting film director Elia Kazan, after Gene Kelly and Richard Boone (. . .) Elia Kazan gave her important promises, as Afet tells. It

[99] "*Roma'da Son Moda: Mangal ve Nana*," *Hayat*, no.118 (9 January 1959), pp.6-7. Except from a few other headings, it is the only colorful column in the issue (118) including the cover.
[100] "*dansöz tarafından lanse edilen mangal ve nargileler sosyete mensupları arasında pek gözde bir eşya haline gelmiştir*." *Hayat*, ibid.

seems that the time for moving from night-club dancing to the silver screen is near."[101]

All in all, *Hayat*'s articles reflect a confrontation of the economically upper classes and the lower classes of Turkey, which seems to be over the assumed moral supremacy of the former. In truth, the morality discourse is more likely to be a justification of " society's" consumption based structuration, rather than the main bone of contention. Thus, the reason why the basic lower class strategy for social mobility (making beauty and sexual attractiveness a means for status) is disdained by the upper groups is related to its success. Physical appearance is the primary asset one is entitled to at birth, and the use of such a classless entity as a means for social mobility is surely daunting for the owners of established positions in the economic and cultural field. The femme fatales of the Turkish entertainment sectors fished in the troubled waters. So long as they succeeded in getting international fame, they gained recognition just as other celebrity aspirants; otherwise they became object lessons for the others.

The Youth Culture Emanating from Celebrity Features

Celebrity features were on public parade, yet, they targeted the young people most. Recognizing the influence of celebrity on youth, *Hayat* assigned itself the duty of preventing the new generations from taking the wrong example out of the celebrity culture. Success was surely an important accent in most celebrity features; and it was an object lesson that *Hayat* aimed its readers to get. Yet, success should have rested

[101] "*. . . dansöz ve şarkıcı Afet Sevilay, Gene Kelly ve Richard Boone'dan sonra . . . rejisör Elia Kazan'la da tanışmağa muvaffak olmuştur. Afet'in dediğine göre Elia Kazan kendisine mühim vaitlerde bulunmuştur. Gece kulübü dansözlüğünden beyaz perdeye geçme zamanı yakın gibi görünüyor.*" "*Gece Kulübünden Film Yıldızlığına Mı?,*" *Hayat*, no.151 (28 August 1959), p.8.

on hard work and determination rather than mere luck or unorthodox strategies. In this respect, *Hayat*'s presentation of young Turkish musicians, such as İdil Biret and Suna Kan, formed the "right" examples of celebrity figures. But then, there was a growing body of youth culture shaping around the newly emerged "Rock'n Roll" music.

Wini Breines points to the salience of rock and jazz music in emanating youth culture in the 1950s, as they categorically separated young people from their parents.[102] Indeed, rock and roll was clearly part of the youth culture, for the figures to perform the dance required the energy and dynamism that characterized the young. While rock and roll was severely criticized worldwide, judgments on youth culture were still pending. As Graham Carr pointed out, commentators "oscillated between reifying youthful beauty and freedom on the one hand, and railing at the prospect of rampant delinquency and unchecked material consumption on the other."[103] A similar attitude was inherent in *Hayat*'s approach to the youth. On the one hand, the younger generation was attributed a greater amount of importance; and their right to have greater independence was recognized. For instance, as mentioned in the marriage section, the magazine configured flirting and dating as socially acceptable, even desirable, forms of conduct for youth. Further, the independence of the young generation was emphasized along with the emerging consumerism that highlighted beauty and entertainment. Last, the magazine acknowledged that youth was a

[102] Wini Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties* (Boston: Beacon, 1992), p.151.
[103] Graham Carr, "Visualizing "The Sound of Genius": Glenn Gould and The Culture of Celebrity in the 1950s," in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40 , no.3, (Fall 2006):5-44, p.9.

separate category with its dynamism and energy, and suggested that the older people tolerate the unconventional behavior of the youth on such grounds.[104]

On the other hand, youth culture, which found its most striking expression in rock and roll music in the fifties, was a source of great concern in *Hayat*. Such concerns grew stronger with the increasing influence of celebrity culture on the youth. The most salient example of malfeasant celebrities was Elvis Presley; and the increasing popularity of rock and roll was defined by the magazine as a contagious disease that had captured the world. Comparing the figures of the dance to the symptoms of an epileptic seizure, *Hayat* severely criticized the dance; and quoting the comments of psychologists, pointed to its impact on the expression of primitivist and sexual urges.[105] Yet, the reason for large-scale protest against the dance was not its eccentric figures per se but its galvanic effect on the youth, which made control of the younger generation much harder.

The most alarming signals of an out-of-control youth were delinquency, a deviant life-style, and excessive consumption. Yet, the most protested attribute of the emanating youth culture was aimless actions. In an article named "Where Does the Youth Leading?"[106] *Hayat* pointed out the devastating effects of an aimless life style and lack of social responsibility on the part of youth movements in France, Italy, Britain, and the United States. In later issues, British "Teds" and American motorcycle gangs were separately covered with moral panic, and their notorious actions were reproached severely. The magazine's discourse of "degenerate" youth

[104] The editor Şevket Rado frequently wrote on the generational conflicts. Most of the time, he took a conciliatory stance. Advising the young to respect the elder, Rado called the latter to put themselves in the shoes of their children, so that their words count more for the youngsters.
[105] "*Rock'n Roll Dans Değil, Sosyal Bir Meseledir* (Rock'n Roll Is Not A Dance, But A Social Problem)," *Hayat*, no.13 (4 January 1957), pp.6-7.
[106] "Gençlik Nereye Gidiyor?", *Hayat*, no.42 (26 July 1957).

culture stemmed from the fear that Turkish youth would fall under the influence of their foreign peers.

Indeed, *Hayat*'s concerns about the Turkish youth were far from unsubstantiated for incidences of devious youth behavior were not lacking among Turkish youth either. As early as the fourth issue, for instance, *Hayat* covered a garage-ball organized by a group of university students.[107] Expressing their adoption of Sartreian existentialism, the group drank and danced freely in a permissive atmosphere. It was upon the widespread coverage of the incident in the national newspapers as an act of fault that *Hayat* decided to "reconsider" the event. All in all, the magazine considered the garage-ball a bad example of affectation. "There are many things to emulate in the world. Why pose the ugly and the wrong rather than the good, the beautiful, and the right"[108] asks the magazine in recapitulating the object lesson to be drawn from the incidence.

All in all, one can trace in *Hayat* an increasing cohesiveness among the young people in the fifties, along the lines of popular culture. While the desired lesson to be taken from celebrity features was the idea of individual achievement, cases have shown that an accent on self-achievement opened the way for the emergence of an autonomous youth, which was to leave its mark in the sixties.

Concluding Remarks

The chapter on celebrity was inspired by the salient character of celebrity features in *Hayat*. It is held that the overall effect of such features was nurturing emulation feelings of the lower classes for the celebrities were the epitome of achieved status

[107] "*Kültür Kulübüymüş!..* (Cultural Club!..), " *Hayat*, no.4 (27 April 1956), p.20.
[108] "*Dünyada özenilecek çok şey var. Neden iyi, güzel ve doğruyu değil de çirkin ve yanlış olana özenmeli?*", *Hayat*, ibid.

over ascribed status; and their actions proved useful for higher status aspirants. Novelty, talent, and individual achievement were emphasized as important aspects of celebrity status.

The celebrity coverage in *Hayat* can be interpreted in line with what Veblen called "vicarious leisure." According to Veblen, the servants of the high status groups form a vicarious leisure class in their conspicuous consumption of time and expensive commodities. While their consuming behavior enables them to live the life of the leisure class, the fact that they live so only in conjunction to their employer makes them "indices of his [their employer's] superfluous wealth."[109] The argument can be extended to Turkish self-made celebrities. Although not directly in service of a particular member of the highest status group in the country, the fact that they served to entertain "society" in general made movie stars and singers representatives of the original leisure class. Hence, their conduct, and conspicuous consumption signified those of the "proper leisure class." Surpassing Veblen's examples of the vicarious leisure class, however, celebrities are the owners of their own wealth. Thus, while their conduct is largely shaped by the norms created by the groups in which they aspire to be included, the outcome of their conspicuous consumption is an increase in their social prestige.

Second, celebrity conduct tells us about the effectiveness of emulation. Celebrities acted as both practitioners and promoters of emulative behavior. In their efforts to ascend in the social hierarchy, celebrities emulated upper class taste and behavior, of which they were able to have first-hand observation. Since they were more publicly seen than the classes they imitate, celebrities became the focus of emulation by the masses. While they emulated the norms of "society," the fact that

[109] Veblen, ibid., p.66.

they formed the most socially mobile sector in the society made the imitation of their behavior inevitable. Thus, it could be suggested that the high visibility of celebrity features in the mass media illustrates the availability of emulative action in Turkish society in the 1950s.

Third, and most importantly, I believe celebrities played an important role in promoting conspicuous consumption. The emphasis on the excessive consumption of celebrities acted in changing consuming patterns of the masses in two ways. First, the fact that consumption constituted an underlying characteristic of celebrity culture made the endorsement of consumption a strategy for other aspirants of status. Second, for the fans of the celebrities who aimed to resemble the movie stars and singers they adored, consuming the same products emerged as a necessity.

CHAPTER IV

CONSUMPTION

Conspicuous Consumption in Turkey in the 1950s

By following a simple line of reasoning, one could estimate that the earliest decade for mass consumption to emerge in Turkey was the 1950s. As a result of consecutive wars (the Balkan War, the First World War, and the War for Independence) consumption was for a long time unattainable for Turkish people, except for a tiny segment of the population. Moreover, it was also configured as an undesirable act by the newly-found Republic. As Tevfik Çavdar states, campaigns for promoting domestic products and savings as well as limiting the consumption of luxurious items characterized the 1930s; while the Second World War years were those of dearth and poverty for the majority of the population.[110] Yet, the post-war era was to be globally characterized as that of consumerism.

World-wide, a proliferation of household commodities was experienced in the post-war era. As Eric Hobsbawm states, those were "the golden years,"[111] with mass production and mass consumption satisfying the needs of an unlucky generation. The immediate post-war years brought an increase in the capability of consumption for Turkish people, too. Yet it was the Turkey of the early fifties which can be depicted as "the country of earnings and abundances."[112]

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[110] Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Tarihi, 1900-1960* (Ankara: İmge, 2003), p.384.
[111] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes : the Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*, (London : Abacus, 1995).
[112] Erkan Kumcu and Şevket Pamuk, *Artık Herkes Milyoner: Hürriyet Sayfalarından Ekonominin 50 Yılı*, (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2001), p.9.

To begin with, there was a favorable environment in Turkey for importing consumer goods at the beginning of the 1950s. Exchange reserves were adequate, thanks to the austerity policy of the RPP government during the war years; export revenues were striking with an increase in both output and world prices; the incomes (and thus purchasing power) of the agricultural sectors, which constituted 80 per cent of the population, were escalating.[113] Overall, there occurred an outstanding increase in the level of imports in the first half of the 1950s.[114] In this era, not only were Turkish markets filled out with a great number of imports, but also Turkish consumers were introduced to new kinds of products. Other than a mere increase in the quantity, new consumption patterns changed the nature of consumption in general, and the demand for durable and non-durable luxury goods rose, in particular.[115] The symbols of the post-war consumerism, such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, record players, and automobiles, began to be purchased by an increasing number of Turkish consumers. To cite a few examples, the number of motor vehicles registered in the country increased approximately 3.5 times during the decade, from 35,225 in 1950 to 123,588 in 1960.[116] *Hürriyet*, for instance, reported in late 1951 that in August, 1200 automobiles and 14,000 refrigerators had been imported and that the agencies had ran out of storage space to put the refrigerators and the automobiles they had imported, while hundreds more waited in the customs yards.[117]

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[113] Roger Owen and Ş. Pamuk, *A History of the Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998) pp.106-107.
[114] According to Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) indicators, the share in GNP of imports remained above 8% in the first half of the 1950s, with an outstanding 11.6% in 1952. For exact numbers, see Appendix B.
[115] Yakup Kepenek and Nurhan Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi* (Istanbul: Remzi, 1997), p.81.
[116] TURKSTAT, Statistical Indicators, 1923-2005. For exact numbers, see Appendix B.
[117] "*Otomobil ve Buzdolabı İthali Geniş Ölçüde Arttı*" *Hürriyet*, 11 September 1951, cited in Kumcu and Pamuk ibid., p.23.

However, the import induced consumerism was to be short lived, reaching a climax in 1953. The second half of the fifties indicated a reverse trend. Basically, the prices of export commodities declined due to the end of the Korean War; inflation rose partly because of the government policies targeting compensation of the agricultural sector's loss; and foreign exchange reserves were exhausted, making the import of even basic items very difficult.[118] Meanwhile the income discrepancy between different segments of the population widened, and state employees and workers were among the hardest hit by the dire economic conditions.[119]

All in all, in terms of consuming behavior, the fifties started with a conducive climate to the inducement of mass consumption, yet by the end of the decade the consumption of non-necessity items were left again to a tiny segment of society. Nonetheless, this is not to suggest that Turkish society was exempt from consumerism in the 1950s. On the contrary, the thesis holds that consumerism entered into popular imagery beginning with the 1950s; and that one particular form of consumption, conspicuous consumption, became salient in the determination of social prestige.

To begin with, even if income inequalities prohibited most segments of society from enjoying shopping frenzy, this does not necessarily mean consuming was unwelcome while thrift was favored. To the contrary, the fact that some were consuming in the face of others set consumption in a much firmer place in the value system. Going through the main facets of consumption as it appeared in *Hayat* will provide a good way to observe consumerism in Turkey in the 1950s.

[118] Owen and Pamuk, ibid., pp.107-108.
[119] Kalaycıoğlu, ibid., p.82.

Fashion

Veblen cited dressing as the most prominent "expression of the pecuniary culture;" for not only is the expenditure on clothes is evidenced at first glance, but also the exemption from the labor of the wearer is illustrated through styles and fashion that make manual labor difficult.[120] Veblen's conceptualization also includes an early recognition of fashion, as he recognizes the gripping effect of upper class tastes. Of course, much has changed since Veblen's time, yet, if anything fashion became much more dominant for the mass culture by the mid-twentieth century. Surely, the mass media played an important role in the increasing salience of fashion for ordinary men and women.

In this regard, Susan Matt points to the function of mass circulation magazines in making the possessions of the wealthy more publicly known.[121] This function can be attributed to *Hayat* with ease. It was pointed out above that "society" is presented in *Hayat* as the exquisite attendees of glorious spectacles. Prosperous ladies form the focal point in these spectacles, and the magazine puts a special emphasis on their clothing, so much so that dressing in the latest fashion forms the most important form of conspicuous consumption. Nevertheless, *Hayat*'s approach is designed to engender emulation as well as envy. For instance in 1959, *Hayat* asked eighteen guests of a wedding at the Hilton to model for their readers: "The recent wedding (…) gathered together renowned ladies of our city with their most distinguished clothes. Taking this as an opportunity, *Hayat* presents these still fashionable cocktail dresses to its readers. These pictures are the result of our

[120] Veblen, pp.118-121.
[121] Susan J. Matt, *Keeping Up With the Joneses: Envy in American Consumer Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p.12.

initiative and are taken with the kind permissions of the invitees."[122] Besides being photographed, the dresses are described in the tiniest detail; the fabric, the model, and the tailor is named. Evidently, the magazine did the most it could to help the readers copy the high status women.

Indeed, it can be suggested that *Hayat* had the mission of enculturating the middle class women to the wealthy style of clothing. Starting with the first issues, *Hayat* devoted a significant number of pages to fashion. Apart from fashion that can be observed through numerous photographs of celebrities and "society" ladies, there are pages designed to convey more concrete information about the latest fashion. These include practical information for the not so well-to-do reader. The message, "you can dress chicly with little money"[123] is frequently repeated and tips are given to make fashionable yet economical dresses. At first glance, emphasizing economical ways for dressing might seem contrary to conspicuous consumption. Yet, it is a smart way to increase consumption, for this discourse sets the emulation of the well-dressed as an important target, and implies that there is no excuse for not dressing fashionably. Dressing is such an important criterion for the magazine that the reader is further guided in her emulation of the upper classes. In the series "I Dress the Stars,[124]" for instance, the Hollywood tailor Edith Head gives advice to the tall, the fat, the brunette, the blonde, etc. on how to dress.

Emulation of upper class fashion was not limited to clothes. Make-up and hair styles were also presented by the magazine a *sine qua non* of belonging to a distinguished group. There was no need to tell how to shape one's eyebrows, since

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[122] "*Geçenlerde Hilton'da yapılan . . . [düğün] şehrimizin tanınmış hanımlarının en seçkin kıyafetlerle bir araya gelmelerine sebep oldu. HAYAT bu vesileden istifade ederek halen giyilmekte olan kokteyl elbiselerini okuyucularına sunmak istemiştir. Gördüğünüz bu resimler bu teşebbüsümüzün neticesi olup davetli hanımların nazik müsaadeleriyle çekilmiş ve neşredilmiştir.*" "*Bir Düğün ve Davetlileri* (A Wedding and its Guests)," *Hayat*, no.122 (6 February 1959), pp.24-25.
[123] "*Az Para Harcayarak Şık Giyinebilirsiniz*." *Hayat*, no.149 (14 August 1959), p.14.
[124] "*Yıldızları Giydiriyorum*," *Hayat*, no.143-159.

there were almost life-sized photographs to show it. Yet, the more complicated physical maintenance forms needed guidance. For example, upon the rise of Farah Diba as an international figure, *Hayat* introduced the making of "Diba hair" step by step to its readers with photographs and instructions.

Nevertheless, the fashion pages of *Hayat* were not entirely in the service of the aspiring classes. The upper classes also benefited them, first, by keeping in-group envy intact. Arguably, being photographed by the magazine as the representative of "the society lady", documented one's distinguished position among the wealthy. Second, fashion coverage might have served the emulation of European upper classes by the Turkish ones. Indeed, there is wide coverage of the latest collections of European designers, published with the comments of *Hayat* journalists who attended the fashion shows. Thus, rather than broadly depicting latest trends in fashion, the magazine provides its readers with extensive information on famous French and Italian designers, their previous work, and sources of inspiration.

Furniture and House Decoration

Clothing and the possession of valuable accessories were the most important objects of conspicuous consumption in *Hayat*, as well as in the real world. Yet, they were not the only ones. In the fifties, possession of household devices such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines served as other means for conspicuous consumption. As Öymen mentions, in those days refrigerators were usually put not in the kitchen but in the dearest corner of the salon, so that upcoming visitors could see them.[125] Moreover, possession of electrical goods was not a one-

[125] Altan Öymen, ibid., p.47.

time display, since the privileged position of their owners were perpetuated on a day-to-day basis when a neighbor came to door asking for ice, for instance. Thus, furniture and house decoration formed another visible form of conspicuous consumption that can also be traced in the magazine.

Nevertheless, the role of the magazine in making the furnishing of the upper classes public is much more limited than that of clothing. For one thing, as pointed above, the private lives of the highest status groups ("society") is closed to public scrutiny. Thus, their conspicuous consumption in the form of furnishings is merely an in-group act. Nevertheless, it is not impossible altogether to get a notion of the most esteemed commodities in household design in the 1950s. The domestic celebrities form a good-enough cursor of the ideal house decoration. This is because they had access to "the society" households in which they had been invited to perform on special occasions. Hence, it can be assumed that the celebrity applied, at least, part of the home decorating consumption practices of "society."

Hayat provides satisfactory information on celebrity houses. In the aforementioned interview-series with the renowned singers, the magazine puts a heavy accent on marital and familial living. Good taste in house decoration is among the top considerations *Hayat* sets for an ideal lady. A quotation from the magazine might reveal some esteemed pieces of furniture: "Mualla Mukadder's house in Etiler is furnished like a palace. She even has an American bar, in the shelves of which bottles of whiskey are lined . . . There is also a swing in her house."[126] Obviously unconventional ways of decoration, such as a swing, is highly appreciated. Yet the real object that deserves attention here is the American bar. Indeed, it is the emphasized object in some other interviews as well. For instance, beneath the

[126] "*Mualla Mukadder'in Etiler'deki evi bir saray gibi döşenmiştir. Amerikan barı da var. Barın raflarında dizi dizi viski şişeleri durur. Evde bir de salıncak kurulmuştur.*" Orhan Tahsin, *Hayat*, no.110 (14 November 1958), pp.12-13.

photograph of Perihan Sözeri, sitting behind the American bar in her home, the writer attests: "Sözeri family's house-design is very tasteful. There is also a bamboo bar decorated with grapes."[127] The reason the American bar is such a highlighted object is because it signals the owner's taste and wealth at the same time. Obviously, the person should have a spacious house to spare a corner and enough money to fill the shelves with expensive beverages, at a time when alcoholic beverages' were so high-priced.[128] What's more, the owner of an American bar should have the tastes and knowledge of preparing cocktails for his/her guests. Observing the presentation of *Hayat*, one senses that in the 1950s, the American bar represented what piano or western furniture had done half a century earlier.

Just like in the subject of fashion, *Hayat* guided its readers to emulate the upper class tastes as well as provoking envy. An example of such guidance on house decoration is the tiny column of decoration tips. Tips such as "do not clutter the room with patterned wall paper and patterned curtains" might seem trivial to today's reader, yet they were valuable for middle and lower class households, not to mention the villagers recently migrated to the city.

Personal Care

So far, it has been assumed that consumption is induced by feelings of envy for other people's possessions. Yet, in the second half of the twentieth century, consumption also emerged as a means to achive personal integrity, because of the increasing emphasis on physical attractiveness in the mass media.

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[127] "*Sözeri ailesinin evleri çok zevkli döşenmiştir. Kalamış'taki evinde bambudan yapılmış, üzümlü bir barı vardır.*" Orhan Tahsin, "Perihan Sözeri," *Hayat* (117), 2 January 1959, p.9.

[128] According to TURKSTAT data, the prices of tobacco, tea, coffee, and *rakı* (a Turkish alcoholic beverage) for Istanbul sustained an increasing trend after 1953. Further information is to be given in the next sections.

Physical maintenance and beauty are among the strongest accents of *Hayat* too. The magazine is filled with young, beautiful, well-dressed, shiny people, the majority of whom are female. The comments made on the movie stars, singers, as well as "society" ladies reveal that physical attractiveness is a salient characteristic for the upper classes. The most frequently uttered words for physical maintenance are "freshness" and "harmony" in one's appearance, whether the occasion is a ball or simply an advertisement of a personal care product.

A good complexion is an important element of the for physical attractiveness of most celebrities, and most advertisements were built upon this premise. Lux toilet soap was among the brands that appealed to celebrity endorsement most. The phrase near the logo asserted that it was the toilet soap "2120 movie stars preferred." Indeed, every week Lux ad was published with a different actress on the background. Stating that the customer "will have a fresh and very beautiful complexion, just like a movie star," Lux employed celebrity endorsers in its advertisements. The celebrity endorser is defined "as any individual who enjoys public recognition and who uses this recognition on behalf of a consumer good by appearing with it in an advertisement."[129] Rather than positing product information to convince the reader to buy, the celebrity endorsement strategy appeals to the feelings of consumers. Hence the consumer believes that the commodities will change the way they feel, they will be closer to the star and be happier using the same luxury goods.[130]

Celebrity endorsement per se does not let us know the actual effectiveness of celebrity characteristics on promoting consumption. Yet, the fact that the values emphasized in celebrity endorsement ads are endorsed by other advertisements as

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[129]Grant McCracken, "Who Is the Celebrity Endorser?: Cultural Foundations of the Endorsement Process", in *Culture and Consumption II : Markets, Meaning, and Brand Management* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c2005), p.97.

[130] *Mark Duffett*, "Transcending Audience Generalizations: Consumerism Reconsidered in the Case of Elvis Presley Fans," *Popular Music and Society* 24, no.2, (Bowling Green: Summer 2000), p.75

well, tells us of a certain admissibility of some celebrity attributes such as physical attractiveness. Although Havilland Cream's advertisements did not appeal to celebrity endorsement, their slogans are more suggestive in exemplifying the emphasis on physical attractiveness. One of the brand's advertisement, with the slogan "Do not shadow your personality," recommended that customers "are required to bring out all the attributes collected in [their] personality" and that "in order to look beautiful and cute, the freshness of [their] skin is not enough; it is necessary to support and guarantee [their complexion]."[131] By denoting beauty and cuteness as inherent characteristics of women and urging all women to realize their feminine sides via consuming "supportive" products, the advertisement set physical attractiveness as an attribute of womanhood which was to be discovered and highlighted.

Apart from being a prominent feature of the advertisements published in the magazine, as well as the celebrity features in the magazine, the lineage of attractiveness to the women's nature is also visible in the articles of *Hayat*. Physical attractiveness, according to *Hayat*, is an asset that every woman should strive to possess. The magazine's test called "Are You Attractive?" reveals this clearly, in putting that rather than being an inborn asset, sexual attractiveness is under control of "every tasteful woman that can use her intelligence."[132] Implying that lack of sexual attractiveness is a derivative of lack of intelligence and taste, the magazine further assigns physical attractiveness as a precondition for marrying. "Attracting first the

[131] "*Şahsiyetinizi gölgelemeyiniz. Şahsiyetinizde toplanmış olan hususiyetleri muhakkak belirtmek mecburiyetindesiniz* (…) *Unutmayınız ki, güzel ve şirin görünmek için teninizin teraveti kafi değildir, onu desteklemekle garantilemek elzemdir*."
[132] "*Cinsi cazibe sahibi olmak zekasını kullanabilen zevk sahibi her kadının elinde olan bir şeydir*." *Hayat*, no.112 (28 November 1958), p.30.

attention and then love of the opposite sex is the first condition for happiness [marriage.] This is called 'sexual attractiveness.' "[133]

Hayat's definition of sexual attractiveness is a conglomeration of physical and social assets. Being healthy and energetic, having a good complexion and hair, appearing fresh and alive, and changing clothes frequently form the physical conditions for being attractive; while being social with men, believing in the importance of love, expressing feelings freely constitute some examples for the desired social assets. Although sexual attractiveness is set as a characteristic universally endowed by women, its formulation connotes a movie star rather than a housewife. The question "Does the idea of having children when you get married scare you?" is clearly at odds with the cultural definition of motherhood as part of womanhood, as examined in the marriage chapter.[134] Altogether, the emphasis on female beauty, as well as the advertisements and features of the magazine reifying physical attractiveness laid the foundation for women of conspicuous consumption, which was to grow only stronger in the following decades.[135]

Although the emphasis is on female attractiveness, there is evidence that physical maintenance was considered elementary for male appearance too. The advertisements of aftershave colognes and razor blades highlight the importance of being well-groomed in attracting the attention of the opposite sex; often symbolized by a picture of beautiful young woman gently touching the face of a handsome young man. The most significant indicator of physical care as a social requirement,

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[133] "*Saadet yolunda ilk şart mukabil cinsin önce dikkatini sonra sevgisini çekebilmektir. Buna 'cinsi cazibe' denir*." Ibid.
[134] "*Evlendiğiniz zaman çocuk sahibi olmak düşüncesi sizi ürkütüyor mu?*" See Appendix A for complete test.
[135] As Abadan-Unat suggested at the beginning of the 1980s: "Due to constant and decisive influence of advertising, particularly in the women's pages of the press, women of all classes, especially those living in urban areas, have acquired a growing tendency to spend for the purpose of conspicuous consumption." Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Turkish Women and Social Change" in Nermin Abadan-Unat ed. *Women in Turkish Society* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), p.26.

however, comes from the letter of a reader. Protesting the editor's comments that young Turkish women sought to marry engineers, businessmen, and doctors while decent young men of socially less desirable occupations such as mechanics and drivers are overlooked, the reader asserts: "The majority of the people you advise us to marry have socially unattractive appearances (. . .) One of my friends married a mechanic (. . .) He shaves only twice a week, goes to work and comes home in greasy overalls. Proudly says he wore a neck tie once in his life, on his wedding day (. . .) We do not want engineer, doctor, author husbands, but civilized, polite, well-mannered gentlemen that behave just like them."[136]

All in all, the magazine's articles indicate that rather than simply being a characteristic of movie-stars and society ladies, physical attractiveness emerged also as a requirement for ordinary men and women in the 1950s. This induced the mass consumption of personal care products, and the advertisements of shampoos, cold creams, hair products, deodorants, colognes, antiperspirants, tooth whiteners, face powders, and several other items that formed the biggest category among the advertisements published in *Hayat*. Observing the emphasis on physical attractiveness, one recalls what Betty Friedan calls "sexual sell:" the perpetuation of consumption in the fifties via the strong emphasis on femininity and the increasing pressure to look good; the active role of the mass media in advertising both the image of young, beautiful, happy "housewife-heroines;" and the products that promise customers a miraculous transformation into that image.[137]

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[136] "*Sizin tavsiye ettiğiniz kimselerden çoğunun cemiyet hayatı içindeki görünüşleri hiç de cazip değildir. . . Bir arkadaşım bir makinist ile evlendi. . . haftada ancak iki kere tıraş olur. İşine yağlı tulumlarla gider gelir. Hayatında bir defa, o da evlendiği gün kravat taktığını iftiharla söyler. . . Biz mühendis, doktor, muharrir değil, fakat kocalarımızın bunlar gibi nazik, kibar, terbiyeli, centilmen olmalarını diliyoruz*." Şevket Rado, "*Enstitülü Kızlarımızın Haklı Dilekleri*," *Hayat*, no.147 (31 July 1959), p.5.

[137] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, c.1983).

Housing

Housing and city planning were two areas that underwent substantial change in the 1950s. Istanbul and Ankara carried the banner of such changes. With the aforementioned increase in the urban population, urban demand for housing increased. Moreover, as Charles Abrams, who visited Turkey as part of a UN mission in 1954, noticed Turkey "was facing significant urban problems, including over-crowding and squatters."[138] While rural migrants started to create shantytowns in the periphery of big cities, infrastructure and transportation became more problematic with the increasing population, especially in the case of Istanbul. The prime minister himself had a special interest in Istanbul's planning. He personally directed the opening of new streets, guiding the team personally when he was in Istanbul.[139] His endeavor was so zealous that he did not need to consult legal processes that would prolong the changes. As Abrams stated, he "had lost patience with the law" and thus "boldly moved in to clear streets and tear down slum buildings without resorting to legal process at all."[140]

While the government was mainly engaged in infrastructure projects, private initiative increasingly dominated construction in the housing sector. Setting aside the squatters, who built their own dwellings literally overnight, some major actors in the housing sector were, interestingly, banks. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Turkey witnessed a proliferation in the number of private banks. These included Yapı ve Kredi Bankası (1944), *Türkiye Garanti Bankası* (1946), *Akbank*(1948), *Türkiye Kredi Bankası* (1948), *Tutum* Bank (1948), *Muhabank*(1948), *Demirbank* (1953), *Buğday Bankası* (1955), *Pamukbank* (1955), and *Raybank* (1956) along with

[138] Abrams, *Man's Struggle*, p.196 cited in A. Scott Henderson, *Housing and The Democratic Ideal: The Life and Thought of Charles Abrams* (New York : Columbia University Press, c2000), p.179.
[139] Şevket Rado, in Toderini, ibid.
[140] Abrams, ibid.,, p.67.

some others.[141] With such an increase in the number of banks over such a short period, rivalry was intense in the banking sector; and it was not only between the newcomers. For instance, the advertising expenses of Türkiye İş Bankası were increased more than ten-fold in the mid-1950s from the prior decade; mainly due to the advertising onset of Yapı ve Kredi Bankası.[142] The advertising campaigns of the newly founded banks, on the other hand, culminated in stimulating a construction-boom because their core strategy rested on allocating houses to their depositors. Over time, several banks became engaged in the construction sector, establishing new districts in different parts of Istanbul.[143]

The whole episode started with the introduction of lotteries into the banking sector. In truth, lotteries were not a novelty of the 1950s, and as they had been introduced by Türkiye İş Bankası and *Ziraat Bankası* (Agriculture Bank) in the 1930s, under the banner "savings incentive lotteries."[144] Yet, in the fifties, these lotteries were organized by almost every bank with a variety of gifts including furniture and household devices, clothes and accessories, cash and golden jewelry, as well as life insurances and credits. Nevertheless, houses constituted the biggest prize; bank advertisements offered the chance to own apartment flats, summerhouses, and lands.

The forerunner of this trend was the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, which is also the financial supporter of *Hayat* magazine. It has been discussed that the magazine itself was published as a consequence of the bank's advertising strategy. As a result, the lottery advertisements of the bank constitute the most interesting ones of all the

[141] *Türkiye İş Bankası Tarihi*, p.378.
[142] Ibid., p.348.
[143] For instance, while *Yapı and Kredi* Bank established one in Acıbadem, *Garanti* Bank did so in Etiler.
[144] "*Tasarrufu teşvik ikramiyeleri*," "Nevin Coşar, "Banka İkramiyeleri ve Tasarruf, 1930-1976," http://www.obarsiv.com/etkinlikler_vct_0001_nevinc.html

advertisements. Yapı ve Kredi's advertisements are interesting because not only are they bigger than other ads (almost unexceptionally they are published full-page in the first pages of the magazine), but also they change ever week. One week, it is a happy picture of a prior winner, the next week it is described in cartoons. While the most convincing ones are those with pictures and plans of the prize-houses, almost always the luck factor is highlighted.

In the end, the bank lotteries proved successful in increasing the total number of depositors in the country. Total saving deposits mounted to 4366 million Turkish liras in 1960, from 578 millions in 1950.[145] Yet, there is doubt whether the lotteries promoted saving behavior in contrast to that of consumption in society. Even if the total number of depositors increased tremendously, implying the prospects of saving habits in the long-run, the immediate effect of the lotteries was controversial. While the clients frequently shifted their accounts from one bank to the other chasing the lotteries, critics held that such initiatives highlighted immediate bringing of the deposit rather than saving attitude, and emphasized the aim of benefiting from the lottery rather than that of guaranteeing the future.[146] Indeed, the fact that a consumer culture magazine (i.e., *Hayat*) formed the most important means of Yapı ve Kredi's campaign can be interpreted as a sign of the consumption emphasis. Thus, in the 1950s, consumption not only increasingly became part of the mass behavior, but also a part of the value systems, too, for it was inherent even in saving-inducing initiatives.

Overall, the fact that housing became an important element in the expansion strategy of most of the banks signals the high level of esteem attached to owning an apartment house in the 1950s. Apartmentalization, in return, pointed to important

[145] TURKSTAT, Statistical Indicators, 1923-2005.
[146] Nevin Coşar, ibid.

changes in consuming behavior. For one thing, it can be expected that by bringing households closer, apartmentalization made the consumption patterns of neighbors more visible. The sound of a neighbor's vacuum cleaner may not induce feelings other than irritation today, or an over-loud radio may signify nothing but the inattention of its owner. Yet, in the fifties, such items were highly valued, and the signs of their existence induced feelings of envy and signified the high status of their owner. Thus it might be inferred that living in an apartment formed a Veblenian distinction, marking the distinguished status of the habitants.

Conspicuous Leisure

As Veblen suggested, the consumption of time constitutes an equally influential way to signal one's distinguished position as that of expensive commodities. Thus, the leisure time activities of the high-status groups deserve a closer examination. Indeed these activities occupy a great number of pages in *Hayat* magazine. Having 5 o'clock teas, masked balls, organizing sailboat races, are all leisure time activities in Veblen's sense, for they are not directed at productive activity. On the contrary, just as Veblen suggested, these activities denote one's exemption from industrious action. Obviously, learning to do water-skiing is much more entertaining than mastering dead languages, yet one should not discard the symbolic meaning of these leisure activities indulged in by the upper classes in Turkey. It is to emphasize one's distinguished status through unproductive yet extravagant activity.

Veblen suggested that conspicuous leisure tends to be conducted via the women of the household rather than men, who are occupied with sustaining a better

livelihood for the household.[147] The five o'clock teas of "society," as presented in *Hayat*, can be interpreted as a form of conspicuous leisure of the wives (and daughters) of the wealthy to indicate their disengagement from housework. Roughly, it can be suggested that Veblen points to a division of labor between the husband and wife in the overall strategy to keep the household prestige high. Such division of labor between the sexes can be clearly observed in most articles in *Hayat*. In general, the leisure time activities of the upper classes that appear in the magazine seem to be dominated by females, as the photographs of such occasions attest. Yet, even in the case of leisure time activities that the women and men of the upper classes enjoy together, there is an emphasis on the latter's industriousness. To quote one such depiction of *Hayat*: "This year, as in every year, the guest list of Çelik Palas Hotel was full with names from Istanbul on Republican Day. While young men were scattered around Gül Sarol, who is compared to Elizabeth Taylor, Vehbi Koç [one of the leading businessmen in the country] talked with the governor of Bursa on the subject of hotel business."[148] Thus, in line with Veblen's projection, upper class men are depicted in continuous endeavor to increase their wealth, while women symbolize the extent of this wealth with their beauty.

The main characteristic of the leisure time activities of the upper classes is that they take place in private places. In general it is an elite tea-salon, a yachting club, or one of the splendid houses of the wealthy. Yet, in most instances the Hilton Hotel emerges as the locus of conspicuous consumption in the 1950s.[149] It is surprising to find out that the frequently referred-to gathering places of "society,"

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[147] Veblen, ibid., pp.68-69.

[148] "*Her bayram olduğu gibi, bu yıl da Cumhuriyet Bayramında Çelik Palas Otelinin müşteriler listesi İstanbullu isimlerle doluydu. Elizabeth Taylor a benzetilen Gül Sarolun etrafında gençler pervane gibi dönerken, bir köşede Vehbi Koç, Bursa valisi ile otelcilik mevzuunda konuşuyordu*." "*İstanbullular Bursa'da*," *Hayat*, no.110 (14 November 1958), p.21.

[149] Hilton Istanbul is the first five-star hotel in Turkey. The project of the hotel began in 1950, while its contruction took place between 1952 and 1955. It was opened in June 1955 with a glorious opening ceremony that lasted five days with the participation of Hollywood stars such as Terry Moore.

such as Roof Bar and Şadırvan were actually facilities of the hotel. Along with the lobby and the pool, these facilities formed *the* locations for conspicuous display. This is very much related to the characteristics of the hotel. To begin with, the hotel was built as the third ring of the hotel-chains with the initiation of the Marshall Plan. It was truly American in architecture and essence, which were to be a source of criticism in the years to come. However, in the 1950s, it became the symbol of the DP government's pro-American attitude, and seemed to actualize what the prime minister promised.[150] The Hilton was the little America in Turkey, because as Conrad Hilton declared: "Each of [their] hotels, is a 'little America.'"[151] Second, unlike other upper class locations, such as Beyoğlu patisseries, the Hilton Hotel was free of representing older status-honor positions. Being a hotel in essence, Hilton posed no cultural or symbolic barriers preventing the membership of a wealthy client.

While the leisure time activities of the upper classes were reserved in location, these activities were not reserved to them. One can observe that in the fifties some of these activities were also endorsed by the wider public. For example, swimming and sun bathing at the beach became popular leisure time activities for the masses, too, if not water-skiing. The publications of popular culture magazines proved helpful in initiating such dissemination of leisure culture. *Hayat*, for instance, practically enabled most of its readers to wear a swimsuit, with its detailed directions on how to make one.

The magazine's impact on the representation of leisure activities is two-fold. On the one hand, their presentation leaves no doubt that leisure activities are among

[150] It is widely known that prime minister Adnan Menderes promised to turn the country into "little America" in his speeches.
[151] Quoted in Chris Rojek, *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel* (Maryland: Rowman&Littlefield, 1994), p.192.

distinguishing features of the high-status groups. On the other hand, *Hayat* encourages its middle class readers to assume some of the upper class leisure practices. This can be exemplified through the representation of holiday culture.

The Emergence of a Vacation Culture

The word "holiday" calls to mind the beach-sea-sun trilogy in the west and south coasts for most contemporary Turkish readers. Yet, it was not so long ago that people traversed the country to have a vacation. Vacation was pretty much a novel theme of the 1950s. Hitherto, vacation culture had been shaped around sightseeing tours, visiting relatives, moving into suburban residence in the summers, and ceremonial celebrations on the national holidays. Yet, starting with the 1950s, holiday in the form of tourism emerged as increasingly determining the definition of vacation. *Hayat* magazine was surely a promoter of the vacation culture in its various editorials and articles.

Among other things, photographic essays on holiday spots helped the reader to visualize the location, inducing curiosity and a desire to travel. Crawshaw and Urry write that, starting from the nineteenth century, the growth of tourism industry had paralleled developments in photography historically.[152] The same way it might be suggested that the development of high-quality mass circulation printing and the emerging trend to go on an out-of-town vacation appears coincidentally in Turkey.

At the first glance *Hayat* evokes envy of upper class vacations in the middle and lower classes. "Society" holidays are largely shaped around extravagant consumption in hotels. Nevertheless, the magazine also attempts to disseminate

[152] Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* ed. by Chris Rojek and John Urry (London:Routledge, 1997), p.180.

holiday culture to tighter-budget families. In an editorial, for instance, the editor urges the readers to benefit from the natural beauties of the countryside by camping outdoors, just like many poor, middle class and even well-to-do families did.[153] His suggestion of having a family vacation is rationalized by an emphasis on the improvement of health, which clean air and sun would bring.

The accent on vacations is an escalating one. In the first two years of the magazine, the readers are left with silent observation of pictures of beautiful girls in swimsuits in the summer months. In 1958, the editor writes essays on the natural beauties of the country, inviting the readers to enjoy them. The most salient example of an emerging holiday culture comes in 1959 with the series "Where in the Country Can You Pass Your Vacation?"[154] Starting with near destinations such as Polonezköy and Ağva in the Marmara region, the series extended even to Kuşadası and Köyceğiz in the Aegean region. Forming perfect examples of vacation-guides, the series provides the reader with information not only on the history and natural beauties of the site, but also on practical issues such as where to stay, how much money to spare for food, and how to get there. The main purpose of the series seems to show that having a holiday outside the hometown is economically attainable for middle-class families. Thus, starting from the 1950s, no longer a distinguishing feature of the upper classes, summer holidays entered among the requisites of attaining middle-class status.

The Dissemination of Consumer Culture: Rural Emulation of Urban Styles

In pointing to the dissemination of consumer culture, Matt suggests that mass circulation magazines "standardized tastes: [they] led women separated by vast

[153] Şevket Rado, "*Güneşli Kırlara Doğru*," *Hayat*, no.92 (11 July 1958), p.5.
[154] "*Tatilinizi Memleketin Neresinde Geçirebilirsiniz*?"

geographical distances to measure themselves and their possessions against the same ideals, and it prompted them to long for similar goods."[155] Indeed, this function of mass magazines is very relevant for *Hayat* as in the Turkish context, the geographical distance was turned into a geographical barrier. The distance between the city and the village was not in kilometers, but showed itself in a dichotomy of urban and village cultures.

Such dichotomy was also prevalent in *Hayat*. On the whole, the magazine was based on urban life-style, and it reached mainly an urban population. Despite the magazine's urban emphasis however, the villager image was not missing in *Hayat*. Indeed, the first issues started with a series on the lives of the nomadic yörük people.[156] In its presentations of rural lifestyle, *Hayat*'s perception of villagers is shaped by the modernization paradigm to a great extent. Accordingly, villages are mainly viewed as backward and uncivilized settings.[157] Bringing-civilization to the parochial areas is heavily emphasized in the series "Take My Daugter, Too," for instance. Depicting the exceptional endeavor of an idealist teacher who wanders hardly accessible mountain villages in eastern Anatolia in order to gather girl students, the series highlights the perplexities of these ignorant girls in their first encounters with "civilization." Indeed, in one case, before-and-after photographs of a village girl is published to highlight the extent of change.

Whereas the magazine's discourse still perpetuated the image of the aloof, distant, and poor village; there were signs that the gap between the urban and the

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[155] Susan J. Matt, *Keeping Up With the Joneses: Envy in American Consumer Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp.12-13.

[156] The series are called "*40 Pencereli Konak* (Mansion with 40 Windows)" and lasts seven weeks from the 4th issue to the 10th issue.

[157] It should be noted, however, that while deprivation and a high number of uneducated people are emphasized as the characteristics of rural settings, *Hayat*'s presentation of the peasant life-style does not align with the orthodox modernization approach, which points to traditions as the main source of "backwardness." Rather, rural traditions are reported by *Hayat* as part of the authentic culture of the people. Yet, notwithstanding the unprejudiced approach towards rural traditions, the supremacy of the urban way of life is unquestionned.

rural was closing. In this respect, villagers that came to the city formed main agents of breaking the city versus village dichotomy. Thus, if not addressing the villagers directly, *Hayat* came to target the rural migrants with the aim of educating them on urban middle class values. As discussed in the marriage chapter, for instance, newcomers to the city were informed on urban ways for match making.

While the adoption of urban norms and tastes was considered important criteria for modernization, consumption emerged as a salient factor bringing the villagers "civilization" in the 1950s. Thus, urban patterns of consumption and the urban lifestyle became increasingly influential in the rural settings. This can be explained by a number of factors regarding the unprecedented increase in the rural population's desires and expectations. First, as mentioned before, there occurred a significant betterment of income in the agricultural sector as a result of the agricultural development scheme of the DP government. Further, communication channels with the cities proliferated in this decade. Highway transportation, which had been ameliorated with the inducement of the Marshall Plan since 1948, was an important factor in linking the rural to the urban. With the enhanced material conditions and enhancements in transportation, a great number of villagers could come to city to shop. Hence an increasing number of villagers obtained first-hand information about city life.

The improvement of transportation was not the only opportunity for the villagers to have an unmediated opinion about the urban way of life. With the increased attainability, towns and villages started to be exposed to the mass media. Even though villages were not among the primary targets of the magazine, there are enough reasons to assume *Hayat* reached a readership in the rural areas. To begin with, its photojournalism enabled even illiterate people to enjoy *Hayat*, thus mildly

undermining the most tangible barrier to magazine readership. Indeed, Rado expresses his contentment at seeing *Hayat*'s pages framed in a coffee house in Trabzon.[158] The reader letters confirm the readership in eastern and central Anatolia as well. Even if the exposition of *Hayat* formed a tiny per cent of the village population, the magazine had an indirect effect on the villagers. It can be suggested that by bringing forth the Istanbul life style, the magazine formed a transformation of local values in the Anatolian cities. Thus, even though it was too early for the towns' people to take up the latest fashion, they adapted their clothes to it. One such adaptation was covered in *Hayat*, which reports that the women of Umurbey village took off their *ferace*s[159] with a ceremony and started to wear coats, a garment seemed more "civilized."[160]

A third channel of introducing urban consuming practices into rural settings is related to rural migration and urbanization trends. Statistical data indicates that prior to the 1950s; there were no significant difference between the population growth of the urban (1.99%) and the rural (1.53%) segments of the country, whereas after the fifties, the urban population rose at a rate of 5.6% on average without an accompanying increase in that of the rural population.[161] Thus, it was in the 1950s that rural to urban migration started to have an effect on the country's demographic structure. Coming to the city, these migrants were introduced to urban ways of living, among which consumption patterns constitute an important part.

The effect of urbanization was felt not only by the immediate migrants, but also by their relatives back in the village. Envy and emulation are certainly prevalent

[158] Trabzon is a city in the Black Sea region, in the north east of Turkey. It has a mountainous geography, which makes transportation particularly difficult. Toderini, ibid.
[159] *Ferace* is a dark colored garment covering a woman from head to foot. It was compulsory for women to wear such cloths in Ottoman times.
[160] "*Umurbeyliler Feraceyi Attılar*," Hayat, no.158 (16 October 1959), p.29.
[161] Tuncer Kocaman and İlhan Özaltın, *Sosyal Yapı-I: Türkiye'de Nüfus Yapısındaki Gelişmeler ve Uluslararası Karşılaştırmalar*, (Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1986), p.70.

in the urban context, but they are more so in the village. Because of the limited number of encounters, the villagers can be expected to have more densely formed relationships, and to act more upon the behavior of their neighbors and relatives. In his study of the *gecekondu*s (squatter settlements), Kemal Karpat points to migrants' role as an agent of change in their villages: "Paradoxical as it may appear, the people from the poorer villages appear the most 'modernized,' thanks to communication with the city where they have so many relatives (. . .) In the squatters' villages the youth have all adopted city dress to the extent that it is difficult to distinguish them from their relatives in the city."[162] It would be unsubstantiated to suggest that emulation of urban dressing among the village people was as widely endorsed in the fifties as Karpat observed in the seventies. Yet, it is evident that the processes of the assumption of urban codes and consumption patterns are long-duration ones that can be traced back to the start of the first systematic encounters between the city and the village as a result of the urban migration in the 1950s.

Military Officers' "Nonconsumption"

Ironically, the most concrete evidence of conspicuous consumption in Turkey in the 1950s can be traced not in the actions of those who conspicuously consumed but in the comments those who could not. Military officers represented the latter, and their characterization of the 1950s makes it clear that conspicuous consumption was a source of tension in the country.

As much as consumption formed the landmark of those with rising status, it denigrated those who could not consume as conspicuously. As Veblen had

[162] Kemal H. Karpat, *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*, (New York: Cambridge University Pres, 1976), p.193.

suggested, the ceremonial differentiation of the dietary, which is best represented by the consumption of intoxicating beverages, was among the most visible signs of conspicuous consumption.[163] Indeed, the differentiation of the dietary became a signal of social status, as well as a basis of discontent on the part of the military officers in Turkey in the 1950s. "If we were to go to an entertainment place, we saw them eating great lobsters. What we could only be blessed with was *gazoz* (soda water)!"[164] uttered a major in explaining the reasons for the military coup of 1960. Looking at the statistical data, one can observe why food formed a means for distinction. While alcoholic beverages are normally high-priced items, in the 1950s they progressively became luxury goods affordable only to the richest segments in society. For instance, wholesale price index numbers of tobacco, tea, coffee, and *rakı* (a Turkish alcoholic beverage) for Istanbul indicated an increasing trend after 1953; reaching a peak in 1958 with an increase of 61.6 percent.[165]

In his memoirs, retired full general Sabri Yirmibeşoğlu also cites military officers' nonconsumption among the prime reasons for "the difficulties of sustaining the social position and the honor:" "Military officers and noncommissioned officers could not go to night clubs or entertainment places. Those who did go could only drink *gazoz* (soda water). For this reason the public called the military personnel *gazozcu*s (soda drinkers)."[166]

Nonetheless, the most profound indicator of the diminishing honor of the officers was the locational segregation. As Yirmibeşoğlu narrates: "In August [1957]

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[163] Veblen, ibid., p.61.
[164] "*Biz eğlence yerine gidecek olsak, onları şahane istakoz yerken görürdük. Bize de ancak gazoz içebilmekten başka nimet düşmezdi!*." Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, *Benim Gözümde Menderes* (Istanbul: Büyük Doğu, 1998), p.483.
[165] Istanbul Chamber of Commerce data, quoted in TURKSTAT, ibid. 1955 (16.9%) and 1959 (22%) were also two years that indicated a remarkable increase in the prices of tobacco, tea, coffee, and *rakı*.
[166] "*Subay ve astsubaylar gazino veya eğlence yerlerine gidemiyordu. Gidenler de sadece gazoz içebiliyordu, bu nedenle halk ordu mensuplarına gazozcu adını takmıştı*." Sabri Yirmibeşoğlu, *Askeri ve Siyasi Anılarım* (Istanbul: Kastaş, 1999), p.255.

I was to become a captain, and my salary would rise to 315 Turkish liras. Yet, it was not enough to rent a house in Ankara (. . .) We moved into the cottage of İsmet Pasha's retired driver in the *gecekondu* (squatter) district of Çankaya (. . .) There were no roads, no buses; we had to get up early and walk in winter and summer."[167] Because of frequent shifts, officers had to move their houses very often. They had to contract for the most recent, thus the highest rents, while their traveling allowances did not compensate the expenses. Thus the cost of two shifts equaled that of a house fire for the officers, whose savings were spent on traveling expenses and rents.[168] Indeed, housing formed such a great problem for the military officers that its solution constituted a prioritized issue of the immediate post-coup years. As Feroz Ahmad asserts, elementary legislation after the coup "improved the economic status of the military personnel and their social status rose accordingly. Junior officers were no longer taunted by landlords or waiter and they began to live in the best residential areas."[169]

Particularly in the late fifties, economic troubles were so dire that some military officers seriously considered resigning from their posts and moving into the business sector while a number of officers actualized this. In his autobiographic work Gün Zileli describes such an aspiration of his colonel father:

> Apart from reputation and prestige, it was evident that my father was not economically content with his occupation. The best indicator of this was that every week-end, my father and my uncle, who was a military officer just like my father (. . .), dreamed about getting plenty of money by resigning from their positions and engaging in trade. One week they would plan to open up a hat shop, seriously calculating the costs, they planned on getting the military contracts through

[167] "*Yüzbaşı olacaktık Ağustos'ta, maaşta 315 Türk lirasına yükselecekti. Yalnız bu paradan ayrılacak para da Ankara'da ev kiralamaya yeterli değildi. Çankayada . . . küçük küçük gecekondular vardı. İsmet Paşa'nın emekli şoförünün, o gecekondulardaki birine kulübeciğine yerleştik. . .ama Cinnah caddesi yapılmamış, otobüs yok. Servis otobüsü yok. Yaya sabah erkenden kalkıp yaz, kış yürüyoruz*." Ibid, 184.
[168] Ibid, p.255.
[169] Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy* (London: C. Hurst for the Royal Institute of International Affairs,c1977), p194.

> acquaintances. The next week, they would talk about opening a replacement goods store; while the week after that they would participate in a cement factory.[170]

Overall, reading through the memoirs one can observe the status honor depreciation of the military officers in the 1950s. The depreciation of their status honor was based on economic desperation, which signals economic splendor as the main criterion for social hierarchy.

Emergence of "The More the More" Culture

Future expectations form an important criterion for consumption. As the idiom suggests, one cuts his coat according to his cloth and during the fifties an increasing number of people in Turkey felt that they would have much more "cloth" in the future than what they had had. The rising level of expectations in this particular period of time is not an unfamiliar concept in the historiography of Turkey. Indeed, most scholars point to the general atmosphere of optimism and higher levels of expectations on the part of the people at the beginning of the multi-party political experience. Mete Tunçay, for instance, calls the first half of the 1950s "the hopeful years of democracy," emphasizing the wave of optimism the new political system induced in people.[171] Erik Zürcher's account of the 1950s also hints at the importance of expectations. For Zürcher, "there had been an explosive rise in the

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[170] "*Babamın, mesleğinden, şan ve şerefin ötesinde, ekonomik bakımdan memnun olmadığı açıktı. Bunun en iyi göstergesi, babamla babam gibi subay olan* (. . .) *amcamın* [babamla] *subaylıktan istifa edip ticarete atılma, bol para kazanma hayalleri kurmalarıydı. Bir hafta şapkacı dükkanı açmayı planlar, ciddi ciddi hesaplar yapar, ordudaki ilişkileri vasıtasıyla subay şapkalarının ihalesini almayı tasarlar, ertesi hafta bunu unutup, bu sefer yedek parça dükkanı açmak üzerine sohbete girişir, ondan sonraki hafta bir çimento fabrikasına ortak olurlardı*." "Gün Zileli, *Yarılma (1954-1972)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), p.54.

[171] Mete Tunçay, "Siyasal Tarih, 1950-1960" in Sina Akşin ed. *Türkiye Tarihi vol.* 4, (Istanbul: Cem,1990), p.178.

average villager's expectations of material improvement."[172] Some factors that can be expected to boost the rural segment's sense of material improvement were related to enhancements in the transportation system, as well as the possession of technological equipment such as tractors.

The rising expectations were a clear symptom of what this study aims to show; increasing social mobility and an intense use of status obtaining strategies through consumption. Expectations need not be competitive, the rising level of expectations of a particular group of people does not necessarily rest on the destitution of others. There are times when all segments of society experience a general rise in the levels of optimism, well being, and expectations. However one's rising expectations can also signal the disappointment of the other, especially if this rise stems from a change in the status positions of the parties under question. In this respect Turkey of the 1950s is an interesting case to study, with a clear expansion in the aspirations and expectations of the rural segments and business cliques of the country, with an accompanied setback in the expectations of the official, bureaucratic groups.

While feelings of rising expectations help us to understand the increase in consumption in the first half of the 1950s, much more is needed to explain the long-term sustainability of consuming patterns, long after times of euphoria passed. I believe it is because rise in expectations was culminated in the development of a "right to expect more" notion. This notion can be interpreted as an extension of the post-World-War American rights and freedoms discourse. Yet, rather than expressed in the political arena, I believe the clearest manifestation of such notion was

[172] Erik Zürcher, ibid., p.230.

expressed in the area of consumption in Turkey. As Daniel Lerner and David Riesman observed through in-depth interviews in the mid-50s:

> Even a few cases enables us to see that the modern Turk, largely urban and a member of the professional classes, exhibits the same principle of "the more, the more" which we find among Americans: if he belongs to any voluntary associations, he is likely to belong to several; if he reads any papers and journals, he will read several; if he has organized leisure activity, he will have more than one—and each of these spheres is interrelated to the point or saturation or "communications overload.[173]

Wanting always more is the prominent characteristic of the consumer society. As it appears, from the 1950s on it also became a characteristic of Turkish society as well.

Concluding Remarks

Micheal Wildt beautifully summarizes consumption patterns in the 1950s:

> The assertion "Now it's our turn!" meant looking ahead, but at the same time it was rooted in the experiences of the preceding years of scarcity. Whereas from today's perspective the 1950s are marked above all by the deficits of consumption – the "yet-to-come" possession of all those consumer goods that were to be offered during the years ahead and that we now take for granted – the experience of contemporaries was characterized by the increase, the possession "already achieved" of all those goods already on offer. It is this change of perspective that enables us to understand how during the 1960s the mentality of striving forward, the expectation of perpetual growth that characterized consumer society could emerge.[174]

Wildt's comments on consumerism in Germany in the 1950s appear to be very relevant in the Turkish context, too. True, the Turkish consumers of the fifties had access to even less of what the contemporary German, American, or French

[173] Daniel Lerner and David Riesman, "Self and Society: Reflection on Some Turks in Transition" c.1956 in Riesman, ibid., p.414.
[174] Michael Wildt, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Consumer Mentality in West Germany in the 1950s," in *Life After Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s*, ed. Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.221.

consumers had. Goods that made American society *the* consumer society were not commonplace in Turkey in the 1950s; they could be purchased only by a small segment of the population. The consuming frenzy that gripped Americans even back in the war-years and Europeans by the late-50s was simply non-existent in that decade in Turkey. Yet, it should not mean that Turkish society were exempt from consumerism in the 1950s. Even if there was not refrigerator, washing machine, or television in every Turkish household, Turkish markets experienced unprecedented levels of demand for luxury commodities. Mechanical brooms (*gırgır*s) if not vacuum cleaners, and record players if not televisions, took their places in most Turkish homes and consumerism entered into the popular imagination beginning with the this decade.

Second, the 1950s implied an important phase in Turkish consumerism; for in this decade the agricultural segments of society, hitherto excluded from the pursuit of non-necessity commodities were integrated into the consumer society. It is the coming to an end of the urban segments' monopoly over prestige goods which makes the experience of the 1950s noteworthy. The assertion "Now it's our turn!" suggests more in the Turkish context than what Wildt aimed to highlight in the German one. It was the motto of aspirants that discovered in the fifties that upward mobility was possible through consumption.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The thesis demonstrated the ascendance of social mobility opportunities in the 1950s. In doing so, it made great use of Veblen's theory of leisure class and his notion of conspicuous consumption. It should be noted that Veblen's notion of conspicuous consumption was endorsed to the point that it helped to examine the nature of status positioning in Turkey, while special emphasis was given to refrain from producing an adaptation of Veblenian perception of nineteenth century American society to the Turkish context in the 1950s.

Veblen conceptualized that consuming time and commodities in unproductive ways formed the distinguishing feature of the upper classes in society. He further held that the consuming behavior of the wealthy constituted the means for higher status achievement, while conspicuous consumption became the main strategy for the aspirants. The main contributions of Veblen's conceptualization for the aims of this study are the continuous nature of the struggles for higher status positions, and the importance of consumption in these struggles. This is because the 1950s is discussed in line with two correlated trends: the sudden increase in the wealth of the previously stagnant rural sectors, and the depreciation of the social status position of traditionally prestigious groups, such as the bureaucracy. In the Turkish context, the assertion that conspicuous consumption became a salient aspect of the 1950s is to suggest that the measure of status positioning opted for wealth rather than family lineage and education. This is not to suggest, however, that the increasing importance of wealth for social prestige excluded "cultural capital." As was pointed out in the introductory chapter, Veblen's notion of conspicuous consumption recognizes the

importance of in-group manners and etiquette rules, reminiscent of the Bourdieuvian emphasis on the non-economic signals of status display.

Although a culture-versus-wealth dichotomy is rejected, the thesis holds that the latter was more pronounced in the 1950s. Ironically, the most concrete evidence of conspicuous consumption in Turkey in the 1950s can be traced not in the actions of those who conspicuously consumed but in the comments of those who could not. Military officers represented the latter, and their characterization of the 1950s in their memoirs makes it clear that conspicuous consumption was a source of tension in the country.

In order to observe importance of conspicuous consumption in the 1950s, however, one needs more than the retrospective comments of the socially descending groups of the period. For this aim, popular culture magazines emerge as a good medium to observe the level of esteem attributed to consumption. Among other reasons, this study chose to examine *Hayat*, because of its high circulation levels and its distinguished position as the first example of consumer culture magazines in Turkey.

To have a few words on *Hayat* magazine, it will be just to conclude that it functioned as a means for transmitting consumer culture. Moreover, it enabled the masses to observe the upper classes closely, and guided them in their efforts to emulate those classes. In its presentation, *Hayat* surely left many instances of upper class consumption untouched. Following Veblen, for instance, we do not see an emphasis on servants. Furthermore, in its presentation of the high status groups, the magazine highlighted some aspects, which at the first glance seems to undermine the distinctive character of the upper classes. For instance, housewifery and motherhood are presented to be unequivocal characteristic of females of all social standing. No

matter how wealthy or noble a mother be, the time spent on raising and amusing children should be hers, not her servants.' However, I believe the reason for such accented similarity in some characteristics of diverse classes lies in a strategy of *Hayat* in particular, and popular culture magazines in general.

Popular culture magazines, as the name suggests, require a high circulation rate. In most instances, this is provided by bringing forth issues that are considered interesting to a great portion of the public. This in turn, leads to recourse to topics, which would be characterized as extraordinary, unusual, and "distinct" by the masses. Evidently, forming the most distinct group in the population, the life style of the upper classes form one of the most frequently referred to topics in popular magazines. Yet, here lies a dilemma: if the magazines' publication overemphasizes the distinction of the upper classes, fostering the idea that they are irrevocably unattainable, the public might turn indifferent to their conduct, diminishing the magazine's success in the long-run. Thus, as it was suggested in the chapter on celebrity, popular culture magazines try to normalize some aspects of the aspired to classes, so that the masses can connect to them; emulate them.

In the case of *Hayat*, the main reason the magazine attributes a certain semblance between women of different statures goes beyond a mere strategy to increase circulation. As it was pointed out, *Hayat* had a mission to educate, almost indoctrinate, the masses with what it considered higher forms of conduct. As happened, those were the conduct of the economic upper classes in the 1950s.

The overall effect of *Hayat* can be noted as making status positioning much more visible to the larger public. In the absence of visual media, *Hayat*'s unrivaled print quality and its wide use of photojournalism contributed to the grandeur of the personae that appeared in the magazine's pages. It would be misleading to assume

that *Hayat* advertised its views in a biased manner, as there are many instances the magazine sought, and actually published, the opinions of its readers on questions such as the best way to get to know the future spouse or the secrets of a happy marriage. Yet, whatever the source of opinion, it should be noted that the magazine adopted much more significant roles than that of an instructor which enlightens the public. These are the roles of a trend setter, determining for instance the best way to meet the future spouse; of a norm creator, consolidating the norms of the economically dominant; and of an arbiter, deciding which notions are to be considered archaic and which contemporary.

The main body of the thesis was shaped around some important notions and recurrent themes in *Hayat* with a focus on their implications for status positioning. The chapter on marriage aimed to examine social stratification through the changing conceptualization of marriage. Marriage was considered an inevitable stage in the course of one's life; indeed it was defined as the only way to achieve happiness. While the promotion of marriage as a complemental action for self-realization represented the traditional perception of marriage, non-traditional ways to meet the future spouse were largely advertised. Thus love matches emerged increasingly as the norm, while arranged marriages were denigrated as methods undermining personal satisfaction in establishing a family.

The definition of the ideal spouse was also found important, for it described the socially desirable characteristics. It was observed that in the 1950s, physical attractiveness and good manners were included in the definition of an ideal wife, besides the traditionally honored characteristics such as housekeeping skills, tidiness, and obedience. While marriage was designed as a requisite action for both men and women, the latter was held responsible for marital success. Thus, starting from the

choosing of a groom-candidate, women were expected to meet socially prescribed criteria. Also prescribed with codes of behavior in their marital life, women had limited opportunities for altering their married lives. For most of them, the choice of their future husbands formed the most they could do. This was projected on opting for men with prestigious occupations. In the 1950s, these were mainly professions that guaranteed wealth: trade, engineering and medical practice. Military offices, on the other hand, lost their traditionally prestigious position and many officers endured troubles in finding wives.

The chapter on celebrity was inspired by the central character of celebrity features in *Hayat*. The thesis held that the overall effect of such features was nurturing the emulation feelings of the lower classes, while providing the readers with success examples. The celebrities were the epitome of achieved status over ascribed status, and their actions proved useful for higher status aspirants. Novelty, talent, and individual achievement were emphasized as important aspects of celebrity status. Most importantly, celebrity coverage of *Hayat* highlighted what Veblen called a vicarious leisure class. Turkish self-made celebrity can be considered an example of this. Although not directly in service of a particular member of the highest status group in the country, the fact that they served to entertain them in general made movie stars and singers a representatives of the original leisure class. Hence, their conduct, the most visible of which was conspicuous consumption, signified that of the "proper leisure class."

Second, the fact that their behavior was not directed at the order of the group in which they aspired to be included, proves the availability of emulative action in Turkish society in the 1950s. Further emulation is encouraged, for the masses are invited to act upon the strategies of the self-made celebrity in order to gain upward

mobility. All in all, *Hayat*'s celebrity features strengthened the idea of social mobility, and fostered conspicuous consumption as the most effective means to status acquisition.

The final chapter discussed how consumption became the means for social positioning in the 1950s. Before going into its implications for social stratification, it would be helpful to briefly summarize the changes in the consuming behavior. First, emphasis on individual choice became increasingly central to consuming behavior. While the urbanization and apartmentalization trends encouraged smaller households with increased independence on deciding expenses, there occurred changes within the households. Physical attractiveness became an important aspect in the definition of ideal womanhood, and though less accentuated, of manhood. As a result, expenses for personal care increased and advertisements of personal care products were in full swing when the depreciating economic conditions silenced those of the household commodities.

A second factor that induced a trend for consumerism in the 1950s was the re-definition of needs and necessities. As mentioned in the marriage chapter, the definition of an ideal spouse was expanded to include being groomed and attractive, which required the possession of various cosmetics and care products. Moreover, the accent on fashion can be expected to accelerate the pace of having new clothes, for compatibility with the latest fashion was characterized as a requirement for attaining the middle-class.

While examining the evolution of consumerism in the 1950s, a thorough exploration of conspicuous consumption was also attempted in tracing consumption trends in clothing, house decoration and physical maintenance. Clothing formed the most visible form of conspicuous consumption, accompanied by an obsession for

upper class dressing in the magazine. While dressing up in the latest fashion formed the distinguishing feature of the high-status groups, the masses' emulation of the dressing styles of the wealty was encouraged through a number of factors making imitation easier. These included detailed illustrations of upper class clothing via mass circulation magazines and the emergence of ready-to-wear clothes in contrast to tailor made ones.

The leisure time activities of the upper classes formed the second category of conspicuous consumption that can be traced in the popular magazines of the 1950s. Unlike the consumption of commodities, for which the imitation of the masses was facilitated with practical tips and advice, high-status groups' consumption of the time is depicted as unattainable to the larger public. This is related to the locational segregation of most upper class leisure activities. Yet, even though five-star-hotels, yacht clubs or splendid dwellings were unrealizable loci for the middle and lower classes, they started to take on some leisure practices in their own habitats. The changing understanding of vacation is a good example of this. Deviating from earlier practices, such as visiting of relatives and short trips to the countryside, the vacation culture of the 1950s was formed around touristic trips along the coastline of the country. These trips were acknowledged as part of the conduct of middle classes, as hinted by the presentation of vacation-guides published in the magazine. On the whole, it was concluded that in the 1950s, a trend on the dissemination of the upper class practice of the consumption of commodities and leisure emerged, with increased publicity of their consuming activities.

All in all, the thesis can be criticized on the grounds that it does not present much "concrete" evidence of conspicuous consumption. While further research on the consumption levels of expensive items would prove helpful, the presence of such

data would still not suggest much for the dissemination of consumer culture in society. This is related to the essence of conspicuous consumption. Rather than pointing to a mere increase in the number and the price of the commodities consumed, conspicuous consumption involves symbolic interaction between the prosperous and the aspiring. Thus in order to observe whether the consuming behavior of the upper classes is emulated by the masses, one needs to examine the perception of such behavior. The examination of *Hayat* magazine, I believe, proved a good index for denoting the increasing importance of consumption in determining social mobility. The influence of consumerism in self-perception and social standing was prevalent in various themes of the magazine. Yet, even before scrutinizing the content of the magazine, the wide-spread purchase and readership of *Hayat* hinted at the larger public's emulative action of conspicuous leisure.

On the whole, the thesis attempted to contribute to the social history of the 1950s by building upon much uttered yet narrowly examined premises about the decade. The changing economic prospects for different segments of society have been a widely referred to fact about the decade. The economic difficulties of military officers, for instance, has been highlighted both in academic and nonacademic accounts, while "*hacıağa* (rich yet unsophisticated country person)" that pursued prestige in buying expensive clothes, luxurious items, and big houses in the city emerged as the characteristic satirical figure to epitomize the newcomers of the 1950s in the popular literature. On the other hand, this study aimed to highlight the perception of economic activity in the decade, rather than expounding the changes in economic standing of various groups in society; and it pointed to the importance of consumption for the determination of social mobility opportunities.

APPENDIX A

Tests from Hayat

Test: “Mükemmel Bir Zevce Misiniz?” [Hayat (111), 21 November 1958, p.30]

İşte daha genç zevceleri ilgilendirecek bir test....
1. Yabancılara karşı gösterdiğiniz nezaketi eşinize karşı da gösterir misiniz?
2 Bir toplantıda eşinizin şahsiyetini gölgelememeye dikkat eder misiniz?
3 Eşiniz bir hata işlediğinde veya bir gaf yaptığında hiddetinizi firenleyebilir misiniz?
4 Eşinizin imkanlarına uymayı hayalinizdeki şeylere tercih edebiliyor musunuz?
5 Şayet siz de çalışıyorsanız kocanızın iş hayatındaki başarılarını kıskanır mısınız?
6 Eşinizin arada bir kaçamak yapıp arkadaşlarıyla eğlenmesine razi olur musunuz?
7 Zayıf ve müşkül anında cesaretini kırmamak için gülmemeğe çalışır mısınız?
8 Eşinize karşı balayı günlerindeki alakayı hala gösterebiliyor musunuz?
9 Kadınların çoğu sırlarını başkalarına acar siz de böyle misiniz?
10 Eşinizin av, spor gibi tatil zevklerini tek basına yapmasına göz yumar mısınız?
11 Eşinizin bir kadından hoşlanmasını hadise yapmak zaafınız var mıdır?
12 Ev işleriniz olsa bile eşinizi meşgul etmek için umumi mevzularda konuşur musunuz?
13 Eşinizin hoşlanmadığı hareketleri tekrarlamamağa dikkat eder misiniz?
14 Günlük hayatınızda usul ve nizamlara riayet etmek hususunda dikkatli misiniz?
15 Affettiğiniz hataların tekrar münakaşa mevzuu olmamasına dikkat eder misiniz?
16 Birlikte sokağa çıkacağınız veya buluşacağınız zaman bekletmemeğe çalışır mısınız?
17 Evinize yeni bir eşya alacağınız zaman eşinizin zevkine uyar mısınız?
18 Hiç aklınızda yokken sizi dışarı götürmek isterse işleriniz bırakabilir misiniz?
19 Eşinizi başkalarının nazarında kıymetlendirmek için fırsat arar mısınız?
20 Onun sizin için yaptıklarını tek başınıza da yapabileceğinizi söyler misiniz?

10’a kadar evet mi?
1 ile 5 arasında evet sizin belki de bir takım alışkanlıklardan dolayı bir alakasızlık ve izdivacınıza karşı bir yorgunluk içinde olduğunuzu gösterir. Etrafınızdaki çiftlere dikkat edin ve aile saadetiniz yeni baştan kurmaya çalışın. 6 ile 10 arasındaki evet izdivacınızın etrafında bir tehlike dolaştığını ifade eder. Biraz gayret ve hüsnüniyetle bu tehlikeyi bertaraf etmek elinizdedir.
20’ye kadar evet mi?
11 ile 15 arasında evet diyorsanız mesut bir aile hayatı yaşıyorsunuz demektir. Ev kadınlığınızla ve diplomasi kabiliyetinizle iftihar edebilirsiniz. 16 ile 20 arasındaki evet tamamen müsterih olmanıza kafidir. Bu kadar çok evet diyebildiğiniz halde aile saadetiniz zaman zaman gölgeleniyorsa bu testi eşinize verin bir kere de o cevaplandırsın. Herhalde kabahat ondadır.

Test: “Cazibeli Misiniz,” [Hayat (112), 28 November 1958]

Saadet yolunda ilk şart mukabil cinsin önce dikkatini sonra sevgisini çekebilmektir. Buna “cinsi cazibe” denir.Gerçi cinsi cazibenin tamamen Allah vergisi olduğu sanılıyorsa da aslında gerek fiziki gerekse ruhi bazı imkanların kontrol altına alınarak kullanılabilmesidir. Kısacası cinsi cazibe sahibi olmak zekasını kullanabilen zevk sahibi her kadının elinde olan bir şeydir.

1 Sıhhatininizden memnun musunuz, enerjinizi ölçülü kullanabiliyor musunuz??
2 Bünyeniz kusursuz olup her hangi bir sporla meşgul musunuz?
3 Saçlarınıza, cildinize, tırnaklarınıza itina gösterir misiniz?
4 Sık sık kıyafet değiştirmek canlı ve neşeli görünmek hoşunuza gider mi?
5 Mahcubiyet, kıskançlık, asabiyet gibi gayritabii zaaflarınız var mı?
6 Çocukluğunuzdan beri erkeklerle samimi dostluklar kurmaya muvaffak olabildiniz mi?
7 Erkeklerle aklınıza her hangi bir kötülük getirmeden dostluk edebiliyor musunuz?
8 Neşenizi etrafınızdakilere de sirayet ettirmek kudretine sahip misiniz?
9 Vaktinizin büyük bir kısmını hayal aleminde tek başına geçirmek adetiniz var mı?
10 His hayatınızda ne gibi şeyler istediğinizi biliyor musunuz?
11 Hayalinizde erkeklerin erişemeyecekleri mükemmellikte ideal tip yaşatır mısınız?
12 Hislerinizi hareketler veya sözlerle açıkça ifade eder misiniz?
13 Evlendiğiniz zaman çocuk sahibi olmak düşüncesi sizi ürkütüyor mu?
14 Sosyal ve hususi hayatta aşkın önemine inanır mısınız?
15 Arkadaşlık hakkında kesin bir hükmünüz var mı?
16 Sizi seven bir insanı kalbini kırmadan kendinizden uzaklaştırabilir misiniz?
17 Erkeğinizin egoist olduğu zannına kapılmadan onun arzularına uyar mısınız?
18 Küçük bazı kusurlarınızı başkalarına da kabul ettirebiliyor musunuz?
19 Mukabil cinste kuvvetli tesirler bırakabiliyor musunuz?
20 Şahsiyetinizi daha ilgi çekici hale sokmak için zarif ve manalı olabiliyor musunuz?

On kadar suale “evet” diyorsanız çok cazibeli sayılmazsınız. Eğer evet dediğiniz sualler 5 taneden as ize bu testi daima elinizin altında bulundurmanızı ve menfi taraflarınızı yavaş yavaş gidermenizi tavsiye ederiz. 6 ile 10 arasında evet demişseniz bu imkanlara sahip olduğunuzun fakat bunları kullanmayı beceremediğinizin ifadesidir. Kendinize biraz daha itimad edin ve tatlı olun. 11 ile 15 arasında evet demişseniz cazibeli olduğunuza inanabilirsiniz. 20 kadar suale evet diyorsanız cazibenize diyecek yok cinsi cazibeniz başkalarını tesiri altına alacak ve onları size hayran edecek kadar kuvvetli demektir. Eğer 16 ile 20 arasında evet elde ettiyseniz sizi tebrik etmek lazımdır. Normalin de fevkinde sayılırsınız ki size “harikulade bir kadın” demek icap eder.

APPENDIX B

Statistical Indicators on foreign trade and the number of road motor vehicles

Foreign trade indicators

Yıl Year	Balance of foreign trade '000 000 $	Ratio of exports to imports %	Dış ticaret hacmi Volume of trade '000 000 $	Share in GNP of export %	Share in GNP of import %
1940	30.9	161.7	130.9	4.4	2.7
1941	35.7	164.5	146.4	4.0	2.4
1942	13.2	111.7	239.0	2.7	2.4
1943	41.4	126.6	352.1	2.8	2.2
1944	51.7	141.0	304.2	3.5	2.5
1945	71.3	173.5	265.2	4.0	2.3
1946	95.7	180.5	333.5	5.9	3.3
1947	-21.3	91.3	467.9	8.3	9.1
1948	-78.3	71.5	471.9	5.8	8.1
1949	-42.4	85.4	538.0	7.7	9.0
1950	-22.2	92.2	549.1	7.6	8.3
1951	-88.0	78.1	716.2	7.6	9.7
1952	-193.0	65.3	918.8	7.6	11.6
1953	-136.5	74.4	928.6	7.1	9.6
1954	-143.4	70.0	813.3	5.9	8.4
1955	-184.3	63.0	811.0	4.6	7.3
1956	-102.4	74.9	712.3	3.9	5.2
1957	-51.9	86.9	742.3	3.3	3.8
1958	-67.8	78.5	562.4	2.0	2.5
1959	-116.2	75.3	823.8	2.3	3.0
1960	-147.5	68.5	788.9	3.3	4.7

Source: TURKSTAT, Statistical Indicators, 1923-2005.

Number of road motor vehicles by type

Yıl Year	Otomobil Car	Otobüs Bus	Kamyon Truck	Kamyonet Small truck (1)	Minibüs Minibus (1)	Motosiklet Motorcycle	Özel amaçlı taşıtlar Special purpose vehicles	Yol ve iş makineleri Road construction and work machinery
1944	3 406	988	4 479	-	-	754	-	-
1945	3 649	1 213	5 417	-	-	736	-	-
1946	4 676	1 615	8 251	-	-	767	-	-
1947	5 798	2 198	10 596	-	-	1 371	-	-
1948	8 001	2 622	11 470	-	-	1 634	-	-
1949	10 071	3 185	13 201	-	-	2 281	-	-
1950	13 405	3 755	15 404	-	-	2 661	-	-
1951	16 427	4 569	18 356	-	-	3 464	-	-
1952	23 938	5 510	24 722	-	-	4 528	-	-
1953	27 692	5 933	27 549	-	-	6 587	-	-
1954	28 599	6 671	30 250	-	-	8 345	-	-
1955	29 970	6 848	34 429	-	-	9 510	-	-
1956	33 377	7 914	35 070	-	-	10 135	-	-
1957	36 755	8 291	36 919	-	-	9 743	-	-
1958	34 244	8 065	39 721	-	-	7 329	-	-
1959	37 616	8 881	48 094	-	-	8 215	-	-
1960	45 767	10 981	57 460	-	-	9 380	-	-

(1) Kamyonet ve minibüs sayıları 1966 yılına kadar, otobüs ile birlikte değerlendirildiğinden, ayrılmamıştır.

(1) Since the number of small trucks and minibuses are treated together with those of trucks and buses until the year 1966, these figures could not be given separetely in the table

Source: TURKSTAT, Statistical Indicators, 1923-2005.

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