A READING PRACTICE AS THE CONSUMPTION OF LEISURE TIME: HAYAT MAGAZINE 1980-1986

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY
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"A Reading Practice as the Consumption of Leisure Time: Hayat Magazine 1980-1986," a thesis prepared by Bilgen Komut in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History.

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This study strives to shed light on the socio-cultural transformations of a period, the 1980s. This decade, for Turkey, is evaluated throughout the thesis as a new break in continuity rather than a total differentiation. Because, even though there were constant transformations beginning in the 1950s towards "consumption society," consumption patterns and leisure activities were evolved into cultural practices by permeating the everyday life through multiple media channels in the 1980s. Since reading practice was a widespread leisure activity and *Hayat* was one of the most well-known weekly news-periodicals, the issues of this magazine published in the post-1980 is decoded within the thesis in order to get an understanding of two points: one is the changing assessment of leisure time and the other is the role attributed to media. Therefore, throughout the thesis the historical period the thesis deals with is discussed by considering the interaction between two points.

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Başlık: Boş Zamanın Tüketimi Olarak Okuma Pratiği: Hayat Dergisi 1980-1986

Bu çalışma bir dönemin, 1980ler'in sosyo-kültürel dönüşümüne ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu on yıllık dönem tez boyunca total bir farklılaşmadan ziyade süreç içerisinde bir kırılma olarak ele alınmıştır. Çünkü, her ne kadar 1950ler'den itibaren "tüketim toplumuna" yönelik dönüşümler gerçekleşmişse de, asıl 1980ler'de tüketim kalıpları ve boş zaman aktiviteleri sayısız medya kanalıyla gündelik hayata etki ederek kültürel pratikler haline gelmiştir. Okuma pratiği yaygın bir boş zaman aktivitesi olduğu ve Hayat da en bilenen haftalık haber-aktüalite dergisi olduğundan, bu derginin 1980ler sonrasında çıkan sayıları iki konuyu anlamlandırabilmek için incelenmiştir: ilki, boş zamana dair değişen değerlendirmeler, diğeri de medyaya atfedilen rol. Dolayısıyla tez boyunca tezin üzerinde durduğu tarihsel dönem de bu iki nokta arasındaki etkileşimi tartışmaktadır.

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To All Readers

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The crisis in the Fordist regime, the prolonged economic stagnation and the prevalent unemployment of the late 1960s and 1970s had stimulated a pronounced transformation in the organization of economic activity in global terms.[1] Breaking thoroughly with global structuralism, but also with the determinist theory that indicates a linear pattern of development transiting from fully achieved industrialization to the subsequent stage, whether it is termed as post-Fordism or informational society, both the advanced capitalist economies and the industrializing countries have undergone parallel economic and social changes.[2] In other words, towards the end of the 1980s, the key features of the new accumulation regime such as flexible production, orientation to consumption rather than production process, increased profits based on new technologies and the information-intensified services, and the rising incomes for white-collars in the service class were encountered within almost every national economy.

Akin to the Third Italia instance, as it is discussed in the third chapter, Turkey was, too, one of the industrializing countries that experienced the expansion of services and hence the emergence of the new middle class in the 1980s. However, these changes in Turkey's economic and social structure caused a gradually strengthening inequality with two dimensions: one is the rise of a few major cities as

[1] See Alain Lipietz, "The Local and the Global: Regional Individuality or Interregionalism?," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 18, no. 1 (1993): pp. 8-18.

[2] See Mark Lazerson, "Organizational Growth of Samll Firms: An Outcome of Markets and Hierarchies?," *American Socilogical Review* 53, no. 3 (June 1988): pp. 330-42.

key locations for finance and for specialized services – in a way that intensified urban-rural dichotomy – and the other is the polarization in the income distribution.

As the service economy developed, stratification in the social structure, but notably in the major cities, became gradually apparent; since, such an economic growth based on service production and financial development did not only created a growing demand for specialized skills in advanced services that resulted in the emergence of a new sophisticated and well-paid middle class but also caused a growth in the number of low-wage jobs, from stock clerk to cleaner, in finance and specialized service firms. Besides, what provided the expansion of services and the shift in the employment structure did not contribute greatly to the raise of incomes equally. With the new employment structure, there emerged an enormous unevenness between the incomes in the new middle class of the services and the working and serving classes. What is stunning is that, rather than the realm of economy, the cultural realm was the sphere in which the stratification was observable mostly.

In the 1980s, different from the previous decades, the small advantaged group, namely the new middle class and upper classes, sharply differentiated themselves from the other classes with their new life style, modern leisure activities and diversified consumption patterns.[3] Yet, this small web of people that had its own stock of cultural capital claimed to speak not only for themselves, but for all. By spreading their culture and by praising the tastes of their new wealth through multiple media channels, they rendered their life style desired for the rest of the people. Apparently, *Hayat*, as the precursor of the consumer culture magazines in Turkey, played an essential role in the process of imposing their new culture.

[3] Keyder, "A Tale of the Two Neighborhoods," p. 195.

Therefore, throughout the thesis the socio-cultural transformations of the 1980 are elucidated by considering *Hayat* as a model text.

The second chapter of the thesis is rather theoretical. In that chapter, I examine the sociology of leisure and discuss the changing time perception of capitalism. In recent decades, with the changing time perception of capitalism, the assessment of leisure time also has differentiated. It can be asserted that this transformation has two interrelated axes, namely the economic and ideological. It is obvious that from the economic perspective, leisure is now grasped as a piece of time that gradually has gained centrality in almost all national economies, whether they are post-industrial or industrializing. Its covert role in order to strengthening hegemonic relations in modern societies is increasing in importance. From the ideological perspective, leisure is treated as a way to distance common interests not only from boredom arising from alienation, but also from social problems. In this way, it can be asserted that leisure is covertly being used to preserve hegemonic relations and the existing system. Within that framework, the primary aim of the chapter is to shed light on both the transformation of leisure and its relation with the new socio-culture climate of Turkey in the 1980s.

After setting the theoretical background, in the third chapter, I analyze the political, economic and cultural transformations that brought about the rise of consumption society in Turkey, in the 1980s is analyzed. By developing such an analysis, my purpose is to discuss the role attributed to leisure activities in order to spread the culture of the dominant classes in the process of "non-violent pacification." Since multiple media channels, from newspapers to specialized magazines and book publishing, are the main means of the aim of legitimating the existing social structure and reading is a widespread leisure activity, Chapter Four

discusses *Hayat* magazine. By examining issues of this magazine published in the 1980s, the production of submission and standardization both over the individual and collective consciousness is explored.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSFORMATION IN LEISURE TIME SOCIOLOGY

Farewell; the leisure and the fearful time!

William Shakespeare

The entire set of transformations increasing the attributed value to leisure time has been vastly experienced both in all post-industrial and many industrializing countries. One might relate this set in a great extent to the emergence of the consumption society. Within these societies, new technological developments have led to excessive production and apparent declines in work hours; and thus an immense extension of out-of-work time pieces allocated for "re-production activities" and escalation of wealth for them have been recorded, as well as with the quantitative changes have happened to these time pieces. In other words, "the right to be lazy" celebrated by Paul Lafargue, has already been recognized by capitalism as a justified right; and even been transformed and internalized by it.[4]

This great transformation possesses quite vital political, economic, social and cultural implications, in general, over societies and, in particular, all classes and even every single individual. Suffice it to say, not the end but the beginning is this of the transformation.[5] One can state that the leisure time sociology was underestimated and even disdained to be confined as marginal sub-discipline for a long period.[6] Yet, by

[4] Şükrü Argın, "Boş Zamanın Anlamı Üzerine Notlar (Notes on the Meaning of Leisure Time)," in *Nostalji ile Ütopya Arasında (Between Nostalgia and Utopia)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2003), p. 132.

[5] Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts, "Introduction," in *Leisure and Life-style: A Comparative Analysis of Free Time*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989), p. 1.

the transformation given its sketches above roughly, this situation of the sub-discipline has been changed. And colleagues of it began to utter "leisure time revolution" and relatedly "birth of a leisure time civilization." This is why attention used to be paid for working-life began to slide over social fields of out-of-work daily practices.

The Success and Failure of Two Opposite Evaluations

With the presence of numerous arguments, many possible corollaries of the phenomena and their political, social and cultural meanings have been discussed in a period of such a massive transformation. In a two folded generalization, there appeared two radical set of arguments: while the first group, conservatives, has been claiming nothing was changed, the second, utopists, has been insisting, on the contrary, that nothing remained the same.[7] The first group comprises anachronic work ethics adherents who advocate that leisure time is a product of working; hence, it would remain to be a piece of time subjected to work and contend that no leisure theory could be institutionalized, but just a working theory which recognizes it as a supplementary of working could possibly be adopted.[8] The second group, in a contrasting manner, consists of utopists, or dystopists, who strongly insist, in contact with post-industrial societal theories, that "the end of working" has already arrived along with the "leisure time civilization."[9] Even though these two approaches

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[6] Ibid.

[7] See Joffre Dumazedier, "The USA: Modern Times and the New Solidarity," in *Leisure and Life-style: A Comparative Analysis of Free Time*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989).

[8] See Aleksandrovich Prudenskii, *On the Methods of Time Budget Research* (SSCB: Academy of Science, 1966).

seemingly representing the opposite sides have similar shortcomings aroused from embracing a single perspective, they nonetheless give the blueprints of proper arguments that one should underscore.

Conservatives, for instance, inhere severe lacking to grasp the new introduced by the social transformation, the rendering of the leisure time in the societies labeled as post-industrial as very central for many daily activities and its coordination where cultural identity is gradually constituted by consumption. Another severe lacking of the conservative approach is to consider insistently, say, students as a part of leisure time classes. Moreover, it is inclined to define social groups such as housewives and unemployed ones as the members of the leisure time classes. However, the recent sociological inquiries have profoundly criticized the above-mentioned conservative approach and have been striving to define and classify modern social time varieties in a more meticulous and detailed manner. Nonetheless, the emphasis of labor theorists on the assertion that leisure is a socially reproduced surplus-time piece is so meaningful; since, relative increases in leisure time is related to gradual deployment of technology in processes of production and to the ability of the society to produce more than to consume.

Utopist approach, on the other hand, underlies how the opposition between working and leisure time turns out to be a more incapable framework. It however fails to catch the outmoded still surviving in the process since it renders the transformation which intensifies the importance loaded to leisure time as a rupture. It is possible to observe this at its purest in utopists' evaluations on the meanings of the leisure time.[10] One of the leading reasons beneath this failure is to take post-industrial society

[9] See Andre Gorz, *Paths to Paradise: On the Liberation from Work* (Boston: South End, 1985). Andre Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-industrial Socialism* (Boston: South End, 1982).

[10] Argın, "Boş Zamanın Anlamı Üzerine Notlar (Notes on the Meaning of Leisure Time)," p. 146-48.

theories for granted, *a priori* frameworks, namely, without putting them under strict criticisms.[11] Notwithstanding this presupposition, leisure time theories opposing the conservative approach are comparatively more able to discuss modern leisure time varieties in a much more critical perspective. For Dumazedier, for instance, leisure might contribute either to creativity or conformity or to social participation as well as individual escapism.[12] In a similar vein, Gorz puts a difference between his terms "stupidifying leisure time" and "liberated leisure time including a social project" Underscoring this difference throughout the thesis, too, I will indeed strive to elucidate that the perception of leisure time has been transformed since the 1980s in Turkey so as to contribute to individual escapism and conformity.

As a consequence, neither conservative, nor utopist approach is able to read the relation between time pieces of working and out-of-working out from the social context and; hence, they both cannot adequately examine the nature of this relation. This, nevertheless, should not lead one to dismiss their so valuable arguments.

The Meaning of Leisure Time

Its Meaning Under Early Capitalist Conditions

In the Medieval age as well as in same cases for non-western communities, there have been no sharp distinction between working and out-of-working time pieces; quite the contrary, imposed values on working and leisure time have highly merged into each other. However, what detached working from the leisure and positioned it

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[11] Ibid., p. 137.

[12] Dumazedier, "The USA: Modern Times and the New Solidarity," p. 156.

as an unpleasing, boring and monotone accomplishment and thus divided daily life into two fractious and non-interpenetrable compartments was nothing but industrial revolution, namely capitalism itself.[13] Furthermore, capitalism did not pause at this point but exalted working by means of disdaining the values imposed on leisure time: because, beginning with the early capitalist age, time has become precious in so far as it makes money; otherwise it is a kind of idleness, a "waste of time." Through a self-definition, a self-value-imposition of this sort, one can reveal what underlies the working ethics which praises working and devalues, if not disdain, leisure is the logic to money.

The Meaning of Leisure Time in Post-Industrial Societies

Capitalism inherently tends to value every type of relations with the domain of profitability. This is the way since the early period of it: capitalism captured leisure time as worthless related to its logic. However, since leisure time pieces have turned out to be profit-generating, very ideological forms of capitalisms such as nationalist, religious or liberal consumerist began to perceive and present out-of-working time as valued as working time itself.

One can discuss why out-of-working time pieces have appeared to be perceived as something valuable, namely profit-generating: firstly, capitalism in its regime of intensive accumulation period when emerged by massive and profound commodification of every aspects of social life, that is to say by commercialization, has changed its axis from labor in commodity production to the processes of reproduction of labor, of productivity. To say it simply, investments in everyday life

[13] Michael Argyle, *The Social Psychology of Work* (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 317.

as the domain where labor is reproduced turns out to be as important as the mere regulations towards labor productivity. This is the essence why one should consider the leisure time as an economically valued time piece, in addition to all its activities which have been commodified in stages. Many leisure time activities requiring specified gears, today, are to be marketed by leisure time and cultural industries.[14] In the last stage, main interest has slithered away from production processes towards consumption: in order to set the balance between production and consumption, reproduction of consumers has become as prominent as commodity production itself. In this respect, leisure time pieces were to be seen as a set of opportunities to induce people to consumption. This is, in other words, instrumentalization of the leisure.

As a result, one of the goals of the capitalism, logically for behalf of its economic drives and interests, is to conquer and colonize every leisure time pieces by means of social interventions or technological development. Hence, it does not make so sense to argue about the presence of a leisure time revolution: since all these transformations do not connote a radical break down of ideologies, set of values, and social relations of capitalism.[15] Besides, it does not seem so possible to state that leisure time is by no means compatible to capitalism and its ideologies. However, what is mainly suggested here, indeed, is the transformation of the time perception of capitalism.

[14] France Govaerts, "Brazil: A New Cycle of Modernisation," in *Leisure ans Life-style: A Comparative Analysis of Free Time*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989), p.81.

[15] Gorz, *Paths to Paradise: On the Liberation from Work*, p. 87.

The Colonization of Leisure Time

In capitalism today, there are two interpenetrated dimensions of the colonization of the leisure time – one is economic and the other is ideological: those two dimensions, however, emerges out in a reciprocal reproduction process. Economically, leisure is a time piece to which capitalism, as a social setting evolving into consumption society, cannot remain unconcerned. One can grasp this by the increased time needed for buying and consuming or just gazing commodities. Moreover, every piece of socially produced leisure time opens a room for investments, in particular for service and amusement industry. Ideologically, on the other hand, leisure time pieces has turned out to be grasped as if they are the most proper means of making people ignorant towards all social matters and apolitical. Within this terrain; they, the leisure time pieces, are to be seen as a means serving individual escapism, not as spaces of social participation.[16]

Importance of Leisure Time in a Consumption Society

In so far as the goals of capitalism is to, render perpetual dynamism in production processes, increase consumption and proliferate it all around the globe, almost every domain of social life can transform into the market in which it can assert its consumption-sided policies. This is why leisure time processes appears to be so functional in terms of inciting people towards to consume. Capitalism, in this respect, takes the leisure time granted as a market highly profitable; it hence is willing to capture the control of these time pieces. By this very drive, one can consider why its

[16] Argın, "Boş Zamanın Anlamı Üzerine Notlar (Notes on the Meaning of Leisure Time)," p. 154.

main concern slides from regulating production towards disciplining leisure time pieces.[17] Within this process, major role is pursued by *kultur industrie*, as Adorno puts it, which although provides a temporary escape from the responsibilities and routines of everyday life, it indeed reinforces the status qua. Either giant multinational corporations or small scale firms marketing recreation facilities supply individual activities, amusement and preoccupying. What is more striking is capitalism's ability to convert any individual leisure time accomplishment or any amateur and unusual thing to be circulated under the rules of the market; thus, it self-serves expansion and sustains its own permanence. Evoking new values and ideologies, capitalism strives to direct people to competition and consumption by exalting desire and enjoyment through discourse(s) of prestige, elitism, vigor and beauty. Adoption of these new values and ideologies drives individuals, notwithstanding arguably, to a competitive everyday life and to functioning of the sectors.

Whereas capitalism, in the past, had suggesting working as the ultimate ethos to build up the wealth of the future generations; what it deploys now is enjoyment and an instantaneous comfort. That is to say that rigorous working ethics of early capitalism can no longer be discussed as unique and without alternative and taken for granted. In other words, there is indeed no stand point to think a new flexible working ethics that strives to reconcile pragmatic values of working with ontological values of leisure time is an ideology that can by no means compatible with capitalism itself.[18] Flexible working ethics, indeed, do not contradict with the logic capitalism; rather, capitalism today is indebted its politically consented situation to its cunning generosity; namely by granting a personally sovereign terrain to individuals out of

[17] John R. Kelly and Valeria J. Freysinger, *21st Century Leisure: Current Issues* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), pp. 96-97.

[18] Argın, "Boş Zamanın Anlamı Üzerine Notlar (Notes on the Meaning of Leisure Time)," p .152.

their working times: working in all post-industrial societies and many industrializing countries, therefore, is to be perceived as an instrument to enlarge the domain of out-of-working, a temporary accomplishment for individuals to sustain their primal activities.

Importance of Leisure Time in Hegemonic Relations

In contemporary societies, state's self-claim of determining all social, namely its political will to domination, seems to diminish. Political power's capabilities to check social and economic terrains in the greatest extent began to weaken, since the social structures has strictly atomized and dispersed in a heterogeneous and variable manner. This is one of the reasons that not only by prohibitions and exclusions, but also through manipulation and being canalized people are controlled and their radical inclinations are neutralized. Particularly over the consumer identity, modern individual's reconciliation with the dominant structure is strengthened. Countless options and freedom of choice served to this individual is no different keeping the logic of capitalism to reproduce itself; every commodity, amusing activity and space, in fact, assists to confine him within the room of dominant set of relations.

For that very reason, while discussing the ideological effects of leisure time, it will be quite helpful for one so as to regard the arguments of Govaerts on Belgium and of Koseki on Japan. Govaerts stresses how perception of leisure time today has undergone many crucial modifications. Whereas, as put by him, inquiries conducted twenty-five years ago defines leisure time as a temporal social domain out of duties and responsibilities imposed on social roles; now a new paradigm is about to rise: "leisure time, in modern Belgium, can be determined as a space of selected facilities

to escape stress or relieve its consequences."[19] The term stress, according to Govaerts, means uncertainty about the future, namely the clash of values and tensions by the absence of confidence which may appear in workplace to houses – every space that conventional values are no longer recognized or determining. Koseki, on the other hand, assesses facts under the current interest of governments in Japan on leisure time with four phases: the necessity to neutralize the destructive drives sprung out from ecological contamination, as the one; stress experienced in the daily life, as the second; the need to give rise to consumption, the third; and finally the alienation, as the fourth.[20] To state it simply, those who are willing to move out of a mechanized and bureaucraticized life are endeavored to be directed to leisure time stuffed with amusement. Here, what leisure time facilities and amusement guarantee individual are all social aspects – yet – swept by industrial society itself. However, this process works just to remerge individual into the routine and to discipline. In this respect and the last instance, one should add that capitalism can create a room for its reproduction by commodifying the ways of escape or distance from its social settings and depressions.

In concluding remarks, leisure's transformation within hegemonic contestation into a not autonomous life-space; and its reorganization as a commercialized, highly depended zone which is reconstructed as the satisfaction area of desires and enjoyment do, in fact, give the lines of how one should read the leisure time: a set of time pieces of colonization and institutionalization of dependency relations. Leisure loses the ground to be the domain of freedom or personal choices and become to participate in consumption as ritual, namely by marketed facilities and identity

[19] Govaerts, "Brazil: A New Cycle of Modernisation," p. 71.

[20] Sampei Koseki, "France: Leisure Sociology in the 1980s," in *Leisure and Life-style: A Comparative Analysis of Free Tİme*, ed. Anna Olszewska and Kenneth Roberts (London: Sage, 1989), p. 121.

imageries of status and class. It is also no longer a space for personal development or social good, but rather something through which one can satisfy the desire of the consumption act. This politics of a consumption-centered leisure time attributes statuses and identities; and thus while it assures the circulation of the market relations, it also confines individuals and societies in a domain consented by the current power structures.

Considering Turkey, one can suggest that all aspects of everyday life, including leisure time, were reinvested in the 1980s on behalf of the existing ideology. Even though there were constant transformations beginning in the 1950s towards "consumption society," the implications of building a new consumer subject became highly observable. In this period, thanks to the over-accumulation and relatedly so-called commodity fetishism caused by the implemented economic policies, the image of a Turkish citizen enjoying life and adopting the consumption patterns of the West was created, in contrast to the one in the development years who had been identified with saving and consuming domestic products.[21] The mass media played an essential role in this. In the pages of newspapers and on television networks, the American way of life as a clustered form of praising the values of culture of consumption, hence, appeared more frequently: what was often emphasized was that the only way to achieve social existence, have identities and privileged positions pass through one's performance of consumption. In this manner, consumption and amusement-intensified leisure activities came to be perceived as practices relieving the routine of everyday life. Not only was the permanence of the market restored in Turkey by the volunteer participation of many in this conformist

[21] Rıfat Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 89.

illusion, but also the ground for gaining the consent of both individuals and social classes for the hegemonic discourse began to be established.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CLIMATE OF THE 1980S

> It is the land telling us what we should do; we will achieve anything that exists in a civilized country; we will achieve them all one by one.
>
> Adnan Menderes[22]

With the introduction of the multi-party regime in 1946 not only did a momentous political change occur in Turkey, but also a path for vast economic, social and cultural transformations came into view. The first single-staged elections were held on July 21, 1946, and following four years of fresh democracy, the opposition took political power on May 14, 1950. This marked the end of the single-party regime, which had been in government for seven years. By this time, it can be stated, nevertheless, that the political positions of the vast population had been recognized, and that on the eve of elections their economic and social demands had been taken into account. The slogans of the Democrat Party, such as "a millionaire in every neighborhood" and "Little America" possibly can be considered as reflections of the public reaction towards the single-party regime and "warfare economy" during World War II, which had enforced saving and limited consumption.[23] However, as can be detected in any populist discourse, like the one above, the dominant classes in Turkey consisting of major landowners and commercial and industrial capital which

[22] "*Neler yapacağımızı bu toprak haykırıyor bize, medeni bir ülkede olanlardan eksik ne varsa hepsini, hepsini sırasıyla yapacağız*." Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic from 14 May 1950 until 27 May 1960 cited in Yakup Kepenek and Nurhan Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi (Turkish Economy)* (Istanbul: Remzi, 2001), p. 89.

[23] Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, p. 54.

had matured gradually, in fact, enhanced their sovereignty, by not letting any alternative gain power to meet the demands of the vast population; therefore, assuring their long-term interests.[24] The first traces of political change were erased by a military coup on May 27, 1960, which was the beginning of an era that would witness two military interventions.

The first military coup in Republican history, known as the 27 May movement, was announced as a "revolution" by the mass media. Having been accepted with this definition, the movement and particularly the constitution prepared by the Constitutive Assembly was believed to subsume progressive and socialist touches. What was unprecedented for Turkey was the emergence of the new and dynamic social groups, students and workers, who opposed the following governments by means of riots, demonstrations and strikes.[25] However, when these two groups strove to practice their *de jure* rights, not the thing called "anarchy," but democratization itself was immediately interrupted by military intervention on May 12, 1970.[26] Regardless of the reasons and consequences, the notorious military coup of 1980 can be evaluated as an act to complete the work that had been left undone in 1970: after the seizure of the political power by the military forces, all political parties, the Assembly and all unions were closed down as a corollary of the uprisings and "anarchy," which was believed to have been caused by the tripartite, that of liberties recognized in the constitution of 1961, workers' rights and finally the autonomy of the universities; the reign of YÖK (the Council of Higher Education,

[24] Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002 (The Economic History of Turkey, 1908-2002)* (Istanbul: İmge, 2003), p. 94.

[25] Baskın Oran, "1960-1980: Göreli Özerklik - 3 (1960-1980: Relative Autonomy - 3)," in *Türk Dış Politikası, 1919-1980 (Turkish Foreign Policy, 1919-1980)*, ed. Baskın Oran (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), p. 668.

[26] Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür (Popular Culture in Turkey)*, p. 5.

CHE) was established at universities; all "inconvenient" personnel were expelled from public and private institutions.[27]

As a consequence of this political crisis in which all social struggles were paralyzed and in particular left-wing political movements were suppressed, the freshly-emergent non-institutional political mobilization began to be undermined severely.[28] The main point here, as Oktay states in his work *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür* (Popular Culture in Turkey), is that the vast population ceased to embrace democratic rights and hesitated to seek social rights and liberties and, most importantly, adopted the discourses of the dominant classes.[29]

Without a doubt, in the process of silencing the vast population, the anxiety and fear brought on by the street violence committed both by organized and disorganized political groups, and its *raison d'etre*, state violence, long imprisonment sentences and executions, had a great part in the ideological and psychological aspects of depoliticization. In this process, moreover, one should not underestimate the impact of the changing axis of everyday life from production and work place to consumption, out-of-work spaces, leisure time, and life style. Both in urban or rural areas the anxiety for personal prosperity began to prevail and the "will to consumption" commenced to be digested immediately by all classes without any exemption. Radical demands of change which might be taken both as a reason and result of this process appeared to be expressed to a lesser extent in any protest of social challenge. Almost all expressed reactions in protests and demonstrations were on rising of wages, the improvement of life standards and access to more

[27] Baskın Oran, "1980-90: Batı Bloku Ekseninde Türkiye - 2 (1980-90: Turkey on the Axis of Western Bloc)," in *Türk Dış Politikası, 1980-2001 (Turkish Foreign Policy, 1980-2001)*, ed. Baskın Oran (Istanbul: İletişim, 2003), p. 21.

[28] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002 (The Economic History of Turkey, 1908-2002)*, p. 158.

[29] Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür (Popular Culture in Turkey)*, p. 6.

consumption opportunities.[30] One is able to assess this tendency as a symbol of broadly shared pacifism. In this regard, the position of consumption and amusement-intensified leisure activities within this "non-violent pacification" process is undoubtfully worth discussion. Henceforth, by developing an analysis on the roots of the political, economic and cultural transformations in Turkey, in the 1980s, the purpose of the chapter is to discuss the role of leisure activities, which work in a disillusion as if they relieve the routine of everyday life, in the process of "non-violent pacification." Throughout the chapter, thus, the historical period the thesis will deal with will be discussed by considering that now "culture and economic is not a one way street but a continuous reciprocal interaction feedback loop."[31]

New Economy, New Culture

During the late 1970s and 1980s, nearly all post-industrial societies and many industrializing countries experienced neo-liberal polices introduced by new right governments as a response to the crises of the fordist mode of production. However, the post-fordist modification of production did not only restructure the realm of the economy as well as its predecessor had done, but also set itself as a socio-cultural fact even before production. Turkey was no exception in this process, either. The neo-liberal policies that were introduced under the strict rule of the National Security Council (NSC), which came to power after the military coup in 1980 and governed until the first election in 1983, and notably during the new-right experience, between 1983 and 1989, evolved Turkey into a consumption society by the late 1980s. From

[30] Ibid., p. 7.

[31] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University, 1991), p. xv.

then on, Turkey did not just witness "the autocratic reign of the market economy," but also its unprecedented infiltration into all aspects of everyday life. However, it should be noticed that this process had its setting moments simultaneously both in the economic and cultural realm in the early 1980s.

In this process, thanks to the rise of the information-intensified service sectors in the economy and the influx of new communication technology, the media became a major actor and would be more powerful in the subsequent decades, especially with the establishment of private television networks. While the increasing sovereignty of the media in this process was related closely to the transformation in the economy, multiple media channels, from newspapers to specialized magazines, book publishing, and to an extent television networks, were the main bearers of the socio-cultural transformation in the 1980s.

In brief, the 1980s, for Turkey, were years of alteration. The changes in the realms of politics, economy and culture were followed by the emergence of a new middle class and the articulation of their cultural capital reaching almost everyone through a new discourse by an "explosion of words," in the sense Gürbilek uses in her work, *Vitrinde Yaşamak* (Living on Display). This decade, for Turkey, saw an alteration the direction of which and for whose benefit it was emerged was not questioned.[32]

The Rise of the Consumption Society

The neo-liberal policies of the 1980s, contrary to the usual evaluation, did not cause a total differentiation in the general inclination of the economy. The liberal

[32] Can Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri (Age of Polished Images)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), p. 35.

policies adopted just after the Second World War, previously under the rule of the CHP (Republican Peoples Party, the RPP) and subsequently the DP (Democrat Party, the DP) were, too, introduced in order to integrate the national economy into the international market. Related to this aim, during the late 1940s and 1950s, within the framework of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, financial aid from the USA was welcomed, the obstacles limiting domestic and foreign capital were gradually abolished, and foreign commerce was liberalized with rapid momentum. As a consequence, in this period, notably in the major cities of Turkey, one should note that a sort of "abundance of commodities" inciting the desire for consumption prevailed and the consumption patterns of the many who had enough purchasing power diversified.

In this diversification, not just the transformation in the realm of the economy, but also newly published magazines had a great role. In this respect, it is worth discussing a report written by Thornburg. Thornburg, who was charged with preparing a report in order to determine the conditions of economic aid by the Truman government in 1947, not only recommended the expansion of private enterprise rather than etatism, but also gave advice regarding the publication circles in Turkey:

> Carefully selected American books and magazines will cover an essential requirement. American novels are useful in spreading new national knowledge and ideas. Although all ideas in these books and magazines are not accepted as useful, even in the United States of America, strong ideas always succeed in a well-constructed society.[33]

[33] "*İyi seçilmiş Amerikan kitap ve mecmualarının daha büyük sayılarda bulundurulması esaslı bir ihtiyacı karşılayacaktır. Amerikan romanları, milli bir vasıf olan yeni bilgi ve fikirleri aksettirmek veya bazı hallerde yaratmak bakımından faydalıdır. Her ne kadar kitap ve mecmualarda ileri sürülen bütün fikirler, Amerika'da bile faydalı sayılmazsa da, sağlam bir camiada iyi fikirler kötülere her zaman galebe çalar*." Doğan Avcıoğlu, Türkiye'nin Düzeni, (Istanbul: Bilgi, 1968), p. 270 cited in Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür (Popular Culture in Turkey)*, pp. 88-89.

It is obvious that there was an ideological, if not a financial, connection between Thornburg's evaluation and the publication of two new magazines, *Bütün Dünya* (1948) and *Hayat* (1956), which particularly were inspired by American magazines.[34] These magazines became the means of spreading the American life-style by adopting new consumption patterns among the advantaged classes. However, henceforth, the foreign monetary reserve accumulated in the previous decades and even the large amounts of the financial aids were spent on export of commodities, such as cars and household goods, through free trade. Under these conditions, the balance of foreign trade producing surplus since 1930 – except 1938 – caused a deficit of 21.3 million dollars in 1947 and the deficit raised gradually to 147.4 million dollars in 1960.[35] Therefore, the surplus produced during this period was not used for investments, but initially for importation and subsequently for deficit. Nonetheless, the chronicized deficits of the period and the difficulties in benefiting foreign loans caused economic bottlenecks in the late 1950; as the common public idiom said in the period, it was "unaffordable to import even horseshoe pins."[36] In brief, this period ended up with shortages, long lines for primary goods, and black markets. The reflections of that economic condition on social life could not have been worse. In the late 1950s, *gecekondu* suddenly appeared in the peripheries of the major cities.

After the economic bottlenecks caused by the liberal policies introduced in the previous period, the 1960s and 1970s became the planning years of import

[34] Ibid., p. 89.

[35] Baskın Oran, "1945-1960: Batı Bloku Ekseninde Türkiye - 1 (1945-1960: Turkey on the Axis of Wertern Bloc)," in *Türk Dış Politikası, 1919-1980 (Turkish Foreing Policy, 1919-1980)*, ed. Baskın Oran (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), p. 487.

[36] Ibid., p. 490.

substitution industrialization policies aimed to relieve the scarcity in importation, mostly by public investments. In these decades, since the balance of foreign trade could not be achieved through liberal international trade regulations, limiting policies were executed; nevertheless, differing from the previous decades, besides the three white products – sugar, flour, and cotton cloth – consumption goods called "whites" were massively produced, by considering the consumption patterns of the advantaged classes. In other words, with the effect of stagnation in exportation, in addition, the import substitution process was grounded on the extensiveness and liveliness of the domestic market. Hence, social rights were expanded and salaries were increased in these years. As a consequence, with the 1970s, consuming whites broadened among the different strata. The television antennas covering roofs of "first generation *gecekondu dwellers,"*[37] whose consumption standards gradually increased, began to be considered as the symbols of this broadening.[38] However, during the process in which interdependence was sought to be reduced, exportation intermediate goods, on the contrary, increased it. Hence, deficits remained stable, even increased, during that period, too. Deficits of 160.5 million dollars in 1961 raised to 4,999,3 million dollars in 1980; yet one should note the impact of the oil crises in this negative differentiation.[39] In brief, despite the chronicized deficits and crises, the major characteristics of the economy during the period were a balanced planning with labor intensified mode of production and relatively even income distribution and consumption.

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[37] The *gecekondu* districts sprang around the major cities after the massive migrations in the 1950s is named as the first generation. Whereas the first generation was adopting the urban life with its relatively increased consumption standards, the new neighborhoods labeled as the second generation in architectural and cultural sense surrounded the cities during the 1970s; see Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri (Age of Polished Images)*, pp. 41-46.

[38] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002 (The Economic History of Turkey, 1908-2002)*, p. 120.

[39] Oran, "1945-1960: Batı Bloku Ekseninde Türkiye - 1 (1945-1960: Turkey on the Axis of Wertern Bloc)," p. 662.

These changes that took place in the economy and social life were meanwhile the consequence of the multi-party regime. During these decades, the dominant classes strove to keep the political power in hand and to give directions to economic policy making; however, they were inclined to be responsive to the demands of the population and reconciled their own long-term interests with the sort-term priorities of the rest of population. Yet, when there appeared the possible collapse of the balance against the dominant classes, this historical condition was "restructured" by a rigorous intervention. After repressing the social oppositions and restoring control over the labor force by the coup in 1980, Turkey welcomed a new period in which articulation to global markets would be carried out and the existing interrelations would be guaranteed.

As a consequence of the neo-liberal program that was introduced after the coup in 1980 by economic policies declared on 24 January and strengthened under the rule of new-right government, ANAP, the axis of the economy was once more turned upside down. This new program expounded by an intensified ideological campaign and with the slogan "no alternative" to the public was in fact no different from "the standardized stability programs imposed by the IMF in the 1970s to many industrializing countries and the structural concordance plans developed by the World Bank."[40] With that program termed as "the counterattack of capital" because of its labor opponent policies, domestic demand was constricted, exportation supported by generous encouragements such as high foreign currency rates, low interest rated credits, and tax return were turned into a national priority, and the foreign commerce was liberalized gradually. In order to provide structural concordance, a new step was taken in 1989 by abolishing the restrictions on capital

[40] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002 (The Economic History of Turkey, 1908-2002)*, p. 149.

movements. Thus, the national economy that had been fluctuating between two different lines – the one comprised from protectionist, interventionist, nationalist, and etatist policies and the other embracing integrationist and liberal policies – for roughly 60 years, was eventually integrated in some way or other into the international market. Turkey was now being introduced to the new trajectories of economy, that of consumption based, which began to be intensified on the post-fordist modification of production, financial speculation and marketing. Nonetheless, the chronicized budget deficits and loaning, not only foreign but also domestic loaning, increased during the 1980s. The budget deficit reached 9,342,9 million dollars in 1990.[41]

Despite the entire labor opponent policies included in the neo-liberal transformation, a distorted populism regarding the vast population was utilized as well during the 1980s. The main purpose of the decade's populist policies was to convert particularly the destitute urban population into the masses that were deprived of class consciousness and ready to accept the neo-liberal model and its ideology. In the accomplishment of that strategy, municipalities governed by ANAP had a chief role. With means such as title deeds for *gecekondu* and the reconstruction deregulations away from a city planning perspective, the dominant classes strove to solve the economic problems of the destitute urban population out of the realm of labor force. In addition, in the developing conjuncture particularly grounded on the municipal investments, labor employment was raised. However, in 1989, because of the two responses coming from the people, ANAP had to terminate its labor opponent policies. After 1989 labor protests led by public workers and the serious defeat taken by ANAP in the local elections of the same year, public workers and

[41] Oran, "1980-90: Batı Bloku Ekseninde Türkiye - 2 (1980-90: Turkey on the Axis of Western Bloc)," p. 15.

officers enjoyed increases in their salaries: for the former 42 percent, and for the latter 100 percent. The collective agreements in private sector were, too, concluded with increases in salaries.[42] As a consequence of that, with the abundance of commodities and the rising internal demand, commodity fetishism impressed the different strata in a very short term. In brief, in that decade, whereas a rigid and uncompromising attitude was followed towards all sorts of social oppositions, the different strata were satisfied with emphasizing that they were now consumers able to get whatever they wanted.

During the 1980s, while Turkey, on the one hand, experienced the unprecedented repression of social rights and liberties in its history under the name of restructuring of order, in truth, in order to strengthen capital, on the other hand, thanks to the limitless options and freedom of choice provided in the realm of consumption, people felt free more than ever. Related to that, notably in the late 1980s, consumption accelerated more rapidly than ever and inflated to all aspects of everyday life. In brief, it can be asserted that a consumption society, in the sense the term has been used for western societies roughly since the late 1960s and 1970s, was constructed in Turkey in these years. In this respect and by considering the general inclination of the economy, the 1980s, for Turkey, can be evaluated as a new break in continuity, rather than a total differentiation.

The Culturalization of the Economy or the Commercialization of the Culture

While the 1970s were recalled in the collective memory as years of "foreign currency deficits, black markets, permissions of departures abroad once in three

[42] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002 (The Economic History of Turkey, 1908-2002)*, p. 176.

years, having foreign currencies on is crime and, that is to say, of prevailing deprivations;" the 1980s were years when "it became possible to come across with every sort of imported food, cigarettes, chocolate bars, beverage and wide-known Levi's denim in the shop windows which could only be purchased in American bazaars discreetly or from smugglers."[43] In the 1980s versus the 1970s, considering the information distributed by the media, people in Turkey now had the opportunity to consume the same commodities as those used by Europeans. However, that assessment can be accepted only partly. Although shop windows in the 1980s had never been full before, it is not possible to discuss on a sort of "democratization of consumption" realized through the transition from luxury to mass consumption. The main emphasis to underscore here is that shop windows became able to charm the gaze of every individual from any social strata; moreover, now identity construction became available by the flowing images of the commodities exhibited on display.[44] However, in spite of that, during the 1980s, a sort of acceleration in the pace of consumption related to the diversifications in consumption patterns appeared.

In the 1980s, the desire for consumption was incited more than ever. In the accomplishment of that "strategy of desire,"[45] the role of the media and its success in providing new images were essential. Through multiple media channels, not only were the rising subject positions of the period and their life style introduced, but also the way to reach them was described in detail. Of course, one could acquire the emulating positions or at least imitate the ones occupying these positions by consuming commodities and services loaded with cultural codes voicing particular

[43] Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, pp. 25-27.

[44] Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)* (Istanbul: Metis, 2001), p. 39.

[45] Henri Lefebvre, *Modern Dünyada Gündelik Hayat (Everyday Life in Modern World)* (Istanbul: Metis, 1998), p. 86.

social status and individual prestige. This was, in fact, nothing more than evolving consumption into the field of images. Indeed, with the stream of images, whether much was consumed by minority, people began to be identified by their patterns of consumption, notably leisure time and life style consumption since it was noticed as the major ground for being differentiated. As a consequence of that tendency, two significant diversification in the consumption patterns appeared in Turkey, as described by Harvey for post-industrial societies: first, leisure time and life style consumption was expanded; and second, the consumption of services prevailed rather than consumption of goods.[46] Without a doubt, the considerable impact of the super fast flow of commodities and the increasing supply in the services because of the high profits in diversifications can not be denied, too. Consequently, these diversifications in the consumption patterns caused some serious changes in the realms of both the economy and culture. Indeed, the periodization of the 1980s as a new break in continuity in Republican history is, to a great extent, grounded on the very changes occurred during the decade.

First, it should be noted that, both as the reason and the consequence of the diversifications in consumption patterns, the service sector, the major component of the economy, expanded. While the rate of services in the economy had been roughly 40 percent during the 1950s and the two subsequent decades, it increased to over 50 percent in the 1980s.[47] In that decade, services expanded both quantitatively and qualitatively. By considering the contributions of services' various subsections in the economy, it is noticed that, parallel to the investments, whereas the rate of the services on behalf of the development of labor force, namely education and health,

[46] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), p. 285.

[47] Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi (Turkish Economy)*, p. 115, 389.

decreased, both the rate of the services for providing social necessities, notably transportation and communication, and tourism increased profoundly. Among all, tourism contributed to the economy in an enlarging proportion.[48] Therefore, it was not such nonsense when Prime Minister Özal described tourism as "industry without a smokestack."

Second, as mentioned above, an acceleration in the pace of consumption related to the diversifications in consumption patterns appeared in the 1980s, because, it is comparatively short-durée to utilize services of amusement and hobbies than any consumption goods. In addition, fashion was adopted to accelerate the pace of consumption. Furthermore, not only in clothing, adornment and decoration, but also it was adopted as a means in the process of accelerating the pace of consumption in a large extent of leisure time and life styles; because, through this, it was now faster to fill and change the consumption patterns.

Last but not least, it should be emphasized again that consumption in the 1980s virtually arose as "the field of existence," as "the basis of being." Certainly, it has always been displayed in order to emphasize social status and individual prestige; however, the change was the acceleration of those displays. For instance, in world terms, cars used to be consumed on display rather than in usage by the majority since from the beginning; hence, Barthes was right in his assertion that cars were "almost the exact equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals" in modern world.[49] However, with the 1980s, particularly in the post-industrial societies, cars became a component in the process of identity construction, akin to the other commodities and services consumed in image. Such a change in the realm of consumption, even if not

[48] Ibid., pp. 388-99.

[49] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Noonday, 1992), p. 88.

in car consumption, was witnessed in Turkey, too. In the 1980s, commodities and services were now the sings of cultural identification. These were the years in which consumption evolved into a set of cultural practices and culture evolved into a set of consumptional practices.

In brief, in the 1980s, a brand new society emerged within which image-based culture dominated others and conspicuous consumption broadened. In this consumption society, many things existed as much as they were displayed and appeared, and valued as much as they were exhibited and gazed.[50] However, as it will be discussed in the following chapter, neo-liberal economy policies adopted in this period resulted in the expansion of the service sector and hence in the appearance of uneven income distribution and consumption. Therefore, while a newly emerged class with an increasing purchase power consumed the commodities filling the shop windows, the others had to be satisfied with gazing at them. The discussion in a pub in Istanbul is an instance of that:

> All around table said, "C'mon you are so broke, living in despair for years. How could you vote for Özal?" The intellectual man around his thirties listened to them in silence for a while and then he yelled out: "Right, I have been living in despair for years, but let me to experience this abundance." They responded as if they were the counter-front: "You and abundance?" And they offended: "You don't have a penny to buy cigarettes, whisky, import cheese or a VCR." Yet he replied in a moment: "Who needs a penny to sway the abundance brought by Özal in the shop windows?" [51]

[50] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*. p. 29.

[51] "*Masa müdavimleri 'yahu, sen çulsuzun birisin. Yıllardır sıkıntı içinde yaşıyorsun. Nasıl olur da Özal'a oy verirsin?' diyorlardı. Orta yaşlı aydın kişi, eleştirileri uzun süre sessizce dinledi. Ama sonunda patladı. 'Tamam, yıllardır darlık içinde yaşıyoruz. Bırakın da bir de bolluk görelim.' Karşı cephe, bu defa da 'bolluktan sana ne? Paran mı var, sigarasından, viskisinden, ithal peynirinden, videodan yararlanasın' diye hücuma geçti. Bu kez de cevap hazırdı: 'Özal'ın getireceği bolluğu, vitrinlerden izlemek de parayla değil ya.'" Hürriyet*, 6 January 1984 cited in Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, p. 28.

Consequently, in this period, contrary to the announcements of the media, a sort of "democratization of consumption" did not appear. Additionally, to the extent commodities and services became the signs of cultural identification, they contributed to the process of excluding many others. *Gecekondu* settlers, farmers and even urban figures, such as blue-collars, public workers, and students began to be perceived as aliens in the new consumption society since they did not have enough purchasing power to follow the rising patterns of consumption. As Jean and John Comaroff state it, this was the inevitable contradiction in the core of neo-liberal capitalism's global manifestation.[52]

The Emergence of a New Middle Class

By the late 1970s and 1980s, with the internationalization and the influx of new technologies, the organization of economic activity entered a period of pronounced transformation in global terms. In this period, post-Fordism defined as "a flexible production process" emerged due to the crisis in Fordist regime and its social mode of regulation. Now, flexible production, orientation to world wide demand, increased profits based on new technologies and the information-intensified services, and the rising incomes for white-collars in the service class are the key features of the new accumulation regime.[53] However, it should be stressed that post-Fordism did not emerge at once. Even today, the post-Fordist states intensively involve the features of Fordism that are so related to the form and function of the Keynesian

[52] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," *Public Culture* 2, no. 12 (2000): p. 782.

[53] Bob Jessop, *Post-Fordism and the State* (n.d. 2006]); available from htpp://www.geo.ut.ee/inimtool/referaadid/krap/referaat_palhus.htm.

welfare state.[54] Besides that, not only the advanced capitalist economies faced with accumulation crisis, but also industrializing countries have undergone parallel economic and social changes; since there is no linear pattern of development transiting from fully achieved industrialization to the subsequent stage, that of informational society. Hence, the service sector had expanded more than ever almost within every national economy by the 1980s. Similar to the "Third Italia" instance,[55] Turkey was, too, one of the industrializing countries that had experienced the expansion of services and thus the emergence of a new middle class in the 1980s. However, these changes in Turkey's economic and social structure brought about a gradually strengthening inequality with two dimensions: one is the rise of a few major cities as control centers and the other is the uneven income distribution.

By the rapid internationalization in the 1980s and the liberation of the finance sector in 1989, the functions of major urban centers were reshaped in a way that intensified the urban-rural dichotomy. In that period, the recent chances in the economy not only expanded the demand of major corporate firms for several specialized inputs such as management, legal, accounting, financial, public relations, consulting, financial, and other such services, but also contributed to the rise of a few major cities as control centers.[56] As the leading instances, namely New York, London, and Tokyo, a few major cities of Turkey, but notably Istanbul, were now the key locations for finance and for specialized services rather than being manufacturing centers. However, while they became the sites for the production of specialized services in order to run the international market, the rural and even a

[54] Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage, 1991), p. 54.

[55] Krishan Kumar, *From Post-Industrial to Post-modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World* (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 37-43.

[56] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1991), pp. 3-13.

large number of the cities did not develop in that period. In other words, these few major cities became the control centers over vast resources. To the extent specialized services were concentrated in the major cities, these cities' representation of the "disproportionate share of the nation-wide growth in employment and GNP"[57] was strengthened in comparison with the previous decades.

The expansion of the service production, notably in the major cities, led to a shift in the employment structure and a polarization in the income distribution. On the one hand, as Bell predicts in his work, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, such an economic growth based on service production and financial development created a growing demand for specialized skills in advanced services that resulted in the emergence of a new sophisticated and well-paid middle class.[58] On the other hand, contrary to the familiar assessment in the sociology of service economy, that is advanced services mostly involve white-collar jobs, it brought about growth in the number of low-wage jobs, from stock clerk to cleaner, in finance and specialized service firms as well. In addition, high-income earners' tendency toward labor-intensive consumption patterns, from "gentrified housing requiring specialized construction" to "leisure and entertaining entertainment activities," was the other reason behind the growth in the number of low-wage jobs.[59] The increasing numbers of luxury housing, expensive restaurants and hotels, new shops, and unique boutiques in the 1980s demonstrates this growth. However, what provided the expansion of services and the shift in the employment structure did not contribute greatly to the raise of incomes equally. With the new employment structure, there

[57] Ibid., p. 13.

[58] See, Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic, 1976).

[59] Çaylar Keyder, "A Tale of the Two Neighborhoods," in *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 188.

emerged an enormous unevenness between the incomes in the new middle class of the services and the working and serving classes. In brief, in the 1980s, both the disproportionate share of the national growth between the few major cities and the rest, and the polarization of income distribution were witnessed in Turkey. Hence, this decade, for Turkey, was, in fact, years of alteration from which only a small web of people benefited.

As the service economy developed, stratification in the social structure became gradually apparent. However, rather than the realm of economy, the cultural realm was the sphere in which the stratification was observable mostly. Now, the small advantaged group, namely the new middle class, sharply differentiated itself from the working and serving classes with their new life style, modern leisure activities and diversified consumption patterns.[60] Nevertheless, this new middle class that appeared with a stock of cultural capital claimed to speak not only for themselves, but for all. By spreading their culture and by praising the tastes of their new wealth through multiple media channels, they rendered their life style desired for the rest of the people. Apparently, the media as the most effective apparatus of shaping public discourse played an essential role in the process of imposing their new culture.

"Explosion of Words"

Turkey's experience with neo-liberal policies, which was introduced as the way of liberation and individualization, was accompanied previously by the official prohibitions of the NSC. Subsequently, under the governance of ANAP, the official

[60] Ibid.

prohibitions were replaced with the *de facto* prohibitions such as "the prohibitions of interrogating the alteration process and the new order, of rejecting some compromises, of radical thinking."[61] Nevertheless, whereas there were *de facto* prohibitions, in other words, sphere of life with no rights of speech, there was also an explosion of words.[62] Especially after the mid-1980s, an increase in the number of publications, notably in the number of nation-wide distributed magazines, which ranged from weekly news-periodicals to ones specialized in finance, history, child-care, music, fashion, and home decoration, was witnessed. Although it seems as if there was an incongruity between such an increase and the *de facto* prohibitions, this notable increase was a fact that supported the *de facto* prohibitions.

First of all, the publications of the period carried out the tasks of presenting the rising subject positions and spreading their life style, leisure activities, and diversified consumption patterns among the different strata. In this regard, as mentioned before, they were the means of imposing the consumer culture of the new middle class since not only the foremost businessmen, but also the high-ranking administrative workers and managers of both the private and the public sectors, bankers, and some other white-collars, but notably those employed by the entertainment and culture industry occupied the rising subject positions of the period.[63] Through that way, they facilitated acquiescing to the new order.

Second, in the period of political silencing, the publications furnished people with a sphere in which they felt being emancipated by expressing previously repressed intimate life, by getting rid of taboos, especially the taboos regarding

[61] Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri (Age of Polished Images)*, pp. 11-12.

[62] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 21.

[63] See, Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*.

sexuality, and by discussing everyday life. However, rather than the emergence of the new discussion zones, this was, in fact, the withdrawal of the interest from the public space.[64]

Last but not least, through the determinacy of the publications, Turkey experienced the rise of nostalgia and pop-history that excluded the representation of the realities of the present, as the experiences of the past. As it will be discussed in the following pages, this was nothing, but the recreation of the past by the use of artifice for commercial and ideological purposes.

Within that framework, it becomes apparent that the explosion of words was a fact that supported the *de facto* prohibitions, even the implementer of the prohibitions; because, it was not the transformations in the realm of economy and politics or the alternatives of the new order discussed in the publications. Rather new life style, leisure activities, intimate life, nostalgia, fashion, and pop-history were now on the agenda.

The New Surrounding Discourse

With the socio-cultural transformations, there appeared a brand new society in 1980s Turkey which was oppressively conscious that "the more it was gazed, the more it became valuable." In the emergence of such a society in which almost all relations evolved into a sort of gaze, the role of publications, as a media channel, was great. To the extent the publications of the period contributed to the evaluation of goods-for-needs into sings-loaded commodities and images, Turkey witnessed the broadening of conspicuous consumption and diversifications in consumption

[64] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 29.

patterns. However, besides the ability of the publications to lead the changes in the realm of consumption, at this point, it is more important to discuss the role of publications both in strengthening the position of the new middle class and in acquiescing to the new order.

In the 1980s, together with the foremost businessmen, who endeavored to keep their wealth and intimate life out of the public eye during the previous decades, the new middle class that were mostly employed by finance and specialized service firms with rising incomes constituted the new elites of Turkey since they acquired wealth and possessed the capability of consuming the distinguished commodities and services. And, they altogether became the public figures of the period. Now, not only their successes in business life, but also their new life styles and everyday experiences were displayed in the publications of the period.[65] Their speeches that filled the pages were not restricted within the realm of business; on the contrary, their opinions and suggestions about every realm of everyday life were taken now.[66] In brief, in the period in which the appetite for individualization was incited and the opinion that individualization could be solely accomplished through conspicuous consumption was expanded, they were introduced as the individuals who supposed to be taken as role-models and icons of fashion, look, and personality. "Besides 'being in,'" writes Kozanoğlu, "they were the ones who determined what was in and out."[67] Without a doubt, this was the way of not only strengthening the superior position of the new middle class, but also spreading the tastes of their new wealth among the different strata.

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[65] Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, pp. 35-36.

[66] Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri (Age of Polished Images)*, pp. 96-97.

[67] Ibid., p. 23.

As Featherstone states in his work, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, the consumer culture magazines, newspapers and books that emphasized the importance of individual progress and evolution and advised how to construct a satisfactory life style were mostly purposeful for the new middle class and the upper classes[68] because, through the agency of these publications, the different strata were encouraged to emulate or at least to imitate their new life style, leisure activities, and diversified consumption patterns and to embrace their consumer culture. More important, by strengthening "the daydream of equal opportunities," that is, the belief that any member of the any class now could acquire enormous wealth and share the same life style with the new elites, the volunteer participation of many in this conformist illusion was achieved. Although the daydream of equal opportunities that prioritized self-activity above collective practice and associated consumption of commodities and commodified events with life-satisfaction was matched rarely by the realities of experience, the vast population was persuaded to adopt the neo-liberal model and its ideology and to articulate the new hegemonic discourse under the influence of seductive role-models and images distributed by the media.

The success of the media in gaining the consent of both the individual and collective consciousness for the new order can be explained by referring to "the society of spectacle," the concept first developed by Debord, who was a leading figure in the Situationist movement in France during the 1960s and 1970s.[69] According to Debord, in the spectacular society "individuals float about in a semi-

[68] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, p. 46.

[69] See, Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (2002 2006]); available from http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/debord/index.htm. In addition, the other key texts of the Situationists and many commentaries on Situationist ideas and practices are found on various websites.

submerged state of consciousness,"[70] since it was preoccupied with an endless variety of images, spectacles, and surface appearances that replace the realities of experience. Therefore, he regards the spectacle as a means of pacification. Akin to his theorization, in 1980s Turkey, through the circulation of ever more material for the daydream of equal opportunities, the distinction between the real and illusion was abolished. In this way, all inequalities that were the unsurprising consequences of the socio-economic transformation were masked and the gradually intensifying stratification was united in appearance as they did not exist in the spectacle. People could therefore think of themselves as both the would-be members of the privileged classes and the would-be followers of the similar gusto. The reality that the promises of the new order were restricted for particular classes was not noticed until the end of the decade. Consequently, with the abolition of the distinction between the real and illusion, the vast population voluntarily accepted the new order and embraced its basic values such as liberation, individualization, self-determination, and life-satisfaction without interrogating their veracity.

In brief, the 1980s were years of the decisive triumph of the new middle class and of their cultural capital reaching almost everyone through the circulation of the new surrounding discourse by the explosion of words. Within that framework, it is evident that the explosion of words was deployed, in fact, in order to prevent the visibility of the social contradictions and to cause a decline in the individual and collective consciousness. Hence, contrary to the widespread evaluation, it was not the symbol of freedom of speech, but the very means of silencing all refusals and opponents. In Gürbilek's words: "This was a new cultural strategy that aimed not to prohibit but to transform, not to destroy but to include, and not to repress but to

[70] Rojek, *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*, p. 89.

seduce all repressed desires in a more modern, constructive, and surrounding discourse."[71] As it will be discussed below, this new strategy was also closely relevant with the "weakening of the historicity"[72] that brought about a new perception of the present as history.

Rupture as Metaphor: The Discourse of Historical Rupture

In his famous work "*Discipline and Punish*," Foucault discusses how an omnipresent and omniscient power utilizes illness as metaphor. He reveals that with the beginning of the nineteenth century since all forms of confusion and disorder were identified as dangerous diseases that endangered the healthy structure of society, all measures to be taken against the ruinous diseases of the medieval ages, namely the plague and the leper, began to be adopted in order to control and discipline society.[73] In this regard, he clarifies the strong correlation between the discourse of producing health and the recreation of power: it is, in fact, a consent-producing mechanism working through legitimizing state intervention in society. For instance, the coup in 1980 also was presented and legitimized by adopting illness as a metaphor and the discourse of producing health. According to Kenan Evren, the commander in chief in 1980, "the parliamentary system was 'paralyzed,' the functionalization of democracy was 'unhealthy.'"[74] Hence the coup, itself, was declared as the remedy of a serious disease. It was the "bitter prescription" that had to be applied for recovery. However, this was not the sole metaphor utilized for

[71] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 8.

[72] Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, p. 6.

[73] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 195-228.

[74] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 70.

ideological purposes in Turkey in the post-1980. The discourse of historical rupture, or – as I termed – rupture as metaphor, was as well utilized for ideological purposes. And, to better comprehend the change in social consciousness after 1980 that paved the way for the dominance of the new order and its consumer culture introduced after the coup, one should take into consideration the deployment of rupture as metaphor.

After the coup in 1980, through the determinacy of the mainstream media, the coup itself was stated as a rupture within Republican history that provided the ground for a binary division and branding such as black and white, bad and good, dangerous and safe, ill and healthy, scarcity and abundance. By the very means of this binary division and branding, the recent past could be set on a dichotomy between the 1970s and post-1980. In these years, all sorts of social opposition in the 1970s were deprived of their political and class-based background and equated with mere street violence and anarchy illustrated as the fact that rendered the military coup absolutely necessary. And, while the 1970s were recalled in the collective memory as the past to which all negativities referred, the subsequent years were praised as years of liberation and individualization. Therefore, Turkey witnessed, on the one hand, the disdaining of the 1970s, the first political years in Republican history, and, on the other hand, the praising of the 1980s. In this regard, it is obvious that rupture as metaphor was deployed as a means of waning history and memory.

As a consequence of the discourse of historical rupture, Turkey experienced the arbitrarily exclusion of the memories of the political years. However, this is not to say that the 1980s or the subsequent decades were lived with no memories reminiscent of the 1970s. Indeed, the blank space between the recent past and the present was filled with nostalgic representations; therefore, a seventies revival in which much of this was aesthetically modified unearthed in the post-1980. Of course,

fashion was now one obvious way in which the past was given color and life. Through that way, the past experiences were treated, modified, aestheticized, and in some cases simply destroyed. Therefore, what left behind from the 1970s in the collective memory in the subsequent decades were merely "wide collars and high-heeled shoes, and bright colors."[75] The critical point here, as emphasized by Jameson, is that "these nostalgic representations have nothing to do with the real history and should, instead, be read as 'symptoms of the waning of historicity.'"[76]

In addition to the rise of nostalgic historicism, another indirect consequence of the discourse of historical rupture was the rise of pop-history; since, the blank space between the recent past and the present was filled not only with nostalgic representations, but also with orientation to the distant past. In the period of political silencing, orientation to a distance past helped to keep a cool distance towards the experiences of the recent past and even to repress them in the collective unconsciousness. And as this strategy was accompanied with the remarkable intensification of the photographic image and an easy language to read, the effect of it could be spread to a quite wide reader mass. In brief, pop-history was merely concerned with providing attractive and unchallenging views of the past.

In conclusion, with the rise of nostalgic historicism and pop-history, a vast collection of imaginary and stereotypical idealities that distracted people not only from the experiences of the past but also from the realities of present was provided. This was nothing, but the recreation of the past for commercial and ideological purposes; because, through this, the triumphant middle class and the upper classes could impose their own vision of the past and express their economic and cultural

[75] Murat Altun, "The Photocopied 1990s: Youth, Culture, and Fanzines" (Boğaziçi University, 2005), p. 60.

[76] Rojek, *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*, p. 119.

project deviously and effectively in a new historical narrative. Without a doubt, the mainstream media that adopted rupture as metaphor had a great role in this non-violent pacification process.

The final result, as Kellner emphasizes, was "the spectacularization of politics, of culture," and of the past, as the mass media and a new form of culture, namely consumer culture, colonized consciousness and everyday life.[77] Within this framework, it becomes apparent that the simultaneous transformations in the realms of both the economy and culture occurred during the 1980s and resulted in the rise of consumption society can be better elucidated through exploring the publications of the period. And, since *Hayat* was one of the most well-known weekly news-periodicals, the issues of this magazine published in the 1980s will be examined in the following chapter.

[77] Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural studies, Identity, and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern*, p. 15.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANALYSIS OF *HAYAT* MAGAZINE

> This is not a just image. This is just an image.
>
> Jean-Luc Godard

The 1980s, for Turkey, can be definitely evaluated as a transition period in which new social and cultural tendencies appeared; since, in this decade, differing from the previous decades, consumption patterns and leisure activities evolved into cultural practices by permeating the culture through multiple media channels. In other words, it was the period in which consumer culture could dominate others. As it is discussed throughout the second chapter, the socio-cultural transformation in the 1980s was strongly related both with the neo-liberal government technics, which were introduced under the rule of new-right government, ANAP, and with the increasing sovereignty of the media. Without a doubt, the partial differentiation in the general inclination of Turkish economy that was the outcome of neo-liberal economy policies adopted instantaneously after the military coup in 1980 and strengthened during the governance of ANAP had a considerable impact on that period as well. Nonetheless, for the purpose of exemplifying the production of cultural meanings, this chapter focuses rather on the role undertaken by the consumer culture magazines by taking *Hayat* as a model text.

Using Hall's terminology, there exist two basic phases where culture is performed: one is "encoding" that refers to the production of cultural meanings and

the other is "decoding" that concerns the description of the different ways through which cultural consumers interpret cultural forms and products.[78] But it has to be added that despite consumers' abilities to form their own interpretations, there is a degree of reciprocity, which is not given but constructed, between encoding and decoding phases. "Otherwise," in Hall's words, "one could not speak of an effective communicative exchange at all."[79] In this regard, this chapter aims at concentrating on the encoding phase not because a text is considered as a whole in itself which reduces all the realities of experience to a discourse but instead because it is treated as a means to provide a common ground for consumers' responses.

During the 1980s, following the liberalization of the foreign commerce and the integration into the international market, the abundance of commodities and services was witnessed in Turkey, but notably in the major cities of Turkey. Simultaneously, cultural codes expressing social status and individual prestige were loaded to brand new consumption items through newspapers, specialized magazines, book publishing, and to an extent television networks. Although much was consumed by minority, they were now the major components in the process of identity construction and began to be consumed in image rather than in usage. In this regard, it is almost the same when one states that they were now the means of excluding many others. But, nevertheless, the vast population voluntarily embraced the new order and its consumer culture whether or not they had enough purchasing power to follow the rising consumption patterns. As it is asserted before, this could be achieved via a new cultural strategy. In the 1980s, besides the repressive and prohibitive rhetoric of institutional powers a new cultural strategy that aimed not to

[78] See, Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

[79] Ibid., pp. 98-100.

prohibit but to transform, not to destroy but to include, not to repress but to seduce all repressed desires in a more modern, constructive, and surrounding discourse was utilized.[80] Thanks to this new surrounding discourse, generally speaking, each individual was encouraged to take the new elites of the period, namely the foremost businessmen and the members of the new middle class who were mostly employed by finance and specialized service firms with rising incomes, as role-models and icons of fashion, look, and personality. More important, people were led to believe they could "individually" acquire enormous wealth that would enable them to experience the diversified consumption patterns, leisure activities, and life style of the new elites, in other words, that would pave the way to reach the rising subject positions.[81] Of course, the success of the consumer culture magazines in spreading the influence of the new surrounding discourse was undeniable. Besides, their role was not confined to shifting the axis of everyday life from production and work place to consumption, out-of-work places, leisure time, and life style. Indeed, through their agency, not only did the commodification of previously non-colonized sectors of social life and hence the extension of bureaucratic control to the realms of leisure, desire and everyday life occur; but also a common ground to gain the consent of individuals from different strata for the new order and its consumer culture was provided.

Within this framework, it is obvious that the simultaneous transformations in the realms of both the economy and culture occurred during the 1980s and resulted in the rise of consumption society can be better elucidated through exploring the consumer culture magazines of the period. Therefore, since *Hayat* was one of the most well-known weekly news-periodicals, the issues of this magazine published in

[80] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 8, 42.

[81] Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri (Age of Polished Images)*, p. 48.

the 1980s will be decoded in this chapter in order to get an understanding of the transition period under examination. However, on the slippery ground of the bulk of images and words supplied by *Hayat*, it is difficult to construct a systematic discussion or to move directly from one point to the next.

The History of *Hayat*

With the 1980s, especially after the mid of the decade, the explosion of words – that is, a remarkable increase in the number of publications, notably in the number of nation-wide distributed magazines, which were ranged from weekly news-periodicals to ones specialized in finance, history, child-care, music, fashion, and home decoration – was witnessed. And those newly-emerging mainstream magazines, together with the other media channels, contributed greatly to the efficiency of the new surrounding discourse and hence to the extension of consumer culture. In this manner, although *Hayat* reached the highest number of readers, its zenith, during the 1960s and 1970s, it is significant to consider its role in the 1980s.

Hayat, the primary exemplar of the consumer culture magazines in Turkey, was published by *Neşriyat Inc.*, in which *Yapı Kredi Bank* was the major stakeholder, starting from 1956. Kazım Taşkent, who founded *Yapı Kredi* in 1944 as the first nation-wide private bank of Turkey, in company with his two colleagues, *Yapı Kredi* Culture Secretary and economist Vedat Nedim Tör, and *Yapı Kredi* Press Secretary and journalist Şevket Rado, began to publish a monthly magazine in May 1952. This periodical was *Resimli Hayat* (Illustrated Hayat), which was more or less the adaptation of *Life*, the most influential and popular magazine in the United States, and the forerunner of *Hayat*. After it ceased publication, the first issue of *Hayat* was

printed on April 6, 1956, with a classic cover depicting a beautiful woman. This new weekly magazine was issued by the same company until the disagreements between the management and the staff about payment offer caused the magazine to publish its final issue on July 6, 1979. According to its corporate identity, in those years, Şevket Rado was the owner of the magazine but, in fact, was the one responsible to *Yapı Kredi*. It was then purchased by Kemal Uzan, a foremost businessman of the period, and published with the same title until it fell victim to dwindling circulations by the late 1980s.

Since the first issue, *Hayat* met with readers' approval and exerted an enormous influence on the look and favor of many. For instance, 170.000 copies of the first issue were distributed to newsagents up and down the country and all sold out within a few days. Eser Tutel, a member of the staff, explains people's interest in *Hayat* by referring to two main points that differentiates *Hayat* from the others:

> 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,[82] photographs laid out on the pages of *Hayat*, that each was like a painting, had been charming the readers. While *Hayat* was printed on lustrous imported papers, the other magazines of the period such as *Hafta* could barely able to utilize poor-quality papers with dull surfaces.[83]

[82] Tifdruck is a method of printing in which image is incised into a surface. Generally, copper plates are used as a surface. To print a plate, first, the surface is covered in ink, and then rubbed vigorously with a piece of stiff fabric or newspaper to remove the ink from the surface, leaving it only in the incisions. A damp piece of paper is placed on top, and the plate and the paper are run through a printing press that, through pressure, transfers the ink from the recesses of the plate to the paper. Tifdruck prints often contain consistent high image quality – sharper and cleaner than letterpress printing.

[83] "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 ithal kağıda basılırken, *Hafta* ve benzerleri gibi piyasa mecmualarını gücü ancak üçüncü hamur, mat kötü kağıtlara yetiyordu." Eser Tutel, "İlk Tifdruk Dergimiz Hayat'tan Anılar (Memories from Hayat, Our First Tifdruck-printed Magazine)," *Tarih ve Toplum (History and Society)* 27, no. 160 (1997): p. 30.

In other words, for many, *Hayat* was the epitome of good design. However, to better clarify its popularity, a third point has to be stated. *Hayat* had an inventive format and varied content moving from image and style tips for those curious about the milieus of music, fashion, and design to knowledge of debates on the history, politics, and theory. The categories of which each issue was composed were boundless. In other words, *Hayat* was a magazine which set out every week to satisfy all expectations. For instance, the photos of sacred places and the masterpieces of famous native and foreigner painters were generally laid out together in the centerfold of each issue. The readers could witness the togetherness of James Tissot's *The Ball on Shipboard* and Selimiye Mosque in one issue[84] and Pablo Picasso's *Girl in a Chemise* and Kaaba in the next issue.[85] Even in the 1980s during which countless nation-wide distributed magazines specialized in different themes spread out, *Hayat*, itself, did modify neither its inventive format nor its varied content.

The Format and the Content

Hayat was probably the most influential magazine of a period that lasted approximately 25 years. From the late 1950s to the 1980s, it was at the height of its popularity. However, with the 1980s, its sales decreased significantly in parallel with a sudden increase in the number of newly-emerging magazines. In that decade, the wide target audience of *Hayat* was shared by those magazines focused on different themes such as finance, history, child-care, music, fashion, and home decoration. Nevertheless, one should not underestimate the role of *Hayat* in the 1980s. Not only

[84] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 28 (13 June 1981).

[85] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 29 (20 July 1981).

because it was the precursor of the consumer culture magazines in Turkey but also because it contributed deeply to the extension of consumer culture.

Hayat had always been a completely designed setting. However, during a long period, it evolved into "an integrated package of graphic, typographic and photographic (dis)information laid out in such a way as to facilitate the restless passage of what Benjamin called the 'distracted gaze' of the urban consumer."[86] In this new setting, priority and precedence were given to imagery. It did not only determine the form and the content, but also manipulated the rules of rhetoric and grammar and hence controlled the follow of the knowledge to people. With the 1980s, the hierarchical ranking of word and image was entirely inverted in *Hayat*'s pages. Words were reduced to mere speculative reproduction of the reality which could be apprehended now directly through images. Indeed, the replacement of the section entitled "Short News" (*Kısa Haberler*) by the one entitled "Illustrated News" (*Resimli Haberler*) can be interpreted as an instance of that.[87] As a consequence, *Hayat* turned into a text which was no longer read so much as wandered through.

The reader was now invited to cruise *Hayat*'s pages glancing at whatever s/he found attractive and interesting from its varied content. This could be an interview with the young models of the period, portraits of massacred Africans in Somali, the recent high society news, an article on the conquest of Istanbul or, to a great extent, an advertisement.[88] Such juxtapositions are only to be expected in a magazine which aspires to blur the line between the real and illusion as much as to create new desire objects. It may be useful at this point to recall that everything, of course with

[86] Dick Hebdige, "The bottom line on planet one: squaring up to The Face," in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1999), p. 107.

[87] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 51 (19 December 1983): pp. 6-7.

[88] See *Hayat (Life)*, no. 22 (1 June 1981).

exceptions, in *Hayat* had an ideological or commercial aspect. That is to say, it did not seek to capture or retrieve the reality but rather to release the signifier from the previous constraints imposed upon it in order to construct a fantasy space. In this sense, analyzing *Hayat* would enable us to perceive not the reality behind the illusion but the reality in the illusion itself. In addition, the reality in the postmodern condition, as declared by Baudrillard, is nothing more than the unknowable sum of appearances.

In conclusion, discharged from the responsibility to speak for the reality, *Hayat* was free to embrace the artifice, to construct fiction and fantasy, and to play in the blank, empty spaces of the present released from the memories of the past. In this regard, while I would not assert that *Hayat* was the picture of the Post of the 1980s, I would rather assert that *Hayat* is about looking at social history in the making. But, as mentioned by Hebdige, in any case, one should not consider the readers of *Hayat* "as victims, as potential converts, or as *tabulae rasae*."[89] And, as a last word, it is important to keep in mind that "a text is, of course, not the world, that one has to live there, that is not a compulsory purchase, that no one has to pay, that no one has to even pay a visit."[90]

Hayat: A Just Image or Just an Image?

Since the first issue, *Hayat* had always intended to be a weekly magazine which circulated articles on recent political, economic and business news along with regular sections on diverse subjects including beauty, fashion, home decoration, and

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[89] Hebdige, "The bottom line on planet one: squaring up to The Face," p. 121.

[90] Ibid.

entertaining as well as science and technology.[91] And, parallel to that aim, with each issue, it allowed a glimpse into not only Turkish, but also European, Middle Eastern and African political, economic, commercial, and cultural issues. However, because of tifdruck printing method that requires a detailed and time-consuming work, current events could be rarely reported on time.[92] Even in the 1980s, any solution to the delays caused by technical insufficiencies could not be developed. Yet, by having an expeditious glance at the issues of *Hayat*, especially the ones published in the post-1980, one can realize the gradually intensifying magazination of the news.

As mentioned above, Hayat did contend with technical insufficiencies not only during the late 1950s or 1960s, but also in the post-1980. For instance, following the three-year-lasted governance of the NSC, the first elections were held on November 6, 1983; and *Hayat* could proclaim the winner, namely Özal and his party, ANAP, in the issue dated November 21, 1983.[93] In the article on the election returns, the victory of ANAP was stated as an entry into a new period. [94] In addition, again in the same article, its victory was interpreted as the success of *Hayat*; since, it predicted Özal as the probable prime minister and published his photos on some of the previous issues' cover pages.[95] In those issues, an interview with Özal on the forthcoming elections and the election manifesto of ANAP were presented. However, at this point, it is important to mention that politics was not the only subject in the articles on Özal. For instance, in another issue, this time, an interview with Ms. Özal on her husband's everyday life took place:

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[91] Tutel, "İlk Tifdruk Dergimiz Hayat'tan Anılar (Memories from Hayat, Our First Tifdruck-printed Magazine)," p. 32.

[92] Ibid.

[93] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 47 (21 November 1983): pp. 6-7.

[94] Ibid.

[95] See *Hayat (Life)*, no. 42 (17 October 1983).; *Hayat (Life)*, no. 45 (7 November 1983).

> Turgut (Bey) loves children and prefers to be with us as much as possible. He likes studying and reading. He enjoys listening music, especially classic music. What makes him most pleased is wearing his pajamas and slippers and having fun with the children. (Emphasis mine)[96]

Regarding this short quotation from the pages of *Hayat*, two main points should be emphasized. First, it would not be wrong to accept it as the signify of socio-cultural transformations experienced during the 1980s, the decade in which leisure activities and lifestyle became the major components in the process of identity construction. Indeed, leaving room for such articles on public figures' leisure activities and lifestyle – even on their intimate life – along with their opinions and suggestions on the areas in which they specialized began to be applied in the media with the 1980s. (As it is discussed throughout the previous chapters, there exists a strong correlation between the emergence of leisure activities and lifestyle as a new discussion zone and the autocratic reign of the market economy which had expanded to every realm of everyday life by the agency of the new technics of government.) And, the quotation above regarding Özal's everyday life and leisure pursuits reveal the importance attributed to leisure businesses and lifestyle even in introducing the new prime minister. However, one should underscore that, contrary to the general inclination, not pretentious leisure pursuits or luxurious way of life but instead a familiar lifestyle to the working and serving classes was portrayed. Here, as the second point, such a depiction can be read as an endeavor to normalize the fundamental changes occurred in the economy and social life. By familiarizing Özal

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[96] "Turgut Bey genellikle çocukları sever ve mümkün olduğu kadar evde bizimle beraber olmayı tercih eder. Çalışmayı ve okumayı sever. Müzik dinler, özellikle klasik müziği sever. Onu en çok keyiflendiren şey: onun eşofman tipi pijaması var, onu giysin, terliklerini giysin, çocuklarıyla şakalaşsın." *Hayat (Life)*, no. 52 (26 December 1983): pp. 4-5.

– who was not only the new prime minister but also the representative of neo-liberalism in the 1980s – as a man from the heart of the people, neo-liberal economy policies taken as serious measures were legitimated to a certain degree. In that manner, *Hayat* was deployed as a ground for gaining the consent of both individuals and social classes for the new order.

In brief, despite its intention to be a weekly magazine which circulated topical items, *Hayat* could rarely report the recent news on time. Besides, with the 1980s, as the quotation above betrays, it began to go a little more in-depth into stories than before, trying to give the reader an understanding of the context surrounding the significant developments, rather than just the facts. More important, the same quotation reveals two other points as well: one is the substantial role assigned to leisure pursuits and lifestyle in the process in identity construction and the other is the deployment of *Hayat* as a consent-producing mechanism working to the full extent of the socio-cultural realm. However, to give a complete answer to the question if *Hayat* was a just image or just an image utilized to secure the permanence of the market and the existing hegemonic relations, more instances from the diverse sections of the magazine should be considered. Therefore, in the following pages, several quotations from different articles, columns and interviews on various subjects will be examined under two subtitles – in order to overcome the difficulty in constructing a systematic discussion on the slippery ground of the bulk of images and words supplied by *Hayat*. While the first section will deal with how the simultaneous changes experienced in the economy and socio-cultural realm were reflected on the pages of *Hayat*, the second section will discuss the probable instances which can be associated with the ideological utilization of *Hayat* through spreading the discourse of historical rupture. But, nevertheless, one should always bear in mind that the

format, the layout of (dis)information to charm the gaze of every individual from any social strata, deserves more attention than the content does; since, *Hayat* was a consumer culture magazine which was no longer read so much as wandered through.

Hayat: As a Consumer Culture Magazine

With the simultaneous economic and socio-cultural transformations, there appeared a brand new society in 1980s Turkey within which image-based culture dominated others and conspicuous consumption broadened to every realm of everyday life. In this consumption society, many things were now valued as much as they were exhibited and gazed. Of course, the ground for such an economy – or culture, or everydayness – was visual. In fact, as Jean-Luc Godard emphasizes, "a special, external evolution from [a] lesser reader to a more gazing human race was the reality that everybody underwent" in the last twenty years of the twentieth century.[97] In parallel with that, two changes came out in media in general and on the pages of *Hayat* in particular: one is that priority and precedence were now given to imagery more than ever and the other is that more space was now devoted to the opinions and suggestions of the small privileged group, namely the foremost businessmen and the new middle class members, concerning not only the realm of business, but also the other realms of everyday life in a way that facilitated taking them as role-models and icons of fashion, look, and personality by the rest of the society. In brief, instead of the Turkish citizen in the planning years who had been identified with saving and consuming domestic products, the image of a new citizen

[97] Altun, "The Photocopied 1990s: Youth, Culture, and Fanzines", p. 47.

– or, it is better to say, the image of a consumer – enjoying life and adopting the consumption patterns of the West was now the one generally portrayed in each issue.

By the 1980s, the years of political silencing because of the official prohibitions of the NSC and the subsequent *de facto* prohibitions of ANAP governance, together with the plenty of praise and encouragement for the leading names in the NSC and in the new right government, there appeared countless articles, columns, interviews, and short news on the pretentious leisure activities, luxurious lifestyle and everyday life of the foremost businessmen and the new middle class members in the pages of *Hayat*. It was the section entitled "Celebrity News" (*Cemiyet Haberleri*) in which recent news regarding the new elites of the period was mostly encountered. For instance, in the issue dated October 4, 1982, the first item of the celebrity news was a few young employees who were working in the rapidly growing advertising business and attended to a party in Istanbul nights.[98] In another issue dated December 20, 1982, by this time, a group of young interior decorators who gathered in the opening of a new decoration store was the first item of the celebrity news.[99] Such instances were innumerable. In addition to the new middle class members mostly employed by finance and specialized service firms with rising incomes, the leading figures in the realm of business, who endeavored to keep their wealth and intimate life out of the public eye during the previous decades, were as well the most familiar faces in the celebrity news in the issues published in the post-1980s. The news of the weddings, ceremonies, cocktail parties, and openings that they attended were now published almost in every issue.[100]

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[98] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 40 (4 October 1982): p. 25.

[99] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 51 (20 December 1982): p. 19.

[100] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 46 (15 November 1982): p. 19. *Hayat (Life)*, no. 47 (22 November 1982): p. 19. *Hayat (Life)*, no. 36 (5 September 1983): p. 22. *Hayat (Life)*, no. 26 (27 June 1983): p. 22.

The section entitled "Young and Successful Women" (*Genç ve Başarılı Kadınlar*) and published, for the first time, in the issue dated March 5, 1984, was another section in which white-collar employees were presented. Meral Saçkan, the customer relation manager of an advertising agency, Dilek Erzik, the top-level manager of a nation-wide bank, Canan İpek, the general director of a long-established tourism company, and Güler Sabancı, the assistant manager of *Sabancı Holding*, were some of the names introduced in that section.[101] And, the education process they passed through, the languages they spoke, the experiences they had in their professions, and the final positions they reached to were all penned in a fascinating way. In other words, all these women whose success stories underlined were actually the very seductive role-models and images distributed by *Hayat* to teach its ideal reader how to attain the rising subject positions and, more important, that these positions were accessible for every individual from any social class. What is stunning at this point is that, contrary to the articles on the other leading figures in different fields of the service sector and business life, diligence was emphasized as the sole necessity to acquire the emulated subject positions. Nevertheless, the articles and interviews in the mentioned sectioned deserve consideration; since, they indicate the emergence of a new professional middle class that distinguished itself from the old middle class and the working classes with a stock of cultural capital.

In many articles on public figures, from world-famous artists to foremost names in business life, leading figures in politics, and to an extent the new middle class members, the main emphasis was rather on their diversified consumption patterns, leisure activities and lifestyle. For instance, in the movie review column in the issue dated June 15, 1981, rather than the critique of the famous American actor

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[101] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 10 (5 March 1984): p. 14. *Hayat (Life)*, no. 11 (12 March 1984): pp. 28-29. *Hayat (Life)*, no. 12 (19 March 1984): p. 40.

Kirk Douglas' performance in his last movie, his luxurious way of life and leisure pursuits were mentioned.[102] In the next issue dated June 22, 1981, by this time, in the article on the Pahlavi family published following the death of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran from 1941 to 1979, not his autobiographical memories, but instead the family members' everyday life and diverting leisure pursuits were expressed.[103] And, in another issue dated July 20, 1981, İlhan İrem, a famous singer of the period, and a group of his friend who gathered to enjoy themselves in their leisure time were the subject of illustrated news.[104]

What all these instances have in common is that they all point to the changing time perception of capitalism that leads to the rise of a leisure society in 1980s Turkey. Differing from the previous decades, leisure, which had previously been perquisite of non-working and idle individuals, was now encoded as a time piece in which identity construction can be repeated.[105] At this moment, Kellner's argument becomes relevant:

> It appears that postmodern identity tends more to be constructed from the images of leisure and consumption than modern identities . . . Both modern and postmodern identit[ies] contain a level of reflexivity, an awareness that identity is chosen and constructed, though, in contemporary society, it may be more "natural" to change identities, to switch with the changing winds of fashion.[106]

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[102] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 24 (15 June 1981): p. 44.

[103] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 25 (22 June 1981): p. 48.

[104] *Hayat (Life)*, no.29 (20 July 1981): p. 18.

[105] A content analysis of two popular culture magazines published in the previous decades is found in the work of Fulya Özkan. See Fulya Özkan, "A Discourse About Normalization or Fantasy and Its Reflections on Everyday Life: A Cultural-Historical Analysis of Two Popular Magazines of the 1950's, Bütün Dünya and Hafta" (Boğaziçi University, 2005).

[106] Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural studies, Identity, and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern*, p. 243.

Another common point is that each instance was presented with illustrations. Words were, in fact, just the speculative production of the reality which could be apprehended now directly through images. In this layout, as it is emphasized before, priority and precedence were given to imagery which was accompanied by a vivid and figurative rhetoric in order to facilitate the restless passage of the distracted gaze of the consumer. In brief, in the 1980s, whereas there was an explosion of words, in other words, an increase in the number of publications, there was also a change in the language: a break between the language and the real, signifier and signified.[107]

In such a transformation in the language, the role of advertising was great. What advertising did was to juxtapose words and things arbitrarily removed from their historical and social bounds and to make products easily marketable. However, through that way, advertising did not only set visual prior to linguistic one, but also turned the world as a whole into sheer images of itself, pseudo-events and spectacles. An instance of this transformation is the 1981 *Mis Corn Flakes* advertisement titled "Your Modern Breakfast! . ." (*Çağdaş Kahvaltınız!..*).[108] Here, by juxtaposing the two unrelated words, "modern" and "breakfast", the mentioned advertisement attempts to create an association between the product it offered and the condition of being modern in order to produce the impression that if one wants to be a modern person, then one should consume *Mis Corn Flakes* in the breakfast. The illustrated advertisement of *Beymen Clothing*, which is entitledd "Life, dressing and... *Beymen*" (*Yaşam, giyim ve... Beymen*) and depicts a well-being couple, endeavors in a similar fashion to associate its product with socially desired traits and offers superior subject

[107] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 24.

[108] Hayat (Life), no.22 (1 June 1981): p. 16.

positions.[109] In addition, the pronounced smile on the models' faces can be interpreted as an attempt to associate dressing in *Beymen* with happiness and satisfaction. As these advertisements demonstrate, modern advertising, which once presented commodities by introducing their qualities and compatibilities with needs, in its postmodern form now aims to sell them through images, slogans, and rhetoric. In this regard, the 1982 *Rolex* advertisement is perhaps the perfect instance of this transformation among numerous advertisements on the pages of *Hayat*:

> In the sport world, some certain traits indicate the real champion among others...
> Punctuality... Ability and perfect timing...
> The leading figures in the sport world trust professions for perfect timing.
> Rolex Oyster is chosen for that reason.[110]

By implying the association between the changes in consumer behavior and the metamorphosis into a new person, it "magically offers self-transformation and a new identity."[111] Consequently, the readers of *Hayat* were taught how to reach the rising subject positions of the period through advertisements as well as through articles, columns, and interviews on various subjects.

Within that framework, one can state that *Hayat*, in the 1980s, carried out the tasks of presenting the rising subject positions and spreading their life style, leisure activities, and diversified consumption patterns among the different strata. In this regard, as mentioned before, it was the very means of imposing the consumer culture of the new middle class since not only the foremost businessmen, but also the high-

[109] Hayat (Life), no.22 (1 June 1981): p. 15.

[110] "Spor dünyasında gerçek şampionu diğerlerinden ayıran belli özellikler vardır… Dakiklik… Yetenek ve zamanlama… Önde gelen sporcular kusursuz zamanlama için, uzmanlara güvenirler. Rolex Oyster bu nedenle seçilir." Hayat (Life), no.22 (1 June 1981): p. 47.

[111] Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural studies, Identity, and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern*, p. 251.

ranking administrative workers and managers of both the private and the public sectors, bankers, and some other white-collars occupied the rising subject positions of the period.

Hayat: As a Consent-Producing Mechanism

With the early 1980s, there appeared numerous advertisements regarding imported commodities on the pages of *Hayat*. The illustrated advertisement of *King's*, which depict the leading foreign brands in the 1980s' textile industry such as *Tennis*, *Adidas*, *Tropic*, and *Levi's*, can be seen as the precursor of such advertisements.[112] It was then followed by the others such as the advertisements of *Super Shelltox*, an imported pesticide, of *Moderno*, an important laundry detergent, of *DuroDont*, an important toothpaste, and so forth.[113] And, all these advertisements were accompanied with the articles, columns, and interviews that regarded the military coup in 1980 as a rupture within Republican history. In consequence, a ground for a binary division and branding such as black and white, bad and good, dangerous and safe, scarcity and abundance was constructed in the collective consciousness.

By the very means of the mentioned binary division and branding, the recent past could be set on a dichotomy between the 1970s and post-1980. For instance, while, in the article on the Bill of Constitutional Assembly entitled "Towards a Strong Democracy" (*Güçlü Bir Demokrasiye Doğru*) and published in the issued dated July 13, 1981, the duty of the Assembly was explained as to construct a strong democracy that would prevent returning to the past; in another article on the elections

[112] Hayat (Life), no.22 (1 June 1981): p. 19.

[113] Ibid., p. 19, 42; *Hayat (Life)*, no. 23 (8 June 1981): p. 49.

returns published in the issue dated November 15, 1982, the days before the coup was portrayed as the "shady days of the past."[114] Furthermore, in a column in the issue dated September 13, 1982, the coup in its second year was mentioned with these words: "Aftermath of the days that brothers has become enemies because of anarchy, and of anxiety and despair, we all owe the rebirth of a Turkey relying the future to the coup in 1980."[115] At this point, one should emphasize that such political writings, which contributed greatly to the discourse of historical rupture, were countless. And, in all these writings, every sort of social opposition in the 1970s were deprived of their political and class-based background and equated with mere street violence and anarchy illustrated as the fact that rendered the military coup absolutely necessary. In this respect, whereas the 1970s were recalled in the collective memory as the past to which all negativities referred, the subsequent years were praised as years of liberation and individualization.

Turkey, as the citations from *Hayat* reveals, experienced the arbitrarily exclusion of the memories of the first political years in its history. But, nevertheless, this is not to say that the 1980s or the subsequent decades were lived with no memories reminiscent of the 1970s. In fact, not surprisingly, the rise of nostalgic representations in fashion trends and advertising coincided with the 1980s. Although the recent fashion trends had always constituted a section in *Hayat*, it was not before the 1980s that nostalgic representations appeared on the pages. For instance, it was the issue dated September 15, 1986 in which wide collars and high-heeled shoes, and

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[114] Hayat (Life), no.28 (13 July 1981): p. 5; Hayat (Life), no.46 (15 November 1982): p. 5

[115] "Anarşik olaylar yüzünden kardeşin kardeşe düşman olduğu, huzursuz, kaygılı ve umutsuz bir ortamdan, yarına güvenle bakan bir Türkiye doğmasını 12 Eylül harekatına borçluyuz." *Hayat (Life)*, no. 37 (13 September 1982): p. 8.

bright colors became the recent fashion trend.[116] It was a seventies revival which aesthetically unearthed in the post-1980. Through the aesthetization of the 1970s, the past experiences were treated, modified, and in some cases simply destroyed. Likewise, advertising began to utilize retro-images with the 1980s. The aesthetization of not only the 1970s, but also the subsequent decades can be seen in the advertisements, notably in the ones published in the late 1980s. Within that framework, 1980s Turkey can be evaluated, in reference to Debord, as "a society in a crisis of historicity whose history is the commonly consumed item, spectacle or consumable image of an economic development."[117]

In *Hayat*, the blank space between the recent past and the present emerged as the direct consequence of the discourse of historical rupture, was filled not only with nostalgic representations in fashion and in advertising, but also with orientation to a distant past. Article series on the Ottoman history, such as the one entitled "Fatih Sultan Mehmet and The Conquest of Istanbul" (*Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve İstanbul'un Fethi*) and published, for the first time, in the issue dated June 1, 1981 and in the four subsequent issues did not only initiate a growing curiosity about the distant past, but also distracted the reader from the experiences of the past.[118] All the article series on the Ottoman history have two common points: one is the remarkable intensification of the photographic image and the other is an easy language which accompanied it in order to enlarge its reader mass. In brief, the rise of pop-history in the period of political silencing was in fact the very cool distance kept towards the experiences of the recent past and even towards the realities of the present.

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[116] *Hayat (Life)*, no. 38 (15 September 1986).

[117] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*.

[118] Hayat (Life), no.22 (1 July 1981): pp. 37-39; Hayat (Life), no.23 (8 July 1981): pp. 37-39; Hayat (Life), no.24 (15 July 1981): pp. 37-39; Hayat (Life), no.25 (22 July 1981): pp. 37-41.

In conclusion, considering *Hayat* as a whole text, it becomes apparent how the omnipresent and omniscient power of the 1980s deployed rupture as metaphor for ideological purposes. In the writings on politics, with no exceptions, the coup was portrayed as a rupture and the 1980s, the decade in which the neo-liberal model and its ideology were adopted as an entirely new period within Republican history. Of course, whereas the 1980s were praised, the 1970s were disdained and released from experiences of the past in such a portrait. And, the arbitrarily exclusion of the recent past was counterbalanced by nostalgic representations in fashion trends and in advertising as well by pop-history. Therefore, not only the weakening of the historicity but also the commodification of previously non-colonized sectors and the extension of bureaucratic control to the realms of leisure and desire were experienced in 1980s Turkey.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Establishing ideological hegemony is a must for capitalism. More than its economic strength, this hegemony is the vital point for it. Therefore, almost all aspects of everyday life become battlefields for power on which capitalism seeks to establish its ideological hegemony, to reproduce itself, and to adopt any means necessary to reinforce its presence and strength.[119]

As many communication theorists suggest, hegemonic interrelations are merged cunningly into the communication processes and have evolved into social practices by permeating the culture through mass media: given that the media industry and its managers, who hold "the keys of socialization," reproduce and seek to restore their own thoughts and ideas more effectively and efficiently in the public than those of the other social groups.[120] In brief, in order to secure a sort of permanence for the regime of accumulation, the dominant ideology aims to gain a set of consent-producing mechanisms working to the full extent of social and cultural fields. Hence, capitalism seeks submission and standardization both over the individual and over collective consciousness in a given time and space.

Modern leisure time, in a similar vein, is one of the instruments that the dominant ideology reshapes and manipulates as well as existing institutions and the mass media. The ideological value of leisure time is embedded in its competence of

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[119] Chris Rojek, *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory* (London: Sage, 1995), pp. 18-22.

[120] See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebook* (New York: International Publishers, 1971).; Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return to the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society and the Media*, ed. M. Gurevitch (London: Routlage, 1982).; James Lull, *Medya, İletişim, Kültür (Media, Communication, Culture)* (Ankara: Vadi, 2001).

directing active energy to lethargy. Defining the capabilities of leisure activities served by the entertainment and culture industry, and on the one hand, and the recreation of leisure time as a space of amusement, the distraction and relief, and reducing people into the position of moderate consuming subjects, on the other, keeps them from engaging in social, cultural and ideological matters that would lead them to moods distancing them from politics, in the largest sense of the term.[121] Henceforth, having been opened for ideological investment, leisure time dilutes radical demands for change and prevents their contribution in institutional politics. This frame, thus, tells us that modern leisure time has a substantial role in imposing the rationality and permanence of the dominant one and its not-deliberate acceptance in the collective unconsciousness.[122]

Considering Turkey, it can be suggested that all aspects of everyday life, including leisure time, were reinvested in the 1980s on behalf of the existing ideology. Although there were constant transformations beginning in the 1950s towards consumption society, the implications of building a new consumer subject became highly observable with the 1980s. In this period, thanks to the so-called commodity fetishism caused by neo-liberal economic policies and to the increasing sovereignty of the media, the Turkish citizen of the planning years who had been identified with saving and consuming domestic products, was replaced by a new citizen – or, it is better to say, by a consumer – enjoying life and adopting the consumption patterns of the West. The mainstream media in general and *Hayat* in particular played an essential role in that transformation. In the pages of newspapers and on television networks, the American way of life as a clustered form of praising

[121] Argın, "Boş Zamanın Anlamı Üzerine Notlar (Notes on the Meaning of Leisure Time)," p. 154.

[122] Ahmet Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür (Popular Culture in Turkey)* (Istanbul: Everest, 2002), p. 9.

the values of culture of consumption began to appear more frequently. The mainly delivered massage was that the only way to achieve social existence, have identities and privileged positions pass through one's performance of consumption. In this manner, consumption and amusement-intensified leisure activities came to be perceived as practices relieving the routine of everyday life. Through that way, not only was the permanence of the market restored in Turkey by the volunteer participation of many in this conformist illusion, but also the ground for gaining the consent of both individuals and social classes for the hegemonic discourse was be established.

In the post-1980, thanks to mass media images, articles, and the new surrounding discourse, the conventional movements stated the military coup in 1980 as a rupture and the 1980s, the decade in which the neo-liberal model and its ideology were adopted as an entirely new period within Republican history. However, as it is discussed in the third chapter, that statement can be accepted only partly. Without a doubt, there occurred serious changes in the realms of both the economy and culture during the 1980s that differentiated it from the preceding decades or periods. But, nevertheless, just by taking a glimpse at Republican history, one can comprehend that it was nothing but a different phase of the alteration process continuing since the late 1940s. Yet, it was a process that resulted in the rise of consumption society in Turkey.

In the 1980s, while the coup was coded, referring to the 1970s as a necessity both to get rid of anarchy and to overcome poverty, the new order introduced after the coup was generally equated with an abundance of commodities, the democratization of consumption, liberation, and individualization. However, this sort of articulations is destined to be criticized comprehensively. First of all, it should be

noted that although shop windows in the 1980s had never been full before, with the adoption of liberal policies in order to integrate the national economy into the international market, in Menderes' words, to "achieve anything exists in a civilized country," Turkey had experienced a sort of abundance of commodities long before the 1980s, in the early 1950s. This was in fact the first period in which the desire for consumption had prevailed among people and consumption patterns began to evolve into cultural codes emphasizing social status and individual prestige. In addition, not just the transformations in the economy, but also the mass media had a great effect on these diversifications in the realm of consumption, as they were in the 1980s.

But, in spite of all the above-mentioned facts, the 1980s differed from the preceding decades or periods since image-based culture could dominate others and conspicuous consumption could broaden to the every realm of everyday life. However, this is not to say that the democratization of consumption was realized through the transition from luxury to mass consumption in the 1980s. Indeed, in this decade, with the expansion of the service sector that brought about the emergence of a new well-paid middle class, there appeared the polarization of income distribution and consumption. Therefore, as another critical point, it is important here to emphasize that what took place in 1980s Turkey was not a sort of democratization of consumption, but the commodification of previously non-colonized sectors of social life and the extension of bureaucratic control to the realms of leisure, desire and everyday life. In brief, with the 1980s, all images and words began to be adopted and deployed whether to enlarge the global spectrum of consumption or to dominate both the individual and collective consciousness.

In this regard, the third critical point becomes apparent as well: contrary to the mainstream articulations, the 1980s were years in which a more oppressive order

was reconstructed. In this new order, through a more modern, constructive and surrounding discourse, control was expanded to every realm of everyday life. Nevertheless, thanks to the limitless options and the freedom of choice provided in the realm of consumption and to the explosion of words, people felt free more than ever. Consequently, in 1980s Turkey, mainly two things were carried out: the articulation to global markets and the preservation of existing interrelations.

Last but not least, one can certainly proclaim the 1980s years of the individual since consumer culture prioritized self-interest above the collective good. However, it was a narcissistic and hedonistic individual who fetishized personal desires above all other things and enthusiastically embraced the opportunities for the construction of a satisfactory life style. Yet as personal desires began to be shaped through the agency of mass media by consumer culture, they were reduced to mere desire for consumption.[123] Therefore, during the 1980s, while radical demands of change were expressed to a lesser extent, almost all protests and demonstrations were on rising of wages, improvement of life standards and access to more consumption opportunities.

In conclusion, in the 1980s, both the permanence of the market and the existing hegemonic relations were restored and secured in Turkey by establishing the grounds for gaining the consent of both individuals and social classes for the new order. In this process, the media, the most effective apparatus of shaping public discourse, had a substantial role; since, multiple media channels were deployed in order to supply a rich fund of images and to spread ever more material for fantasy and the daydream of equal opportunities. Through that way, not only were new desires, notably in leisure and life style consumption, launched, but also the

[123] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak (Living on Display)*, p. 10.

distinction between the real and illusion was abolished. The latter was as well supported with the discourse of historical rupture that enabled the recreation of the past by the use of artifice and hence the exclusion of the realities of experience in favor of the privileged classes. Considering *Hayat* as a whole text, it becomes apparent how the omnipresent and omniscient power of the 1980s deployed rupture as metaphor for ideological purposes. In the writings on politics, with no exceptions, the coup was portrayed as a rupture and the 1980s, the decade in which the neo-liberal model and its ideology were adopted as an entirely new period within Republican history. Of course, whereas the 1980s were praised, the 1970s were disdained and released from experiences of the past in such a portrait. And, the arbitrarily exclusion of the recent past was counterbalanced by nostalgic representations in fashion trends and in advertising as well by pop-history. Therefore, not only the weakening of the historicity but also the commodification of previously non-colonized sectors and the extension of bureaucratic control to the realms of leisure and desire were experienced in 1980s Turkey.

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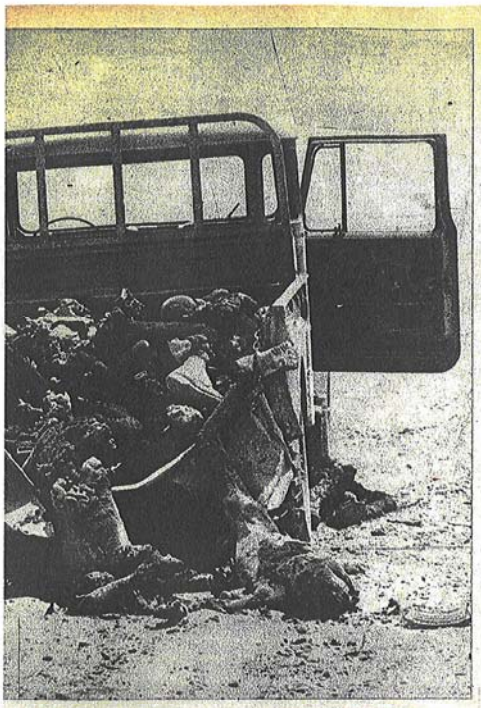
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APPENDIX


Hayat
SAYI : 49 • 5 ARALIK 1983 • 100 LİRA
MİNYATÜRLER
PETROL SAVAŞI
UZAYA BAKAN GÖZLER
ADLİYE KORİDORLARI
UZAKDOĞU'NUN AÇIK PAZARI
DİĞER ÜLKELERDE SATIŞ FİYATI : ALMANYA'DA : 5 DM / HOLLANDA'DA : 6 H.FL. / İSVİÇRE'DE : 4.5 FS. / AVUSTURYA'DA : 45 AS. / BELÇİKA'DA : 50 BFR.


Hayat
SAYI : 2 • 9 OCAK 1984 • 100 LİRA
EKONOMİK HÜRRİYET
Yaşayan ünlüler
ARAFAT
DÜNYAYI SARAN UYDULAR
SAĞLIK SORUNLARINIZI ÇÖZÜYORUZ
CAROLINE EVLENDİ
DİĞER ÜLKELERDE SATIŞ FİYATI : ALMANYA'DA : 5 DM. / HOLLANDA'DA : 6 H.FL. / İSVİÇRE'DE : 45 FS. / AVUSTURYA'DA : 45 AŞ. / BELÇİKA'DA 100 B.FR. / KIBRIS'TA : 130 TL.



İRAN-IRAK SAVAŞI YENİ BİR AŞAMADA

şa katılma teşebbüsü aklı başında her insan için savaşı daha da körükleyecek ve onbinlerce insanın daha ölmesine sebep olacak bir büyük hata ve davranış olarak yorumlanıyor.

Üstelik sınırlarımıza son derece yakın cereyan eden ve Irak ile İran'daki Türkler'in de cepheye sürüldüğü savaş bizler için ayrı bir önem kazanmış durumda:.. Savaşanlar komşularımız... Üstelik Müslüman komşularımız... Ölenlerin büyük bir çoğunluğu ise Türkler...



Süleyman Demirel 59 yaşına bastı

SÜLEYMAN Demirel 1 Kasım 1924 yılında Isparta'nın İslamköyü'nde doğdu. 1949 yılında İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi'ni bitirdi, Yüksek Su Mühendisi oldu. Aynı yıl Birleşik Amerika Devletleri'ne gönderildi. Bir sene orada staj yaptı. 10 sene Türkiye'nin elektrik ve su problemleri üzerinde çalıştı. Bu 10 senenin 5 senesi mühendis olarak, 5 senesi de Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürü olarak geçmiştir. 1962 yılında Adalet Partisi'nin birinci büyük kongresinde Adalet Partisi'nin Genel İdare Kurulu'na seçildi. 30 Kasım 1964'de Adalet Partisi'nin Genel Başkanlığı'na seçildi. Bu göreve üst üste 8 büyük kongre tarafından seçildi ve 18 seneye yakın bu görevi yürüttü. 1965 şubatında henüz milletvekili değilken başbakan yardımcısı oldu. 1965 seçiminde Adalet Partisi yüzde 53 rey alarak seçimi kazandı, Demirel ilk hükümetini başbakan olarak kurdu. 12 Eylül 1980 tarihine kadar 7 hükümet kurdu ve 10 yıl başbakanlık yaptı.

SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL, EŞİ NAZMİYE DEMİREL İLE 34 SENELİK EVLİDİR

Kasım, aralık, ocak ayları Demirel ailesinin yoğun kutlamalarla geçirdikleri aylardır. Ailede 1 Kasım Süleyman Bey'in yaş günü olarak kutlanırken, 12 Aralık evlilik yıldönümleri ve 5 Ocak da Nazmiye Hanım'ın doğum günü olarak kutlanır. Süleyman Demirel, halen Ankara'nın Kavaklıdere semtinde Güniz Sokak'taki evinde oturmakta ve gününün büyük bir bölümünü ziyaretçileri ve dostlarını kabul ederek geçirmekte ve çeşitli eserleri okuyarak, memleket meselelerini takip etmektedir.

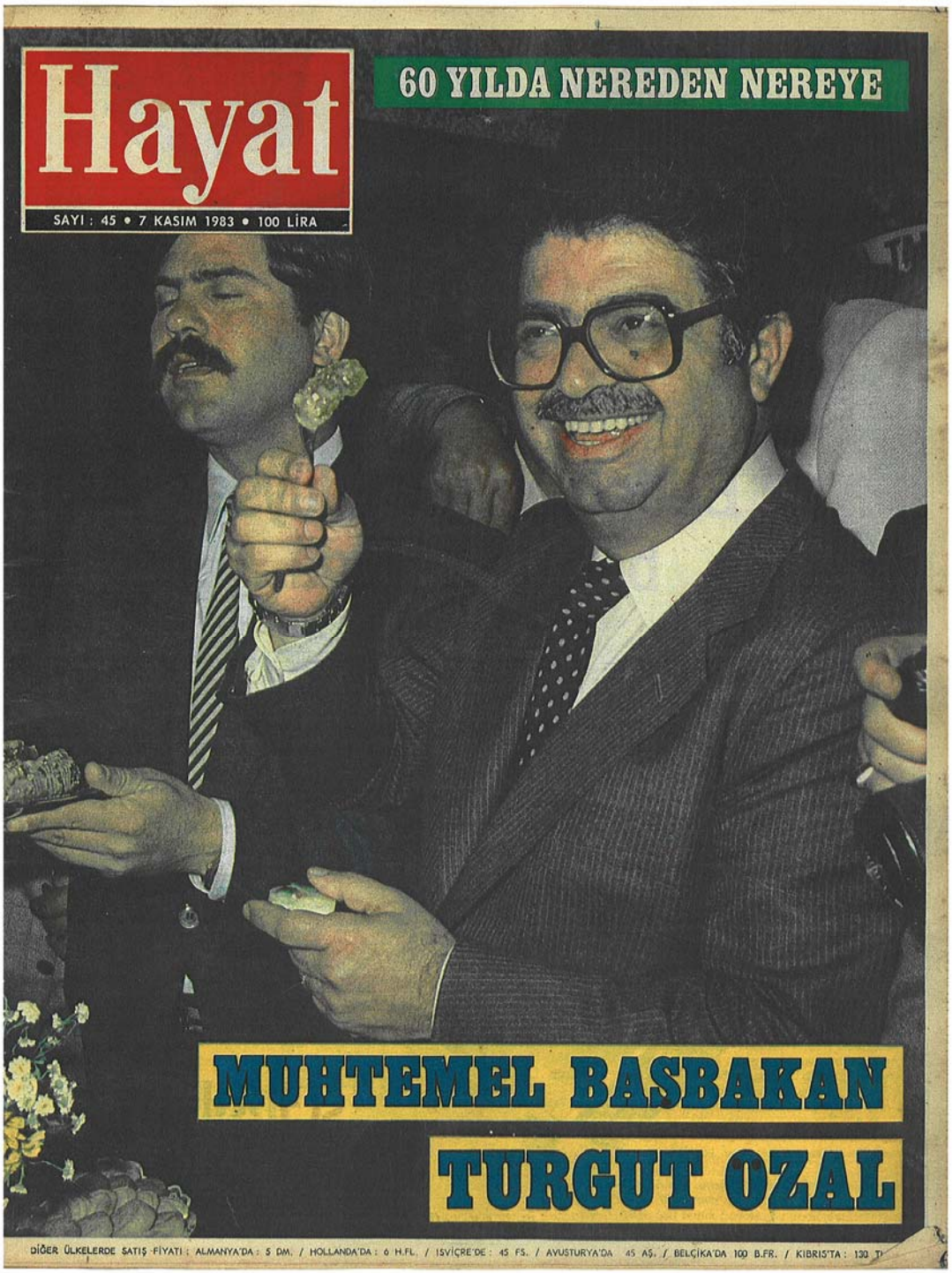
PAPANDREU'NUN ÇILGINLIĞI GERİ TEPTİ



Yunanistan Başbakanı Andreas Papandreu'nun NATO «Apex Express» tatbikatını fırsat bilerek gerçekleştirmek istediği oyun kendisinin hiç ummadığı bir biçimde sonuçlandı.

İki yıldır düzenlenen «Apex Express» tatbikatları için bu yıl uygulama alanı olarak Yunanistan seçilmişti. Yunanistan Başbakanı bunu fırsat bilerek, tatbikat programına, uluslararası andlaşmalarla silahlarlandırılması yasaklanmış olan Ege adalarından Limni'nin de dahil edilmesini istedi. Böylelikle, Papandreu, kendi amaçlarına NATO'yu alet edecekti. Ancak NATO Papandreu'nun bloğuna anlayarak tatbikatı tümüyle iptal etti ve oyuna gelmedi. Papandreu'nun çılgınlığı da böylece geri tepmiş oldu...

79


Hayat
SAYI : 45 • 7 KASIM 1983 • 100 LİRA
60 YILDA NEREDEN NEREYE
MUHTEMEL BASBAKAN
TURGUT OZAL
DİĞER ÜLKELERDE SATIŞ FİYATI : ALMANYA'DA : 5 DM. / HOLLANDA'DA : 6 H.FL. / İSVİÇRE'DE : 45 FS. / AVUSTURYA'DA 45 AŞ. / BELÇİKA'DA 100 B.FR. / KIBRIS'TA : 130 T

EŞİ, BAŞBAKAN ÖZAL'I ANLATIYOR

«Turgut Bey'in çalışması arttı, uykusu azaldı; görüşemez olduk...»

«Onu tanıdığım zaman bile yaşıtlarından ilerdeydi. Bugünlere gelmesi benim için sürpriz değil.»

Röportaj: ZEHRA ÇAKIR - NEYYİRE ÖZKAN

ŞİMDİLERDE kendilerinden en çok sözedilen aile, kuşkusuz ki Özallar. Türkiye'nin 45'inci hükümetinin, 19'uncu başbakanı Turgut Özal'ı en yakından kim tanır? Tabii ki hayat arkadaşı. Hele bu hayat arkadaşlığı 30 yıl gibi uzun bir süre başarı, mutluluk ve anlayış içinde geçmişse eğer...



Çeşitli basamaklardan geçerek, başbakanlık koltuğuna kadar uzayan çetin bir yolda 30 yıl beraber olmak, hiç de küçümsenecek bir şey değil... Çeşitli çalışma ve birikimlerinin yanısıra düzenli ve mutlu bir aile yaşamı da etken olmuştur Turgut Özal'ın başbakanlık koltuğuna oturup, ülke sorunlarına sahip çıkıp böylesi büyük bir sorumluluğu üstlenmesine... İşte tüm bunları ve ülkenin bir numaralı kadını olan Semra Özal'ı biraz daha tanıyabilmek için Yeniköy'deki evin kapısını çaldığımızda evde bir heyecan fırtınası estiğine tanık oluyoruz. Bu heyecan bizi de sarıyor ister istemez. Evde, Semra Hanım'ın yakın arkadaşı Sevil Erdem de var. Kaya Erdem'in eşi. Masanın üstündeki radyoda kulaklar...

Bir gün önce Cumhurbaşkanı Kenan Evren'e kabine listesini sunan Turgut Özal, o gün onay bekliyor. Ve bu heyecanlı bekleyiş Yeniköy'deki eve kadar uzuyor. Biz bu bekleyişin arasında devreye girerek soruyoruz Semra Özal'a...

— Turgut Bey, politikaya atılma kararını size açıkladığında tepkiniz ne olmuştu?

«Düzenimizin bozulacağını bildiğim için razı olmak istemedim. İlk tepkim buydu. Sonra kendisi sebeblerini açıkladığında razı oldum ve sonuna kadar yanında olmaya çalıştım.»

— Politika sonrası yaşantınızda ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

«Politika öncesinde biraz birbirimizi görebiliyorduk. Çoluk çocuk evde oluyorduk. Ahbablarımızla görüşüyorduk. Şimdi biliyorsunuz. Son zamanlarda görüşmek bir yana, ancak karşılaşıyoruz. Bu karşılaşmalarda bile konuşmaya vakit olmuyor. Mesela çocuklarla ilgili konular var, konuşmamız gereken, ama konuşamıyoruz.»

— Politik yaşamın Turgut Bey üzerindeki etkileri. Özellikle de aile yaşantınızdaki?..

«Çalışması arttı, uykusu azaldı; görüşme imkânımız kalmadı.»

— Evlendiğiniz sıralarda bugünleri hayal edebiliyor muydunuz?

«Evlendiğimiz zaman iyi bir pozisyonu vardı. Kendi yaşıtlarına göre iyiydi durumu. Politik olarak olmasa bile, belli bir seviyeye geleceğini biliyordum.»

— Özelliklerinden sözeder misiniz biraz. Örneğin, sevdikleri, sevmedikleri, çocuklarla ve sizinle ilişkileri, onu keyiflendiren ya da kızdıran şeyler?

«Turgut Bey genellikle çocukları çok sever ve mümkün olduğu kadar evde bizimle beraber olmayı tercih eder. Çalışmayı ve okumayı sever. Müzik dinler, özellikle de klasik müziği sever. Onu en çok keyiflendiren şey: onun eşofman tipi bir pijaması var, onu giysin, terliklerini giysin, çocuklarıyla şakalaşsın. Çocuklara karşı çok yumuşaktır. Ben daha sertim. Yemek seçmez. Çok adildir, affetmediği tek şey yalandır. Çocuklarla ve dersleriyle çok meşgul olamadı. Çocuklarımızla ilgili pek problem de olmadı. Allah acıdı galiba.»

• DEVAMI 46. SAYFADA





Nasıl ki Turgut Özal ve Kaya Erdem şimdiye kadar pek çok yerde ve konuda beraberliklerini sürdürdülerse, eşleri de aynı şekilde birbirlerine destek oluyorlar. Ve kabine onaylandığında birbirlerine sarılıp sevinçlerini ortaya koyuyorlar (üstte solda). Başbakanın en büyük zaafı çocuklar. Tek kızları olan Zeynep de babasına ve annesine karşı sevgisini her fırsatta ortaya koymaktan çekinmiyor (üstte sağda)...



PROFESÖRLERİN EĞLENCE GECESİ

18 yıldır sürekli olarak yapılan ve Nöro-Psikiyatri Derneği tarafından düzenlenen Ulusal Psikiyatri ve Nörolojik Bilimler Kongresi, bilindiği gibi bu yıl da İstanbul'da yapıldı.

Birçok bilim adamının biraraya geldiği kongreden sonra bir de kokteyl verildi. Koktteyide Türkiye'nin tanınmış tıp adamları bir araya geldiler. İşte bunlardan bazıları:

Profesör Dr. Günsel Koptagel İlal, Gürhan İlal, Ülkü Köknel, Profesör Dr. Özcan Köknel ve Sema Öngün...

GENÇ REKLAMCILAR EĞLENİYOR

Günümüzde en geçerli iş kollarından biri haline gelen reklamcılığa her gün yeni yatırımlar yapılırken, gün geçmeden birçok yeni reklam şirketi de faaliyete geçiyor. Reklamcılık kadar bu iş kolunda çalışanların sayıları da her gün artıyor. İşte bir davette biraraya gelen genç reklamcılardan Figen Şatır, Ahmet Tanrıverdi, Semiha Tanrıverdi ve Mine Güvendik saatlerce sohbet ettiler.





ALTIN ÇOCUĞUN KEYFİ YERİNDE

Önce sinema oyunculuğunu, sonra da şarkıcılığı bırakan beyazperdenin altın çocuğu Göksel Arsoy, şimdi yeni kurduğu reklam şirketini daha da genişletmek için çalışıyor...

Yeni işi ile ilgili toplantıları da hiç kaçırmayan Arsoy, Marmara Etap'ta yapılan bir koktteyide İstanbul barosu avukatlarından Mehmet Ali İkizer ve sanayici Vecihi İbak ile bol bol sohbet etme fırsatı buldu.

HANIMLARIN BAŞARISI

Reklamcılık ve pazarlama konuları en ilgi çekici meslekterden biri haline geldi.

Öyle ki, şimdi genç hanımlarımız bile pazarlama ve reklam şirketleri kuruyorlar ve bir hayli de başarılı oluyorlar.

Tabii hanımların iş konularındaki başarıları da en çok erkekleri korkutuyor. Bengü Bilik de başarılı iş kadınlarından biri. Büyük bir reklam ve pazarlama şirketinin sahibi olan Bilik, dostlarıyla iş toplantılarını, davetleri hiç kaçırmıyor.



Cemiyet Haberleri



BROOKE'UN DANSI

Sinemanın yeni gözdesi Brooke Shields, geçtiğimiz hafta New York'ta bir gece kulübüne giderek keyfince eğlendi. Arkadaşları ile toplu bir dans gösterisi yapan sanatçının çiklet çiğneyerek yaptığı figürler ve şişirdiği balonlar biraz yadırgandı. Fakat Brooke ne yapsa taklit edileceğinden emin olduğu için kimseye aldırmıyor.



ELÇİ KIZININ REZALETLERİ

Prenses Caroline'in kocasını Kuşadası'nda baştan çıkaran, Güney Amerikalı bir büyükelçinin kızı Gianni Faccia, skandallarına ara vermeden devam ediyor. Bu arada Avrupa jet sosyetesinin gözbebeği olan Faccia, yakında film de çevirecekmiş. Genç kadının en yakın arkadaşı İsveçli oyuncu Britt Ekland.



NİŞAN HALKALARINI ALTINMEŞE TAKTI

Türk Halk Müziği'nin ünlü türkücüsü İzzet Altınmeşe, geçtiğimiz günlerde Aksaray'da bir düğün salonunda evliliğe ilk adımı atan iki gencin nişan yüzüklerini taktı. Fahri hemşeri olarak nişana renk katan ünlü sanatçı, Remzi ile Filiz adlarındaki bu iki gence ömür boyu mutluluklar diledi. Genç nişanlılar Altınmeşe'yi düğünlerine de davet ettiler.



JACKIE'NİN YENİ AŞKI

Jackie Onassis, yaşı bir hayli ilerlemesine rağmen aşktan vazgecemiyor. Genç kadın geçtiğimiz günlerde Paris'teki bir kulübe gazeteci sevgilisi ile geldi ve yine bütün dikkatleri üzerinde topladı. Bu arada sevgilisi ile resimlerinin çekilmesinden de oldukça memnun görünen Jackie'nin yeni bir evliliğin eşiğinde olduğundan sözediliyor.



AÇILIŞTA BULUŞTULAR

Mutfak, banyo ve iç dekorasyon sahasında yeniliklerle hizmete giren bir kuruluşun Caddebostan'daki mağazasının açılış törenine çok sayıda davetli geldi. Şirket mensupları ve iş piyasasının önde gelenlerinin davetli olduğu açılışta biraraya gelen yöneticiler ve personel, bu açılışı birlikte kutladılar.



KURULAN FABRİKANIN ŞEREFİNE

Maslak'ta yeni üretime başlayan ekmek fabrikasının satış müdürü Gürz Kodak, fabrikanın hizmete girmesi ve üretime geçmesini kutlamak için yakın dostlarına bir kutlama yemeği verdi. Gece geç saatlere kadar eğlenen ekip, kadehlerini sık sık yeni kurulan fabrikanın şerefine kaldırmayı da ihmal etmediler...

AİLESİNDE VE İŞYERİNDE İLK KADIN YÖNETİCİ:

GÜLER SABANCI

Genel Müdür Muavini olan Güler Sabancı'nın sorumluluğunda 3'ü müdür, 8'i şef toplam 80 kişilik bir kadro çalışıyor. Güler Sabancı ayrıca üç şirketin idare meclisi üyeliğini de yürütüyor...



Küçüklüğünden başlayarak ailede yalnızca erkeklerin sürdürdüğü iş konuşmalarına kulak misafirliği yapan Güler Sabancı'nın, kadına uzak gibi görünen bir işletmede çalışmaya başlaması aile içinde heves olarak değerlendirilirken, tek destekleyen amcası Sakıp Sabancı olmuş...





İki sene önceki görevi ikmal müdürlüğünü Sertan Ozan'a bırakarak bir üst düzeye yükselen Güler Sabancı, onunla sık sık ikili iş görüşmeleri yapıyor.

SABANCI soyadını taşıyan başarılı bir genç kadın olduğunu öğrenmek çoğu kişiye olağan gelecektir. «Ne de olsa soyadı Sabancı» denebilir. Bugün büyük bir şirketin Genel Müdür Muavini koltuğunda oturan Güler Sabancı'yla görüşmeye giderken öncelikle bu konuya açıklık getirmeyi düşünüyorduk. Bu amaçla da hangi aşamalardan geçerek bugüne geldiğini sorduk. Şöyle yanıtladı:

«Boğaziçi İşletme Fakültesi'nde son sınıfı okurken Holding'de Sakıp Amca'nın sekretaryasında yarım gün çalışmaya başladım. Okul bitince de bu şirkette değişik bölümlerde ikişer üçer aylık sürelerle eğitimden geçtim. Tüm bu sürede ve eğitimden sonra başladığım ithalat ve dış ilişkiler bölümünde de bir yıl olmak üzere o zamanki asgari ücret olan 3200 lira maaş aldım. Bu bir yıldan sonra amirlerimin girişimiyle ücretim, şirket normal rakamlarına çıktı. Bu arada şirkette idare heyeti sekretaryasında bir boşluk oldu, ben o görevi de üstlendim. 6-8 ay sonra da ikmal müdürlüğüne geldim. İlk yöneticilik burada başladı, 24 yaşındaydım. İki yıl sonra ise şimdiki görevim olan umum müdür muavinliği gerçekleşti. İki yıldan bu yana da bu görevi sürdürüyorum. Ayrıca holdingin üç ayrı şirketinde idare meclisi üyeliği yapıyorum.»

Güler Sabancı, geleneklerine bağlı olarak bilinen ünlü ailesindeki kuralları yıkmış ilk kadın, aynı zamanda. Onun çalışmaya başlaması üstelik kadının alışılmadığı «lastik» gibi bir alanda yönetici seviyesine gelmesi önceleri ailede «geçici heves» diye yorumlanmış. Ancak geçen zaman ve Güler Sabancı'nın kararlılığı ailenin bu düşüncelerini de yoketmiş. Peki şirkette bu düzeyde ilk kadın yöneticilik nasıl karşılanmış. Cevabını yine onun ağzından dinleyelim:

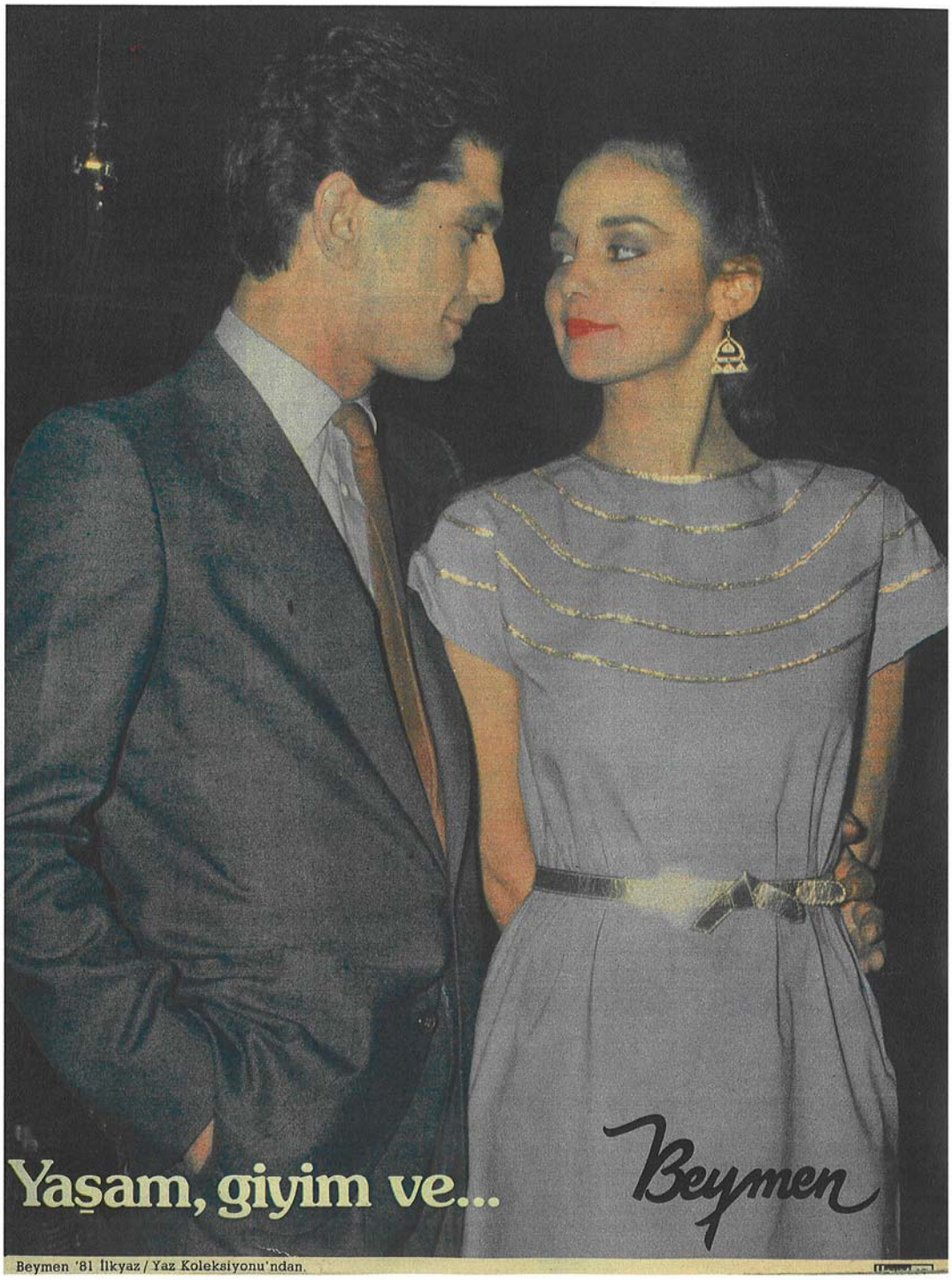
«Kadın ve genç olmanın avantajlarını da dezavantajlarını da yaşadım. Çok önemli mukaveleler imzalanırken, 'yetkili misiniz?» diyenler, hatır için konuşup işten hiç söz açmayanlar oldu. Ancak şirket içinde beni tanıdıkları için işler daha kolay yürüdü. Bizim iş yaşamımızı hep erkekler idare ediyor, dolayısıyla hep onlarla karşı karşıya geliyorum. Ben satınalma olayında erkeklerle karşı karşıya kaldığım için hanımları genellikle kırmadıklarını görüyorum. Mesela istediğim malı istediğim fiyata alabiliyorum.»

Sıra, en çok sormak istediğimiz soruya, «Sabancı» soyadının getirdiği olumluluk ve olumsuzluklara gelince, gülümsüyor ve, «Sabancı olmanın müsbet yanları oldu. Ancak insanlarda belli ön yargılar var, 'işte aileden biri gelmiş oturuyor' diye düşünenler çıkıyor» dedikten sonra başında bulunduğu şirketin son birkaç yıllık dökümünü yapıyor «Sabancı» soyadının değil, Güler Sabancı'nın ürünleri bunlar...

Haftanın iki gününü İzmit'te fabrika'da, bir gününü üst idareyle yapılan toplantılarda, geri kalan zamanı ise bürodaki çalışmalarla geçiren Güler Sabancı, yöneticilikte ise elemanlarıyla direkt ilişki kurmayı ilke edinmiş...

Yöneticiliğe ilişkin olarak, «Genelinde önyargılı olmamaya dikkat ederim. Bir yöneticinin müdürlerinin gözüyle etrafı görmelerine karşıyım. İş verirken ve isterken işi yapacak olanların durumlarını da dikkate alırım. Bizim iş kolumuz da kolektif çalışmaya açık bir konu. Türkiye' de iş hayatını etkileyen değişiklikleri birlikte konuşur, birlikte tartışırız. İş ve insan idaresi saygıya dayanır, bilgiye dayanır. Ben arkadaşlarımla uzun süredir birlikte olduğum için yöneticilikte zorluk çekmedim» diyor, Sabancı ailesinin ilk hanım yöneticisi. Henüz evli olmayan ancak işlerinin yoğunluğunun evlilik kararı almasını engellemeyeceğini belirten Güler Sabancı, «Tabii şimdi bekâr olmam işleri kolaylaştırıyor» demekten de kendini alamıyor...

— SON —



Beymen '81 İlkyaz / Yaz Koleksiyonu'ndan.


MIS
MISIR GEVREĞİ
CORN FLAKES
ÇAĞDAŞ KAHVALTINIZ!..
DİKKAT Corn Flakes soğuk sütle yenir
MIS
CORN FLAKES
Mis Cornflakes, toz şeker, soğuk süt ... Pratik ve çağdaş kahvaltınız... çıtır çıtır. Mis Cornflakes dengeli beslenmenin temel vitamin ve minerallerini sağlar, yüksek kalori verir. Severek, iştahla yenir.
HANIMLAR DİKKAT!
2 adet Mis cornflakes kutusundan keseceğiniz "Mis cornflakes... Çok kolay" yazılı parçayı isim ve adresinizi belirterek P.K.129 Mecidiyeköy-İstanbul adresine postalayın. Kulotlu çorabınız hemen gönderilecektir.
CORN FLAKES (MISIR GEVREĞİ) YÜKSEK ENERJİ VE VİTAMİN DEĞERİ SAYESİNDE • VÜCUT GELİŞMESİNE • BOY UZAMASINA • REFLEKS GÜÇLENMESİNE YARDIMCIDIR!
Çünkü CORN FLAKES (MISIR GEVREĞİ) TE ŞU VİTAMİN ve MİNERALLER VARDIR:
VİTAMİN B1
VİTAMİN B2
NİASİN
PROTEİN
KARBONHİDRAT
POTASYUM
KALSİYUM
DEMİR
BAKIR
FOSFOR
SODYUM
CORN FLAKES İN (MISIR GEVREĞİ) KALORİSİ BAL DAN TÜKSEKTİR!
380 Kalori
DENGELİ BESLENME
PİKNİKTE, PLAJDA


adidas
TENNIS
Tropic
KİNG'S
POP
DERBY OF SUSSEX-WALL
FROM ME...TO YOU
Levi's
PRIX
dynamic look
KİNG'S
Posta ile satış sisteminde güvenilir isim KİNG'S arzu ettiğiniz bu giysileri bir hafta içinde evinize getiriyor.
ÜCRETSİZ, RENKLİ - OFSET BASKILI KATALOĞUMUZU İSTEYİNİZ. KİNG'S TİCARET
Sadi Çeşmesi Sokak No: 31 - 33 Yusufpaşa - Aksaray - İSTANBUL
BRUCE LEE
THE ROAD TIGER

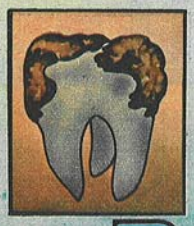
Problem

Bakımsız dişleri çürüten tabaka...

PLAQUE Plak

Plaque nedir?

Plaque, yediklerimizin, içtiklerimizin veya sigaranın dişlerimiz üzerinde oluşturduğu, gözle görülmeyecek kadar ince bir tabakadır. Bu tabaka, gerekli diş bakımı yapılmadığı takdirde zamanla diş etleriyle, dişler arasında taşlaşır ve dişlerin kısa zamanda çürümesine neden olur.



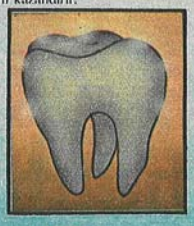
Çözüm

Dişlerde oluşan Plaque tabakasını yok eden ANTİ-PLAQUE

Anti-Plaque DURODONT nedir?

Anti - Plaque DURODONT, Dr. Scheller'in bulduğu özel formüllü bir diş macunudur. Anti - Plaque DURODONT, dişlerde oluşan ince tabakanın zararlı etkisini yok eder. Anti - Plaque DURODONT küçük yaşlardan itibaren kullanıldığı taktirde, dişlerde oluşan zararlı tabakanın oluşmasını kesinlikle önler.

Anti - Plaque DURODONT
İlk planda diş sağlığını korurken, kozmetik etkisiyle de, dişlere beyaz ve parlak bir görünüm kazandırır.



Dünyaca ünlü
özel formüllü diş macunu
ANTI-PLAQUE

DuroDont

Şimdi Türkiye'de...



ANTI-PLAQUE
DuroDont
"yemeklerden sonra bir fırça"



HALK ANAYASAYA VE EVREN'E "EVET" DEDİ



Fotoğraflar : Fatma Bânû

7 Kasım'da yapılan halkoylamasında yurttaşlar, her şeyiyle Evren'i tasvip ettiklerini açıkça ortaya koydular...

Ve demokrasi yolundaki en büyük adımlardan biri daha atıldı. 12 Eylül öncesinin karanlık günlerine bir daha dönülmeyecek şekilde hazırlanan yeni anayasa, vatandaşlar tarafından kabul edilerek yürürlüğe girdi. Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Başkanı Orgeneral Kenan Evren de yedi yıllık bir dönem için cumhurbaşkanlığına seçilmiş oldu.

Bazı çevrelerin aleyhte propagandalarına rağmen, anayasa oylamasına katılma oranı yüksek olurken, «Evet» oyları da kesin bir çoğunluk sağladı. Halkımız hem anayasaya, hem de Evren'e «Evet» derken, geçmişin karanlık günlerine bir daha dönmek istemediğini, yarınları umutla dolu bir Türkiye özlemi içinde olduğunu bütün dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. Siyasi Partiler Kanunu'nun hazırlanmasından sonra Türkiye, MGK'nin sunduğu takvim çerçevesinde demokratik yörüngeye oturmuş olacak

Ölümünün 500. yılında Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve İstanbul'un Fethi

19 YAŞINDA BİR OSMANLI PADİŞAHI

Yazı : Ahmet YILMAZ

Babasının ölümüyle genç yaşta tahta çıkan II. Mehmed, İstanbul'u fethettiği zaman yalnızca 21 yaşındaydı.



Rüyalar şehri İstanbul'u almak için kimler uğraşmamıştı ki... Ama başaran ve şehre Fatih olarak girebilen, sadece II. Mehmed oldu... Genç padişah böylece tarihin seyrini değiştiriyordu.

YIL 1432... 29 martı 30'a bağlayan pazar gecesi.. Sinop Hükümdarı İsfendiyar Bey'in kızı Hatice Alime Hümâ Hatun, Gazi Hünkâr Sultan II. Murad'a bir erkek evlad verirken, çağ açıp kapayarak cihan tarihine geçecek bir «Fatih» anası olduğunu elbette ki bilemezdi.

Sabah namazını kıldıktan sonra seccadesi üzerinde Kur'an okuyan baba, Sure-i Muhammed'i bitirip Sure-i Feth'e başlamak üzereyken, bir oğlu olduğu müjdesini alınca, sevinç dolu gözlerinden yaşlar boşandı ve «Ravza-ı Murad'da bir Gül.i Muhammedi açdı» dedi.

Bir cuma günü Sultan, emirlerin, vezirlerin ve bilginlerin hazır bulunduğu bir mecliste, iki rek'ât namaz





12 EYLÜL 2. YILINI DOLDURDU

Anarşik olaylar yüzünden kardeşin kardeşe düşman olduğu, huzursuz, kaygılı ve umutsuz bir ortamdan, yarına güvenle bakan bir Türkiye doğmasını 12 Eylül harekâtına borçluyuz.

GÜN geçmiyordu ki, makineli tüfekle taranan kahveler, öldürülen, yaralanan gençler, işçiler, yakılan - yıkılan yuvalar, evler, evlatsız kalan analar, eşsiz kalan kadınlarla ilgili bir haber yürekleri dağlamasın. Şehirden şehire gezmek, ortalık kararınca sokağa çıkmak, çalışmak, okula gitmek, kısacası normal bir hayat sürmek imkânsız hale gelmişti o günlerde ülkemizde. Bu kötü gidişi aklı başında herkes sezmesine, bu anlamsız çekişmeyi herkes yermesine, kısır siyasi polemikleri herkes kınamasına rağmen, bir çıkar yol, sonuca ulaştıracak bir çözüm, nedense bulunamıyordu.

Bu karışık ortamda Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri emir-komuta zinciri çerçevesinde 12 Eylül harekâtını gerçekleştirerek, ülkedeki kardeş kavgasını sona erdirdiği gibi, her şeyiyle umutlu ve yarınına güvenle bakan bir Türkiye yaratılmasını da en kısa sürede sağlamayı başardı.

Askeri yönetimin ikinci yılını doldurduğu şu günlerde, Milli Güvenlik Konseyi'nin verdiği bütün sözleri belirtilen takvim çerçevesinde yerine getirdiğine bütün dünya şahittir.

Hazırlanan anayasanın halkoylamasına sunulup kabul edilmesinden sonra, siyasi partiler ve seçim kanunlarının çıkarılmasıyla, yeniden çok partili demokratik hayata geçileceği kesindir. Ancak, 12 Eylül öncesinin karanlık dönemi, artık her şeyiyle geride kalacaktır.

İki yıllık sürenin vatandaşlar üzerinde bıraktığı bu izlenim, onların geleceğe de aynı umutla bakmalarını sağlamaktadır. Çağdaş milletler seviyesine yükselebilmek ve medenî ülkeler arasındaki gerçek yerini alabilmek için, Türkiye'nin aynı hızla yoluna devam etmesi ve doğru olduğuna inandığı yoldan şaşmaması gerekiyor.



Tenis turnuvası ilgi görmedi

37. Enternasyonal Tenis Turnuvası İstanbul TED Kulüp'te yapıldı ülkenin katıldığı tenis turnuvasına hafta içinde pek ilgi gösteren olmı İlk elemelerin yapıldığı ilk beş gün tribünler hemen hemen boş denec kadar tenhayken son iki gün cumartesi ve pazara rastladığı için bi hareketlendi. Bu yılki turnuvada Türk oyuncular hiç dereceye girem

Kadınlarda Macar Fargon, erkeklerde Macar Horvat birinci olurken na Horvat ve Szocke çiftler de birinciliği aldılar. Grup birinciliğini kimseye kaptırmayan Macar oyuncular o gece şereflerine verilen k teyide bol bol içip eğlenerek şampiyonluğun tadını çıkardılar.

Annesi ve kızkardeşiyle birlikte gelen Yunanlı bayan tenisçi, güzel o çıkarmasına rağmen elenince, «Ben Türkiye'de doğdum... Buraya menin bir başka anlamı var, önemli olan yarışmadır, kazanma de diye kendisini teselli etti.



Dünya sineması İngrid Bergman'ı «İntermezzo» filmiyle (solda) tanım «La Racune» filminde Antony Quin'le oynayan (sağda) İngrid B man, 43 yıl boyunca pek çok film çevirmiş üç Oscar ödülü kazanm

