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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*

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145787

Submitted to
the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

Boğaziçi University

2004

"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*," a thesis prepared by Fulya Özkan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History.

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ABSTRACT

An Abstract of the thesis of Fulya Özkan for the degree of Master of Arts in the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken September 2004

Title: 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*

Even though Turkey did not enter World War II officially, it was inevitable for her to be affected by a war that had repercussions throughout the world. Therefore, in a parallel fashion to the new developments following the war, the end of it marked a new era in Turkey as well. The economic prosperity that emerged relative to the harsh war conditions found its ideological reflections in the cultural realm, where a - so to speak- boom was observed. One consequence of this cultural proliferation was an increase in the number of popular culture magazines published in Turkey. Thus, this study presumes that an analysis of two major popular periodicals, *Bütün Dünya* and *Hafta*, is a good means to get an understanding of this transition period that followed the war. Accordingly, these two journals had a discourse parallel to the changing socio-economic environment of the post-war years in that they included articles about the entrepreneurial spirit in their pages. However, they reserved a place for a counter-discourse that challenged the industriousness and work ethics of this spirit as well. Moreover, the everyday life of the "common people" that was narrated in *Hafta* also constitutes a picture of the reality that contradicted such a discourse. This contradictory nature of the discourse of these two magazines also shapes the theoretical framework of this study in which recent discussions in the academic circles of both history and cultural studies disciplines are examined.

ÖZET

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Fulya Özkan tarafından Eylül 2004'te teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

Başlık: Normalleşme veya Fantezi Üzerine Bir Söylem ve Gündelik Hayattaki Yansımaları: 1950'lerin İki Popüler Dergisinin Kültürel ve Tarihsel Bir Analizi, *Bütün Dünya* ve *Hafta*

Her ne kadar İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na resmen katılmamış olsa da Türkiye'nin, etkileri tüm dünyaya yayılan bu savaştan etkilenmesi kaçınılmazdı. Bu nedenle savaşın sona ermesiyle birlikte ortaya çıkan gelişmelere paralel olarak, Türkiye yeni bir döneme girdi. Çetin savaş koşullarına kıyasla hissedilen iktisadi refah, ideolojik yansımalarını tabiri caizse bir patlamanın yaşandığı kültürel alanda buldu. Bu kültürel zenginleşmenin sonuçlarından biri de yayınlanan popüler kültür dergilerinin sayısındaki artıştı. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, dönemin iki önemli popüler dergisi olan *Bütün Dünya* ve *Hafta* üzerine bir incelemenin, savaş sonrası geçiş dönemini anlamak için uygun bir çerçeve sunduğunu öngörmektedir. Zira bu dergilerin söylemi, girişimci bir ruhun nasıl olması gerektiğini ele alan makalelere yer verdiği ölçüde savaş sonrası yılların değişen sosyal ve ekonomik çehresini de yansıtıyordu. Ancak bu dergilerin, girişimci çalışma ahlakını yeren bir karşı-söylemleri de vardı. Hatta, *Hafta* dergisinin aktardığı şekliyle "sıradan insanın" gündelik hayatı da dergilerin bu söylemiyle çelişen bir resim teşkil ediyordu. Dergilerin bu çelişkili söylemi, bu tezin hem tarih hem de kültürel çalışmalar disiplinlerine içkin bazı akademik tartışmaların ele alındığı teorik çerçevesini de biçimlendirmiştir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank first and foremost my family, especially my lovely mother and sister. My mother is solely responsible for this thesis because she never hesitated to believe in me and the choices I have made. Therefore, she has been of great moral support to me, not only while I was writing this thesis, but in my whole life. My sister Hande has also given me moral support, and has always provided me with her academic inspiration. She is the one who read my entire thesis before it was finished and shared her ideas with me.

My friends have been a second source of support both in the last year during which I was writing my thesis and before. First of all, I would like to thank Özlem Taştan, who has been a part of my life since my undergraduate years at Boğaziçi University. She has been one of the many others who have always believed that I would cope with the difficulties I met and will meet in my life, one of them being the writing process of this thesis. Thank you for being a real friend and always listening to me. Second, I want to thank my friends from high school, especially Çağrı Saray, Güçlü Güneyi, and Burak Tokoğlu. Without being a part of their lives and without sharing a common lifestyle with them, I would have always questioned whether I did wrong when I decided not to be a part of the crude business world.

I want to thank my fellows at the Atatürk Institute as well, especially Nilay Özok, Burak Gürel, and Can Nacar. They have always encouraged me that I would successfully finish my thesis and apart from it, have been great friends in many other respects as well. Özgür Evren was another person who indirectly influenced the writing process of this thesis. Despite the distance between us for the last year, he was the one who shared the previous four years of his life with me and supported me when I was trying to make decisions that would have an impact on my future. Lastly, I want to thank my friend Yeliz Dönmez, whose presence has reminded me that nothing is more important than friendship itself, not even this study.

My adviser Assoc. Prof. M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu has believed in me from the beginning of this study. He was the one who found the topic I chose fascinating. I should thank him not only for his academic support, but also for his friendly attitude to me, eliminating the distances between a professor and a student, and always being there when I had something to ask. I also have to thank Asst. Prof. Cengiz Kırlı for allowing me to follow his course on cultural history even though I was not officially registered. The articles he assigned helped me enormously to build the theoretical structure of this study. He also was very helpful in providing me with additional material which were relevant to my topic. Asst. Prof. Nadir Özbek was another of my professors whose academic impact may be observed in this thesis. His critical attitude to many "givens" of historiography gave me the chance to realize many missing points. I also want to thank Prof. Zafer Toprak, who accepted to be on my jury. The friendly staff of Beyazıt State Library who enabled me with a nice and comfortable place to study were also very helpful during my research.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Nuray Özışık, Necla Turunç and Leyla Kılıç for providing a friendly working environment. It was really a great moral support to see the smiling face of Leyla Abla at nine o'clock in the morning. The editors of our institute, Kathryn Kranzler and Tracy Deliismail, contributed a lot to me and to this thesis as well, both improving my writing skills and sharing their views with me about the content of my thesis.

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PREFACE

This study presents a content analysis of two popular culture magazines published during the 1950's, *Bütün Dünya* (The Entire World) and *Hafta* (The Week). The former was a magazine published by Nebioğlu publishing house starting from 1948. This magazine was issued by the same publishers and with the same title until 1977 and then, between 1982 and 1984. *Bütün Dünya* was mostly composed of articles that were translated from famous foreign popular journals. It aimed at providing a possibility for the people in Turkey to follow what was written and discussed in the foreign press at that time.

This study examines the issues of *Bütün Dünya* that were published between 1948 and 1954. Initially, my intention was to extend this period until 1960, a date which is usually marked as another breaking point in "Turkish" historiography due to the military takeover. However, I then decided to limit the extent of this study for several reasons. First of all, the first six years of the journal were so rich in material that I had no other choice than to limit the time period that I was going to include in my work. Second, to end the range of my thesis in 1960 would imply a necessary parallel between the political developments and prevalent cultural values in Turkey at that time. Therefore, rather than making a chronological periodization that contained clear-cut breaks in itself, I preferred to focus more on the transitionary aspects of the years that followed World War II.

The second magazine that is discussed in the coming pages is *Hafta*, which was published by Tahsin Demiray between 1949 and 1959. For the same reasons mentioned above, I studied the issues that were published only until 1956, and the last three years were omitted. Similar to *Bütün Dünya*, *Hafta* also included translated

texts; but different from *Bütün Dünya*, it also covered original articles written by authors from Turkey. This nature of *Hafta* was also significant for the methodology of my thesis. Accordingly, many articles written by writers from Turkey gave me the chance to overcome one of the major drawbacks of *Bütün Dünya*: the absence of the "Turkish" context. In this sense, the first part of this thesis, which covers this magazine, remains merely a content analysis. However, the second part, consisting of a study of *Hafta*, also provides the means of obtaining an idea of the practices and experiences of the "real" people living in Turkey in the 1950's. Still, readers should never forget that these experiences were merely remembered as they were narrated by the authors of this magazine, a problem that is intrinsic to any historical study as the students of history have no chance at all to observe the practices of the historical agents who were once alive.

The first chapter of this thesis offers an introductory discussion in which the theoretical stand of the writer is presented. The second chapter deals with *Bütün Dünya* and discusses the contradictory nature of its discourse. The next chapter, which is about *Hafta*, makes a similar argumentation with similar subtitles to the previous one; but different from it, more attention is given to the context of the period under study. In this sense, this chapter seeks to answer to what extent the ideological content of these magazines was reflected in reality. Last but not least, the final chapter provides an extensive summary of both the findings and conclusions and the theoretical discussions that were presented in the previous pages.

This study can be considered as a modest attempt of contribution to an academic discussion in two different aspects, historical and theoretical respectively. The historical contribution of this thesis is directly related to the fact that I did not start with an intention to reveal the *Zeitgeist* of the period, as if such a general and

total picture could be drawn. Accordingly, the content analysis of *Hafta* would disprove any student of cultural history who expected to arrive at a general picture of the period under study. On the contrary, the discourse of *Hafta* is full of examples indicating how the very same activities and the very same moments were lived in different manners by different segments of the society. Hence, culture should never be recognized as a whole in itself.

The theoretical aspect of this study also points out that culture should not be treated as a totality. Keeping this warning in mind, efforts were made to avoid treating the discourse of the magazines as purely ideological means of inculcating consistent messages. This attention would allow a view of the readers of these magazines as active consumers of culture who had the chance to "play" with the different and contradictory meanings conveyed. Thus, this study attempts to transcend a simple reduction of popular culture to the culture of the "ignorant masses." Last but not least, this study aims at reminding its readers of the discourse's importance in the constitution of subjects as opposed to the recent overemphasis of cultural studies on the reader's response analysis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recently, a new tendency, which explores the ways through which cultural consumers interpret cultural forms and products, has emerged in cultural studies. In other words, using Hall's terminology, there has been an emphasis on the "decoding" phase of cultural activities. Hall defines two basic levels where culture is performed: "encoding," which concerns the production of cultural meanings, and "decoding," which is the description of the different ways in which the relevant constituencies first receive and then consume culture.[1]

The recent emphasis cultural studies has put on this last level has been very promising in that it paves the way to overcome the previous grand narrative that culture as a whole in itself is part of an ideological project in which it functions like a manipulative tool in the hands of the cultural elite. In this picture, the so-called "masses" are drawn as passive "idiots" who accept everything that has been presented to them. This view is usually attributed to the Frankfurt School, which has been accused of being unconfident about people's abilities to resist ideological manipulation. There have been efforts to save the members of this school from this accusation such as that of Berman. Berman suggests that Adorno's focus on the notion "culture industry" is itself an effort to avoid the negative connotations of its alternative "mass culture." He claims that the latter

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

implies that it is the masses themselves who want the low quality of cultural products. In opposition to this conception, Adorno invented the term "culture industry" in order to indicate that it was not the ignorance of the masses, but rather the economic interests of the cultural elite that determined the maligned nature of mass culture. In other words, Berman maintains that Adorno's intention was to reflect the important role played by capitalism in the cultural realm, and not to argue that people were ignorant.[2]

However, whether Adorno's intention was benign or not, it cannot be denied that his analysis influenced the scholars who have been studying culture to a certain extent. Accordingly, until the so-called cultural turn of the last two decades, the studies of cultural analysts have usually served to overestimate this disbelief in the "common people," as if such a category with strictly drawn boundaries separating the "uncommon people" from the "rest" could be clearly defined. In other words, there was a tendency to assume that these were the only two groupings by which people could be categorized and that these categories were wholes in themselves without any internal divisions. As an effort to overcome these shortcomings, the so-called cultural turn tried to show the channels of interaction between the earlier notions of "low" and "high" culture and thus, managed to reduce them to totally meaningless empty signifiers. One way of indicating these vessels of interaction was to underline the ways through which consumers of culture read and receive cultural messages. The assumption was that their way of reading cultural texts in its turn would have an impact on the producers of these texts, whether

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[2] Russell A. Berman, "Writing for the Book Industry: The Writer in Organized Capitalism," *Modern Culture and Critical Theory* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 56.

these were articles in a magazine, programs on television, or blue jeans. In this sense, consumers of culture would turn out to be producers of different meanings.

Depiction of this active role played by older "masses" and of the interaction areas between givers and receivers of cultural meanings were two major gains of the new cultural studies. However, it is equally important to ask why cultural theorist suddenly realized the mistakes they had made in the past at this particular period of time. These were times of postmodernism, post-structuralism, post-industrialism, in fact "post" of everything that had been prevalent a few years earlier. Maybe it was this coincidence that would make it so easy to celebrate cheerfully the new intellectual trends in the cultural realm. Accordingly, while postmodernism promisingly discredited any belief in unilateral definitions, cultural studies took the responsibility of proving the multi-faced nature of cultural products by overemphasizing the different ways through which different readers responded to dominant messages.

As argued above, the focus on active readers was the great contribution made by this tendency to cultural studies, but gradually, the emphasis on differences was mentioned so many times that it somehow started to lose all meaning. Now, difference was used to explain everything, but nobody cared to explain what difference meant or implied any more. Consequently, cultural analysis lost its way due to this ambivalent nature of the word "difference" as it was argued that two different people could draw completely different conclusions even from identical texts. This pluralism, which was once cheered so happily that it finally arrived in the academic world, now prevented the utterance of any words of criticism since differences reduced everything to the possible and acceptable and thus, justified even the "unacceptable." Theoretically speaking,

pluralism was expected to enhance the spheres of interaction, but in practice it turned out to hinder any dialogue. Since everything was so different from anything else, there was no longer an Arcemedian point to provide a common ground on which to stand and make arguments. Universalism promisingly was sentenced to death, but this at the same time reduced all dialogue to a monologue.

In his criticism of the historians who have been thinking of their academic field as something peculiar to the past, Steinberg replies that history as a discipline must not ask merely the question "how we got to where we are now?", but also "who we are in relation to how we say we got here?" Namely, history must not lose track of the present, it has to "account for itself in relation to its status in the present." We have to "think historically about the past in relation to the present and the future." History does not need to be antiquarian or exotic, it just requires that everything be historicised, including academic disciplines like cultural studies. Therefore, postmodernism and, related to it, cultural studies, must be considered as merely another "historical predicament" and needs to be thought through contextually.[3] History should not be considered as something merely about the past. As Burke suggests, "perhaps there is a middle way, an approach to the past which asks present-minded questions, but refuses to give present-minded answers."[4]

This study, therefore, concerns history in that it attempts to illuminate some cultural aspects of the Turkey of the 1950's. At the same time, it attempts an answer to a methodological problematic of cultural studies, an academic discipline which is currently

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[3] Michael P. Steinberg, "Cultural History and Cultural Studies" in *Disciplinarity and Dissent in Cultural Studies*, eds. Cary Nelson and Dilip Parameshwar Goankar (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 104, 110.

in fashion. Accordingly, this study suggests that while it has to be kept in mind that the reader's response is important due to the reasons mentioned above, it is at the same time necessary not to leave the "encoding" level alltogether since this level may give us back that Arcemedian point we have lost. In the end, even if it has been proven that receivers do not completely absorb the massages and meanings of cultural texts and even if there is no one way in which they infer conclusions from them, still it is the texts themselves which are taken by these people as a criterion. In other words, it is meaningless to focus on the readers' responses without paying attention to the texts to which they are responding. This may help us to bypass the postmodernist implications of the recent cultural turn that has been trapped in the discourse of differences.

As a matter of fact, as Burke suggests, "reveal[ing] connections between different activities" must be the duty of any cultural historian. Cultural history has to accomplish two goals at the very same moment: to focus on heterogeneity without losing track of a common unity. Otherwise, this discipline will be doomed to be a narrative of "fragmentation" and unconnected diversities. While emphasizing the varieties of culture, one has to show the conflicts between them rather than taking culture as a terrain of pure differences. In this way, one of the other basic problems of intellectual history, the mentalities approach, and cultural history may be overcome as well: the overestimation of consensus which stands at the opposite side of the overemphasis on differences[5].

One cultural theorist who tries to overcome these problems is Stuart Hall, who claims that the polysemy of different meanings and their pluralism must not be confused

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[4] Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 2.

[5] Ibid., pp. 170, 186, 201, 211.

with each other. Although he recognizes the freedom of receivers in forming their own interpretations, in other words, although he maintains a degree of openness, he still prefers taking the social and political world in which culture is performed as an indispensable part of any cultural analysis. He suggests that there is "a *dominant cultural order*, though it is neither univocal nor uncontested." He emphasizes the word "dominant" by distinguishing it from "determined" because there is always the possibility to decode "within more than one 'mapping'." Consequently, polysemy brings about a political struggle in the discourse between hegemonic and subordinated messages. However, the dominant cultural order draws the boundaries of the territory within which any particular reading of a text can be made because

> if there were no limits, audiences could simply read whatever they liked into any message. No doubt some total misunderstandings . . . do exist. But the vast range must contain *some* degree of reciprocity between encoding and decoding moments, otherwise we could not speak of an effective communicative exchange at all. Nevertheless, this 'correspondence' is not given but constructed. It is not 'natural' but the product of an articulation between two distinct moments. And the former cannot determine or guarantee, in a simple sense, which decoding codes will be employed. Otherwise communication would be a perfectly equivalent circuit, and every message would be an instance of 'perfectly transparent communication.'[6]

Scott extends the same discussion to a new realm by employing a new terminology, including the notions "discourse" and "experience." In fact, she is totally against a clear-cut distinction between these two conceptions. Rather than regarding them as dichotomies, she argues that the two cannot be thought of as separate entities. In this way, she tries to overcome the recent emphasis on experiences. She does not argue for ignoring this category alltogether, but her aim is to demonstrate the defects of taking

experience as the departure point of any analysis. She asserts that experience itself needs interpretation rather than being the criterion which explains everything. Focusing on the productive quality of discourses, she says

> Treating the emergence of a new identity as a discursive event is not to introduce a new form of linguistic determinism nor to deprive subjects of agency. It is to refuse a separation between "experience" and language and to insist instead on the productive quality of discourse. Subjects are constituted discursively, but there are conflicts among discursive systems, contradictions within any one of them, multiple meanings possible for the concepts they deploy. And subjects do have agency. They are not unified, autonomous individuals exercising free will but rather subjects whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them.[7]

Adapting Scott's argumentation to the vocabulary of this study, one can infer that the reader's activity (experience in Scott's terms) does not carry a value in itself; it is worth of studying only in relation to the texts (discourses) on which it works.

This discussion on the priority of discourse or experience has been also endemic to the history of reading. A major polemic has emerged between Chartier and Darnton on this subject. While Darnton asserts that the publication of enlightening books preceded the outbreak of the French Revolution as its cause, Chartier refuses this idea. In response to Darnton, who appeals to historians in order to make them demonstrate that books do make history, he argues that, "it was the revolution that 'made' the books, and not the other way around, since it was the Revolution that gave a premonitory and programmatic meaning to certain works, constituted, after the fact, as its origin."[8] Whether Chartier is

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[6] Hall, "Encoding, decoding," pp. 98-100.

[7] Joan Wallach Scott, "The Evidence of Experience" in *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, ed. Terrence J. MacDonald (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 396.

[8] Roger Chartier, "Do Books Make Revolutions?" *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 89.

right or wrong is not the matter of this study. What is important here is that Darnton defends his perspective on a basis which recognizes the power of discourse in shaping historical agents. He says, "texts shape the response of readers, however active they may be."[9]

Similarly, Erdoğan suggests that cultural consumption and reception cannot be studied while separating them from the "ideological matrix" through which they are realized. If this is the case, he continues, then we end up with nothing, but a "crude" and "caricaturized" version of de Certeau's theory. He asserts that "in this way, the subject which is reduced to a 'carrier' by structuralism transforms into a 'sovereign' subject which is transparent and identical to itself, which constructs itself, and between whose desires and interests there is no contradiction."[10] Erdoğan makes similar claims to those mentioned above as he criticizes the tendency to overestimate the importance of paying too much attention to the reader's activities while ignoring the ideological ground on the basis of which they are supposed to make their own particular interpretations. Therefore, it is crucial to pay attention also to how culture works at the discursive level where the recipients are donated with ideological messages. In other words, it makes no sense to focus on merely cultural consumption since resistance to manipulation turns out to be apolitical if culture, which functions as a means of power, is denied to be significant. As Garnham points out, "without some notion of grounded truth the ideas of emancipation,

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[9] Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 132.

[10] "Bu yolla, yapısalcılığın "taşıyıcılığa" indirgediği özne, kendi kendisini kurabilen, kendi kendisiyle özdeş, arzuları ile çıkarları arasında bir çelişki olmayan, saydam, "hükümran" bir özne haline gelir." Necmi Erdoğan, "Kültürel Çalışmalar, (Kendiliğinden) İdeoloji(si) ve Akademya," *Toplum ve Bilim* 97 (Fall 2003), p. 51.

resistance, and progressiveness become meaningless. Resistance to what, emancipation from what and for what, progression toward what? The cultural studies literature plays much with the word 'power'. The problem is that the source of this power remains, in general, opaque."[11] In order to prevent such an apolitical analysis of power, one has to listen to Kellner, who suggests that cultural studies must not be just another "academic fad," but part of a struggle for a better world because there is always the possibility to resist manipulation and develop freely one's own individuality.[12]

Although Kellner does not mention it, the relationship between culture and history becomes crucial at this point since history would be the terrain on which such a struggle would necessarily take place. Dirks, Elley, and Ortner, who talk about this relationship, argue that while culture is historicized and history itself acquires many cultural forms in that it ceases to provide objective historical truths, there is need for a point around which to converge. This common point on which to stand is provided by power itself and the power relations to which it gives rise. They say "force in turn is only a tiny part of power, so that much of the problematic of power today is a problematic of knowledge making, universe construction, and the social production of feeling and of 'reality'." Thus, culture cannot be analyzed while it is separated from power because it

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[11] Nicholas Garnham, "Political Economy and Cultural Studies" in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 500.

[12] Douglas Kellner, "Critical Theory and Cultural Studies: The Missed Articulation" in *Cultural Methodologies*, ed. Jim McGuigan (London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1997), p. 36.

functions both as a means of forming consent and strategies of resisting it. Consequently, it is impossible to imagine culture as a neutral field.[13]

Erdoğan's argument, however, points out another very important implication of an incomplete analysis of culture which focuses on merely cultural reception and consumption. This point concerns this approach's definition of the subject. Accordingly, if the subject is that much free from what he receives discursively, then we end up with nothing more than a self-referential subject. In this sense, while cultural studies try to get rid of previous notions like the "mass" or "low culture," it, at the same time, employs a very essentialist notion of the subject. Related to this point, taking an essentialist subject as given may lead to make an ahistorical analysis of culture. If the subject defines itself and refers to nothing else, then it is meaningless to care for *what* it reads in which socio-historical circumstances.

This problematic about the subject also raises a discussion about the issue of "consciousness." Dirks et. al. write that if it is impossible to talk about a subject with an "internal coherence," "autonomous existence," or "self-knowledge," then one has to consider the subject as "dispersed in multiple texts" and "fragmentary readings," while it constantly constructs itself and simultaneously gets constructed by outside forces:

> On the one hand, there is general agreement that the bourgeois agent and psyche are not the eternal subject; on the other hand, there is a clear refusal to argue that the acting subject has no ontological reality whatsoever. Thus we try to highlight efforts to understand the ways in which the subject is culturally and historically constructed in different times and places, as a being with a particular kind of affective organization, particular kinds of knowing and understanding, particular

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[13] Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Elley, and Sherry B. Ortner, "Introduction" in *Culture / Power / History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Elley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 5-6, 25.

> modes of gender and sexual ordering, and so forth. At the same time we seek to highlight efforts to understand the ways in which culturally and historically constituted subjects become agents in the active sense -how their actions and modes of being in the world always sustain and sometimes transform the very structures that made them . . . From a theoretical point of view we need a subject who is at once culturally and historically constructed, yet from a political perspective, we would wish this subject to be capable of acting in some sense "autonomously," not simply in conformity to dominant cultural norms and rules, or within the patterns that power inscribes. But this autonomous actor may not be defined as acting from some hidden well of innate "will" or consciousness that has somehow escaped cultural shaping and ordering. In fact, such an actor is not only possible but "normal," for the simple reason that neither "culture" itself nor the regimes of power that are imbricated in cultural logics and experiences can ever be wholly consistent or totally determining.[14]

Therefore, while recognizing the ability of the subject to avoid cultural manipulation, theorists need to be careful not to presume a totally purposeful and conscious agent who is aware of the fact that efforts are being made to subject her agency and who has ready-made plans in mind to fight against it. In this sense, text's power to somehow have an effect on the construction of identities must not be forgotten. While the reader's activity always keeps the door open and resists ideological closure, the hegemonic use of culture should not be ignored or underestimated. After all, does not "[culture] oddly commingle growth and calculation, freedom and necessity, the idea of a conscious project but also of an unplannable surplus[?]"[15]

While it is important to talk about the significance of discourse, it is also crucial the way the texts are treated. In this sense, the aim of this study will be to point out the plurality of the discursive levels. Indeed, it is this plurality which paves the way for the readers to draw different conclusions from the very same cultural products, and not that

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[14] Ibid., pp. 12, 18.

the recipients of culture are isolated and atomized people who have no dialogue between or common experiences with each other. Therefore, this study suggests that while texts have to be treated as the ideological means of cultural elites, they also maintain some routes of escape from indoctrination and provide the readers with the possibility of making contradictory interpretations. In other words, culture in itself carries a potential power that may hegemonize and free at the very same moments.

Fiske is one of the cultural theorists who believes that resistant reading is not only a characteristic of readers, but an intrinsic quality of texts as well. He invented the term "semiotic excess" in order to call the presence of many possible readings of a text. According to him, such a lack of ideological unity explains both the popularity of and the unpredictability of reactions to popular cultural forms. However, after arguing for a multiplicity of meanings, Fiske immediately puts his reservation in overestimating the excesses of "semiotic excess" itself. Similar to Hall, he prefers to warn his readers that "semiotic excess" does not correspond to "a structureless pluralism." On the contrary, social power relations restrict it. Thus, he parallels the attempt to contain meaning to the exercise of social power and the semiotic power of making our own meanings to the ability to oppose the social power. Consequently, the texts of the popular press can be read against the grain at any moment and produce subordinate meanings.[16]

To support his claims, Fiske gives the example of articles about aliens and space printed in the popular press. He attributes a utopian content to these fantastic stories. Attacking the normalizing and disciplinary messages of the power bloc as a set of

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[15] Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000), p. 5.

counter-messages, these contradictory and alternative discourses presume the "skeptical subject" or an active social agent rather than a passive and subjected person. Dismantling the coherent structure of hegemonic discourses, they reject the subject which constitutes a unified body ready to absorb dominant meanings.[17]

Also, Macherey advocates the multiplicity of meanings implicit in texts. He refuses the view that argues that texts convey a single meaning. Rather than constituting a harmonious unity, texts have decentered and incomplete structures which are composed of a number of discourses. These discourses, whether they are implicit, explicit, silent or absent, contain contradictions in themselves. Hence a conflict between the different meanings of a text.[18]

Similarly, Erdoğan talks about the "heteroglossia" of texts, using Bakhtinian terminology. He suggests that texts are not self-referential, autonomous, or static objects, but full of blanks, contradictions, oppositions, and ambiguities. Hence, texts should not be taken as points of closure. However, he voices his reservation immediately in order not to fall into the traps of the excesses of a discourse of differences and pluralism. Accordingly, heteroglossia is not a simple cacophony where the social, political, economic, cultural, and historical do not have a determining role, but a plurality of relations which seek to articulate with hegemonic practices. It should not be seen as an ethical value that is worth in itself since such a view would imply the compliance of the

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[16] Graeme Turner, *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 111-114.

[17] John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 78.

[18] Ibid., p. 31.

existing power relations for the sake of pluralism. In other words, if multiplicity of meanings is regarded as implicit to any discourse, then the historical-conjectural analysis of hegemony becomes pointless and plurality ceases to serve as an emancipating practice. Rather than considering the pluralism of the discourses as given points of departure, it has to be characterized as something that needs to be explained because it constitutes the very forces that give birth to hegemonic relations in the Gramscian sense.

According to Gramsci, hegemony does not work in a one-way direction. It does not refer simply to ideological manipulation, indoctrination, false consciousness, or the dominant ideology. It does not render a simple relationship between the representative and the represented. On the contrary, hegemony constitutes a contested, partial, imprecise, and relative area. As Erdoğan advocates, precisely the presence of a multiplicity of meanings of a text, and the contradictions that are caused by them, require the active and unstable nature of hegemony. Accordingly, hegemony is a practice that needs to be constructed and then reconstructed again. Therefore, the plurality of meanings renders hegemony possible and, in its turn, hegemony leads to the unequal representative power of different discourses. However, the presence of the utopian and grotesque language of some discourses always paves the way to construct counter-hegemonies as well.[19]

Indeed, both Hall's and Erdoğan's views that are mentioned above derive from the theory of Williams, who himself is influenced by the Gramscian notion of hegemony. Williams advocates that hegemony cannot be regarded as singular. On the contrary, its

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[19] Necmi Erdoğan, "Metinleraraslık, Hegemonya ve Siyasal Alan," *Toplum ve Bilim* 63 (Spring 1994), pp. 42-47.

internal structure must be considered as highly complex and this is precisely the reason why Gramsci insists that it is constantly challenged, and thus, must be modified, renewed and recreated. Therefore, instead of "one static" hegemony, there is a picture where there are many variations, contradictions, alternatives, and hence, transformations. These stem from the coexistence of central, dominant, and effective meanings[20] on the one hand, and alternative and oppositional ones on the other, which in themselves carry the potential to be incorporated into the former. The difference between alternative and oppositional meanings is that the latter not only provides an alternative to, but also actively seeks to challenge the prevalent order. Therefore, the dominant culture and the hegemony which it produces are never stable, they constantly change and transform.[21]

As a matter of fact, Gramsci's notion of "hegemony" is too crucial for the purposes of this study in another respect as well. As the title suggests, this is a study about popular culture, hence, a proper definition of this term becomes too significant for this work. Popular culture has been defined in many ways. For example, Williams proposes that it has four different meanings: "well liked by many people," "inferior kinds of work," "work deliberately setting out to win favor with the people," and "culture actually made by the people for themselves."[22] Parallel to this categorization, Grossberg argues that "popular culture has been defined formally (as formularized), aesthetically (as

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[20] Williams also includes "practices" and "values." However, since this is a study about text, I prefer to use only "meanings."

[21] Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" in *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, eds. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 413-417.

[22] Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana, 1983), p. 237, quoted from John Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. 7.

opposed to high culture), quantitatively (as mass culture), sociologically (as the culture of "the people") and politically (as resistant folk culture)."[23]

The problem with all these different definitions and categorizations is that they emphasize just one feature of the popular at the expense of the others. For example, its reduction to folk culture maintains the old distinctions between the "elite" and the "people" and equates it to the authentic, which is supposed to intrinsically carry the potential to resist the dominant culture. As opposed to such binaries, hegemony in the Gramscian sense defines popular culture as an "exchange" or "compromise equilibrium" between resistance and "incorporation."[24] Therefore, popular culture should not be considered as fixed or pure, but fluid and hybrid. It must be recognized as a terrain of struggle and contradiction that constantly accommodates, redefines, shifts, challenges, and confronts itself and which eliminates any pure categories of bourgeois or working class culture. This also requires taking into consideration that "popular culture is always more than ideological, it provides sites of relaxation, privacy, pleasure, enjoyment, feeling good, fun, passion and emotion."[25] Cultural analysts should never forget that "people derive pleasure from their cultural pursuits" as Abercrombie suggests. [26]

On this theoretical background, the following pages will look at how the discourses of two popular culture magazines published during the 1950's, *Bütün Dünya*

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[23] L. Grossberg, "Mapping Popular Culture," *We Gotta Get Out Of This Place* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 75-76.

[24] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), p. 161, quoted from John Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, p. 14.

[25] Grossberg, "Mapping Popular Culture," p. 79.

and *Hafta*, aimed at the inculcation of a particular kind of individual. Second, keeping the ambivalent and hybrid definition of the popular (culture) in mind, it will point out to their contradictory nature and thus, to the limits of the discursive power.

[26] Nicholas Abercrombie, "Popular Culture and Ideological Effects" in *Dominant Ideologies*, ed. Nicholas Abercrombie, S. Hill and B. S. Turner (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 199.

CHAPTER II

THE DISCOURSE OF *BÜTÜN DÜNYA*

> The magazines which, deliberately or not, cause a decline in class-consciousness and prevent the visibility of the social contradictions, must vulgarize all matters and subjects, pour out the content, and compete with each other since, due to the rules of the market economy, they are only in need of sales.[27]

> The role played by the fifteen years before 27 May must be surely very unproductive in Turkish intellectual history . . . All kinds of groundless and ignorant news and articles, deprived of any thoughts, constituted the columns of newspapers and magazines. Everything was so artificial, affected, and away from the truth that, in such an atmosphere, it was impossible that an extended and expert cadre that believed in the realist, constructive, progressive, and profound revolutions and was able to solve problems concerning the whole country could emerge . . . Problems were not known so that it was out of question that a cadre could be formed.
>
> Numan Esin, member of the National Unity Committee.[28]

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[27] "*Bilerek ya da bilmeyerek sınıf bilincinin körelmesini sağlayan, toplumsal çatışkı ve çelişkilerin görülmesini engelleyen magazinler, pazar ekonomisinin kuralları dolayısıyla yalnızca satışı öngereksindirdiklerinden, tüm sorun ve konuları vulgarize etmekte, içeriği boşaltmakta, birbirleriyle yarışa girmek zorunda kalmaktadır.*" Ahmet Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), p. 80.

[28] "*27 Mayıs'tan [önceki] on beş yılın, Türk tefekkür tarihindeki yeri herhalde pek kısır olmalıdır . . . Gazete ve dergilerin sütun[larını] dolduran temelsiz, kof ve her türlü fikir fukarası haber ve yazılar. Her şey o kadar yapma, o kadar sun'i ve esastan uzaktı ki, böyle bir atmosferde, gerçekçi, yapıcı, ilerici ve köklü devrimlere inanmış bir kadronun, memleket çapında meseleleri tatbikata aktarabilecek geniş ve ehil bir kadronun zuhuru [ortaya çıkması] beklenemezdi . . . Meseleler bilinmiyordu ki kadronun yaratılabilmesi bahis konusu olabilsin.*" Numan Esin, "Numan Esin 27 Mayıs'ın Bilançosunu Yapıyor,"

> Distraction persuades us to change the objects of attention, to read the trivial and the superficial as key signifiers of culture; and it induces us to modify our understanding of attention itself, to see that there are an increasing number of situations where "concentration" and "contemplation" are not the only or even the most appropriate modes.[29]

The very first two quotations above are two exemplary statements in which the popular culture magazines of the 1950's are accused of being the cause behind the ignorance of the "masses." Indeed, this feature attributed to the popular periodicals was not something peculiar to the 1950's; these journals are usually categorized as inferior to the forms of the so-called "high culture." For example, Belge suggests that "as long as I admit the humanness of the need to take shelter in it [illustrated magazine], I avoid despising it. But as long as I see that it transcends this need, makes people foolish, and therefore, prevents the search for reality which is another inevitable need for man, I also admit that it is a target that must be struggled against."[30]

This study aims to show that this was only half of the story. While, on the one hand, filling the minds and hearts of the readers with nothing more than the message that one had to constantly strive for an opulent life, as if this was possible thanks to one's efforts alone, on the other hand, these magazines also paved the way to question this

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Yön 23 (May 23th 1962), p. 7 in Hikmet Özdemir, *Kalkınmada Bir Strateji Arayışı: Yön Hareketi* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986), p. 97.

[29] Ackbar Abbas, "Cultural Studies in a Postculture" in *Disciplinarity and Dissent in Cultural Studies*, ed. Cary Nelson and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 292.

[30] "*Sığınma ihtiyacının insaniliğini kabul ettiğim ölçüde, onu [magazini] küçümsemekten kaçınıyorum. Ama bu ihtiyacı aşarak insanları budalaştırdığını, dolayısıyla insan için gene kaçınılmaz bir ihtiyaç olan gerçeklik arayışını engellediğini gördüğüm ölçüde, mücadele edilmesi gereken bir hedef olduğunu da kabul ediyorum.*" Murat Belge, *Tarihten Güncelliğe* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), p. 365.

belief in the merits of richness. Initially, the former side of the story will be discussed in the coming pages. Accordingly, articles of general social commentary will be analyzed. In other words, the emphasis will be first of all on self-help literature, which described to the readers how to be happy and successful. Then, a look will be taken at how the magazines discredited their own discourses.

The former side of the story, namely the belief in a progressive life style that was expected to become ever better thanks to the individual's ambitions, had a parallelism with a sentence that was uttered quite often in the political discourse of the decade: "We will create a millionaire in each district!"[31] These were the words of Adnan Menderes, the prime minister of the Turkish Republic from 14 May 1950 until 27 May 1960, when he was removed from office by a military coup. These words were a symbol of the intellectual environment in which the citizens of Turkey lived during those ten years. At first sight, it may seem as if "to create a millionaire" was merely an economic statement; in other words, that "creating a millionaire in each district" may be taken to symbolize the economic policies of the Democrat Party, which was in power during that decade. However, the sentence mentioned above and uttered by the Prime Minister allows a glimpse into the social and cultural environment of that era. "To create a millionaire" was the ideal of the Democrat Party and thus, it represented the ideological background upon which the party ruled the country.

For an example, a look can be taken at one of the major popular culture magazines published during that period, *Bütün Dünya*. The coming pages present an analysis of this magazine, covering the issues published between 1948 and 1954. The

two years before 1950, the year the Democrat Party came to power, are included in this study because the aim of this paper is not to claim that the changing mentality of the 1950's was just a result of a shift in power which took place when the Democrats replaced the Republican People's Party. This was a more general change and related to both domestic and international arenas in the post-World War II years. However, the reason behind this change is beyond the scope of this study.[32] This chapter only aims to demonstrate that "to create a millionaire in each neighborhood" symbolized a specific worldview and that this worldview was reflected, already starting from 1948 onwards, in one of the major popular culture magazines published in the 1950's. This worldview would become so legitimate after just six years that American economist Max Thornburg, five years after his first visit to Turkey, would confidently declare "Turkey has made it" during his second trip in 1954.[33]

The Industrious and Entrepreneurial Individual

> Work, at the same time, captured man. A man who adopted and took the responsibility of a job, regardless of how absurd and meaningless

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[31] "*Her mahallede bir milyoner yaratacağız!*"

[32] For an extended discussion about this issue, see Feroz Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945-1980)*, trans. Ahmet Fethi (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1996); Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999); Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998).

[33] "*Türkiye köşeyi dönmüştür.*" *Cumhuriyet*, "Türkiye, İktisadi Sahada Köşeyi Dönmüştür," 13 January 1954.

> it was, inevitably, could not get out of its circle and became its captive.[34]
>
> The possibility of failure becomes the postulate of a moral excuse for profit.[35]

The common point of many of the texts in the popular magazines of the era under examination is that they all try to describe the ways in which happiness and success may be attained in business life in particular, and in life in general. First of all, the discourse of the magazine reduces "happiness" and "work" to each other. The two are seen as the two sides of the same coin. One article says, "I learned that happiness is a reward that working grants to man."[36] A direct consequence of this is that those who are lazy are depicted as the unhappiest people in the world.[37] In other words, you do not have the right to be lazy and no alternative world in which work would not be admired so much and people would be able to survive without spending most of their time working in order to earn money is imagined. Another article claims that those who are between twenty-five and forty-five years old are very happy because they work hard and have a lot of responsibilities during those years.[38] Such a statement necessarily implies that as long as you work, you do not have enough time to think, care, or worry about other

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[34] "*İş aynı zamanda insanı zapt ediyordu. Ne kadar abes ve manasız olursa olsun bir işin mesuliyetini alan ve benimseyen adam, ister istemez onun dairesinden çıkmıyor, onun mahsubu oluyordu.*" Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1999), p. 355.

[35] Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1979), p. 62.

[36] "*Saadetin, hemen daima, çalışmanın insana bahşettiği bir mükafat olduğunu öğrendim.*" David Grayson, "Çalışmanın Mükafatı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 183.

[37] Channing Pollock, "Çalışkanlığın Değeri," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 52 (May 1952), p. 500.

[38] John E. Gibson, "Saadet Hakkında Ne Biliyorsunuz?" *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 30 (July 1950), p. 92.

things or about what is going on in the world in general. This understanding reaches a radical conclusion as the magazine, quoting from La Roche, says "the working of the body relieves the troubles of the mind; and this is what makes the poor happy."[39] "Happiness" is related not merely to "work," but also to "success." The magazine quotes an anonymous statement that declares that "success is that man obtains what he wants, and happiness is that you want what you obtain."[40] It follows that the more you work in order to achieve what you want, the more successful you are and the more successful you are, the happier you become. Therefore, there is also a relationship between happiness and success. These two aspects of life cannot be separated from one another.

According to *Bütün Dünya*, "working" and "succeeding" requires, however, a certain bundle of other characteristics without which work is not a sufficient condition for happiness. First of all, you are supposed to be a man of entrepreneurial spirit. You have to seize opportunities, take initiative and risk. Thus, the magazine quotes Bertrand Russell that being an entrepreneur is a typical trait of happy people.[41] *Bütün Dünya* is full of articles that advise its readers to be entrepreneurs and reveals the secrets of becoming one. For instance, in a list entitled "Ten Conditions for Becoming Rich" (*Zengin Olmanın On Şartı*), the first item says you must go to the customer rather than waiting for her to come to you. The second one talks about the merits of smartness.[42] Another integral part of the entrepreneurial spirit is, of course, daring to take risks: "It is

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[39] "*Bedenin çalışması, zihnin dertlerini hafifletir; fakirleri mes'ut eden de işte budur.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 12, no. 66 (July 1953), p. 28.

[40] "*Muvaffakiyet, insanın istediğini elde etmesi; saadet ise elde ettiğini istemesidir.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), p. 472.

[41] A. H. Z. Carr, "Talihli Olmak Elinizdedir," *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 62 (March 1953), p. 243.

also true that courage makes man much more successful than a desire for security and that it enriches the life."[43] Therefore, you are expected to try a variety of options so that, in the end, you may find the best alternative for you, the one which you like and want the most. In such a situation, life becomes an adventure and a source of excitement and making mistakes is interpreted not as a loss of time, but as an examination which allows you to choose among a bundle of options: "Life consists of a struggle. Even if you fail once or a couple of times, never give up the struggle."[44] This struggle is something inevitable in a business world where competition dominates.

Apart from such theoretical advice, the magazine provides some practical examples. First of all, a letter written by Nasuhi Çubukçu from Istanbul, a reader of *Bütün Dünya*, shows that some of its readers also shared the discourse of the journal on the entrepreneurial spirit. Çubukçu writes about the inefficiencies of the bureaucratic structure in Turkey. He proposes to decrease the number of officials and says,

> The officials who quit may use their gratuity as a small amount of capital. Most of them are enlightened people. In case of helplessness, they will have to disclose and work up their values, which are numbed in their minds, in order to earn a living. I suppose that there are many who are tired of the current dramatic state of the official posts and think about resigning because of the difficulties of earning a living. However, due to the lack of money and the paws of this cheap, but easy official post to which they have been attached through years, they always think in their profoundly sluggish minds that self-employment is horrifying and shuddering. But when it becomes necessary to have to do something on one's own and when the mind starts functioning, a field of work may be

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[42] "Zengin Olmanın On Şartı," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 2 (March 1948), p. 199.

[43] "*Cür'etin insana, emniyet arzusundan çok daha fazla başarı getirdiği ve hayatı zenginleştirdiği de bir hakikattir.*" Clarence, Birdseye, "Fırsatlar Devrinde Yaşıyoruz," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 40 (May 1951), p. 481.

[44] "*Hayat bir mücadeleden ibarettir. Bir veya birkaç defa başarısızlığa uğrasanız bile, mücadele etmekten hiçbir zaman vazgeçmeyiniz.*" Dorothy C. Finkelor, "Hislerimizi Başarı Yolunda Kullanalım!" *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 59 (December 1952), p. 625.

> found for an enlightened person anyhow. They say, "they are going to be miserable". If the door of the state is kept open for the man who fails so much as to become miserable while he is self-employed, then is it not necessary to write the expression 'Darülaceze'[45] above this door?[46]

These words include all the traits of the entrepreneurial spirit. Using the retirement grant as capital in order to start new work or discovering the useful features that have been embedded in your character all the time... These are typical snapshots of an entrepreneur.

Similarly, anecdotes taken from the biographies of rich and "successful" businessman prove the plausibility of the entrepreneurial spirit as well. One of the examples comes from the life story of Vehbi Koç, an ideal businessman as characterized by the periodical. Koç tells about his experience in his own words: "The major growth of my commercial life began during the Atatürk reign. Once Ankara became the center of government, the volume of construction increased suddenly. I seized the situation immediately; I gave up the business of the provision of stout leather and shoes. I immediately began to trade in construction materials."[47] A similar story exemplifies the

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[45] An institution where the orphans and the old are taken care of.

[46] "*İşinden ayrılan memurlar ellerindeki bu toplu parayı küçük bir sermaye olarak kullanabilirler. Bunların ekserisi münevver kimselerdir. Çaresiz kaldıkları takdirde maişetlerini temin için dimağlarında uyuşmuş kıymetlerini açığa vurmağa, işletmeye mecbur kalacaklardır. Öyle zannediyorum ki memuriyetin bugünkü acıklı halinden bıkıp, geçim zorluğu yüzünden istifa etmeyi düşünenler çoktur. Fakat ellerinde para bulunmaması yüzünden ve seneler vasıtasile bağlanmış bulundukları bu parası az fakat çok rahat olan memuriyetin pençesinden, içine derin bir rehavet çökmüş dimağları ile, serbest hayatı daima korkunç ve ürpertici bulmuşlardır. Fakat iş başa geldikten ve dimağ işlemeye başladıktan sonra münevver bir kimse için her halde bir saha bulunabilir. 'Sefil olurlar' diyorlar. Serbest hayatta sefil olacak kadar bir başarı göstermeyen adama devlet kapısı açık tutulursa bu kapının üzerine 'Darülaceze' ibaresini yazmak icap etmez mi?*" Nasuhi Çubukçu, "Okuyucularımızın Düşünceleri," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 7 (August 1948), p. 89.

[47] "*Benim ticaret hayatımın büyük inkişafı Atatürk devrinde başlamıştır. Ankara hükümet merkezi olur olmaz, inşaat hacmi birdenbire yükseldi. Ben de derhal vaziyeti kavradım; kösele, kundura levazımı işini bıraktım. Hemen inşaat malzemesi getirmeğe başladım.*" Sabahattin Sönmez, "Örnek Bir İş Adamı: Vehbi Koç," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 51 (April 1952), p. 359.

life of "Diamond" Jim Brady, an American businessman: "The job he did was exactly the business of that time. If he had been born fifty years later and sold steel today, he would hardly find money to make a living, leave alone the millions."[48]

The common point of these two stories is that both of them were successful entrepreneurs. Both were able to seize the spirit of their times and get an idea of where to invest so that they could make the highest profits. In other words, both of them discovered a good opportunity, took initiative and, in the end, succeeded. The phrase which would exactly describe their experience, would, without doubt, be "to make it." "Making it" may be taken as a synonym of "creating a millionaire in each district." Politicians wanted to create millionaires and Vehbi Koç and "Diamond" Jim Brady were good examples showing that such a policy could indeed succeed.

Here, the point of this chapter is not to advocate that the ideology of the government was dictated in the popular culture magazines so that people could be manipulated in line with the governmental policies. Such an understanding would be too simple a solution to all kinds of academic studies that define their areas of interest in the terrain of the so-called "superstructure." In other words, in this case, there would be no need to investigate cultural phenomena because the investigator would already know from the start what his work would find, namely a mere reflection of the dominant ideology. With these reservations, this study only attempts to show that there was a parallel between the discourses of politics and the cultural products of the period.

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[48] "*Mamafih yaptığı iş tam zamanının işiydi. Zira eğer elli sene sonra dünyaya gelip de bugün çelik satışına kalksa, geçinmek için güç para bulurdu, milyonlar şöyle dursun.*" "2000 Kat Elbisesi Olan Adam: Elmas Jim," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 147.

However, as will be analyzed below, these cultural products also contained some routes of escape from what was perceived as ordinary in those days. Moreover, these routes provided not just an escape, but also suggested some ideas that were in contradiction to the dominant discourse. In this sense, the discourses of the popular magazines should not be analyzed merely as reflections of a particular social structure with a particular history. On the contrary, as Chartier claims, mentalities do not necessarily depend on material determiners: "The representations of the social world themselves are the constituents of social reality."[49] Similarly, Hall suggests that cultural texts and products also make history: "What cultural studies has helped me to understand is that the media [for example] play a part in the formation, in the constitution, of the things that they reflect. It is not that there is a world outside, 'out there', which exists free of the discourses of representation. What is 'out there' is, in part, constituted by how it is represented." Here, the aim of this study is not to claim that discourses precede and determine experience and practice. However, it is important to realize that while *Bütün Dünya* tries to create discursively an industrious identity, it at the same time paves the way to escape from the world of such a personality. Regardless of the question of whether readers absorb and assimilate or resist the discursive messages of the magazine, it is crucial to note that there is at least the possibility to challenge the prevalent political and intellectual jargon of the day. Rather than being a simple reflection, the discourse of the magazine carries in itself a latent potential to turn into practice, both in a positive and a pejorative manner. Again, as Hall maintains, "[popular culture is] an arena of consent

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[49] Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories" in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L.

and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises, and where it is secured. It is not a sphere where socialism, a socialist culture - already fully formed - might be simply 'expressed.' But it is one of the places where socialism might be constituted. That is why 'popular culture' matters."[50]

As for "making it," however, the magazine expressed the dominant worldview of the day. In this context, the focus was on making money. Money was an important criterion concerning the recommended way of life. Here are some examples demonstrating the central role money played in life:

> The tax-collector is coming, run!...
>
> Do not look left or right, the tax-collector is passing.
>
> If you think that honey is sweeter than money, then how little you know about the age in which you live.
>
> If you have a weak memory, you can treat this illness only if you start lending money to your friends.
>
> If a man runs after money, he is crazy for money. If he saves his money, he is a capitalist. If he spends his money, he is wasteful. If he does not earn money, he is clumsy. If he does not try to earn money, he is slothful. If he earns money without working, he is a parasite. If he cannot earn money as a result of his work, he is a fool who does not know how to make use of life.
>
> According to a famous chemist, the value of a man is no more than 575 *kuruş* because there is oil enough to make seven pieces of soap in our body, iron to make a medium size nail, sugar to fill only a coffee cup, lime to whitewash a chicken coop, phosphorus to make 2,000 matches, potassium for gunpowder to set off a small cannon. You are also bewildered, aren't you? Apparently how cheap we are.[51]

Kaplan (New York: Ithaca, 1982), p. 30, quoted from Lynn Hunt, "Introduction: History, Culture, and Text," *The New Cultural History* (London: University of California Press, 1989), p. 7.

[50] Quoted from Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*, pp. 2-3.

[51] Respectively;

In this discourse, people could be categorized into different types of personalities, taking their attitudes about money into consideration. Or, the importance of money in our lives may reach its peak point when the value of the human body is calculated in terms of a price as though it were a commodity to be sold in the market. In fact, this focus on money seems to be something rather new as the first two statements above are included in a list of "new" proverbs.

The letters of some readers are also perfect examples of where money played a central role. Bayezid Acar, writing from Istanbul, reports the story of a peasant called Hasan, a veteran of the Turkish National War for Independence. At the end of the war, he was offered two options: he could either take a medal, which itself was worth five Liras, or an award amounting to fifty Liras. Hasan, who was reluctant to give up the symbolic meaning of the medal, replied that he would be content with the medal plus forty-five Liras.[52] Hence, the importance put on money was not something new in or

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"*Maliyeci geliyor, kaç!...*" "Yeni Atasözleri," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 16 (May 1949), p. 466.

"*Sağa sola bakma, maliyeci geçiyor.*" Ibid.

"*Balın, hazır paradan daha tatlı olduğunu zannediyorsan, içinde yaşadığın devir hakkında ne kadar az şey biliyorsun.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 73 (February 1954), p. 210.

"*Zayıf bir hafızanız varsa, ancak arkadaşlarınıza ödünç para vermeğe başlayarak bu hastalığınızı tedavi edebilirsiniz.*" *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 1 (February 1948), p. 21.

"*Bir insan para peşinde koşarsa – para delisidir. Parasını sakladığıı takdirde – kapitalisttir. Parasını sarf ederse - müsriftir. Para kazanmadığı takdirde – beceriksizdir. Para kazanmaga çalışmadığı takdirde – miskindir. Çalışmadan para kazanırsa – parazittir. Çalışmaları neticesinde para kazanırsa - hayattan istifade etmesini bilmemiş olan alıksızın biridir.*" *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 36 (January 1951), p. 58.

"*Meşhur bir kimyagerin fikrine göre bir insanın değeri 575 kuruştan fazla değildir. Çünkü vücudumuzda yedi kalıp sabun yapacak kadar yağ, orta boyda bir çivi yapacak kadar demir, ancak bir kahve fincanı dolduracak kadar şeker, bir tavuk kümesini badanalayabilecek kadar kireç, 2000 kibrit yapacak kadar fosfor, ufak bir topun atımına yetecek barut için potasyum bulunmaktadır. Bu işe siz de şaştınız değil mi? Meğerse ne kadar ucuzmuşuz.*" "İnsanın Değeri," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 17 (June 1949), p. 659.

[52] Bayezid Acar, "İşte Biz Böyleyiz," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 6 (July 1948), p. 620.

intrinsic to the 1950's. What was new was its visibility in a new kind of discourse. Another reader, Nezihe Vural from Ankara, confessed how she cheated on the magazine in a legal manner. She had subscribed to this journal with the money the periodical sent to her as a reward for the letters she had written to the columns "Now You See How We Are" (*İşte Biz Böyleyiz*) and "The Most Honorable Man I Knew," (*Tanıdığım En Namuslu İnsan*) with different signatures.[53] *Cumhuriyet* reports a similar story in a rather critical way. The new banknote, which was worth of five Liras, featured a picture of three peasant girls, who were now appealing to the Central Bank for payment for their images having been used. Accordingly, the Central Bank decided not to depict humans on the bills any longer. The writer of the column criticized these girls for their lack of nationalistic pride and concluded the text in a complaining manner, "how materialistic have we become!"[54]

In addition to an entrepreneurial spirit and the capacity to earn money by "making it," a successful life requires a personality. First of all, it is expected that the more your personality matures, the happier you become.[55] Second, a link between the entrepreneurial spirit and personality is assumed. Thus, as long as you take initiative, make good use of available opportunities and do not avoid getting involved and probing your chance in new sectors, then your life will be full of a variety of different options and your personality will develop along this line.[56] This attention paid to the issue of

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[53] Nezihe Vural, "İşte Biz Böyleyiz," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 40 (May 1951), p. 544.

[54] "*Ne kadar maddiyatçı olmuşuz!*" *Cumhuriyet*, "Ne Kadar Maddiyatçı Olmuşuz!" 18 January 1953.

[55] Henry C. Link, "Saadet ve Şahsiyet Anahtarı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), p. 399.

[56] T. E. Murphy, "Bize Yeni Dünyalar Açan Kapılar," *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 23 (December 1949), pp. 682-684.

personality may be interpreted as a narrative effort to balance the literal loss of it in real life. In contradiction to what *Bütün Dünya* claimed, executives were expected to sell their particularities along with their time and energy in the United States of America. White-collar people were advised to be a part of the belongingness to the norms of a corporate life:

> The debate seemed to focus on the question of whether, despite the significant and dramatic increase in the standard of living for many Americans, the new white-collar life was turning into something of a trap and whether the grater material benefits it promised and delivered were being exchanged for freedom and individuality. Was this what the new definition of success meant? More of everything except individuality? Were we as a nation already well on our way to becoming faceless drones, performing bland tasks that demanded no real skill save managerial obedience? Was America losing its entrepreneurial class to cautious, gray managers, men afraid to make mistakes and take chances?[57]

While this was what was happening in real life, *Bütün Dünya* kept emphasizing personality. Moreover, it became further supplemented by another trait, creativity. The reader is advised to prove that she is able to think, to develop original ideas, and to have a practical intelligence so that the employer is sure that she is going to be useful for the company.[58] Such an attitude perceives the employee as just another ingredient of the firm. The focus is on utility. The employer is only interested in making as much money as possible, in maximizing the firm's profits. Therefore, all the employee has to do is increase her presentability. This view arrives at an extreme point when the magazine claims that "even though many people do not know this fact, each businessman himself is a subject of sale. The doctor has to make himself likeable, or to put it seriously, sell

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[57] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), p. 527.

[58] John Tunis, "İş Bulmak İçin Ne Yapmalıdır?" *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 1 (February 1948), pp. 74-75.

himself to his patients, the teacher to his students, the minister to the public, the politicians to the electorate and lastly the salesclerk or the official to his superiors."[59]

Moreover, the discourse of the magazine addresses workers as if they were machines as well. Consequently, just as machines need to rest so that they do not depreciate too fast, workers are allowed to become lazy sometimes so that their "batteries may be recharged." The magazine does admit that "work" may be boring and monotonous. Therefore, laziness may be useful so that employees can refresh their minds and bodies. Giving the example of how Newton discovered the law of gravity while he was resting under an apple tree, a text concludes that the biggest ideas come not at work, but during recreation. However, the writer of this article has an unusual definition of what laziness is. According to him, laziness is not wasting time and doing nothing. It is just another term for the leisure time during which people do anything they want which is unrelated to their job. This is seen as the source of new and original ideas, which are needed in order to have a successful business life. Idle hours are all what creativity needs. The article concludes, "life is not just working."[60]

At this moment, de Certeau's observation becomes relevant: "From this point of view, the dividing line no longer falls between work and leisure. These two areas of

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[59] "*Bir çoklarının bu gerçeği bilmemelerine rağmen, her iş adamının bizzat kendisi satış mevzudur. Doktor, hastalarına, öğretmen öğrencilerine, bakan kamuya, siyaset adamı seçmenlerine, ve nihayet mağaza veya yazıhane memuru üstlerine karşı bizzat kendini beğendirmeğe, yahut ciddi anlamıyla söylersek, satmağa mecburdur.*" Raymond C. Johnson, "Şevk ve Heyecanın Değeri," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 10 (November 1948), p. 350.

[60] "*Hayat, çalışmaktan ibaret değildir.*" John D. Murphy, "Arada Sırada Tembellik Ediniz," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 12 (January 1949), pp. 58-61.

activity flow together. They repeat and reinforce each other."[61] In short, leisure reproduces and re-employs work. The view of the Frankfurt School on culture industry may be remembered, too:

> What happens at work, in the factory, or in the office can only be escaped from by approximation to it in one's leisure time. All amusement suffers from this incurable malady. Pleasure hardens into boredom because, if it is to remain pleasure, it must not demand any effort . . . Both escape and elopement are pre-designed to lead back to the starting point . . . Pleasure always means not to think about anything, to forget suffering even where it is shown. Basically it is helplessness. It is flight; not, as is asserted, flight from a wretched reality, but from the last remaining thought of resistance. The liberation which amusement promises is freedom from thought and from negation.[62]

Is everything concerning entertainment really so pejorative? The importance of this question stems from its ability to lead us to look for a Gramscian approach as an alternative. According to the discourse of the magazine, amusement makes man creative so that he is much more productive in the work place and, in its turn, creativity adds joyfulness to business life. So, the result is a hegemonic consent where people are made to work neither by mere force nor by manipulation. On the contrary, they know that life has a funny aspect for which it is worth working. Creativity, which is a product of recreation on the one hand and is a necessity for success on the other, breaks the monotony and boredom of business life and makes it much more exciting.

Breaking up the monotony and boredom of business life is very important because enjoying the way you earn money is another necessary requirement of happiness and success: "That man is interested in his job and profession is the most important

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[61] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 29.

[62] Adorno and Horkheimer, pp. 137, 142, 144.

cause of happiness and success. He who does not enjoy his job cannot be satisfied spiritually."[63] When this is coupled with making money, the ideal situation is obtained: "The only person who succeeds in life is the one who earns money in return for doing a job he likes."[64]

Apart from creativity, personality is also related with individualism. The magazine advises its readers to internalize an isolationist way of life so that they may realize their own particular and personal characters when they are alone. Being alone makes it possible to develop your personality without being influenced by societal forces. Social life is condemned because it destroys the richness and difference of the individual's particularities: "Do not be afraid to be alone! The people who pass through our lives do not bring us anything. We are not of help to them, either. We need to be alone in order to develop our true personalities. How happy those people are who have time in life to discover the treasures within themselves!"[65] Another writer concludes that, "we forget that the most beautiful and greatest works in the world are the product of the studies of the single individual."[66]

Such a view has two positive inclinations. The first concerns the fact that individualism in society combats the homogenizing tendencies which seek to build up a

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[63] "*İnsanın işine ve mesleğine karşı alaka duyması, saadet ve başarının en mühim amilidir. İşinden zevk almayan kimse manevi bakımdan tatmin edilemez.*" Marie Beynon Ray, "İnsan Niçin yorulur?" *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 45 (October 1951), p. 422.

[64] "*Hayatta muvaffak olan yegane insan, sevdiği işi yapması mukabilinde para kazanandır.*" Thurman B. Rice, "İstediğini Yap... Ve Daha Çok Yaşa!" *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 35 (December 1950), p. 713.

[65] "*Yalnızlıktan korkmayın! Hayatımızın sathından geçen insanlar bize bir şey kazandırmıyor. Bizim de çok defa onlara bir faydamız dokunmuyor. Hakiki şahsiyetimizi tekamül ettirmemiz için yalnızlığa ihtiyacımız var. Hayatta kendi içlerindeki hazineleri keşfetmek için zaman arayıp bulan insanlar ne mes'ut!*" Grace Moore, *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 65 (June 1953), p. 657.

standardized mass of people. In this positive sense, individualism means difference, which must be always welcomed with pleasure. On this topic, Eley says:

> How we see ourselves as a basis for action and how we are addressed in the public arena are not fixed. We recognize ourselves variously – as citizens, as workers, as parents, as consumers, as enthusiasts for sports or hobbies, as religious believers, and so on. Those recognitions are inflected with power relations of different kinds, and they are heavily gendered by assumptions defining us as women or men. At one level, this complexity and nonfixity of subject positions is a banal observation. But the important thing is that politics is usually conducted *as if* identity is fixed. The issue then becomes: on what bases, in different places and at different times, does identity's nonfixity become temporarily fixed in such a way as to enable individuals and groups to behave as a particular kind of agency, political or otherwise? How do people become shaped into acting subjects, understanding themselves in particular ways?[67]

This analysis is especially worth quoting in a work of cultural analysis since cultural works are usually interpreted to have a message of unity. This theme will be analyzed in detail in the following pages. Suffice it to say for the time being that through conveying an individualist message and focusing on the difference of personalities, *Bütün Dünya* avoids adopting such a unifying perspective. This point may be a little bit confusing because it was said above that *Bütün Dünya* defines a certain type of identity. Accordingly, Grossberg claims that, "it is in the struggles around popular culture that social identities and groups are constructed." However, as he quotes, "if there is no fixed content to the category of 'popular culture,' so there is no fixed subject to attach to it."[68] Similarly *Bütün Dünya* by no means claims to have a democratic perspective so that

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[66] "*Dünyanın en güzel ve en büyük eserlerinin, bir tek ferdin çalışmalarının mahsulü olduğunu unutuyoruz.*" Edward Brok, "Siz..." *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 50 (March 1952), p. 242.

[67] Geoff Eley, "Is All the World a Text? From Social History to the History of Society Two Decades Later" in *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, ed. Terrence J. MacDonald (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 220.

[68] Grossberg, "Mapping Popular Culture," p. 77.

everybody may achieve a successful and happy life if its advice is taken to heart. In other words, the particular way of life advocated by the magazine is not for everybody. The reasons behind this inference will also be analyzed below; however, at this point let us return to where we left before this tangent, the positive inclinations of individualism.

A second positive aspect of individualism concerns its admiration of voluntarism. As society's role in life has been reduced to a negative impact which prevents the development of particular identities, the individual is left alone to determine her own way of living. The magazine proposes that happiness is not a chance event. On the contrary, "happiness is a mental thing . . . There is no happy or unhappy life, there are only happy or unhappy characters."[69] Therefore, "since it is in your hands to have a good day, it is up to you to decide whether your life is good or not. It is that simple!"[70] Above, it was claimed that for the man of entrepreneurial spirit, life consists of a struggle, which never ends. Now, this struggle requires voluntarism, which equips you with the courage, self-respect and resolution so that you never give up.

Individualism has another implication that has a much more pejorative meaning. While the magazine admires a strong-willed person, all the power is given to the individual and the perspective of the periodical does not recognize any impact deriving from societal forces, as if society does not exist at all. Not only societal forces, but also all kinds of external powers outside of the will of the individual are reduced to

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[69] "*Mes'ut olmak bir kafa işidir . . . Mes'ut veya bedbaht bir hayat yok, sadece mes'ut veya bedbaht karakter vardır.*" Andre Maurios, "Saadeti Elden Kaçırmayalım," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 36 (January 1951), p. 18.

[70] "*İyi günler geçirmek elinizde olduğundan, hayatımızın iyi veya fena olmasına karar vermek size düşer. İşte, mesele bu kadar basittir!*" Elis Gray, "İyi Günler Geçirmek Elinizdedir," *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 32 (September 1950), p. 275.

ineffective positions. For example, a father advises his son that when he encounters a problem, he must, first of all, convince himself that that problem may be solved. Second, he has to think that only he can solve it.[71] So the ideal solution is a combination of both voluntarism and individualism. Those who need help and assistance are doomed to fail. If you want to succeed, achieve something on your own. In other words, if you have an objective to fulfill, then it is up to you whether you fail or not. Only those who live by excuses leave a matter on its own. The following are statements from the magazine that exemplify this kind of an understanding:

> Poverty is the reward of laziness.
>
> Be bold. Even if storms overturn you, know how to stand up.
>
> Defeat signifies one single thing: our resolution to succeed is not that strong.
>
> There are no hopeless situations. There are only people who lose their hope in the face of some situations.
>
> Man himself can create a peaceful and happy life with courage, hard work and virtue. Each New Year is a big opportunity to achieve happiness.
>
> Many of those who complain about their positions are those who cannot succeed. Such people always go on complaining that their superiors do not understand them, that their abilities go for nothing and that their wages are not enough. It does not enter their minds that they cannot succeed because they do not want to succeed.
>
> Take a piece of wax, meat, sand, clay and sawdust and put them on the fire. Even though all are exposed to the same effect, the wax melts, the meat fries, the sand dries, the clay hardens and the sawdust blazes. Just like this, some of the people who are under the effect of the same conditions and environments strengthen, some flag and some wither away and shrink into their shoe's.[72]

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[71] William J. Reilly, "Baba, Bu Vazifeler Bana Zor Geliyor," *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 30 (July 1950), p. 40.

[72] Respectively;

These are all typical instances of the voluntaristic viewpoint of the periodical. You are the one who decides and determines your possibilities of success and failure. There are only subjective conditions for achievement, which are in you. Objective conditions outside the control of the individual are ineffective. Therefore, Hacı Ömer Sabancı, one of the richest men of Turkey, can utter a sentence like this: "They say there is unemployment in the country. A lie... There is no unemployment, but laziness... The man who does not lean on anybody else succeeds in life."[73] Hence, poverty is the reward of laziness. In a story about a banker who goes bankrupt, the author writes, "Roti had once defeated poverty. There was no reason that would prevent him from doing the same

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"*Fakirlik tembelliğin mükafatıdır.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 12, no. 67 (August 1953), p. 161.

"*Cesur olun. Fırtınalar sizi devirse bile ayağa kalkmasını bilin.*" "Zengin Olmanın On Şartı," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 2 (March 1948), p. 199.

"*Mağlubiyet bir tek şey ifade eder: Muvaffak olmak kararımızın pek kuvvetli olmadığını.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 33 (October 1950), p. 422.

"*Ümit kırıcı vaziyetler yoktur. Sadece bazı vaziyetler karşısında ümitlerini kaybeden kimseler vardır.*" "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 20 (September 1949), p. 345.

"*İnsan; sakin ve mesut bir hayatı, cesaretle, çalışkanlıkla ve faziletle kendisi yaratabilir. Her yeni bir yıl, saadete ulaşabilmemiz için büyük bir fırsattır.*" *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 72 (January 1954), p. 18.

"*Hallerinden şikayetçi olanların büyük bir kısmı, tuttukları işte muvaffak olamayanlardır. Bu gibileri, daima amirlerinin, kendilerini anlamadığından, kabiliyetlerinin ziyan olduğundan, aldıkları ücretin kifayetsiz olduğundan şikayet eder dururlar. Muvaffak olmak istemedikleri için muvaffak olamadıkları akıllarına bile gelmez.*" James Bender, "Kendi Kendinize Acımaktan Vazgeçiniz!" *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 43 (August 1951), p. 137.

"*Bir parça balmumu, bir parça et, bir miktar kum, kil ve talaş alıp ateş üzerine koyun. Hapsi aynı tesire maruz kaldığı halde, balmumu erir, et kızarır, kum kurur, kil sertleşir ve talaş parlar. Tıpkı bunun gibi, aynı şartların ve muhitlerin tesiri altındaki insanlardan kimi kuvvetlenir, kimi zayıflar, kimi ise kuruyarak kendi içinde büzülür.*" "Teşbihte Hata Olmaz," *Bütün Dünya* 12, no. 71 (December 1953), p. 690.

[73] "*Memlekette işsizlik var diyorlar. Yalan... İşsizlik değil, ancak tembellik vardır. ... Kimseye arkasını dayamayan adam, hayatta muvaffak olur.*" Ahmet Emin Yalman, "Çalışmağa Doyamayan Türk İş Adamı," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 53 (June 1952), p. 659.

thing again."[74] In such a statement, there is by no means mention of the current economic or social situations that the country or the world in general faced. Roti is blessed with an internal capability of fighting against bankruptcy and poverty, whatever their causes.

Another story features a family of eleven children whose mother is known for her laziness. The children are obliged to take care of themselves and, in the end, all of them grow up to be free and useful citizens. Consequently, the author infers that because these children were void of material and social security, they had obtained a sense of spiritual and individual security so that they managed to be independent subjects even during times of unemployment.[75] They succeeded by taking responsibility rather than giving up and blaming their mother for their failure.

Such success stories also have real characters, like Rockefeller, César Ritz, or "Diamond" Jim Brady. None of these businessmen was born into a wealthy family. Rockefeller's first job was picking potatoes, Ritz was a Swiss peasant, and Brady is said to have been born in a "cheap" small room.[76] But whatever the circumstances were, all of them became rich as a consequence of their own efforts. Indeed, their voluntarism was

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[74] "*Roti, bir zamanlar fakirliği yenmişti. Aynı şeyi tekrar etmesine engel teşkil eden bir sebep yoktu.*" William F. Me Dermott, "Otuz Bir Yılda Ödenen Şeref Borcu," *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 59 (December 1952), p. 656.

[75] "Çocuğunuza Mücadeleci Ruh Aşılayınız!" *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 40 (May 1951), p. 531.

[76] Respectively;

Dale Carnegie, "Hayır İçin 750.000.000 Dolar Dağıtan Adam," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 24 (January 1950), p. 24.

George Kent, "Lüks Otelleri Yaratan Adam," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 73 (February 1954), p. 165.

"2000 Kat Elbisesi Olan Adam: Elmas Jim," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 146.

an integral part of their entrepreneurial spirits. Independent of their being poor boys, opportunities are laid out in life for those who are clever to make use of them. These three men were clever enough.[77]

Many other examples may be listed here, but all of them would deliver the same message. There is no determinism in the world except the will of the individual. A number of articles defend an individualist rather than social or economic determinism so that it is just the individual who determines what is going on in her own life.[78] This gives rise to a form of voluntarism which has a highly conventional nature. That conventional quality of voluntarism is caused by the fact that a separation between it and an egotistic individualism is not made. The problem in such a situation is that there is no room left for collective action to resist what exists. Agency is something advocated, but only if it serves to save you. For example, a direct inference from the last quotation mentioned above is that a political struggle based on a class identity is not possible. It is not possible because people who are *exposed to the same conditions* respond in their particular ways rather than by forming a collective platform to defend their rights. In

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[77] This narrative about the individual merits of successful businessmen was only one side of the coin however. On the other side, these men were willing to get any help from the state. In 1965, nine years after the article about César Ritz had been published in *Bütün Dünya*, Vehbi Koç wrote two articles in *Cumhuriyet* which argued for the protection of the private sector by the state. According to Koç, the private initiative needed the help of the state and therefore, the collaboration between the two was necessary. The practical reflections of this idea required the use of the state enterprises for the interests of the private capital. Consequently, Koç concluded that enterprises like the Institution of the Machinery and Chemistry Industry which yielded no returns should be run by the state. However, the regulation of some state banks like Sümerbank were to be reconsidered. (The first article "State Economic Enterprises and the State of the Private Sector" (*İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri ve Özel Sektörün Durumu*) was published on 11 October 1965 and the other "What Kind of Measures Should Be Taken?" (*Ne Gibi Tedbirler Alınmalıdır?*) on 12 October 1965.) A. Snurov and Y. Rozaliyev, *Türkiye'de Kapitalistleşme ve Sınıf Kavgaları* (İstanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1970), p. 179.

[78] There is nothing wrong with such a view, by its nature. The point of this paper is not to oppose voluntarism for the sake of recognizing the impact of social or economic determinism. On the contrary,

other words, workers may be exploited, but this does not necessitate that all of them resist. One article even implies that ideologies like socialism or communism, which are based on a "hatred" of wealth, are not the result of social, but psychological factors.[79] This argument applies not only to class struggle, but also to feminism and ethnic movements, which are based on a collective identity in terms of gender and ethnicity.

Therefore, even though the magazine seems to reject any external conditions which are supposed to limit your areas of activity, in fact you are still not free to do everything you want. Since an individualist and conventional voluntarism makes it impossible to engage in a mass social movement, you are free only to get along with the system into which you were born. Thus, the very forces of individualism lead to a conformist and passivist determinism. Freedom has merely a restricted meaning: freedom to compete, to accumulate capital, and to survive in a market economy. Therefore, this mercantile freedom has no radical content at all. According to this view, the system pre-exists all other phenomena. Indeed it is like a *Zeitgeist*, which is irresistible and immutable. Consequently, individual progress is possible, but not social transformation because agency is allowed only to "make it," to rescue you. Collective action in order to cause a systemic modification is out of the question. It is even not possible in a world in which only individuals who only care for their own survival live.

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voluntarism is something indispensable in order to engage in any kind of political activity. After all, you must be your own agent in order to be able to criticize something.

[79] Greer Williams, "Öfkeyi Yenebilir miyiz?" *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 12 (January 1949), p. 68.

Therefore, "the greatness of a man depends on his ability to reflect the age in which he lives."[80] There is no worry about resisting your age, you just represent it.

Such a discourse was not mere rhetoric, but also had some practical and real connotations concerning everyday life. For example, in the United States of America, a loss of self-awareness was concealed behind the doors of an ambitious life. In an interpretation of Mills's book *White Collar*, Halberstam says: "Certainly, the new white-collar men in Mill's book seemed to be carried along the forces outside their control. They were voraciously ambitious without entirely knowing why. They never carefully considered their goals but simply plunged ahead to the next benchmark"[81].

In conclusion, according to the discourse of the magazine, when you encounter a problem, you should not leave it on its own. Voluntarism prevents you from accepting the situation as it is and doing nothing. You must intervene and try to make things work out your way. However, this does not mean that you investigate the roots of the problem in order to prevent its reoccurrence. You just change your position according to the changing circumstances. This is exactly what an entrepreneur would do, making use of new conditions and emerging opportunities as Vehbi Koç and "Diamond" Jim Brady did so that they could become millionaires. Although one became a millionaire of Turkish Liras and the other of American dollars, there is little difference where the individual is concerned and where society does not matter at all.

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[80] "*Bir insanın büyüklüğü, onun devrini ifade edebilmesine bağlıdır.*" Dr. Frank Crane, "Büyük Adam Kimdir?" *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 24 (January 1950), p. 19.

[81] Halberstam, p. 534.

Hierarchical Society

An entrepreneurial spirit, personality, creativity, individualism and voluntarism... This list could continue indefinitely, but what all these points have in common is that they are the necessary traits of a man who wants to be "successful" and thus, "happy." They all portray the image of an individual *Bütün Dünya* advises its readers to be, an entrepreneur with a creative, individualist and voluntarist character. But what about society? Does this image of an ideal man also imply in what kind of a society this entrepreneur is assumed to live? Does it give us clues in order to infer the structure of a society, which is supposed to be pre-given?

The answer to all these questions is affirmative. However, to understand this, we must return to the level of the individual again and add one more merit to her character: "talent." Talent has a direct relationship with personality as the more one learns about her personality, the more she is expected to be able to make use of her talents.[82] Second, talent is depicted as one of the necessary conditions of success.[83] Third, man must have a job that is suitable to his talents, so that he may have fun when he works. As depicted above, enjoying your job has a very special importance because in this way, you like what you are doing so that working ceases to bore you. Having eliminated boredom, one becomes much more productive for the firm. Therefore, labor must not be wasted and this requires that everyone work in a sector suitable to her talents. Hence, "one of the

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[82] Bernard Gekoski, "Tabii Olalım!" *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 6 (July 1948), p. 586.

[83] See John Tunis, "İş Bulmak İçin Ne Yapmalıi?" *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 1 (February 1948), p. 74; "Muvaffakiyetin Sırrı," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 39 (April 1951), p. 448; Harold Wren, "İdealleriniz, Sizi Muvaffakiyete Götürebilir," *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 46 (November 1951), p. 496.

young engineers from the General Electric Company in America stands aghast when he sees that the 'material' called the man was wasted because most of the employees were working in sectors unsuitable to their talents."[84] The same article also suggests that the best solution to worker movements is to find out which job each one of them is most capable of doing and therefore, likely to enjoy.

What distinguishes talent from other traits of a personality is that it is natural, and therefore, not attainable through hard work. You are either talented or not. However, this does not eliminate voluntarism completely. On the contrary, it is something necessary to balance the constraints introduced by talent. As Napoleon says, talent is useless without opportunity.[85] You must do your best within the limits of your aptitude. You try to climb up the ladder as high as you can until your way is barred by your own capacities. Above, it was said that voluntarism coupled with an egoistic individualism prevented class struggle. However, this hardly means that society cannot be differentiated into distinct groups. These groups may not be called "classes," but they do exist and they are differentiated from one another by the merits of their members. The members of each have a common point, which is provided by their own particular gifts. People have the right to climb up the ladder as long as their faculties allow them to do so. In other words, they have only a capacity to move back and forth in their own defined categories and cannot move from one to the other.

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[84] "*...Amerika'da General Elektrik Kumpanyasındaki genç mühendislerden biri iş görenlerden çoğunun istidatlarına hiç de uygun düşmeyen hizmetlerde çalıştığına kanaat getirerek insan denen 'malzemenin' böyle muazzam bir israfa uğradığını görünce hayretten dona kalır.*" "Kabiliyet Tahlil Eden Bir Labaratuvar," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 4 (May 1948), p. 405.

[85] "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 18 (July 1949), p. 79.

Moreover, the naturalness of talent gives it a more crucial role. Class is vulnerable because it is something arbitrary, something created by man himself. It can be resisted and transformed because there is nothing natural in its nature. Talent, in contrast, eliminates such a possibility because it is something given by birth. You have to learn to live according to your talents and in the group that is defined by your abilities. For example, an article argues that a society needs doctors, lawyers, bankers and teachers as well as machinist, artisans, workers and charwomen. What annoys the author of this text is that some people go too far, thanks to their greed, and embark on adventures without taking their talents into consideration. Therefore, he ends "the fact that a taxi driver is proud of being a good taxi driver while he passes by the White House is one of the most important essentials of democracy."[86] In such a picture, everybody is advised to be content with her position. Some have the talent to be a taxi driver, others to become the president. Therefore, you must be a conformist and like the things you own if you cannot get what you like.[87] In this way, society is differentiated into specific categories and people are classified according to their capacities:

> Do not be confused because of the things that are not your concern. For example, you may be interested in topics like 'The result of the Korean War makes me curious.' 'What about the Indonesian issue?' 'What should the United Nations do?' But think, you are neither a foreign affairs delegate of the state nor a member of the reconciliation commission. Therefore, you had better leave such apprehensions to those who are competent, who know about issues like Korea and Indonesia and take action.

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[86] "*Fakat bir taksi şoförünün, Beyaz Saray önünden geçerken iyi bir taksi şoförü olduğundan dolayı iftihar duyabilmesi de, benim fikrimce, demokrasinin en mühim esaslarından biridir.*" A. R. Wylie, "Aşırı İhtiras İnsanı Felakete Sürükleyebilir," *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 42 (July 1951), pp. 18-19.

[87] Bussy - Rabutin, "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 180.

A shoemaker should not judge things other than his shoes.[88]

A direct consequence of these statements is that in a society there are different groups of people defined according to the presence or absence of their different talents. Therefore, every one can specialize only in a strictly defined area and concerning other subjects they need guidance.

While this was the discourse of *Bütün Dünya* about talent, it also found some practical reflections in reality. In September 1952, Prof. Beals from the United States was invited to Turkey in order to provide that students were properly guided to chose professions according to their talents. Beals announced that a committee of teachers would attend a course in Ankara in May 1953 for training in how to provide career counseling to students.[89]

The discourse about talent makes also the introduction of leaders necessary into our lives. Therefore, "be it transportation, international peace, commerce, medical science, politics or philosophy, no area of activity in which no leaders are needed severely is conceivable."[90] In a similar fashion, a test measuring the degree of leadership

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[88] Respectively;

"*Sizi alakadar etmeyen şeyler üzerinde de zihninizi yormayın. Mesela 'Korea harbinin neticesi beni meraka düşürüyor.' 'Endonezya meselesi ne olacak?' 'Birleşmiş Milletler ne yapmalı?' gibi mevzularla alakadar olabilirsiniz. Fakat kendinizin ne devletin bir dışişleri murahhası ne de uzlaştırma komisyonunun bir azası olmadığınızı düşünün. Bunun için böyle kuruntuları, Korea veya Endonezya gibi meseleleri bilmek ve harekete geçmek zorunda olan salahiyetlilere terk etseniz daha iyi olur.*" André Maurios, "Saadeti Elden Kaçırmayalım," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 36 (January 1951), p. 19.

"*Bir kunduracı kunduralarından başka şeyler hakkında hüküm vermemelidir.*" Apelles, *Bütün Dünya* 5-6, no. 30 (July 1950), p. 80.

[89] *Cumhuriyet*, "Meslek Seçmekte Çocuklara Yardım," 22 January 1953.

[90] "*Nakliyat, beynelmilel sulh, ticaret, tıp, siyaset veya felsefe olsun, önderlere şiddetli ihtiyaç duyulmayan hiçbir faaliyet sahası tasavvur edilemez.*" W. Beran Wolfe, "Hayatın Hakiki Değeri," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 29 (June 1950), p. 658.

counsels those who score under a certain number of points to follow the people who guide them.[91] Leadership in its turn presupposes a hierarchical society. For example, an article pleads, "if you long to compare yourself with the great people in your sector, the taste of your life would be exhausted and you start to consider yourself as subordinate. But if you compare yourself with the people whose life and style of living are similar to yours, your self-respect increases."[92]

Indeed, this is a point related to the presence of a competitive society. This is the dead end, a discourse which advocates an individualist and egoistic voluntarism simultaneously with competition is doomed to find out at the end of the tunnel. At first glance, individualism and competition may seem to be two sides of the same coin and be considered to reinforce each other, but this is hardly the point. On the contrary, individualism and competition carry in themselves two contradictory implications indeed. The former gives a chance to anybody to climb the ladder in a competitive society whereas competition in its turn necessarily implies a hierarchical structure. In other words, even if individualism recognizes the right of anybody to "make it," competition does not allow each one of them to succeed. If individualism places people in the same position at the starting point, at the end of a competitive race, only some win and there is an army of losers. This is doomed to be the case because competition does not work among a group of equals, as there is nothing to compete among equals. Competition requires subordinates and superiors. Let us hear what Marx says: "The

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[91] "Önderlik Vasıflarını Haiz misiniz?" *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 28 (May 1950), p. 608.

[92] "*Eğer kendinizi çalışma sahanızdaki büyük insanlarla mukayese etmek hevesine kapıldıysanız, hayatınızın zevki kaçacağı gibi kendinizi aşağı da görmeğe başlarsınız. Fakat kendinizi, hayatı ve yaşayışı*

necessary result of competition is the accumulation of capital in a few hands . . . Precisely because political economy does not grasp the way the movement is connected, it was possible to oppose, for instance, the doctrine of competition to the doctrine of monopoly."[93]

However, even if some people cannot arrive at the peak of a mountain because of their limited capacities, still competition never ceases to exist because people keep going on to compete, thanks to their individualist voluntarism. Taking a competitive environment as given, employers promote and encourage their employees by making them prove their superiority to their coworkers. In an exemplary story, a general director asks the workers how much they work a day. When they answer that they produce six pieces of steel, he writes it down on the floor. When the workers of the night shift arrive and learn the meaning of that "six," they decide to work harder and produce one more piece of steel and then write a huge "seven" on the floor. When the other group arrives in the morning again, they see it and go crazy so that they produce ten pieces that day. From this, the general director infers that "in order to increase productivity, you have to know how to promote; not by using weapons like love of money, but only by making use of the need of a man to be superior."[94]

At this point, the relationship between a competitive and a hierarchical society is reflected on a workplace. Competition produces a hierarchy between the co-workers as

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sizinkine benzeyen insanlarla mukayese ederseniz, kendinize olan güveniniz artar." James Gordon Gilkey, "Mes'ut Olmak İçin Meşhur Olmak Lazım Değil," *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 58 (November 1952), p. 508.

[93] Karl Marx, "Estranged Labor" in *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan (New York: International Publishers, 1997), pp. 106, 107.

they try to prove their superiority. However, this hierarchical structure has a special feature as it circulates. Those at the top constantly change. Therefore, you must always keep the faith that you can go higher. All you have to do is to work harder. This situation may be called a "circulating hierarchy." It is significant because it sustains in itself room for individualist voluntarism. An external or systemic force never predetermines who is going to reach the top. Everybody has a chance to be there, of course, within the limits of her talents. So, your aptitude determines the ground on which you are going to play. But within the territory of that ground, you are free to climb as high as possible as a result of your own efforts.

The last quotation above has also a special meaning because of its implication concerning the role money plays in our lives. The general director promotes the workers not via money, but through creating a competitive environment. It was stated above that earning as much money as possible and "making it" were encouraged by the discourse of the magazine. However, *Bütün Dünya* also acknowledges that nobody can do that. Its suggestions may be publicly declared, but that hardly means that it works for anybody. To balance this, from time to time the magazine also declares that money does not stand at the center of life. For example, one text asserts that "if we spend money properly, the less or the more of it would not make a big difference for us."[95] Another article, which identifies different kinds of maturity, writes "according to the psychologists, the person who is economically mature is not necessarily someone who earns much money, but

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[94] "*İyi iş almak için, teşvik etmesini bilmek lazım. Amma para aşkı gibi silahlar kullanarak değil; sadece insanın karşısındakinden üstün olmak ihtiyacından istifade ederek.*" "Tenkit Etmek Hiç Bir İşe Yaramaz," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 73 (February 1954), p. 236.

lives according to his income."[96] Here the main idea is not to make as much money as possible, but to be content with your place in the social hierarchy. A final example indicating that money does not occupy a central position in life, asserts that:

> I have a house like the most famous millionaire in America. It is not lacking in water or coal gas. With the press of my finger on a button, I can light my house from the cellar to the attic. I have a miraculous device called the radio. No, it is not the most expensive brand, as you might think. Turning a button makes it possible for me to listen to all kinds of music, Western or Turkish. Nobody can interfere if I turn off the radio in the middle of the speech of the president . . . As the government has founded schools for free, I can have my children study in high school and college, even if I am not rich . . . In conclusion, I have discovered that a millionaire has little superiority compared to me. Then am I wrong if I presume myself a millionaire?[97]

A house, a radio, an emerging welfare state that cares for its citizens and provides some social and economic rights, these are all necessary elements of the American dream of the 1950's. The picture in the background of this text illustrates that dream precisely. A father returning home after a busy day at the work, two children running towards him with arms open to hug him, a one story-house in an American suburban complex with neighboring houses of the same style, a car and so forth. The message is clear: if you

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[95] "*Parayı gerçek yerinde değerlendirdiğimiz zaman, onun azı ya da çoğu bizim için büyük bir fark göstermeyecektir.*" I. A. R. Wylie, "Para İhtirasin Kaynağıdır," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 16 (May 1949), p. 512.

[96] "*Ruhiyatçılara göre iktisadi bakımdan olgun olan kimse, mutlaka çok para kazanan biri değil, kazancına uygun bir hayat geçiren, yani ayaklarını yorganına göre uzatan bir insandır.*" "Olgun Bir İnsan mısınız?" *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 20 (September 1949), p. 319.

[97] "*Amerika'nın en meşhur milyoneri gibi benim de bir evim var. Suyu, havagazısı eksik değil. Parmağımın bir düğmeye basışıyla, evimi mahzenden tavan arasına kadar ışığa boğabiliyorum. Radyo adlı mucizevi bir aletim var. Hayır, öyle zannettiğiniz gibi en pahalı cinsinden değil. Bir düğmeyi çevirmek, alaturka, alafranga, her türlü musiki dinlememi imkan dahiline sokuyor. Cumhurbaşkanının nutkunun tam ortasında radyoyu kapamama hiç kimse karışamaz . . . Hükümet bedava mektepler kurduğuna göre, zengin olmadığım halde, çocuğuma lise, üniversite tahsili yaptırabilirim . . . Neticede bir milyonerin bana nazaran pek az bir üstünlüğü olduğunu keşfettim. Su halde kendimi milyoner farz edersem, haksız mıyım*?" Charles Van Cott, "Bir Milyonerle Tanışalım!" *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 48 (January 1952), pp. 56-57.

cannot be a first class man, be content with a moderate life style and pretend to be a millionaire without millions.

Another text reaches the conclusion that, "the most difficult lesson we take from life is that we admit that we cannot be more qualified than he who has scored second place in the competition."[98] At best, you can only be in second place so never dream of being number one! This brings us back to another aspect of the successful businessman: He is told to dream, to dream of going ever higher, climbing the ladder to reach the top. One of the ten conditions to be rich says "think about the higher of the position in which you stand. Think a million so that you get a hundred."[99]

An article tells the story of a man who thought that all of his efforts in life were in vain and that he would never be able to succeed. Then one day, the assistant director of the firm in which he is working lets him sit in his own chair behind his elegant desk and says, "Young man, I think it is time again to open your curtain of fancy. Fall into a reverie here a little bit. Look at the future at the door of today. Always imagine what you want to become in the future. Imagine that you sit here at this table instead of me."[100]

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[98] "*Hayattan alacağımız derslerin en zoru, tekamül çağına vardığımızda, yarışta ikinciliği kazanandan daha üstün bir vasıf taşımayacağınızı kabul etmemizdir.*" Zelda Popkin, "Hislerinizi İsraf Etmekten Kaçının," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 75 (April 1954), p. 404.

[99] "*Bulunduğunuz vaziyetin daha yükseğini düşünün. Milyon düşünün ki yüz bininiz olsun.*" "Zengin Olmanın On Şartı," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 2 (March 1948), p. 199.

[100] "*Delikanlı galiba senin yine hayal perdeni açma zamanı geldi. Burada biraz hayale dal. Bugünün kapısından istikbale bak. Daima gözlerinin önüne ileride ne olmak istiyorsan onu getir. Kendini benim yerimde bu masada oturuyor tahayyül et.*" James D. Woolf, "Servet ve Muvaffakiyetin Yolu: Bir Az Da Hayal Kurmalı," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 8 (September 1948), p. 185.

Daydreaming also brings happiness as it distracts the mind: "Spend time daydreaming – daydreaming is the best way to forget all the troubles of the world."[101]

Fantasizing must have a limit though. In parallel with being content with your social status in a hierarchical society, daydreaming must be constructive rather than destructive. In other words, its function must be to give you courage to do better rather than make you disappointed about who and where you are. It must serve to maintain your hope that the days to come are going to be better. Thus, an article writes that, "your plan of work and happiness must be great, rich and imposing. You especially must concentrate on things for which you would sacrifice everything. But try hard not to commit an error of having very superficial opinions and thinking about very noble things."[102]

This limited approach concerning the issue of having fantasies is related to another aspect of the "successful" man, his focusing on "today." Daydreaming must not go to the extreme; it has to remain in touch with the current situation of one's position in society. Otherwise, too much imagination may cause a neglect of reality and thus, inaction. If a man wants to be happy and succeed, he has to keep his interest in the present day rather than mourn the mistakes he has made in the past or make long-term plans concerning the future.

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[101] "*Hayal kurmağa vakit ayırın – hayal kurmak, dünyanın bütün dertlerini unutmak için en iyi çaredir.*" "Hayattan Zevk Almak İçin," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 18 (July 1949), p. 116.

[102] "*Sizin çalışma ve saadet planınız hem büyük, hem zengin, hem de gösterişli olmalıdır. Ele geçirebilmek için hiçbir fedakarlığı esirgemeyeceğiniz şeyler üzerinde bilhassa durmanız lazımdır. Fakat çok sathi görüşlere sahip olmak ve çok yüksek şeyler düşünmek hatasını da işlememeğe gayret ediniz.*" Henry J. Kaizer, "Yükselmenin Yolu," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 197.

This leads to the question of what kind of a "time" conception *Bütün Dünya* adopted. But before going into the details of that point, the two crucial implications of this section must be summarized. First of all, a misunderstanding into whose trap many cultural studies seem to fall must be corrected. Many cultural analyses infer that cultural polices aim at a homogeneous society. In other words, cultural messages are usually interpreted to have a claim of unifying and eliminating differences. For example, MacDonald asserts that "[Mass culture is] a dynamic, revolutionary force, breaking down the old barriers of class, tradition, taste, and dissolving all cultural distinctions. It mixes and scrambles everything together, producing what might be called homogenized culture . . . [ellipsis in the original] It thus destroys all values, since value judgments imply discrimination. Mass culture is very, very democratic: it absolutely refuses to discriminate against, or between, anything or anybody."[103]

Apart from the problematic nature of dividing the cultural realm into two distinct spheres of high and low/mass culture, this quotation ignores the fact that the way to equality does not necessarily pass through homogenization. It overlooks the inverse possibility that standardization may serve somebody's interests. The guarantee of non-discrimination and "democracy," whatever that is supposed to mean, is not mass culture that prefers to destroy differences rather than respect them. The celebrating sound of MacDonald's words, regardless of their being a naive belief or part of a deliberate project, becomes meaningless if these reservations are taken into consideration.

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[103] Quoted from Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 16.

Oktay, who realizes the class-specific interests behind standardization, still falls into the error of buying the idea that homogenization is really the aim of those who are in power. This is indeed a general problem in the mass culture literature that reduces the cultural realm to a simple analysis of eliminating differences. While making an analysis of the popular culture magazines published during the 1950's, Oktay says, "thanks to these magazines, the members of the lower and middle classes are caused to try to acquire the life style of the dominant class, the motive to *belong to a higher class* is incited and, by making it seem as if this was at all possible, the ruled classes become *unified* with the rulers within the same ideology. Hence, the dominant ideology assimilates the working classes."[104]

One problematic in this picture concerns the autonomy of the lower classes. Here, they are not allowed to form their own ideas independently from the cultural messages sent by those in power. This inability of the ruled classes inevitably results in ideological unification due to which the oppressed become blind and cannot realize the distinction of their own class interests from that of the rulers. In other words, this situation hinders class-consciousness. The lower classes are depicted as if they were totally subjected and incapable of resisting latent indoctrination by cultural products, like the popular magazines. Such an analysis raises a big problem concerning those who try to make a Marxist analysis of culture. While they try to reveal the ideological nature of it, they, simultaneously, dispel the actors who would be the only ones to put an end to this situation. If indoctrination is so successful in uniting the ruled with the rulers, then who

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[104] "*Bu dergiler sayesinde alt ve orta sınıf üyeleri egemen sınıfın yaşam biçimine özendirilmekte, sınıf atlama güdüsü kışkırtılmakta, bunun mümkün olduğu kanısı uyandırılarak yönetilen kesimler yönetenlerle*

is going to resist and stop this indoctrination? In other words, Marxist scholars have to be careful not to fall into a vicious circle while pointing out the political characteristics of culture. Culture is political for sure, but politics is not something confined to the upper classes. The lower classes have their own version(s) of it. Therefore, Marxist scholars need to analyze these classes' culture as well.

While this study itself is an effort neither to do this nor to examine the cultural practices and experiences of the working classes, it attempts to make its own minor contribution to this end by showing the "holes" and "tears" in the discourses of the popular culture magazines. These are the gates to escape from cultural indoctrination that would be impossible if culture would be treated as a totality in itself. In this sense, this study looks at the discursive "fragments" of these magazines in a Benjaminian manner.[105] It breaks down the discourse of the magazine into pieces. This point will become clearer in the coming pages when the entrepreneurial work ethics which are advocated so strongly by *Bütün Dünya* are cracked by other challenging discourses of the very same magazine.

Sewell's idea of culture provides a good starting point to break the homogenizing totality of culture as well. Rather than reducing the cultural realm to the standardizing efforts of the ruling classes, his analysis paves the way to discover the reality of those marginalized cultures as well. In contrast to MacDonald and Oktay, Sewell argues that

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aynı ideolojide bütünleştirilmektedir. Böylece egemen ideoloji çalışan kesimleri özümsemektedir." Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür*, pp. 79-80.

[105] David Frisby, "Walter Benjamin: The Prehistory of Modernity," *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 189-190.

cultural policies do not try to arrive at a homogenous unity in the cultural and, related to this, ideological realm, but that they aim at organizing differences:

> The typical cultural strategy of dominant actors and institutions is not so much to establish uniformity as it is to organize difference. They are constantly engaged in efforts not only to normalize or homogenize but also to hierarchize, encapsulate, exclude, criminalize, hegemonize, or marginalize practices and populations that diverge from the sanctioned ideal.[106]

The claim of this paper is that Sewell's idea seems to apply to *Bütün Dünya* as well. At first sight, it may look as if the magazine tries to create a standardized "happy" and "successful" man as it recommends an entrepreneurial, creative, individualist and voluntarist character. As argued in this section though, another factor must be added to this list. That new element is "talented." Everybody has to try to become as entrepreneurial, creative, individualist and voluntarist as their talent allows them to become. Thus, exactly as Sewell claims, *Bütün Dünya* tries to organize differences by advocating a hierarchical structure rather than eliminating them and attaining a homogeneous and unified society.

Second, the consensual nature of this hierarchy must be emphasized. Talent again stays at the center of the argument. When people engage in activities that are related to talents, they enjoy what they are doing. So, the boredom and monotony of the workplace is overcome and working becomes amusing. This enables people from the lower strata not to identify themselves as forced labor. Rather than categorizing society according to class relations, doing this in terms of differences between talents provides consent.

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[106] William H. Sewell Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture" in *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria Bonnel and Lynn Hunt (London: University of California Press, 1999), p. 56

Whereas class does not have any natural connotations and therefore, is something that may be rejected, talent is to be admitted as god-given. Thus, it both creates and camouflages the social hierarchy. In other words, the naturalness of it legitimizes inequality.

Now let us move on to another terrain, the perception of "time" by *Bütün Dünya*.

Present-Oriented Time

> *That which has happened* is no more, *that which will happen* is not yet. Do not look for the secret of your pain somewhere else.
>
> Alfred de Musset
> *Bir Zamane Çocuğunun İtirafları*, 1836

> "The nonexistence of the gods which have flown away and the non-coming of the god which is about to come."
>
> Martin Heidegger[107]

In the first section, what kind of an individual *Bütün Dünya* aimed to create was questioned. Then in the second section, the social implications of this type of individual were discussed. Now, one more trait of a supposedly "happy" and "successful" person

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[107] "Olmuş olan *artık yok*, olacak olan *henüz ortada yok. Acılarınızın gizini başka yerde aramayın.*" "*Uçup gitmiş olan Tanrıların artık-olmayışı ve gelmekte olan Tanrı'nın daha gelmemişliği.*" Quoted from Ahmet Oktay, *Postmodernist Tahayyüle İtirazlar* (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınları, 2000), p. 13.

will be added that will provide some implications concerning the magazine's conception of time.

That new characteristic is determination. The article "The Way You Can Get What You Want" (*İstediklerinizi Elde Etmenin Yolu*) counts five different conditions for doing this. "First of all, decide what you want, namely detect what is the thing you want the most in life."[108] The magazine also suggests a particular way of making decisions. Take a pencil, sit at the table and write down the costs and benefits of a decision on a piece of paper in order to calculate the degree of an issue's significance. Second, in order to differentiate between the crucial issues and the less significant ones, do not think about an issue too much if the benefits or costs of a decision do not exceed five liras. Third, when you decide, keep in mind that no decision is totally profitable. Even the best decisions have some disadvantages. After listing these three points, which are crucial guides while making a decision, the article concludes that succeeding is not difficult for those who know how to make decisions.[109] What is recommended here is an economic cost-benefit analysis. The profitability of each activity must be measured beforehand. Determination is related to voluntarism as well. Rather then leaving yourself to the flow of events, make decisions and take initiative.

The power of resolution gives some clues concerning the "time" perception of *Bütün Dünya* as well. Resolution prevents inaction and thus, enables one to make good use of time. In other words, wasting of time is hindered. *Bütün Dünya* says:

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[108] "*Evvela ne istediğinize karar verin, yani hayatta en çok istediğiniz şeyin ne olduğunu tespit edin.*" Isabel Johnston, "İstediklerinizi Elde Etmenin Yolu," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 29 (June 1950), p. 724.

[109] William J. Reilly, "Karar Vermeği Öğrenelim!" *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 32 (September 1950), pp. 346-347.

> Time is not an emptiness that passes, it is a jewel to be caught and used . . . The West understands the secret of time so well that it explains it to its people as if it were (time is money!) something to be grasped and weighed. Unfortunately, there are still people among us who think that time is an enemy to be killed. It is impossible that such a terrible philosophy can be among the values of a dynamic nation like ours.[110]

This mentality made one of its first appearances in 1946. An illustrated advertisement of the Turkish Republic State Airlines titled "Time is Cash! Prefer Airlines" (*Vakit nakittir! Hava yolunu tercih ediniz*) depicted a businessman walking towards a plane at the bottom, a huge clock in the middle, and a flying plane above.[111]

Apart from the writers of *Bütün Dünya*, some of the readers shared a similar point of view. Nasuhi Çubukçu, who recommends purging superfluous officials in order to create an efficient bureaucracy, writes in his letter,

> As a result of this purge procedure, no official will pass the working hours defined by law leisurely or by reading a book; hence, the waste of time will be prevented. Inevitably, each department will find a rational processing manner in order to finish its own work in a rapid manner. If the ethics of the official reaches such a strong forbearance, henceforward, the state organization will be saved from misuse, laziness, laxity in the collection of revenues, absence of control, namely in general terms, from a paralyzed situation . . . The age in which we are at the moment is the age of making quick and well-timed decisions.[112]

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[110] "*Zaman geçen bir boşluk değil, yakalanıp kullanılacak bir cevherdir . . . Batı, zaman sırrını o kadar iyi anlamış ki, onu halkına (zaman paradır!) diye elle tutulur ve ölçü ile tartılır gibi anlatıyor. Ne yazık ki, zamana bizde hala öldürülecek düşman gözüyle bakanlar vardır. Böyle korkunç bir felsefenin, bizimki gibi dinamik bir milletin hayat değerleri arasında yer alması mümkün olamaz.*" Nizamettin Ali Sav, "Zaman'ın Değerini Bilmiyoruz," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 5 (June 1948), p. 553.

[111] *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi 1941-1960*, vol. 2, ed. Hasan Ersel, Ahmet Kuyaş, Ahmet Oktay, Mete Tunçay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), p. 107.

[112] "*Bu tasfiye ameliyesinin neticesi olarak, her memur kanunun çizmiş olduğu mesai saatlerini boş ve kitap okumakla geçirmeyecek, zaman israfının önüne geçilecektir. İster istemez her daire kendi işlerinin süratli bir şekilde intacı için rasyonel bir işleyiş tarzı bulacaktır. Memurun ahlakı böyle dayanıklı bir istinatgaha kavuşmuş bulunursa suiistimal, tembellik, tahsilatta gevşeklik, kontrolsuzluk yani umumi olarak söyleyecek olursak devlet teşkilatı bundan böyle mefluç bir vaziyetten kurtulmuş olur . . . Bulunduğumuz zaman seri ve isabetli kararlar almak zamanıdır.*" Nasuhi Çubukçu, "Okuyucularımızın Düşünceleri," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 7 (August 1948), pp. 89-90.

Two years after Çubukçu wrote this letter, a measure was taken by the state authorities in order to prevent the loss of time and thus, the inefficiency in the workings of the bureaucracy. Consequently, a bell would ring first at exactly nine o'clock, then at ten past nine, and lastly at a quarter past nine. After the third ring, the registers would be presented to the directors who would check which personnel had signed it and which ones had not. As a sanction, a certain amount of money would be deducted from the salaries of those who had been late. The same news item reports that absenteeism was mostly observed among the typists.[113]

A second regulation was formulated two years later in January 1952, in order to endow the bureaucracy with rationality. Accordingly, on 1 January 1952, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, the governor and mayor of Istanbul, declared that the organization of the municipality would be mobilized in order to rationalize its working process. This would require getting rid of old habits, like working according to strict working hours. Afterwards, each city employee would work even after five o'clock if her job were not finished. The people who were in charge of a city that aimed at development were expected to adapt their rhythm to the tempo of that city.[114]

Another measure that was taken by the cabinet in order to eradicate the loss of time in the bureaucracy was the closure of the small kitchens where tea and coffee were made.[115] The officials were expected to work without taking ten-minute breaks during which they would sip a cup of tea or coffee. Thus, the concerns to hinder waste of time

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[113] *Cumhuriyet*, "Devamsız Memurlar," 14 January 1950.

[114] *Cumhuriyet*, "Valinin Mesai Saatlerine Dair Demeci," 1 January 1952.

[115] *Cumhuriyet*, "Devlet Dairelerinde Kahve Ocakları Kapatılıyor," 4 February 1953.

and laziness were realized in practice as well, so much as to exceed the limits of human energy. Just like the magazine articles that recommended industriousness and entrepreneurship, the personnel were called to work harder and harder in order to successfully develop the country.

The emphasis on speed required the ability to make decisions quickly, too. More importantly, however, this factor is related to present-orientedness because determination necessarily puts a weight onto the present time. An article proclaims three points in order to fight anxiety. The last one of them advises to decide and immediately enact your decision.[116] This immediacy directs us to the stress given on the current time by *Bütün Dünya*. The following expressions depict the present-oriented viewpoint of the magazine:

> Foolish people mention the past, wise people today, and the insane the future.
>
> How vain is it to be apprehensive because of the past and in front of the future.
>
> Children do not have a past or future; in contradiction to us, they enjoy their today.
>
> The past is gone, the future is still far away, but today is in our hands. We cannot change the past, know what the future will bring us, but we can make use of today however we wish.
>
> Very few of us know how to live by enjoying the life with pleasure and real gaiety. Everybody thinks about either the mistakes they have made in the past or the problems they will face tomorrow.
>
> Be glad and thank god if you can eat, enjoy the sunlight and become cheerful with your friends in spite of the future. Do not let the bliss of the past or the future bother you. Do not forget that you can be sure only of your today.

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[116] "Sıkıntı, Dert ve Üzüntüye Karşı," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 10 (November 1948), p. 436.

A man cannot be counted mature unless he understands that his past is invaluable and the future will never arrive. If a man says, "I can handle this issue in the future" it means that he lives in a dream world. But if he says, "I will handle this issue now," he is counted to be mature.

If we all live each day without crying about the mistakes we made in the past or being apprehensive because of the probable troubles of the future, we make it possible for us to enjoy each day. Here is the secret of success: A man who behaves like this thinks only about doing his most difficult job as soon as possible and in a proper way. To delay things is not good at all.[117]

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[117] Respectively;

"*Akılsız kimseler maziden, akıllı kimseler bugünden, deliler de istikbalden bahseder.*" Mme du Deffard, "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), p. 472.

"*Mazi yüzünden ve istikbalin karşısında kuruntulara saplanmamız da ne kadar boştur!*" John R. Heron, "Aceleniz Nedir?" *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 28 (May 1950), p. 602.

"*Çocukların mazisi ve istikbali yoktur; bizlerin aksine bugünlerinden zevk alırlar.*" La Bruyère, "1001 Güzel Söz," *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 33 (October 1950), p. 422.

"*Mazi geçmiştir; istikbal henüz uzaktır, fakat bugün elimizdedir. Maziyi değiştiremeyiz; istikbalin bize neler getireceğini bilemeyiz, fakat bugünü istediğimiz gibi kullanabiliriz.*" "Saadetin Sırrı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 26 (March 1950), p. 318.

"*İçimizde pek az kimse zevk içinde ve hakiki neş'e ile hayatın tadını çıkararak yaşamasını bilmektedir. Herkes, ya dün işlemiş olduğu hataları aklından geçirmekte veya yarın karşılaşacağı müşkülleri düşünmektedir.*" Karin Roon, "Günde 24 Saat Yaşamanın Sırrı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), p. 414.

"*İstikbal ne olursa olsun, bugün yemek yiyebilirsen, güneş ışınlarından zevk alabilirsen, arkadaşlarınla neşelenebilirsen, memnun ol ve Allaha şükret. Mazinin veya istikbalin saadeti seni düşündürmesin. Yalnız bugününden emin olabileceğini hatırından çıkarma.*" Henry Ward Beecher, *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 40 (May 1951), p. 487.

"*Bir insan, mazisinin bir kıymeti olmadığını, istikbalin ise hiçbir zaman gelmeyeceğini anlamadıkça, olgun fikirli addedilemez. Bir insan 'Bu işimi istikbalde başarırım', derse hayal dünyasında yaşıyor demektir. Fakat 'Bu işimi şimdi yapacağım' derse olgunlaşmış sayılır.*" Lucile Himebaugh, *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 29 (June 1950), p. 687.

"*Eğer hepimiz; her günümüzü mazide işlediğimiz hataları düşünerek ağlamadan ve istikbalin muhtemel dertlerini kendimize kuruntu etmeden yaşayabilirsek, her günün zevkini alabilmek için kendimize imkan hazırlamış oluruz. İşte muvaffakiyetin sırrı budur. Böyle hareket eden bir insan, ancak elindeki en zor işini bir an evvel iyi bir şekilde yapmağı düşünür. İşleri bir tarafa yağmak ta hiç iyi değildir.*" Walter C. Alvarez, "Sinirli İnsanlar, Huzur İçinde Yaşayabilir," *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 42 (July 1951), p. 48.

Determination and the importance given to the present are indeed the necessary provisions of the entrepreneurial man. If the entrepreneur is to make good use of the emerging opportunities and recent developments, he must be constantly alert and make instant decisions: "Our lives are full of situations that require urgent decisions, each of which may change our lives. To be clever enough to realize these opportunities immediately is the turning point of one's fortune most of the time."[118]

Thus, hurry and dynamics are what is expected from an entrepreneur rather than inaction and this requires the ability to decide suddenly and, related to this, an emphasis on the present term. It is advised to "leave aside the docility and serious-mindedness that have been appropriated into your personality over the years. Move a little bit quickly. Speak quickly. Be always active and excited."[119]

While adjusting its discourse to the life and world of the entrepreneur, it is interesting that the magazine does not talk about the other side of the story, the present-orientedness as it is experienced by the workers. Here is an excerpt from Benjamin, who describes how the worker adapts himself to the machine in the capitalist mode of production and how this gives rise to a conception of time that consists of "additional" and "equal" units: "The manipulation of the worker at the machine has no connection with the preceding operation for the very reason that it is its exact repetition. Since each operation at the machine is just as screened off from the preceding operation as a coup in

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[118] "*Hayatlarımız, her biri hayatımızı değiştirebilecek acele kararları icap ettiren durumlarla doludur. Bu fırsatları hemen fark edecek kadar açıkgözlü olmak, çok kere insanın talihinin dönüm noktası olmaktadır.*" A. H. Z. Carr, "Talihli Olmak Elinizdedir," *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 62 (March 1953), p. 244.

[119] "*Senelerin benliğinize mal ettiği uysallık ve ağır başlılıkları bırakınız. Biraz çabuk hareket ediniz. Çabuk konuşunuz. Daima hararetli ve heyecanlı olunuz.*" Raymond C. Johnson, "Şevk ve Heyecanın Değeri," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 10 (November 1948), p. 351.

a game of chance is from the one that preceded it, the drudgery of the laborer is, in its own way, a counterpart to the drudgery of the gambler. The work of both is equally devoid of substance."[120]

The emphasis on the current time may give us a clue to sample the intellectual atmosphere of the 1950's as well, though this by no means implies that the 1950's are analyzed in this study as an era that constitutes a whole in itself. This paper only makes a moderate suggestion in pointing out that the discourse of *Bütün Dünya* had parallels with conservatism's focus on the present. Let us lend an ear to Mustafa Şekip Tunç, one of the leading figures of "Turkish" conservatism: "Real time, namely time that is lived, looks like a creative power field which influences all creatures and which constructs on the one hand while it destroys on the other, and it is this time which must be conquered. This is the time which does not repeat itself, which only moves ahead, and which does not return; this is also the time in which the history of nature and humanity is kneaded and which we want to know."[121]

This quotation must make it clear that the claim of this study is not to argue that the 1950's were a traditionalist period that looked backwards in time for a golden age where modernist reforms of the Kemalist regime did not profoundly alter the way

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[120] Quoted from Frisby, p. 262.

[121] "*Hakiki yani yaşanan zaman bütün varlıklara tesir eden, bir taraf yıkarken, diğer taraftan yapan yaratıcı bir kudret alanı gibi görünüyor ve asıl fethedilmesi gereken bu zamandır. Tekerrür etmeyen yalnız giden ve geriye dönmeyen bu zamandır; tabiat ve insanlık tarihinin içinde yoğrulduğu ve bilme isteğimiz zaman da bu zamandır.*" Mustafa Şekip Tunç, "Zaman Fatihleri," *Cumhuriyet* (June 15th 1942) in Nazım İrem, "Kemalist Modernizm ve Türk Gelenekçi-Muhafazakarlığının Kökenleri," *Toplum ve Bilim* 74 (Fall 1997), p. 86. For more information about conservatism's emphasis on the present, see Tanıl Bora, "Muhafazakarlığın Değişimi ve Türk Muhafazakarlığında Bazı Yol İzleri," Ibid., p. 24; Nazım İrem, "Kemalist Modernizm ve Türk Gelenekçi-Muhafazakarlığının Kökenleri," pp. 66, 85; Nazım İrem, "Muhafazakar Modernlik, 'Diğer Batı' ve Türkiye'de Bergsonculuk," *Toplum ve Bilim* 82 (Fall 1999), p. 173.

everydayness was lived by common people, yet. The emphasis on the present, rather than on the traditional past, must itself be a sufficient sign to demonstrate that conservatism was a part of modernity, rather than its antidote. It was only an effort to overcome the adverse effects of modernity: "Conservatism is not the antithesis of modernism that transcends beyond the stand of 'militant' Enlightenment which constitutes the trade mark of the French Revolution, but its constant companion."[122] In this sense, the 1950's were not a break in the "modernizing" and "progressive" history of the Turkish Republic, but only another episode of it with its own particularities.

The present-orientedness goes hand in hand with an ideology of egoistic individualism and conventional voluntarism as well. A focus on the present brings about a concern to save the day and, consequently, there is a lack of a concern to engage in long-term social transformation. The reduction of everything to the present and ignoring a futuristic dimension prevent the development of a social project. A sense of continuity, against the background of which any social criticism is supposed to be based, is lost. Moreover, a simple focus on the present makes it seem as if it were independent of any other political or social dimensions.

Oktay points out the dangerous implications of such a position. He starts with a critique of pop art and ends up at a negation of a postmodernist time, which culminates in the rejection of continuity. He argues that this emphasis on the instant turns politics into something transcendental and reduces the political practice to voting every four years. He concludes that it is exactly due to this fact that history repeats itself. Any

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[122] "*Muhafazakarlık, Fransız Devrimi'nin alamet-i farikasını teşkil ettiği 'militan' Aydınlanmacılık uğrağını aşan modernizmin zıddı değil, sürekli refakatçisidir.*" Bora, p. 7.

political activity, which is not founded on the basis of a hope in the future, is doomed to be content with the real today. He concludes that that is political because a society without a memory is vulnerable to domination.[123] In a similar fashion, Marcuse, a member of the Frankfurt School by which Oktay seems to be highly influenced in his own intellectual life, declares:

> Is this fight against history part of the fight against a dimension of the mind in which centrifugal faculties and forces might develop – faculties and forces that might hinder the total coordination of the individual with the society? Remembrance of the past may give rise to dangerous insights, and the established society seems to be apprehensive of the subversive contents of memory. Remembrance is a mode of dissociation from the given facts, a mode of 'mediation' which breaks, for short moments, the omnipresent power of the given facts. Memory recalls the terror and the hope that passed.[124]

A digression must be made here. Even though Oktay makes his analysis for the post-1980 period, his thoughts are relevant to culture in the 1950's. The first justification of such a choice would be a content analysis arguing that, ironically enough, the very emphasis on the instant in the neo-liberal era may be observed in a popular culture magazine published three decades ago as well. Moreover, the author of this study believes that the very aim of a historian must be to contribute to the understanding of today by analyzing what happened in the past. A historian must be able to comment on the period in which she lives without falling into the traps of teleology or without disregarding the Foucauldian emphasis on discontinuities. As Benjamin suggests, history

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[123] Oktay, *Postmodernist Tahayyüle İtirazlar*, pp. 132, 137, 188.

[124] Herbert Marcuse, "The Closing of the Universe of Discourse," *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Societies* (London: Routledge, 1964), p. 98.

must not be about "ascertaining how things really were but seizing hold of memories and fanning the sparks of hope."[125]

The focus on the present has other implications concerning the apprehension of the past and the future, too. As the current moment is taken as the central point, the past is ignored. Thinking about the past and regretting what you did yesterday is interpreted as a waste of time. This is something the hurry of an entrepreneur would not allow because while he is contemplating his mistakes, he may overlook some new opportunities. Therefore, he does not have a right to look back and moan: "Exit closing the door silently and slowly, open a new door and do not look back, as that old statesman says, because as long as you are concerned about the past, your emotions will be wasted for sure!"[126]

The past is not only to be ignored. The discourse of *Bütün Dünya* recommends that it be forgotten. Readers are told to erase their minds and disregard their memories. Just like a computer, they are advised to delete some files from their brains. A man without a history can do anything. He does not have to care for anything because his starting points are limited merely to the present. He does not have any origins to depend on or anything to hold on to. All these make sense, especially concerning a businessman, because as a materialist and as an entrepreneur, he is counted on to make good use of any opportunity. For example, a colleague who has helped him to rise may be defeated if

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[125] Quoted from Nicholas B. Dirks, "Is Vice Versa? Historical Anthropologies and Anthropological Histories" in *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, ed. Terrence J. MacDonald (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 36.

[126] "*O yaşlı devlet adamının söylediği gibi, sessizce kapıyı kapayarak oradan çıkıp, yeni bir kapı açınız; ve arkanıza da bakmayınız! Çünkü geçmişle meşgul olduğunuz zaman, hisleriniz muhakkak israfa uğrayacaktır.*" Zelda Popkin, "Hislerinizi İsraf Etmekten Kaçının," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 75 (April 1954), p. 405.

necessary, and any moral doctrines acquired from his family may be discounted. These are all easy things for him to do. As a matter of fact, they are not only easy, but also legitimate because he does not have a past, a history, or a culture on which to lean.

Forgetting your past is also a useful advice because it makes you happy and peaceful: "Learn to forget. Live in the present rather than the past. If they did not annoy themselves with their memories of the past, many women and men would be able to live happily."[127]

Apart from the past, the present-oriented perspective of *Bütün Dünya* evidences indifference concerning the future, too:

> I never think about the future because it will pass with a blink of our eyes.
>
> He who delays living for tomorrow resembles that fool who waits for the waters to flow away in order to cross the river.
>
> Once I read on a signboard on the wall of a garden in Beijing the sentence, "Make use of life. Maybe there is so much less time left for you to make use of it" . . . But unfortunately man always delays to later dates the things he can do and comforts himself constantly that "I will do this later anyway" until the opportunity in his hands is totally annihilated.
>
> Psychologist William Moulton Marston asked 3,000 people the question 'Why do you live?' He was bewildered when he learned that ninety-four percent of the people he examined responded that they endured today with the hope of the future, waited for their children to grow up and leave home, for someone to die and for a trip they have wanted for a long time, and lived by the hope of the future without realizing that yesterday was gone, tomorrow would never arrive and they can have only today.[128]

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[127] "*Unutmayı öğrenin. Maziden ziyade halde yaşayın. Mazideki hatıralariyle kendilerini taciz etmeseler, birçok erkek ve kadınlar mes'ut yaşamak için imkan bulurlar.*" André Maurios, "Saadeti Elden Kaçırmayalım," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 36 (January 1951), p. 19.

[128] Respectively;

"*İstikbali hiç düşünmem, çünkü biz gözümüzü açıp kapayıncaya kadar o gelip geçecektir.*" Albert Einstein, "Doğru Söze Darılma Yok," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 17 (June 1949), p. 656.

Those who regard tomorrow cause a waste of time because it makes one too sensitive about upcoming dangers. As a result, one becomes too precocious and takes unnecessary measures. This kills the dynamic nature of an entrepreneurial spirit and gives rise to inaction. Thus, paying too much attention to the future and wondering what is going to happen produces an unconcern about what is happening now. This, in its turn, creates a situation in which one misses having an interest in current opportunities. Hence, there is no sense of being afraid of what is going to take place tomorrow. On the contrary, you must evaluate each possibility that you encounter in life.

Rather than doing nothing because of your fears, you have to take risks: "We are afraid of the unknown. Those things we have not experienced, do not know or understand scare us most of the time. But the possibility of an experience which is unknown to us to make us happy is as strong as its possibility to harm us. Moreover, we need to experience it for good or for worse in order to mature."[129] So, you do not have to play safe; on the contrary, the more risks you take, the greater the possibility of your

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"*Yaşamağı yarına tahir eden, nehri geçmek için sularının akıp gitmesini bekleyen akılsıza benzer.*" Horas, *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 41 (June 1951), p. 614.

"*Bir zamanlar Pekin'deki bir bahçenin duvarındaki levhada 'Hayattan istifade edin. Belki de hayattan istifade edebilmeniz için pek az zamanınız kalmıştır' ibaresini okumuştum . . . Fakat ne çare ki insan yapabileceği şeyleri daima daha geç tarihlere tehir eder ve elindeki fırsat tamamiyle yok oluncaya kadar kendi kendine 'Bunu nasılsa daha sonra yaparım' şeklinde telkinlerde bulunur durur.*" Dr. Frederic Loomis, "Saadet Yaratan Hatıralar," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 24 (January 1950), p. 57.

"*Ruhiyatçı William Moulton Marston 3000 kişiye 'Ne için yaşıyorsunuz?' sualini sormuştu. Sorguya çektiği kimselerin yüzde 94 ünün istikbal ümidiyle bugüne tahammül ettiklerini, çocuklarının büyüyüp evden ayrılmalarını, çoktandır istedikleri bir seyahate çıkmağı, birinin ölmesini beklediklerini ve dünün geçtiğini, yarının bir türlü gelmeyeceğini ve yalnız bugüne sahip olabileceklerini idrak edemeyerek istikbal ümidiyle yaşadıklarını öğrenince şaşırıp kalmıştı.*" *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 42 (July 1951), p. 48.

[129] "*Meçhullerden korkarız. Tecrübe etmediğimiz, bilmediğimiz, anlayamadığımız şeyler bizi ekseriya korkutur. Halbuki meçhülümüz olan bir tecrübenin bizi mes'ut etmek ihtimali bize zarar getirmesi ihtimali kadar kuvvetlidir. Üstelik olgunlaşmak için, iyi, kötü her türlü tecrübe geçirmeğe muhtacız.*" Zelda Popkin, "Hayatta Nelerden Korkuyoruz?" *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 63 (April 1953), p. 397.

success becomes. As the saying goes, "to be mistaken is for the people."[130] Taking all these points into consideration, *Bütün Dünya* also supports making short-term plans: "Everybody must have a target in life. But all of us ought to know that our short-term targets are more practical."[131]

This particular perception of time by *Bütün Dünya* illuminates another aspect of the 1950's, too. With the turn to a liberal economy at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, the new global trends of the capitalist mode of production required an increasing consumption level by certain sections of the social structure. Accordingly, more and more people became integrated into a consumption society in the post-World War II period.

Besides the connection between the issue of consumption and a present-oriented notion of time, which will be discussed below, consumption was related to a society composed of ambitious individuals as well. In this sense, "a car [symbolized] not a permanent possession, it was an economic benchmark on life's journey to the top."[132] Thus, consumption was not simply an economic activity, it was also a criterion of status.

Moreover, a typical aspect of consumption concerns its self-referential quality. This means that as long as you consume, you long to consume more. Consumption breeds consumption:

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[130] "*Yanılmak insanlar içindir.*" William Moulton Marston, "Cesaretli Olalım," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 4 (May 1948), p. 346.

[131] "*Herkesin hayatta bir hedefi bulunmalıdır. Fakat hepimizin kısa vadeli hedeflerinin daha pratik olduğunu bilmemiz lazımdır.*" Harold Wren, "İdealleriniz, Sizi Muvaffakiyete Götürebilir," *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 46 (November 1951), p. 497.

[132] Halberstam, p. 122.

> *Satisfaction* is the aim and objective of this society and its official justification; every known and imagined need is - or will be - satisfied. Such satisfaction consists in saturation obtained, as far as solvent needs are concerned, with all possible alacrity. Needs are seen as clearly defined gaps, neatly outlined hallows to be stopped up and filled in by consumption and the consumer until satiety is achieved, when the need is promptly solicited by devices identical to those that led to satiety; needs are thus incessantly re-stimulated by well-tried methods until they begin to become rentable once again, oscillating between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, both states being produced by similar manipulations.[133]

This was exactly the case in America during the 1950's. George Walker, the head of styling at Ford, once confessed that "we design a car to make a man unhappy with his 1957 Ford long about the end of 1958."[134] This fact is very much related to a present-oriented conception of time because consumption is something immediate and temporary, it is an instant act. It destroys the sensation of time as a whole in itself since a consumption society implies that goods may replace other goods. It erases the memory because it functions within the realms of a hedonistic "today." Parallel to this, an article in *Bütün Dünya* argues,

> The dress belonged maybe to a wholesaling organization before the shop bought it. So it passed from the wholesaler to the shop and from the shop to me. When the dress wears out, I will give it as a gift to a person who is poorer than me; then the dress becomes hers. Then how can I say that someone owns this dress? Indeed, it is lent to us for a definite time. It is mine only as long as I use it.[135]

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[133] Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. S. Rabinovitch (New York: Harper & Row, 1992), p. 79.

[134] Quoted from Halberstam, p. 127.

[135] "*Elbise dükkan tarafından satın alınmadan evvel, belki de toptan mal satan bir müessesenindi. Demek ki toptancıdan dükkana, dükkandan da bana geçti, Elbise eskiyince, ben de onu benden fakir birine hediye ederim; o zaman da elbise onun olur. Şu halde birinin bu elbiseye sahip olduğunu nasıl söyleyebilirim. Esasında, hepimize, muayyen bir zaman için, ödünç verilmiştir. Sadece onu kullandığım müddetçe, benimdir.*" Carl Glick, "Bu da Bir Hayat Felsefesi," *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 61 (February 1953), p. 134.

At first sight, this quotation may be interpreted to mean that it challenged private property rights or advocated a philanthropic worldview. However, the underlying message is that you own something as long as you use it. As commodities are exchanged between a variety of actors, this quotation indeed advocates permanent consumption. Goods circulate constantly between different people and this provides the continuity of an economy based on consumption.

Some readers of the magazine shared such a consumptionist worldview as well. Bülent Coşkun, writing from Istanbul, tells the story of an old peasant who wanted to sell his goods to a German businessman. As the rich businessman refused his offer and said that he did not want to spend his money, the old man replies "not the money you earn, but the money you spend is yours."[136]

Besides the issue of consumption, the present-orientedness of *Bütün Dünya* enables the imagination of a different world, too. An article tells the story of a man who just seizes the day. This man, Anton, was earning money via daily jobs. He was helping the people living with him in the same town and wanted money in exchange for his help. However, he definitely refused to receive more money than he needed to survive that day. The life story of Anton makes the author think that,

> I always remembered Anton, who lived in peace and confidence because he never wanted more than what was necessary for his need of one day and thought: If all the people rely on each other, there would be no need for the police, court, jail or... money. Would that chaotic economic life of the world be not better if everybody lived like that man who always served

[136] "Kazandığın para senin değil, harcettiğin para senindir." Bülent Coşkun, "İşte Biz Böyleyiz," *Bütün Dünya* 11, no. 64 (May 1953), p. 499.

others with all his strength and took only that much what was necessary in return?[137]

The peculiarity of this questioning of the current situation of the world economy loses its interesting nature when it is noticed that Stefan Zweig is the author of these sentences. However, it is still important that a critique of the present conditions takes part in *Bütün Dünya*. Anton has another characteristic, though, that leads to the next section. Even if he does not think about his future, he still has something to lean on. He trusts in god.

Instrumentalized Religion

Another trait of a successful, happy man according to *Bütün Dünya* is his belief. At first sight, this may seem contradictory to voluntarism because religion is usually said to lead to fatalism. It is believed that religious people think that god predetermines the direction of their lives so that they do not have to interfere in the flow of things. They do not have to care about anything, they must merely leave everything as it is. Life is a process that cannot be modified. Nothing can be changed according to this theological understanding. However, in contradiction to this kind of a religious worldview, religion, as *Bütün Dünya* understands it, goes very much hand in hand with voluntarism.

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[137] "*Bir günlük ihtiyacına lazım olandan fazlasını hiç bir vakit istemediği için sükun ve itimat içinde yaşayıp giden Anton'u daima hatırladım ve daima şöyle düşündüm: Eğer bütün insanlar birbirlerine itimat etseler polise, mahkemeye, hapishaneye ve... paraya lüzum kalmazdı. Eğer herkes, bütün kuvvetiyle ve daima başkalarının hizmetine koşan, mukabilinde ancak lazım olduğu kadarını alan şu adam gibi yaşasa acaba dünyanın şu çapraşık iktisat hayatı daha iyi olmaz miydi?*" Stefan Zweig, "Unutulmayan Adam," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 15 (April 1949), p. 397.

According to the magazine, faithlessness brings about a lack of courage, which, in its turn, causes people to give up the struggle in life:

> Those who break down as a result of the pain they face because they are faithless and give up the struggle say without hesitation: "Life has no meaning at all." According to them, humanity lives in a chain of coincidences, god does not play any role in its development and man cannot do anything against destination.[138]

Therefore, religion is needed in order to take the control of your own life into your own hands rather than being unable to do this. In order to determine your own fate, you must keep the faith in god so that he supplies you with courage. Creed gives you the strength to defeat adverse conditions. In this way, predestination ceases to be an excuse in the case of failure; on the contrary, you are the one who is expected to take the responsibility of both your success and failure. Consequently, mere faith in god does not suffice to succeed. God is not a given rescuer in any case. You cannot trust god without trying to attain something on your own. On the contrary, you have to take initiative and try to do something rather than wait and hope that god is going to take care of everything: "God was expecting us to take care of ourselves. There is an old proverb saying, god helps those who help themselves. It is our responsibility to take care of our health. It is absurd to sit and wait for miracles."[139] Therefore, god does not help in any condition. One is supposed to do everything one can do in order to attain something and then leave the matter to god. In other words, religion does not foresee laziness, but hard

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[138] "*İmansız olduklarından karşılaştıkları acının tesirinde kendilerini kaybeden ve mücadeleyi bırakanlar hiç çekinmeden: 'Hayatın hiç bir manası yok' deyiverirler. Onlara göre insanlık bir tesadüfler silsilesi içinde yaşar, Allah onun gelişmesinde hiç bir rol oynamaz ve insan kadere karşı hiç bir şey yapamaz.*" Henry Emerson Fosdick, "Cesaretinizi Kaybetmeyin," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 11 (December 1948), p. 537.

[139] "*Allah, bizden kendimize bakmamızı bekliyordu. "Allah kendine yardım edene yardım eder" diyen eski bir atasözü vardır. Sıhhatimizi korumak bize düşer. Oturup mucizelerin vukuunu beklemek abestir.*" Bob Hope, "Allaha İnanmağı Nasıl Öğrendim," *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 44 (September 1951), p. 246.

work. Conviction should not lead one to idleness since one thinks that one's destiny is predetermined by god's existence:

> Many years passed until I understood that it is necessary that man looks at himself and comprehends whether he has got the right to ask god for help. Religious people believe that the power of prayer to work miracles is limitless. Even those who are not interested in religion start to believe as they witness the miracles of prayer. But all those who want that their prayers are received must be in a position suitable to be in the presence of god. A psychologist who is disinterested in religion said "unfortunately, a lot of prayers are not sincere. People dare to ask for divine help even though they are offended with their neighbors, have sent away their relatives or are scandalmongers and envious."[140]

So, it depends on you and nothing else, whether your prayer is answered or not. In this sense, religion does not serve as something to appeal in the last instance. It does not guarantee anything. There are no coincidences in life either because religion is not something miraculous. On the contrary, everything has an explanation, including religion itself, and this explanation derives from the individual herself since she is the one to decide the route of her life via her own will power.

Moreover, belief is also a necessary condition in order to climb high up the ladder in a competitive society: "Enjoy the competition that leads you to work better and more productively. While you do that, never forget your duty to god, who fills you with the sense of belief, work, and promotion."[141] Competition and worship are two

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[140] "*Allah'tan yardım dilemeden evvel, insanın kendisine bakmasının ve yardım istemek için yüzü olup olmadığını anlamasının gerektiğini, ben, idrak edinceye kadar, uzun yıllar geçti. Dindar kimseler, duanın mucizeler yaratmak kudretinin sonsuz olduğuna inanırlar. Dinle alakası olmayanlar bile, duanın mucizelerine şahit oldukça inanmağa başlarlar. Fakat dualarının kabulünü isteyen herkesin, Allahın karşısına çıkmağa müsait durumda olması lazımdır. Dinle ilgisi olmayan bir ruhiyatçı 'Duaların birçoğu ne yazık ki samimi değil. İnsanlar, komşulariyle dargın oldukları, akrabalarını evden uzaklaştırdıkları, dedikoducu ve kıskanç oldukları halde, ilahi yardım istemek cür'etinde bulunuyorlar.' demiştir.*" Fulton Oursler, "Duanın Kudreti," *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 39 (April 1951), p. 378.

[141] "*Sizi daha iyi ve randımanlı çalışmağa sevk eden rekabetin zevkini tadınız. Bunları yaparken size inanç, çalışma ve yükselme hissini aşılayan Allaha karşı olan vazifenizi de yapmağı hiçbir zaman*

complementary issues. In order to compete, one has to believe because faith furnishes one with moral strength. This moral strength is a necessary condition to accomplish the goal of achievement. The significant role played by religion in business life is demonstrated via examples given from the biographies of famous businessman. The first example comes from Turkey. Vehbi Koç is pictured as a religious man right from the start: "Little Koç, was opening the padlock of the shop with a prayer every morning."[142] The second example comes from the United States of America. John D. Rockefeller is described as a man who was very much interested in religion.[143]

An important implication of such an interpretation of conviction is that, in this way, religion loses its sacredness and becomes more secularized. As long as it is identified as a necessary character of a competitive man, it becomes a part of everyday life, a part of the profane world. Thus, religion is depicted in *Bütün Dünya* not as a means of reaching a peaceful afterworld. It is, on the contrary, a part of this world. It is a tool in the hands of an ordinary man, not the clergy, to help him establish a happy and successful life. Therefore, religion loses its mysterious character and becomes something totally explainable.

Concerning this point, Anker discusses the transformation of popular religion from a theological perspective to a more secular and profane aspect. He summarizes the centuries long journey of the relationship between religious belief and a certain kind of

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unutmayınız." Henry J. Kaizer, "Hayatta Yükselmenin Yolu," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 25 (February 1950), p. 199.

[142] "*Küçük Koç, her sabah dükkanın asma kilidini besmele ile açıyor.*" Sabahattin Sönmez, "Örnek Bir Iş Adamı: Vehbi Koç," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 51 (April 1952), p. 359.

[143] Dale Carnegie, "Hayır İçin 750.000.000 Dolar Dağıtan Adam," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 24 (January 1950), p. 25.

work ethic. He observes a shift from the Puritan philosophy to the New Thought tradition. Whereas success-getting strategies were subordinated to the Christian principles of fairness and charity in the former, prayer was reduced to a vehicle to well being in the latter.[144]

Bütün Dünya seems to be the last station of this transformation as the magazine advocates the utilization of religion for a successful career. Moreover, while religion was used as an instrument to compete and succeed in business life and thus, obtained a secularized nature, it became increasingly popularized and democratized as well. The religious realm expanded even to include scientists, the group once cursed by the scholastic system of thought. *Bütün Dünya* contains an article written by Albert Einstein: "I cannot believe that there is a faithless scientist because science without faith is disabled and religion without science is blind."[145]

The issue of religion and how it is depicted in one of the most popular magazines published during the 1950's is an important point because that decade is usually interpreted as a break from the secular policies of the single-party period. It is argued that the policies of the Democrat Party gave birth to a religious mentality. However, an analysis of *Bütün Dünya* indicates that there was not a definition of the world merely in religious terms in this decade. Belief was much more instrumentalized, present-oriented, and integrated into everyday life practices as a means in the hands of businessmen to guarantee their success.

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[144] Roy M. Anker, "Religion and Self-Help" in *Concise Histories of American Popular Culture*, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), pp. 343-344.

[145] "*İmansız bir ilim adamının varolduğuna inanamıyorum. Zira dinsiz ilim sakat, fakat ilimsiz din kördür.*" Albert Einstein, "İnanıyorum," *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 33 (October 1950), p. 447.

Second, as religion was defined as a means to be used in every day practices, and thus, even religion served to make everything explainable, the magazine looked at other spheres to balance this mechanistic picture of the world. In this sense, fairy tales and texts written about mystical powers like hypnotism and telepathy served to call back something unexplainable, something non-mechanistic and non-instrumental. In other words, these texts served to fight against the disenchantment of the world. But before going into the details of this issue, another route of escape will be analyzed in the next section.

A Spatial Escape

A creative, individualist and voluntarist entrepreneur, a society composed of a hierarchical structure, a perception of time with an emphasis on the present, and a mechanistic understanding of religion: This is a picture in which nothing escapes being explained. Nothing remains secret. Consequently, such a world is doomed to be full of boredom because nothing can serve as a source of excitement in it. However, there is a second part of this analysis that concerns *Bütün Dünya*. Having laid this mechanistic world on one side of the balance, *Bütün Dünya* provided some routes of escape from this world on the other. Thus, the magazine includes some contradictory messages that function as alternative ways of establishing another world. Therefore, the hypothesis to be tested in this section is whether *Bütün Dünya* offers a bundle of messages or whether it conveys a uniform and clearly defined ultimatum.

Abercrombie defines the ideological effects of a popular culture product as a process whereby a textual ideology affects an audience in such a way that an order of domination is secured. He argues that a set of texts cannot be ideological if the texts contain contradictory codings. He suggests that there can be a tension between dominant and subordinate discourses within a text. Therefore, he infers that textual ideology has its limits.[146] In other words, a text must convey non-contradictory messages in order to be ideological. This analysis points out the ambiguous and ambivalent nature of popular culture.[147] In a similar fashion, Jameson also thinks that popular culture products have two different connotations, one ideological and the other utopian or transcendent. He suggests that they cannot be ideological without simultaneously being utopian as well.[148]

Proving these arguments, *Bütün Dünya* ironically contains some articles that provide an escape from the world that has been clearly defined by its own discourse. The first kind of escape concerns a spatial going away from a hierarchical society via some informative texts about small and usually non-Western communities. The best example of them are texts about small islands isolated from the mechanized societies. First of all, the atmosphere of these small islands provides an escape from the daily concerns and every day problems of modernity. For example, the magazine says "Elbe is really a heaven for those who want to get away from the boring news of the world since the

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[146] Abercrombie, pp. 203-4, 209, 211.

[147] I would like to thank Cengiz Kırlı who has underlined this point in his lecture.

[148] Frederic Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Signatures of the Visible* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 29-30.

subject of daily discussion is the direction of the wind here."[149] Similarly, Capri Island is the best place to get away from every day problems: "Are you tired, troubled or pessimistic? Are you afraid of communism, old age, taxes and your superiors? Then run to the small Capri Island in the Tirenien Sea. Even if you cannot solve your problems there, you forget them. Isn't this what you want?"[150] Another article talks about a small town called Isatti: "As a result of my investigation, I decided that the Isattians are not interested in anything else than the state of the grape stumps in their vineyards. They content themselves with shrugging their shoulders when politics or Mussolini are mentioned. Isatti, which is not interested in mundane issues at all, is exactly the place you are looking for."[151]

These passages are evidence of an orientalist discourse for sure. The inhabitants of Elbe, Capri and Isatti are pictured as apolitical people who do not care for anything except the ways by which they earn a living. Whether communism or fascism rules or what is going on in the world in general does not matter for them. Therefore, these places are wonderful areas to flee to and to forget about your personal problems as well as the political, social and economic misery in which humanity lives. These words are orientalist because they imply that at the opposite side of these apolitical, but happy

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[149] "*Elbe, dünyanın iç sıkıcı haberlerinden uzak yaşamak isteyenler için hakikaten bir cennettir, zira buranının ehemmiyetli günlük konuşma mevzu rüzgarın istikametidir.*" "Akdeniz'in Unutulmuş Adası," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 53 (June 1952), p. 595.

[150] "*Yorgun, sıkıntılı veya bedbin misiniz? Komünizmden, yaşlılıktan, vergilerden, amirlerinizden korkuyor musunuz? O halde Tireniyen denizindeki küçük Capri adasına koşun. Orada müşküllerinizi halledemeseniz bile, onları unutursunuz. İstediğiniz de bu değil midir?*" Martha Gelihorn, "Mes'ut İnsanlar Adası Capri," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no.25 (February 1950), p. 217.

[151] "*Yaptığım tetkikler neticesinde, İsatti'lilerin, bağlarındaki üzüm kütüklerinin durumundan başka bir şeyle ilgilenmedikleri kanaatine vardım. Siyasetten veya Mussolini'den bahsedildiği vakit, omuzlarını silkmekle iktifa ediyorlardı. Dünyevi meselelere karşı en ufak bir alaka duymayan İsatti, tam aradığımız yerdi.*" Oscar Schisgoll, "İsatti'nin Esrarı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 29 (June 1950), p. 663.

natives live the victims of modernity, who think about politics at the expense of their own happiness.

In spite of this orientalism however, these texts give no evidence of a sign of modernization theory. These small islands or towns are not pictured as archaic, backward or undeveloped societies, which are supposed to take off and catch up with the modern ones. On the contrary, these communities are seen as different kinds of civilizations compared to ours. They are pictured as examples of alternative ways of thinking and living. Therefore, apart from merely providing an escape route, these texts also have a criticizing function and offer some alternatives. For example in one article, the Indonesian people are described as jokers and happy people who desire to live.[152]

The second example stems from Cerba Island. The indigenous residents are described as "compliant and calm people. If it is taken into consideration that the population of Cerba, which consists of 65,000 people, is taken under control by merely twenty policeman, the truth of this claim is immediately proven."[153] Another example comes from Bali:

> Bali, which is a small island in the middle of the ocean far away from any kind of struggle, fear and anxiety, is a real heaven. Its residents do not know feelings like hatred, wickedness or revenge. There are no military bases, workbenches, and factories along its coasts. The natives dance and amuse themselves during their leisure time in the evening. Bali is the country of fun, joy and love . . . A stranger who stays a couple of days here understands very well the meaninglessness of the unending struggles and quarrels of civilized nations.[154]

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[152] "Dünya Cenneti: Endonezya Adası," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 13 (February 1949), p. 165.

[153] " . . . *yumuşak başlı ve sakin insanlardır. Cerba'nın 65.000 kişilik nüfusunun, sadece 20 polis tarafından kontrol altında bulundurulduğu düşünülürse, bu iddianın doğruluğu derhal anlaşılır.*" Lesley Blanch, "Akdenizin Ortasındaki Cennet," *Bütün Dünya* 9, no. 48 (January 1952), p. 35.

[154] "*Okyanusun ortasında, her nevi mücadele, korku ve endişeden uzak, küçük bir ada olan Bali, hakiki bir cennettir. Sakinleri nefret, kötülük, intikam gibi hisleri bilmezler. Sahillerinde askeri üsler, tezgahlar,*

What is to be observed here is an alternative picture of the world. Even though there is no explicit critique of modern societies, still an implicit criticism may be sensed between the lines. When the small size of the police force of Cerba is compared to the hugeness of the "modern" ones and when the peaceful inhabitants of this small island are counted as the reason behind this small police organization, then the inference is that the citizens of "modern" countries are not peaceful people. Similarly, the residents of Bali are pictured as peace-loving people who hate the evil and adore friendship. They like to have fun and to fall in love and they never take up arms. Moreover, there are no military bases in Bali, unlike the militarist "modern" states.

When all these points are taken into consideration, the critical tone of these texts directs us to a critique of the contemporary civilization and submits another alternative definition to it. It is significant to realize that these different societies are depicted not as uncivilized communities, but as alternative civilizations. They are signified as alternative ways to modernity. For instance, an article about India states that "the caste system may imply for the Americans that the people turn down the opportunities they may encounter. But the Indians consider the caste only as the acceptance of fate by a logical man as resignation – is it not preferable compared to constant struggle and greed? In fact, the ideal of the Indian is not happiness in the sense that the West understands it; it is the salvation of desire from captivity."[155]

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fabrikalar yoktur. Yerliler, akşam boş vakitlerini dans etmekle, eğlenmekle geçirirler. Bali, eğlence, neş'e ve aşk diyarıdır . . . Birkaç gün burada kalan bir yabancı medeni milletlerin bitmez tükenmez mücadele ve kavgalarının manasızlığını çok iyi anlar." "Dünya Cenneti: Bali," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 9 (October 1948), pp. 280-283.

[155] "*Amerikalılar için kast sistemi, insanların, önlerine çıkabilecek fırsatları tepmeleri manasına gelebilir. Halbuki Hintliler kastı sadece mantıklı adamın kaderini tevekkülle kabul etmesi telakki etmektedirler – daimi mücadele ve hırsa nispetle şayanı tercih değil mi? Esasen Hintlinin ideali, batının anladığı manada*

This is clear-cut criticism of Western civilization. Above, it was shown that the discourse of *Bütün Dünya* advises people to be entrepreneurs who make good use of opportunities and that the magazine equates life to an unending struggle. When these points are remembered, it becomes much clearer that the above sentences demonstrate one of the best examples of a critique of a materialist way of life. Moreover, they do not merely criticize, but also provide an alternative way of thinking that a calm and easy living is possible. Similarly, another article writes:

> There are none of the necessities of everyday life, like hospitals, trains, newspapers, water and sewage system, in this country [Tibet], which is a third of the United States in size and has a population of four million people. In this country, there is even no wheel, which is one of the oldest and most essential of all inventions. Nevertheless Tibet is not wild and primitive. The country of the Dalai Lama, who can live without science, has a civilization that has continued for long centuries.[156]

Tibet may not make use of modern facilities, but still it is not a primitive place of wilderness. Or if the Tibetan way of living is qualified as primitive or wild, then these words are not used in a pejorative sense. On the contrary, it is this primitiveness and wilderness in which some Western people want to relax.

Another article tells the story of a couple who chose to live a completely natural life for a year. This couple wanted to compare and contrast the "hurry" called civilization to a primitive and natural life. At the end of a year, when they returned to their normal way of life, they discovered where they had gone wrong. They were totally mistaken

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saadet değil, arzunun esaretinden kurtuluştur." "Esrarlı Hindistan'ın Garip Tarafları," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 75 (April 1954), p. 443.

[156] "*Birleşik Amerika'nın üçte biri büyüklüğünde olan ve 4 milyon kişilik nüfusu bulunan bu memlekette [Tibet]; hastane, tren, gazete, su ve kanalizasyon teşkilatı gibi her günkü hayatın icaplarının hiçbiri yoktur. Hatta bu memlekette bütün icatların en eski ve temellilerinden biri olan tekerlek bile kullanılmaz. Bununla beraber Tibet, vahşi ve iptidai değildir. Fensiz yaşayabilen Dalay Lama'nın memleketinin, uzun*

when they had called civilization the thing that was nothing more than an adoration of materialism. They had discovered the meaninglessness of their hastiness. Moreover, they realized that this hurry had reduced the white man to an unhealthy creature very unlike the alertness of primitive people. The white man is a lonely and spiritually poor being, who looks as if he were not alive. Most importantly, however, this couple realized the contradictory and hypocritical nature of modern civilization: "It is understandable that medicine is necessary for civilized man. But in spite of this, I decided that all the developments in medical science are useful only in order to cure some diseases that have been produced by the very same civilization . . . Today they call the man who has attained a limitless wealth one who has 'succeeded'. How weird is it that especially such a man spends an enormous amount of his wealth in order to imitate the nature he has lost. He constructs gardens, parks, pools, etc."[157]

There is a critique of the materialist civilization in these texts, even though this critique has its own limits. First of all, it is interesting that an option like overthrowing the current modern system of the Western countries is never mentioned. Such an option is totally out of question. It is even not expressed in an implicit way. Therefore, all *Bütün Dünya* offers is merely an escape to those small islands, which have remained isolated from modernity through all time. In other words, the possibility that a different kind of world may exist is recognized even though that kind of imagination is located outside of

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asırlardan beri sürüp gelen bir medeniyeti vardır." Lowell Thomas, "Tibet'te Neler Gördüm?" *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 32 (September 1950), pp. 289-290.

[157] "*Anlaşılıyordu ki, ilaç, medeni insan için şarttır. Fakat buna rağmen, tıptaki bütün ilerleyişlerin sadece yine medeniyet yüzünden hasıl olmuş bir takım hastalıkları iyi etmeğe yaradığına kanaat getirdim . . . Bugün hudutsuz zenginlikleri elinde toplamış bir adama 'muvaffak olmuş adam' diyorlar. Ne kadar tuhaftır ki bilhassa böyle bir adam servetinin büyük bir kısmını, kaybettiği tabiatı taklit etmek yolunda*

the modern domain. It is possible to imagine a different world under the condition that it does not jeopardize the existing way of living of the so-called Western sphere. A deviation from the normal way of things is not allowed to stem from this region.

Taking this point into consideration, these texts may be categorized under the genre of "escape literature," which provides an evasion and a flee from the normal way of things. One particular and pejorative interpretation of this literature emphasizes its passivity. This escapist genre is especially criticized and condemned because its mythical nature and its focus on a daydream replace the possibility of positive action against the existing system. For example, Melling argues that this literature, which is little more than a "strange internal fantasy devoid of any value except that of exoticism," romanticizes life and resorts to fantasy in order to escape the present. Escape becomes "the very image of reality" and "authentic portrayals of life."[158]

All these arguments may apply to those escapist texts of *Bütün Dünya*, which help the reader to flee to some tropical islands or communal towns. There is more to these articles, however, than a mere avoidance. These texts are important because they show what lacks in people's lives. Those small towns and islands function as the symbolic reserves of another world and civilization. While making an analysis of Baum's fantastic *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, Zipes argues, "a trip to Oz is not an escape because one is forced to become aware of what is absent in America and in the

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harcar. Bahçeler, parklar, havuzlar ve saire yaptırır." "Tabiata Dönüş," *Bütün Dünya* 3, no. 16 (May 1949), pp. 497-498.

[158] Philip Melling, "American Popular Culture in the Thirties: Ideology, Myth, Genre" in *Approaches to Popular Culture*, ed. C. W. E. Bigsby (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976), pp. 247-250.

world in large."[159] This is exactly what these texts about tropical islands in *Bütün Dünya* do. They point out what is absent in instrumentalised, materialist and mechanical societies. They indicate that the life they forego is not a necessity; on the contrary, that it is something arbitrary and that any other way of living is possible.

A second limitation of these texts concerns the fact that those modern Robinson Crusoe's of the deserted islands maintain some of their "modern reflexes." Johan Johonson is one of those modern Robinson's who got rid of modern civilization. One day, this Swiss man jumped out of his ship and swam towards Charles Island in order to start a brand new life. The definition of that new life did not include a rejection of the "commercial instincts" or private property rights, however. Even though Johonson was able to survive because the natural resources of the island provided him with everything, one wonders why he kept trading with the ships that passed by the island. He did not relinquish his private property rights either, as he risked his life while fighting with the crew of a Peruvian ship, which attacked in order to steal his possessions.[160]

The significance of this section is that it proves the existence of a variety of messages conveyed by *Bütün Dünya*. This variety of messages is provided by the spatial escapes from modernity to some small isolated towns and islands. Thanks to the articles about such non-modern communities, *Bütün Dünya* manages to carry alternative and even contradictory messages rather than the imposition of a single, unitary and homogeneous worldview. These articles are important in a study like this, which takes the coding of the messages as its starting point rather than the step of decoding. Since an

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[159] Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (New York: Routledge, 1983), p. 122.

analysis of readers' response is irrelevant to this study, there is no chance to investigate in how many different ways the messages of *Bütün Dünya* were decoded. In spite of such a disadvantage, however, the conclusion of this work is that already at the coding level of *Bütün Dünya*, there was a heterogeneity of discourses.

Telepathy, Hypnotism, and Ghosts

> The most elementary forms of behavior motivated by religious or magical factors are oriented to *this* world.
>
> Max Weber, 1922.[161]

The natural life of the inhabitants of those small tropical islands, towns and communities provide a link to jump to another aspect of this study. These peoples' close ties to nature prevent the numbness of their senses so that they have retained some extraordinary or paranormal powers. Most of all, they have maintained a capacity of telepathy and can communicate with the dead.

An article informs the reader about a tribe called the Skolt Lapons, living in northern Scandinavia. These people live a very "primitive," but purely natural life. It is no surprise that the author of the text likens them to reindeer, a domesticated animal

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[160] Roland Blackburn, "Issız Adaların Modern Robenson'ları," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 73 (February 1954), p. 204.

[161] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Social Science Paperbacks, 1966), p. 1, quoted from Paul Heelas, *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 127.

living in nature. This connection with nature enables them to go beyond the boundaries of the five senses into which modern man has imprisoned himself. Thus, such unbelievable things like reading minds or communicating with the dead are, in fact, just every day practices in the world of the Lapons: "There was such a deep spiritual affection between the Lapons and the dead that calling the spirit of the dead with a whistle was not disrespectful for them. For them, death was something neither terrible nor tragic, it was just a bridge linking the other world." Lapons have another non-modern characteristics, which is very much linked to their powers of telepathy. A Finnish woman tells that they do not have a notion of time.[162]

This absence of a concept of time is significant to understand the claim of this paper because it provides a connection between the issue of present-orientedness and the next step of this study. This paper will try to give an answer to the question of whether *Bütün Dünya* contains also the imagination of a different world, apart from a description of the present situation in which humanity currently is confined. It was argued in previous sections that the present-oriented world of an entrepreneurial man was a strictly defined world in which everybody's roles in life were set up -in which even religion was supposed to serve a function of encouraging one to cope with a daring life. In this section, it will be argued that something unexplainable was added to this thoroughly rational world through such supernatural phenomena like magic, miracles and ghosts.

At this point, it makes sense to refer to "magical realism," a genre in the literary theory. However, before that, let us clarify why such issues as apparition, magic and

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[162] "*Laponlarla ölüler arasında o kadar derin manevi bağlar vardı ki onlar için ölülerin ruhunu ıslık çalarak çağırmak saygısızlık sayılmazdı. Onlar için ölüm ne korkunç ne de feci bir şeydi, sadece öbür*

miracles are important areas of study. First of all, magic violates the laws of nature under which all human beings live and therefore, it is something universal in its appeal[163] though it may acquire different cultural-historical forms in different cultural-historical settings. Moreover, miracles are important because they are an exemplary form of creative imagination and fantasy balancing the mechanistic world of reality:

> But in order to affirm the non-coincidence of fact and meaning, another scene was required, the religious scene that reintroduces, in the mode of supernatural events, the historical contingency of this 'nature' and, by means of celestial landmarks, creates a place for this protest . . . Without diminishing in any way what one sees every day, the stories of miracles respond to it 'from aside' with irrelevance and impertinence in a different discourse, a discourse one can only believe . . . They provide the possible with a site that is impregnable, because it is a nowhere, a utopia. They create another space, which coexists with that of an experience deprived of illusions.[164]

Third, Barbu argues that myths are "structurally" generative systems of signs and "functionally" basic codes of communication between man and the world. They are basic modes in which man evaluates his experience and relationship to reality. They have an expressive capacity of representing how man perceives and pieces together a picture of the world.[165] In short, magic, miracles, and ghosts are "good to think with." Now, to return to the issue of magical realism.

Magical realism is a kind of narrative in which reference is made to extraordinary and supernatural themes, like magic or ghosts. In magical realist works, "a world . . . in

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dünyayı birleştiren bir köprüydü." Robert Gotlet, "Dünyanın En Mesut İnsanları Laponlar," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 6 (July 1948), pp. 647, 648-649.

[163] Earle J. Coleman, "Magic and Magicians" in *Concise Histories of American Popular Culture*, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), p. 203.

[164] de Certeau, pp. 16-17.

[165] Zev Barbu, "Popular Culture: A Sociological Approach" in *Approaches to Popular Culture*, ed. C. W. E. Bigsby (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976), p. 48.

which the extraordinary, the monstrous, the miracle – in a word: *adventure* – still occupies the center of the picture" is depicted. According to Moretti, this adventurous nature attributes a political meaning to magical realism. Quoting Carpentier, he argues that the widening of horizons provided by this genre opens up new possibilities of political emancipation. Similarly, Fuentes suggests that the mythical aspect of magical realism bars the way to impoverishment. Therefore, Moretti concludes that myth is a sign and instrument of a *symbolic resistance* to the "disenchantment" caused by modernization. Mythical forms provide *meaning* to the profanity of a world of causes and effects, reflecting the desire of contemporary societies for imagination and *re-enchantment* and fighting against a Weberian coldness.[166]

A similar situation where a rational discourse gives rise to another one of irrationality may be observed in Halttunen's analysis of a transformation in American murder narratives. She argues that before the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this narrative was dominated by a sacred literature and a theological discourse, which were interested more in the spiritual state of the condemned prisoner than in the nature of the crime itself. Then a new, secular literature and a legal discourse emerged with an emphasis on the details of the violence of the crime, which caused moral uncertainty. Halttunen argues that Gothic elements, like corpses that came back or intrusions of the supernatural such as ghostly visitations by the victim, were transposed

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[166] Franco Moretti, *The Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London; New York: Verso, 1996), pp. 236, 247-249. For more information on magical realism, see David Keevin Danow, "Magical Realism," *The Spirit of Carnival: Magical Realism and the Grotesque* (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), pp. 64-101; Jean-Pierre Durix, *Mimesis, Genres, and Post-Colonial Discourse: Deconstructing Magic Realism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 79-148; Louis Parkinson Zamora, "Magical Romance / Magical Realism: Ghosts in U. S. and Latin American Fiction" in *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 497-550.

into this new legal discourse in order to balance this lack of meaning with a new kind of mysteriousness and fantasy.[167]

Apart from magical realism, magic, miracles and ghosts may be related to New Age culture as well. Heelas explains the reason behind the popularity of the New Age culture by referring to the restraints imposed by the corporate life: "Consider, for example, the person suffering a mid-life crisis. He or she has an 'off-to-University' family; he or she has a comfortable home, a good car; he or she is becoming jaded, even with the regular holidays in the tropics, the consumer-sprees at Ikea, and the French restaurants. Accordingly, a particular question becomes ever-more pressing: 'Is this all there is to life?' "[168]

Looking at the tracks of this culture in the context of Turkey, Kozanoğlu argues that this culture emerged as a response to modern life, which is full of loneliness and meaninglessness. It indicates that modernity has failed to satisfy people and that there remains a thirst for the unknown:

> To look for hope where hope is exhausted; for the secrets of death or immortality as a matter of life and death, both literally and metaphorically; for the "unknown" hidden in the "fourth dimension" where discoveries and inventions cannot reach; for an inexperienced communication in the age of communication; for new worlds while the world is getting exhausted; for the future in the fortune/prophecy as against to uncertainty and insecurity; for difference as against to banality... . . . "In the middle of the century, a single sentence could be uttered that would express the life and existence of an ordinary middle class family in its totality: Me, too!" The evaluation of Ehrenreich tells not only the American family of the 50's, but also the global fate of the modern life to some extent; the simplification and

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[167] Karen Halttunen, "Cultural History and the Challenge of Narrativity" in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria Bonnel and Lynn Hunt (London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 171-176.

[168] Heelas, p. 141.

resemblance of the individual lives, the little lives, while the social life, the "big life", gets complicated...[169]

Recalling the instrumentalised world displayed by the discourse of the magazine, there is simultaneously an effort to balance this mechanistic understanding with symbolic and mythical issues of another supernatural and extraordinary dimension. Telepathy may be counted as one of these paranormal activities. Its attractiveness derives from its challenge to a present-oriented notion of time. In this sense, it is a means of overcoming the embeddedness in the present because it makes possible communication with the dead, the residents of the past. As one of the articles says, "the mysterious power that enables the human mind, by disregarding time and space, to be aware of things it is not supposed to know: the mystery of telepathy."[170]

This transcendence beyond the present is an ingredient of New Age culture as well: "This culture is not recognizing the present, it is rejecting the 'age'. There is no yesterday-today-tomorrow; there are yesterday and tomorrow or yesterday-chaos-tomorrow or yesterday and eternity or the flow of energy beyond times or... But the

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[169] "*Umudun bittiği yerde umudu; gerçek ve mecazi anlamıyla can pazarında ölümün ya da ölümsüzlüğün sırlarını; keşiflerin, icatların ulaşamadığı noktada "dördüncü boyut"a gizlenmiş "bilinmeyen"i; iletişim çağında, denenmemiş bir iletişimi; dünya tükenirken yeni dünyaları; belirsizliğe ve güvencesizliğe karşı faldaki-kehanetteki geleceği; sıradanlığa karşı farklılığı aramak... . . . 'Yüzyılın ortasında, sıradan bir orta sınıf ailesinin hayatını ve varlığını bütünüyle ifade edebilecek tek cümle kurulabilirdi: Ben de!' Ehrenreich'ın değerlendirmesi, yalnızca 50'lerin Amerikan ailesini değil, modern hayatın global kaderini de anlatıyor biraz; toplumsal hayat, 'büyük hayat' karmaşıklaşırken bireysel hayatların, küçük hayatların basitleşmesini, benzeşmesini...*" Can Kozanoğlu, *İnternet, Dolunay, Cemaat* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), pp. 25-26.

[170] "*İnsan zihninin zaman ve mekanı hiçe sayarak bilmemesi gereken şeylere vakıf çıkmasını mümkün kılan esrarengiz kuvvet: telepatinin esrarı.*" Norman & Madelyn Carlisle, "Başkalarının Düşüncelerini Okuyan İnsanlar Var mıdır?" *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 55 (August 1952), p. 146.

present, the age, did not mean much."[171] By having extended beyond the limits of a present-oriented conception of time, telepathy challenges only one aspect of the materialistic worldview, however.

Another aspect of that worldview, which is represented by *Bütün Dünya*, remains intact. That safe front is the domain of voluntarism, which rejects any determining power of external conditions outside the will of the individual. Concerning this point, telepathy represents the might of the mind over matter. In this sense, one article infers that there are no chances or coincidences in life, just effects of thought waves produced by a determined mind. Therefore, if a determining power exists at all, it resides in the mind not in the activity:

> It is difficult for the people who do not know anything about this issue [amulets and sorcery] to accept that everything derives from the human brain. But even the most materialist man must comprehend that the factors which make him see the external world as if it were real are the images formed in his mind . . . The pages of history are full of names of strong-willed people who inspire those in their surroundings by remaining true to their thoughts and creeds, who create great works, empires, and new worlds out of nothing, and who know what they want. The power of thought in these men is also present in you. The only thing you have to do is to know how to use that power. Then, thanks to the brand new qualities that you have created in yourself or attracted from the external, it is possible for you to become the man which you have created in your fantasies.[172]

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[171] "*Bu kültür, şimdiki zamanı tanımıyor, "çağ"ı reddediyordu. Dün-bugün- yarın yoktu; dün ve yarın vardı, ya da dün-kaos-yarın vardı, ya da dün ve sonsuzluk vardı, ya da zamanlar üstü enerji akışı vardı, ya da... Ama şimdiki zamanın, çağ'ın fazla bir anlamı yoktu.*" Kozanoğlu, p. 28.

[172] "*Bu mevzu hakkında bir şey bilmeyen kimselerin, her şeyin insanın zihninden doğduğunu kabul etmesi zordur. Fakat en maddi insanın bile, dıştaki dünyayı kendisine hakiki olarak gösteren amilin, zihninde teşekkül eden resimler olduğunu idrak etmesi lazımdır . . . Tarih sahifeleri, düşüncelerine ve inançlarına bağlı kalarak etrafındakilere ilham veren ve yoktan büyük işler, imparatorluklar ve yeni dünyalar yaratan, istediğini bilen, irade sahibi insanların adlarıyla doludur. Bunlardaki düşünce kuvveti sizde de mevcuttur. Yapılması lazım gelen tek şey, bu kuvveti kullanmasını bilmektir. O vakit içinizde yarattığınız yahut dışarıdan kendinize cezbettiğiniz yepyeni vasıfların tesiriyle, hayalinizde yarattığınız insan haline gelmeniz kabildir.*" Claude M. Bristol, "İnananlar Mucize Yaratabilir," *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 57 (October 1952), pp. 370-371.

Starting from telepathy, charms and magic, we end up with the great men of history who founded and destroyed big empires or conquered new lands and new worlds. At first sight, this may seem a little bit too long a leap. However, the common point in all of these lies in the ability to direct things with the power of the mind. You telepathise and communicate with others, even with the dead, by your mind, without uttering a word. As the effects of the magic depend on the degree of your belief in it, you may also rule enormous empires with your will power. So, internal stimulus is all that matters because everything depends on you. Telepathy may even work sometimes to succeed in commercial life: "It is not groundless to conclude that those who have succeeded in the commercial life have made use of this mysterious sixth sense because such people do not avoid taking measures, which seem inappropriate at first sight, by foreseeing the growth of that business in the future."[173]

Entrepreneurial spirit, making good use of opportunities and turning the present conditions into an advantage for you, all these points sound familiar already. Therefore, although telepathy may challenge the present-oriented notion of "time," it is simultaneously adapted to another aspect of a materialist worldview. By over-emphasizing the powers of the mind, telepathy welcomes the individualist voluntarism and degrades any social or economic constraints.

But are there no historical developments in the world like wars, revolutions or rebellions which are not the results of just an individual action and therefore, have some more general and inclusive social and economic or politico-cultural implications?

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[173] *"Ticaret hayatında muvaffak olmuş olanların bu esrarengiz altıncı hassadan faydalandıklarına hükmetmek yersiz sayılmaz. Çünkü böyleleri bir işin ilerde inkişafını önceden sezerek ilk bakışta isabetsiz*

At this point, the discourse of the magazine returns to other kinds of mysterious events. For example, a precious, but cursed, stone is counted among the reasons behind the French Revolution, or a ghost ship, which is seen in a river of China from time to time, is said to cause a civil war in that country.[174] Similarly, a comet, which was seen in 1910, may have given rise to a chain of crucial events throughout the world:

> At that time the corpse of the British king Edward VII was still in Westminster Cathedral. Riots broke out in many countries, thousands of Mexicans who were seized with fear made a pilgrimage to Tolpa, the disorder in China resulted in the massacre of Christians and the international political situation went worse day after day and culminated in the start of the I World War . . . People will presumably find a way to get rid of these harmful effects at last. In this case, it is certain that the disease of war will occur less and less frequently in the pages of history.[175]

Wars may be avoided in the future; however this is going to happen not as a consequence of some profound changes in the political or socio-economic system, but as a result of developments in the knowledge of comets so that its adverse effects may be eliminated. Thus, even if some magical stones, cursed comets, or ghost ships are used to explain events like war and revolutions, which are much more than a simple individual action, the means to overcome these are still doomed to be non-systemic changes.

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gibi görünen hareket ve tedbirlerde bulunmaktan kaçınmazlar." "Hayatın Bilmediğimiz Tarafları," *Bütün Dünya* 2, no. 9 (October 1948), pp. 285-286.

[174] Respectively,

"Uğursuz Pırlanta," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 26 (March 1950), p. 287.

E. R. Yarham, "Hayalet Gemiler," Ibid., p. 313.

[175] "*Bu sırada İngiltere kralı 7. Edward'ın cesedi henüz Westminster Kilisesindeydi; birçok memleketlerde isyanlar patlak verdi; korkuya tutulan binlerce Meksikalı Tolpa'ya hacca gitti; Çin'deki kargaşalıklar Hıristiyanların katliamı ile neticelendi; milletlerarası siyasi durum ise günden güne bozularak I. Dünya Harbinin başlamasına kadar vardı . . . İnsanlar, herhalde eninde sonunda bu zararlı tesirlerden kurtulmanın da çarelerini bulacaklardır. Bu takdirde tarih sayfalarında harp illetinin gitgide daha az yer bulacağı muhakkaktır.*" Arthur Everett Scott, "Tarih Yaratan Kuyruklu Yıldızlar," *Bütün Dünya* 12, no. 68 (September 1953), p. 278.

Another supernatural activity which transcends the limits of time and space is the appearance of ghosts: "It is for sure that human soul has a material and spiritual effect that disregards time and space."[176] Therefore, like telepathy, communication with ghosts enables the avoidance of the present-orientedness of this world. In this sense, ghosts have two important implications concerning the imagination of the readers. In general, they provide a deviation from the routines of a mechanized life and fight against the monotony of it by their exciting nature. They help to escape from the boredom of the instrumantalised world by triggering an anxious feeling in the readers.

In his book *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead and Cultural Transformation*, Finucane analyses the issue of apparitions from Antiquity up to the present. He observes a transformation concerning the functions of ghosts at around the turn of the early nineteenth century. He argues that, compared with those of the classical age or the mediaeval period, the ghosts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries lack specific tasks, such as the delivery of messages, the discovery of their bodies, buried treasures, or any other lost goods, the payment of old debts, taking revenge, or reminding the living to keep their word. Therefore, unlike their predecessors, contemporary ghosts are no longer the acquaintances of the people by whom they are seen. They do not even speak any words. The ghosts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are unknown, purposeless, mute, deaf and dumb. Finucane relates this change in the functions of ghosts to the impact of the industrial revolution, the Enlightenment, growing materialism and scientific rationalism, all of which gave birth to a need for romanticism: "On the popular

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[176] "*İnsan ruhunun, zaman ve mekanı hiçe sayan maddi ve manevi tesirleri olduğu muhakkaktır.*" "Hayatın Bilmediğimiz Tarafları," *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 21 (October 1949), p. 433.

level, much of the attraction to a Gothic past lay in its alien qualities, so different from drab modernity. It was believed to be romantic, colorful, emotional, an 'age of faith', all the things the nineteenth century seemed not to be." In such a case, the ghosts gave up all their duties, which were embedded in the every day life, except the transcendental one: reminding their recipients of the importance of immortality:

> Ever since that age of enlightenment, percipients in England, and presumably in much of Western Europe, have attributed to the dead an ever-diminishing social role; instead, their evidential value as proofs of the existence of individual personality after death has received greater emphasis . . . Henceforth the dead progressively withdrew from direct involvement in familial and social affairs, becoming at the same time almost exclusively symbols or tokens of immortality for their percipients.[177]

Ghosts not only provide a door to go beyond the material world, they also have a utopian implication. Using Freudian terminology, Zipes argues that,

> *the very act of reading a fairy tale is an uncanny experience in that it separates the reader from the restrictions of reality from the onset and makes the repressed unfamiliar familiar once again* . . . Philosophically speaking, then, *the real return home or recurrence of the uncanny is a move forward to what has been repressed and never fulfilled.* The pattern in most fairy tales involves the reconstitution of home on a new plane…

Therefore, he suggests that "[to have a fairy tale published] is a historical statement. History is not conceived of here as chronology but rather absence and rupture – in need of a text. The symbolic act of writing a fairy tale is problematised by the asking of questions which link the fairy tale to society and our political unconscious."[178]

Apart from these transcendental or utopian implications, ghosts have a much more specific function concerning the framework of this paper: they open the doors of

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[177] R. C. Finucane, *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead and Cultural Transformation* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1996), p. 176, 222.

another dimension via disobeying the rules of a present-oriented notion of time. In spite of all the suggestions of the magazine concerning forgetting the past and concentrating on the present, ghosts provide a connection with yesterday. They disrupt the cycle of birth–life-death. Consequently, time ceases to be something linear and progressive. On the contrary, ghosts cause a discontinuity in time.

Last but not least, ghosts also restore the spirituality to religion. In the previous sections, it was argued that religion has lost its sacredness because its meaning has been redefined as just another means in the hands of an entrepreneur to arrive at the top in the business life. Now, the appearance of ghosts brings back a sense of mystery to religion: "If people believe that the soul does not die and lives another life after the body becomes transient, then why do they deny the possibilities of speaking with the spirits and establishing a material link with them? Then why should we not believe in ghosts? Are ghosts not the visible forms of spirits according to our description?"[179]

The fact that all these extraordinary factors like ghosts, telepathy, magic and miracles do not lose touch with the reality should be underlined as well. While exciting the reader and causing anxious feelings, these paranormal activities simultaneously remain a part of every day life. At this point, we may refer to the genre of magical realism. Moretti claims that the "old and new combine in the strangest ways" in this kind of narrative. He calls this the "non-contemporaneity," or the "uneven and combined

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[178] Zipes, pp. 11, 174, 176 (Italics belong to the author).

[179] "*İnsanlar, madem ki ruhun ölmeyeceğine ve cesedin fani olmasından sonra ruhun başka bir hayat yaşayacağına inanıyorlar, o halde ruhlarla konuşmayı ve onlarla maddi bir bağ vücuda getirmek imkanlarını neden inkar ediyorlar. Sonra niye hayaletlere inanmayalım? Hayaletler tarifimize göre ruhların görünen şekilleri değil midir?*" "Ruhlar ve Hayaletler," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 4 (May 1948), p. 401.

development" of magical realism, which is the genre of a *marvelous reality*. He writes that a prophecy in Sanskrit or South American phantasms may coexist with the mechanical technology of photography in this genre.[180] Such going back and forth in time is not something unimaginable in *Bütün Dünya*, which advocates a present-oriented notion of time simultaneously with articles about telepathy and apparitions, both of which imply the possibility of travel in time via communication with the dead.

At this point, hypnotism provides a good example. Hypnotism resembles telepathy very much in that both are a means of communication without speech. It is another means of transcending the boundaries of time and space since you may hypnotize even those people who are miles and hours away from you, as the magazine suggests. That incredible power of hypnotism is, however, also the reason behind its usage in this-worldly and daily practices. The most extreme case concerns the suggestion to use it in times of war or political crises as a means in the hands of spies and politicians in order to convince the masses. It is also suggested to use it for more peaceful ends, like hypnotizing Hitler or Stalin in order to restore peace on earth. Or it is advised to make use of it in much more practical ways, like for medical purposes. Hypnotism can work in fighting against smoking, alcoholism and any other kind of addiction, in dieting, or even in avoiding pains and aches.[181]

Such powers may also serve entrepreneurial purposes and make one a millionaire. For example, a South African boy named Pieter Van Jaarsveld has a gift of

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[180] Moretti, *The Modern Epic*, pp. 239-243.

[181] See Daniel Mannix, "İpnotizmacılar Kralı," *Bütün Dünya* 1, no. 2 (March 1948), pp. 145-148; G. H. Estabrooks, "İpnotizmanın Korkunç Kudreti," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), pp. 429-431; "Bir Milyon İnsanı İpnotize Ettim," *Bütün Dünya* 10, no. 57 (October 1952), pp. 445-452.

understanding where there are ore beds. He can discover diamond, gold, or underground water by just looking at the ground. Therefore, he has been given the nickname "The Kid with the X-Ray Eyes." The magazine says, "the capital of the company of which he is the president consists of the light brown eyes of the kid."[182] So, sometimes, extraordinary gifts may help you make a fortune. In this sense, those powers which fill the reader with anxiety and excitement are, at the same time, a source of great amounts of money. Therefore, even though they are a means of arriving in other dimensions, they simultaneously remain a part of this world and of this reality. Even though they go beyond the present, they at the same time remain stuck in everyday life.

A Leap Forward in Time: A Trip into Space

Ghosts provide a link with the past and thereby transcend the limits of a present-oriented notion of time, but what about the future? The materialist discourse of *Bütün Dünya* advises its readers to forget about the past and not care about what will take place in the future. Do not make long term plans and waste time while daydreaming about the morrow. However, the future is an aspect of life about which every normal person must have a concern. It is something about which it is hard not to think. Thus, in spite of its message focusing on present-orientedness, *Bütün Dünya*, at the same time, opens a door towards the future via a number of articles about space.

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[182] "*Başkanı bulunduğu şirketin sermayesi, çocuğun açık kahverengi gözlerinden ibarettir.*" "Röntgen Gözlü Çocuk," *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 20 (September 1949), p. 303.

The content of those articles, however, disappoints anyone who expects to read something different from what exists currently. Unfortunately, neither the aliens who visit Earth, nor the species of men of the future present a different mentality from those of today. Life in the future seems to mirror a copy of the present one. Accordingly, Belge suggests that, "I saw this structure [the unification of the old and the new] in all examples of science-fiction. Technology, new machines, space ships, electronic brains and all the paraphernalia of this kind show an endless variety and change. As opposed to this, humanity is as static as it is."[183] Eagleton makes a similar argumentation in that he relates this phenomenon to the disability of the Western culture to imagine other cultures:

> What is really sinister about aliens is just how unalien they are. They are dismal testimony to our inability to conceive of life-forms radically different from our own. They may have bulbous heads and triangular eyes, speak in a chillingly robotic monotone or emit a strong stench of sulfur, but otherwise they look much like Tony Blair. Creatures capable of traveling for light years turn out to have heads, limbs, eyes, and voices. Their spacecraft can navigate black holes, but tend to crash in the Nevada desert. Despite being built in galaxies inconceivably remote from us, these ships leave ominous burn marks on our soil. Their occupants take a curiously familiar interest in examining human genitals, and tend to deliver vague, waffling messages about the need for world peace, like a UN Secretary General.[184]

This argument applies to the science-fiction articles in *Bütün Dünya* as well. The facilities that are going to be rendered by a space trip are utilized not to imagine a brand new way of living, but merely to extend the contemporary manner of thinking to a spatial domain. One text talks about the rich mineral stratums of the moon: "Those who attempt

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[183] "*Bilim-kurgunun rastladığım bütün örneklerinde bu yapıyı [eski ile yeninin birleştirilmesi] gördüm. Teknoloji, yeni makineler, uzay gemileri, elektronik beyinler ve bütün bu türden alet edevat sonsuz bir çeşitlilik, değişkenlik gösteriyor. Buna karşılık insanlık, statik mi statik.*" Belge, p. 433.

to monopolize the rich mine stratums and precious stones on the moon grow in number each day. Among others, a company in New York proposes to help materially those who want to travel to the moon and prepares to acquire the operation of the various mines and strange precious stones called 'tektite' in the moon."[185] Thus, travel to the moon is not expected to create a brand new world based on social and economic equalities, but new ways of making profit. It merely arranges new opportunities for the man of the entrepreneurial spirit.

The moon is something beneficial in other areas as well. For example, it may be exploited as a perfect military base. Thanks to its low gravity, even rockets of today can be launched from the moon towards the earth. In other words, rockets need no technological improvement to be launched from the moon. This makes perfect sense in the Cold War context of the 1950's because that superpower which takes possession of the moon can attack the other with a strategic advantage: "Another issue concerns the possession of the moon. This is really important. That which dominates the moon, dominates also the world."[186] So, just like hypnotism, the moon is another military tool. Even though texts about space, the moon or any other planet help to surpass the boundaries of a present-oriented conception of time, they still serve purposes like

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[184] Eagleton, p. 49.

[185] "*Aydaki zengin maden ve kıymetli taşları inhisar altına almak için teşebbüse girişenler günden güne çoğalmaktadır. Bu meyanda New York'ta bir şirket aya seyahat etmek isteyenlere maddeten yardım etmeği teklif etmekte ve peykimizdeki muhtelif maden ve 'tektit' adlı garip kıymetli taşların işletilmesini üzerine almağa hazırlanmaktadır.*" Wilbur Dean Biddle, "Aya Gidenler Milyarder Olacak," *Bütün Dünya* 13, no. 74 (March 1954), p. 446.

[186] "*Bir mesele de, ay'a sahip olma meselesidir. Bu gerçekten önemlidir. Ay'a hakim olan dünyaya da hakim olur.*" Norman & Madelyn Carlisle, "Yakında Aya Gidiyoruz," *Bütün Dünya* 4, no. 20 (September 1949), p. 338.

making a fortune or gaining an advantageous military position, which certainly have a this-worldly orientation.

Even the aliens cannot escape from the present. In the articles about space, there is hardly any imagination of creatures from outer space that represent a somehow different mode of thought from ours. For instance, an article claims that "as the United States is developed more than any other state, including Soviet Russia, it may be natural that Wolfians are attracted here more than any other place."[187] In this picture, there is no room for little green men who have a mentality different from ours. Those Wolfians or Martians live in exactly the same kind of world as we do. They define life as a struggle in which one tries constantly to go higher. Progress is the key word. It is the motto shared by the dwellers of earth as well as of other planets. Those aliens long to develop just as we do. They do not follow an easy-going, peaceful life. Therefore, they visit the United States because this is the place where they are not going to suffer the difficulties of being strangers or because this is the place from which they can steal technological secrets. In conclusion, they do not have a notion of a civilization different from ours. Or maybe they do, but they reserve it for some Third World planets as we do.

Another example that supports these arguments states, "just like one side of the moon cannot be seen from the earth, also one side of Mercury faces the sun all the time. Therefore, whereas the bright side of the planet is a waterless, roasted region, the dark side is the country of eternal coldness and darkness. If there are living creatures in the zone separating these two sides, imagine how terrible the fights for land in which they

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[187] "*Fakat Birleşik Amerika, Sovyet Rusya da dahil diğer dünya memleketlerinden ileri olduğuna göre, Wolfluların her yerden çok burası tarafından cezbedilmeleri tabii görülebilir.*" André Labarthe, "Uçan Daireleri Esrarı," *Bütün Dünya* 5, no. 27 (April 1950), p. 488.

engage are."[188] Again, aliens are pictured just as a mirror of the species of men. Both have common or similar experiences. In this sense, it is unimaginable to think that creatures from outer space may have established a totally different kind of world. Theirs is an unequal world as ours, so that they suffer from the uneven distribution of scarce resources, too.

Another aspect of this world, which is reflected in those texts, is individualism. Two different articles about what is going to take place in the future indicate that an individualist ideology will dominate in the coming ages as well. Here are two exemplary descriptions of future, one of an apartment block and the other of cities to come:

> If a look is taken at the plans prepared by the French architect Jean Claude Mazet, the cities of tomorrow are in no way similar to those of today concerning the notion of structure. ... The worst aspect of these modern towers of Babel is that the privacy of each family is destroyed.
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> Recently in the United States of America, plans of circular buildings containing flats in which renters can live without connecting with one another as if they reside in private houses have been made. The flat in the magnifying glass consists of rooms, one on another, and is no different from any private house.[189]

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[188] "*Ayın bir yüzünün dünyaya gözükmemesi gibi, Utarit'in bir yüzü de daimi surette güneşe dönüktür. Bu itibarla seyyarenin aydınlık yüzü, susuz, kavrulmuş bir bölge, karanlık yüzü ise sonsuz soğuklar ve karanlıklar ülkesidir. Bu iki yüzü ayıran kuşakta canlılar varsa, bunların ne müthiş arazi kavgalarına giriştikleri tasavvur edilebilir.*" Kenneth Heuer, "Başka Dünyalarda Ne Gibi Canlılar Var?" *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 43 (August 1951), p. 190.

[189] Respectively,

"*Fransız mimarı Jean Claude Mazet'nin hazırladığı planlara bakılırsa, yarının şehirlerinin, yapı mefhumu bakımından bugünkülerle hiçbir benzerliği olmayacaktır. ... Bu modern Babil kulelerinin en aksak tarafı, her ailenin kendine has hususiyetlerini ortadan kaldırmasıdır.*" "İstikbalde Neler Olacak?" Ibid., p. 200.

"*Son zamanlarda Birleşik Amerika'da, kiracıların, birbirleriyle temas etmeden, müstakil evlerde oturuyormuş gibi yaşayabilecekleri daireleri muhtevi yuvarlak binaların planları hazırlanmıştır. Pertavsızın içindeki daire, birkaç kat üzerindeki odalardan müteşekkil olup, herhangi bir müstakil evden farksızdır.*" "İstikbalde Neler Olacak?" *Bütün Dünya* 6, no. 33 (October 1950), p. 410.

In both of these quotations, the focus is on isolation. The former is concerned that families are going to lose their privacy in those futuristic cities, that they will cease to be isolated from one another. The latter dreams of houses in which individuals live without connecting to one another. These are of course an extension of the American way of life of the 1950's, where apartments "symbolized not merely a lack of space, but also a lack of independence and security."[190] In this promised world, each family is supposed to own a private house, an ingredient of the American dream, together with a secure job, a large car and a happy family. What a private house implies, in its turn, is isolation from society and an individualist discourse. In this sense, there is no concept in the magazine that a different life may reign in the future, one based on a communal life like in those small towns and islands discussed above. There is no possibility of a futuristic world based on solidarity and sharing. The people of the ages to come are supposed to be as individualist as those of contemporary times.

It is remarkable however that sometimes, though very rarely, those texts about the space and future present a more optimistic view. Still, there is hope that "it may be expected that the planet of Mars is more civilized than the earth. Maybe they have formed a unity by removing the borders between themselves, national rivalries, the differences between language and customs."[191] This being an exception however, these articles in general do nothing, but mirror the current situation of the world. In conclusion, even though these articles give a picture of the future and thereby provide a

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[190] Halberstam, p. 132.

[191] "*Merih seyyaresinin arzımızdan daha mütekamil ve medeni olması beklenebilir. Belki de aralarındaki sınırları, milli rekabetleri, lisan ve adet farklarını ortadan kaldırarak bir bütün teşkil etmişlerdir.*" Kenneth Heuer, "Başka Dünyalarda Ne Gibi Canlılar Var?" *Bütün Dünya* 8, no. 43 (August 1951), p. 190.

deviation from a presently oriented notion of time, they still remain embedded in the current epoch by exporting all that exists now to the morrow.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to make an extensive analysis of *Bütün Dünya*, a popular culture magazine published during the 1950's. One major problem of this chapter was that it was confined merely to a content analysis. The primary reason for this deficiency derives from the fact that *Bütün Dünya* was a journal composed of mainly translated articles from the major popular periodicals of the world, this is why it was called "The Entire World." This situation constituted the missing part of this chapter. In the next chapter, the readers of this study will find a chance to get away from the discursive emphasis of the previous one to a certain extent.

The coming pages will focus on another periodical, *Hafta*, which also contains some translated texts, sometimes, though very rarely, the very same ones with *Bütün Dünya*. However, especially a few years after its very first issue, articles written by authors from Turkey began to dominate the magazine. This provides us with two major advantages. First of all, the readers get a chance to read something about Turkey in the context of the 1950's. Second, the articles about the "common man in the street" enable us to get away from a content analysis and focus more on the practices and experiences of women and men living in the 1950's.

Apart from these two points, the analysis of *Bütün Dünya* is crucial in itself because it makes possible to compare and contrast the discourses of the magazines published abroad with those of published in Turkey. Here, it has to be noted that the author of this study does not assume the merits of comparative history. As Harootunian says, the modernist tendencies of comparative history require that "a single, normative temporality constantly demand[s] a comparative perspective in which the latecomer that close[s] the distance [i]s seen as unique and exceptional, whereas others that ha[ve] not shown a capacity to develop lack the necessary cultural means to catch up and [a]re locked in a zone of timelessness."[192] On the contrary, the assumption here is not that the discourse(s) of the journals published abroad present the standard to which all the others are expected to conform. The parallelisms between the two discourses is not emphasized to slake one's feeling of inferiority, but on the contrary, to emphasize that there were some global processes, like the discursive focus on religion, that were shared by a number of international actors. Hence, comparative histories' another defect, taking nations as if they were wholes in themselves, will be avoided as well. Accordingly, the coming pages will be an analysis of the discrepancies not between Turkey and other countries, but within "Turkish" society.

[192] Harry D. Harootunian, "Preface: All the Names of History," *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. xiv.

CHAPTER III

THE DISCOURSE OF *HAFTA* AND ITS REFLECTIONS ON THE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND MEN LIVING IN THE 1950's

The Entrepreneurial Spirit and the Work Ethics of Industriousness

Wealth flows drop by drop here [in Fırat].

Celal Bayar[193]

> A well-tuned watch does not waste even a second! But what do we do? What does the whole city and the whole country do? We lose half of our time because of our non-tuned watches . . . Progress started with the emergence of the watch. When people began to carry their watches in their pockets and differentiated it from the sun, civilization made a huge leap forward. It separated itself from nature. It began to trace an independent flow of time.[194]

A discourse similar to that of *Bütün Dünya* about a certain kind of work ethics and an industrious identity also dominates *Hafta*, a popular culture magazine published between 1949 and 1959. First of all, a direct relationship between work and happiness is established in the discourse of the magazine. Accordingly, as long as you work, you do

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[193] "*Burada [Fıratta] damla damla servet akmaktadır.*" Quoted from Recep Bilginer, "Urfa," *Hafta* 3, no. 60 (November 17th 1950), p. 27.

[194] "*İyi ayarlanmış bir saat, bir saniyeyi bile ziyan etmez! Halbuki biz ne yapıyoruz? Bütün şehir ve memleket ne yapıyor? Ayarı bozuk saatlerimizle yarı vaktimizi kaybediyoruz . . . Terakki saatin tekamülüyle başlar. İnsanlar saatlerini ceplerinde gezdirdikleri, onu güneşten ayırdıkları zaman medeniyet en büyük adımını attı. Tabiattan koptu. Müstakil bir zamanı saymağa başladı.*" Tanpınar, pp. 37, 245.

not have enough time to remember your problems. It is supposed that the more you work, the happier you become: "Generally everybody -male or female- is happy in proportion to the amplitude of her work and responsibility."[195]

Second, an emphasis on entrepreneurship is observed. Original ideas or creativity are not enough in business life; additionally, you must also take action. Therefore, in an article about treasure hunting, the writer criticizes those who keep the secrets of the treasures for themselves. He argues that the skill of this adventurous activity lies not in knowing where the treasures are, but in trying to find them.[196]

Parallel to the discourse on making easy money, treasure hunting seems to have been an activity that was commonly practiced in the 1950's as well. For example, a man began excavating a site in Antakya on 1 January 1952 in order to find a treasure that was supposed to be buried there.[197] 196 Byzantine gold coins discovered at a construction site in Yassıada caused crowd hysteria just ten days later. Kazım Kip reported that many treasure hunters who were encouraged by this discovery were ready to sail to the island with boats, big and small, the day after. However, a storm blowing from the southwest turned these "entrepreneurs," as Kip called them, away.[198] Subsequently, another man called Davud Erene and four friends of him informed the authorities that they were going

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[195] "*Büyük bir ekseriyetle erkek olsun kadın olsun herkes, işinin çokluğu ve mesuliyetinin fazlalığı nispetinde mesut olur.*" "Mesleğinizden Memnun musunuz?" narrated by Sayhan Bilbaşar, *Hafta* 8, no. 198 (July 10th 1953), p. 30.

[196] "Amerika Kıtasının Kayıp Defineleri," *Hafta* 3, no. 75 (March 2nd 1951), p. 11.

[197] *Cumhuriyet*, "Bir Vatandaş Belende Define Araştırıyor," 1 January 1952.

[198] *Cumhuriyet*, "Yassıadada Bir Küp Altın Bulundu," 11 January 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, "Yassıadada Bulunan Bizans Altınları," 12 January 1952.

to dig for a Byzantine treasure in a certain area in Mersin.[199] Another person whose mind was occupied by finding a treasure was Ayşe Veren, who dreamed one night that a treasure was buried in the garden of their house in Muğla. Her dream came true when an old and large earthenware jar full of gold coins was unearthed in the garden.[200] On the same day, *Cumhuriyet* reported another news item about a treasure, this time in Bursa.[201]

A series of articles titled "He Opened His Eyes and He Was a Millionaire" (*Bir de gözünü açtı; ki milyoner olmuş*) provides many instances through which the magazine exemplifies the feasibility of the entrepreneurial spirit as well. These articles indicate that there is no reason for failure as long as one is capable of making good use of the emerging opportunities of the age in which she lives. If tin mines are about to become exhausted, you had better discover new ones; if there is a war to come, you must invest in arms factories. If your chances of success lie in the arms industry, you may even create your own opportunities by the provocation of civil war.[202]

Thus, action and dynamism characterize the typical entrepreneur in whose domain there is no place for laxity or inertia. One has to be continually aware and grasp the opportunities that pass by. Courage and trying out a variety of alternatives matter; they make the difference between success and failure. These factors are what allow one to climb up the ladder in the business world. In the kingdom of the entrepreneur, making mistakes is not something to be avoided; on the contrary, mistakes are the prerequisites

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[199] *Cumhuriyet*, "Mersinde Bir Bizans Hazinesi Aranıyor," 26 January 1952.

[200] *Cumhuriyet*, "Bir define hikayesi," 16 January 1953.

[201] Ibid., "Bursada Define Aranıyor."

of attainment. The following are typical instances where the journal advocates such a point of view:

> There is no glory in winning without courting danger.
> Who does not dare anything does not have the right to hope anything.
> No one can be promoted without courage.
> Those who are overly cautious can do little.
> The man who does not make a mistake cannot do anything.
> A diamond cannot be perfect without being chipped, the man without mistakes.
> What is defeat? Just education, just the first step towards something better.
> I will learn to defeat by being defeated again and again.
> It is defeat that makes people invincible.
> Defeat should never discourage; on the contrary, it must encourage.
> The teacher of success is failure.[203]

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[202] For these examples see Cemil Cahit Cem, "Bir de Gözünü Açtı, ki Milyoner Olmuş... Çünkü Gökten Milyon Yağdı!" *Hafta* 5, no. 102 (September 7th 1951), pp. 11, 33; "Bir de Baktı, ki Milyoner Olmuş... Çünkü Çok Şanslıydı," *Hafta* 5, no. 104 (September 21th 1951), p. 13.

[203] Respectively,

"*Tehlike geçirmeden kazanmakta şan yoktur.*" Corneille, "Fikir İncileri," *Hafta* 2, no. 32 (May 5th 1950), p. 2.

"*Hiçbir şeye cü'ret etmeyenin hiçbir şey ümit etmeğe hakkı yoktur.*" Ibid.

"*Hiç kimse cü'retsiz yükselemez.*" Syrus, "Fikir İncileri," *Hafta* 2, no. 33 (May 12th 1950), p. 2.

"*Fazla ihtiyatkar olanlar pek az şey yapabilirler.*" Schiller, "Hareket," *Hafta* 1, no. 4 (October 21st 1949), p. 19.

"*Hata yapmayan adam hiçbir şey yapamaz.*" "Güzel Sözler," *Hafta* 1, no. 23 (March 3rd 1950), p. 2.

"*Elmas yontulmadan, insan yanılmadan mükemmelleşmez.*" Ibid., p. 18.

"*Mağlubiyet nedir? Sadece tahsil, sadece daha iyi bir şeye doğru atılmış ilk adım.*" Wendell Phillips, "Fikir İncileri," *Hafta* 2, no. 29 (April 14th 1950), p. 21.

"*Yenile yenile yenmesini öğreneceğim.*" Napoleon, "Fikir İncileri," *Hafta* 2, no. 30 (April 21st 1950), p. 21.

"*İnsanları yenilmez yapan mağlubiyettir.*" Ibid.

"*Mağlubiyet hiçbir zaman cesaret kırmamalı, bilakis teşvik etmelidir.*" Ibid.

"*Muvaffakiyetlerin öğretmeni başarısızlıklardır.*" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 47 (November 23rd 1956), p. 18.

In the context of Turkey, entrepreneurship required keeping pace with the growing economy of the 1950's. An article written in November 1956 reports that, according to the Union of Artisan Associations (*Esnaf Dernekleri Birliği*), there were approximately twenty-seven thousand shops in Istanbul in 1951. In 1956, it is estimated that this number had reached almost sixty thousand. In this context, a new trend was born. Accordingly, it was possible to make use of this situation by converting the bottom stories of apartment blocks into several shops. This trick enabled owners to collect the rents of four shops rather than one flat. Instead of 150 Liras, the rent of just a flat, you could earn in this way 200 Liras for each shop and thus, make a profit of 650 Liras.[204]

The entrepreneurial spirit also requires constant struggle. If you fail, you should not give up, but try once more, or you should change the sector until you find the most suitable one for your abilities. This guarantees success: "As a result of another study done at Kansas University, it is observed that, in general, those who have reached the highest positions in their own fields of work are those who have changed jobs constantly until they found a situation that promised the most extensive opportunities to them."[205] At this point, the Greek businessman Bodosaki, who was engaged in as many sectors as tourism, chemicals, arms industry or operation of shipping lines, provides a good example.[206]

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[204] Olcayto, "İstanbul Yakında Dükkanlar Şehri Olacak!" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 46 (November 16th 1956), p. 17.

[205] "*Kansas Üniversitesinde yapılan diğer bir etüt neticesinde de, kendi çalışma sahalarında en yüksek mevkilere erişmiş kimselerin umumiyetle, kendilerine en geniş imkanları vadeden bir yer buluncaya kadar mütemadiyen iş değiştirmiş insanlar oldukları görülmüştür.*" "Hayatta Muvaffakiyet İhtimaliniz Ne Kadardır?" trans. S. Demirci, *Hafta* 10, no. 240 (April 30th 1954), p. 14.

[206] "Bodosaki," *Hafta* 4, no. 86 (May 18th 1951), p. 13.

Unsurprisingly, money plays a significant role in the life of such an industrious entrepreneur as well: "Signing a cheque is the greatest pleasure in the world."[207] The importance of money reaches its peak point when even the value of man is calculated in terms of it. Here, it is possible to argue that the significance of money culminates in its characterization as a "fetish" in our lives. Definitely, this is the case when Aga Khan, the father-in-law of Rita Hayworth, weighs himself in terms of gold and diamonds and decides that he is worth 235,000 or twelve million dollars respectively. A more moderate calculation is made when the amount of food an average person consumes in her life span is taken as the criterion. Accordingly, the value of a person living in a developed country varies between thirty-five to fifty thousand Liras whereas the value of a person living in a primitive tribe is only two thousand Liras.[208]

This picture proves the process through which man turns himself into a commodity. The commodification of man inevitably leads to the monetarisation of the human body so that its value is calculated via an artificial criterion. Money, an artificial means, measures the worth of human beings. At this point, Marx's statement about the emergence of money applies to the commodification of the human body as well: "Consequently it was solely the analysis of the prices of commodities which led to the determination of the magnitude of value, and solely the common expression of all commodities in money which led to the establishment of their character as values."[209]

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[207] "*Dünyada en büyük haz çek imzalamaktır*" Rosalind Russell, "Süzme Sözler," *Hafta* 2, no. 41 (July 7th 1950), p. 17.

[208] "Bir İnsanın Kıymeti," *Hafta* 1, no. 22 (February 24th 1950), pp. 14, 33.

[209] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (London; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books in association with the New Left Review, 1990), p. 168.

In a parallel line to this emphasis on money, the magazine advocates many ways of becoming rich overnight: "Becoming rich is in fact pretty much a difficult thing. Its difficulty is not rarely tested. Therefore, why should wasting little, happening to have a lot, and acquiring wealth through a short cut not be attractive?"[210] In this sense, simple inventions are depicted as a proper way of making easy money: "INVENTOR! When this word is uttered, how great a man comes to our minds, doesn't it? But the inventors of today who have acquired great wealth with their inventions are men who have invented little things. Who knows, maybe you are such an inventor as well, but have not yet realized the millions in your hands."[211]

In the context of Turkey, this mentality finds its practical correspondence in a man who was leading a gamble on the streets. He talks about the merits of becoming affluent overnight and yells, "Did you see, gentlemen? A little bit of attention is enough... Becoming rich does not require any effort... Earn money without getting tired compatriot, without getting tired!"[212] It is crucial to get rich. The way you attain this objective does not matter. In this picture, greed defeats ethics.

Jean and John L. Camaroff speak about gambling as a symptomatic feature of "market enterprise [as] it puts the adventure into the venture capital." Functioning as a

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[210] "*Doğrusu zengin olmak da hayli güç şeydir. Zorluğu az denenmiş değildir. Binaenaleyh, az sarf edip çoğa konmak ve kısa yoldan servet sahibi olmak, neden cazip olmasın?...*" "Amerika Kıtasının Kayıp Defineleri," *Hafta* 3, no. 75 (March 2nd 1951), p. 10.

[211] "*MUCİD!. dendiği vakit aklımıza ne kadar büyük bir adam geliyor değil mi?. Halbuki bugünün, buluşları ile büyük servet kazanmış mucitleri, ufacık buluşlar yapmış adamlardır. Kim bilir, belki siz de böyle bir mucitsiniz de elinizin altındaki milyonun farkına bile varmamış bulunuyorsunuz.*" "Parlak Bir Fikriniz Varsa..." *Hafta* 1, no. 15 (January 6th 1950), p. 11.

[212] "*Gördünüz ya baylar... biraz dikkat kafidir... zengin olmak işten bile değil... Yorulmadan para kazan vatandaş, yorulmadan!..*" Oktay Verel, "Bul Karayı, Al Parayı!" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 49 (December 7th 1956), p. 23.

mechanism of attaining "abundance without effort, [in fact, it] beat[s] capitalism at its own game by drawing a winning number at the behest of unseen forces. Once again that invisible hand."[213] Thus, it is not something counterattacking capitalism, or working against its rationality. On the contrary, gambling is a very part of the logic of capitalism. Luck, here, resembles the invisible hand of Adam Smith which "regulates" the free market. It is merely your chance that opens for you the gates of a liberal economy by whispering into your ear *laissez faire, laissez passer*.

Making easy money and becoming rich overnight also imply the significance of time for the entrepreneurial spirit. This point can be observed in a variety of texts in *Hafta*. For example, in an article about Beyazıt, the subtitle suggests "two clocks that function simultaneously with each other in Turkey are in Beyazıt. Everyone knows that time is money in Beyazıt, which is an important business district with a population of a hundred thousand."[214] Similarly, the author of another article complains about the waste of time: "Time is one of the things that we waste too much: The word 'slowly' is a national word, just like 'rice'. There are idioms like killing time, passing time, stopping, waiting, being slow that we use maybe ten thousand times in our lives. Even the word 'having fun' stems from passing time."[215] In this picture, people are depicted as if they should definitely live in a world of hurry. Constantly, one has something to finish before

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[213] Jean and John L. Comaroff, "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," *Public Culture* 12, no. 2, pp. 295, 297.

[214] "*Türkiye'nin birbirine tıpatıp eş olarak işleyen iki saati Beyazıtta'dır. Zira yüz bin nüfusu ile mühim bir iş semti olan Beyazıt'ta vaktin nakit olduğunu herkes bilir.*" Safa Önal, "Beyazıt," *Hafta* 9, no. 207 (September 11th 1953), p. 36.

[215] "*Fazlaca israf ettiğimiz şeylerden biri de zamandır: 'Yavaş yavaş' sözü, 'pilav' gibi milli bir kelimedir. Vakit öldürmek, vakit geçirmek, durmak, beklemek, ağır olmak gibi hayatımız boyunca belki on bin kere*

the end of a certain period of time, one has to catch up the train before it leaves the station. One must have always an active and dynamic soul. Being late or enjoying life in an indolent mood are definitely forbidden.

This observation resembles the distinction made by Thompson between task-orientation and timed labor where the latter refers to the notion of time, which is valid when labor is not self-employed. This brings about a clear-cut separation between "work" and "life" whereas "social intercourse and labor are intermingled" in the former. The idea central to timed labor is not to waste time, which is now measured in terms of money: "Not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent." Urgency is the underlying notion in timed labor in opposition to task-orientation where there is no strict separation between time spent while working and passing the day.[216] In this picture, time itself becomes a commodity to be bought and sold in the market when employees sell their private time to their employers. This observation clearly fits the time conception of *Hafta* which supplies the readers with a feeling of hurry.

The importance attributed to time by this magazine could be observed in an article about a newly emerging sector, the fast food business. It is automatic to think of the birth of the McDonald's fast food chain when one thinks about the United States of the 1950's. Halberstam relates this issue to the growing mobility of the American society and the significance of the role played by haste in the lives of Americans: "The

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kullandığımız tabirler vardır. 'Eğlenmek' sözü bile, vakit geçirmekten gelir." Cahit Beğenç, "Zaman Mefhumu," *Hafta* 10, no. 228 (February 15th 1954), p. 38.

[216] E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967), pp. 60-61.

McDonalds had understood an important new trend in American life: Americans were becoming ever more mobile and living farther from their workplaces than ever before: As they commuted considerable distances, they had less time and always seemed to be in a rush. Life in America was surging ahead and one of the main casualties was old-fashioned personal service. Their customers wanted to eat quickly."[217]

A similar concern was at stake in Turkey as well. As the economy started to perk up in the post-war era and, as parallel to this development, Istanbul began to be a metropolis as a result of the migration process, life in the city became increasingly active. McDonalds would have to wait another thirty years to open its first franchise in Turkey, but a "Turkish" version of this fast food business was born in the 1950's as well: a hot dog with a glass of *ayran* (diluted yogurt). Little shops that sold sandwiches, *ayran*, fruit juice, and cold meat where customers ate standing on their feet, invaded the streets of Istanbul. Refik Eraslan, a restaurateur who managed the restaurant opened by his father in Beyoğlu in 1934, complains about the loss of traditional food and explains the reason for the growth of sandwich kiosks as "the amplitude of work and the scarcity of time. I suppose that a lot of us do not have time enough anymore to sit in a restaurant, wait for the waiter to serve the food, and waste at least forty-five to fifty minutes. Its practicality, cheapness, the absence of service distress, the needlessness of tipping constitute the main reasons behind the popularity of fast food like the hot dog, *ayran*, and the like." Similarly, a young girl who was enjoying her sandwich tells her friend who was worried about being late: "Do not worry, dear. We still have five minutes. We are not going to sit and eat kebab, pilaf prepared with currants, pine nuts, spices and liver, or

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[217] Halberstam, p. 157.

pastry made with pistachios and syrup anyhow. Here, we have finished our sandwiches already."[218] The writer himself, who had realized that he had missed lunch even though it was already three o'clock in the afternoon, ordered, at the end, a hot dog and a glass of *ayran* since he decided that spending an hour in a restaurant for lunch would be a real waste of time.

Not only consuming food, but also shopping was supposed to be quick. Correspondingly, Turkey witnessed the birth of a supermarket called Migros which was selling food in the streets with trucks that were traveling in and around the city throughout the day: "May they live long, those who established and provided that this organization, which goes into action at eight o'clock in the morning, arrives at points of stop punctually while blowing its distinctive whistle signal, and runs smoothly, has come to our country." Accordingly, goods were sold in round numbers so that time was not wasted making change.[219] Punctuality and practicality are crucial for the entrepreneur who is expected to be alert all the times and not to miss possibilities. He is to exploit every potential and turn it into a real accomplishment.

In addition to the significance given to time, another trait of an entrepreneur must be her belief in herself: "Self-confidence plays a great role in the success of our business

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[218] "*işlerin çokluğu, zamanın azlığı [derim]. Artık bir çoğumuzun lokantada oturup garsonun servis yapmasını bekleyecek ve en azından 45 - 50 dakika sarf edecek zamanı yok sanırım. Sosisli sandviç, ayran ve emsali ayakta yenen yemeklere rağbetin başlıca sebeplerini, pratikliği, ucuzluğu, servis sıkıntısı bulunmayışı, garson bahşişine mahal kalmayışı teşkil etmektedir.*" "*Korkma şekerim. Daha beş dakikamız var. Oturup talaş kebabı, iç pilav burma tatlı yiyecek değiliz ya. İşte sandviçlerimiz bitti bile.*" "Sosisli Sandviç ve bir Ayran," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 19 (May 13th 1955), p. 28.

[219] "*Sabahları saat 8 de faaliyete geçerek, kendisine has sinyal düdüğünü öttürerek durak yerlerine dakikası dakikasına varan ve kurulmuş saat gibi işleyen bu teşkilatın kurucuları da, memleketimize gelmesini sağlayanlar da var olsunlar...*" Oğuz Özdeş, "Yaşa Migros," *Hafta* 1955-II, no. 41 (October 14th 1955), pp. 5, 26.

and private lives."[220] Accordingly, the entrepreneur is an advocate of individualism because she does not believe that something may be achieved through collectivity. After claiming the vanity of founding commissions or congresses to solve problems, an article concludes, "all of the undertakings that come to a good conclusion for the sake of the safety of a nation or a country are the work of a strong personality; not of a group that assembles, mutually consults, and makes decisions... Revolutions are always born thanks to the leadership of a single person."[221]

In this sense, it is the efforts and the resolution of the individual that determine failure or success. Moreover, these words also argue implicitly for isolation from the rest of society. They imply that people should not communicate, share, or exchange knowledge with each other. They should rely on leadership and not care for things that are none of their business. Apart from its pejorative implications concerning the way policies are produced when people are not encouraged even to enter into the limited realm of participatory democracy, this statement reduces political practice simply to nothing. Subsequently, such an understanding of politics brings forth a society composed of atomized individuals and a world of lonely people: "Speech enriches the intellect, but loneliness is the school of genius."[222]

Dramatically, this mistrust in the collectivity results in the advocacy of Social Darwinism: "Most of the abilities and factors that create great man come to light during

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[220] "*Kendimize inanç, iş ve hususi hayatımızdaki muvaffakiyetlerimizde büyük bir rol oynar.*" Will Oursler, "Talih Neye Derler!" *Hafta* 2, no. 46 (August 11th 1950), p. 28.

[221] "*Bir millet veya memleketin selameti uğrunda, iyi netice veren teşebbüslerin hepsi bir kuvvetli şahsiyetin eseridir; toplanıp müşavereler edip, kararlar alan bir grubun değil... İhtilaller hep bir kişinin ön ayak olmasıyla doğar.*" "Siz," *Hafta* 5, no. 117 (December 21th 1951), p. 7.

the crushing competition of the life struggle."[223] Those who are clever enough to adapt themselves to new conditions and strong enough to go on struggling, survive in a competitive life. In this picture; greed, courage, and decisiveness differentiate those who are going to fail from those who will succeed. Consequently, fate looses its pre-determining role: "Most of the time, fortune is held responsible for our failures and the success of our competitors."[224] It is complained that fate or chance are used as excuses for failure. In other words, no place for fatalism is reserved in this picture.

In addition to destination and chance, there is no room for any other kind of factors that are outside the will of the individual and may have an uncontrollable impact on her. Whether one succeeds or not depends on her and nothing else. Therefore, getting no promotion or becoming bored of working are totally subjective and psychological situations and have nothing to do with working conditions or some more general historical factors, like the socio-economic or political conditions in which any particular country or the world in general are at the moment. The reason for the failure to get a promotion lies in the fact that one does not like her job and not that some are doomed to fail in a competitive society so that others may succeed. Similarly, an article replies to the question "is getting bored with work normal?", "no, it is not. It arises directly from a

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[222] "*Konuşma anlayışı zenginleştirir, ama yalnızlık dehanın mektebidir.*" Gibbon, *Hafta* 1, no. 24 (March 10th 1950), p. 2.

[223] "*Büyük insan yaratan kabiliyet ve unsurlardan birçoğu hayat mücadelesinin ezici rekabeti esnasında meydana çıkar.*" "Fazla Zeki Olmağa Lüzum Yok," *Hafta* 5, no. 103 (September 14th 1951), p. 9.

[224] "*Talih çoğu defa bizim başarısızlıklarımız ve rakiplerimizin başarılarından mes'ul tutulur.*" Will Oursler, "Talih Neye Derler!" *Hafta* 2, no. 46 (August 11th 1950), p. 28.

psychological disorder."[225] Again, a subjective factor is counted as the most common cause of failure: "Generally, the main reason that prevents the progress of man is laziness."[226] In other words, whether you have a good or bad job does not matter. What matters is being hardworking, which is a personal trait. The journal is full of instances that prove this viewpoint:

> Happiness is dependent on internal circumstances more than external ones.
> You do your best, god complements the rest.
> God does not help the man who does not take action.
> Each man is the architect of his own fortune.
> Only working turns the wheels of fortune.[227]

These statements imply that success, happiness, in general terms, everything depends on the individual whatever the external circumstances are. Even religion, fate, and good fortune cease to play roles at some point and only you and your efforts start to determine your chances. This picture in which all emphasis is focused on the individual itself gives rise to a process whereby the permanence of inequality is naturalized because

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[225] "*Çalışmaktan sıkılmak normal bir şey midir?*" "*Değildir. Doğrudan doğruya ruhi bir bozukluktan ileri gelir.*" "Mesleğinizden Memnun musunuz?" narrated by Sayhan Bilbaşar, *Hafta* 8, no. 198 (July 10th 1953), p. 39.

[226] "*Umumiyetle bir insanın ilerlemesine mani olan en belli başlı sebep, tembelliktir.*" "Hayatta Muvaffakiyet İhtimaliniz Ne Kadardır?" trans. S. Demirci, *Hafta* 10, no. 240 (April 30th 1954), p. 14.

[227] Respectively,

"*Saadet dışarıdan ziyade içerideki şartlara bağlıdır.*" "Süzme Sözler," *Hafta* 2, no. 41 (July 7th 1950), p. 17.

"*Sen elinden geleni yap, Allah ötesini tamamlar.*" "Fikir İncileri," *Hafta* 1955-II, no. 52 (December 30th 1955), p. 10.

"*Harekete geçmeyen insana Allah yardım etmez.*" Sofokles, "Hareket," *Hafta* 1, no. 4 (October 21st 1949), p. 19.

"*Her insan kendi talihinin mimarıdır.*" Sallust, *Hafta* 3, no. 65 (December 22nd 1950), p. 21.

"*Talih tekerleğini ancak çalışmak döndürür.*" "Güzel Sözler," *Hafta* 2, no. 48 (August 25th 1950), p. 29.

the causes behind this social problem are ignored. The reality of an unequal society is explained thanks to the success and failure of particular individuals so that the uneven distribution of income and the disparity between different classes' life standards become something normal. It is the order of things, not something to be challenged. Thus, Marx's statement "what constitutes the proletariat is not *naturally existing* poverty, but poverty *artificially produced*,"[228] loses all meaning. The social and historical roots of inequality that are firmly established by the capitalist mode of production are reduced to something natural.

Some articles in the magazine serve to justify these arguments in particular and to prove the plausibility of the entrepreneurial spirit in general. These are about the lives of "big" and successful businessman. For example, a text about the Rockefeller family states that the old Rockefeller started his working life as a worker in a gas station.[229] Therefore, no matter what the adverse conditions into which he was born, he was able to succeed as a result of his own efforts. The biography of Alfred E. Daff, one of the managers of Universal Film Studios, also legitimizes this individualist and voluntarist worldview. Mr. Daff owes his success to the advice of his father, who said, "there are no good or bad jobs, son. There are only jobs that are done well or badly. Let it be my advice to you. Do well whatever you do and try to do it better than others can do."[230]

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[228] Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction" in *Early Writings*, trans. and ed. T. B. Bottomore (New York, Toronto and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 58.

[229] "Zenginin Parası..." trans. Betül Kazak, *Hafta* 10, no. 250 (July 9th 1954), p. 10.

[230] "*İşin iyisi, kötüsü yoktur, oğlum. Yalnız, iyi veya kütü yapılan işler vardır. Benden sana öğüt olsun. Ne yapacaksan iyi yap ve başkasının yapabileceklerinden daha iyi yapmaya çalış.*" "Cam Parlatmakla İnsan Meşhur Olur mu?" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 32 (August 10th 1956), p. 20.

Lastly, the texts about the industrious identity also mention the importance of talent. It is advocated that everybody work in a sector suitable to her abilities. It is expected that this will prevent the waste of human labor: "All of us have strong qualities. But we should know how to use our abilities appropriately."[231] Talent also ensures that one enjoys working; and doing the job you enjoy increases your possibility of success. Thus, working in a sector in which one is talented is also a necessary condition for successfulness: "Be it a man or a woman, in order to succeed in her career, the abilities and habits of a person have to fit to her job."[232]

The focus on talent also provides the limits of the individualist and voluntarist identity. Since competition eliminates the possibility of a society based on equality, the discourse of the magazine needs a factor to draw the limits of the entrepreneur's ambition. In other words, even though voluntarism provides one with the will to go ever higher, she still needs to be remembered that every journey has an end. Through the process of competition, one learns that she is not free to reach the very top. At this point, talent comes into the scene and the ardor of an industrious person is restricted: "Everybody's becoming very rich is both impossible and unnecessary... But if everybody uses her own potentials and abilities economically and appropriately, she can have enough material opportunities that would abundantly suffice for her living."[233]

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[231] "*Hepimizde kuvvetli taraflar vardır. Fakat kabiliyetlerimizi yerinde harcamayı bilmeliyiz.*" Will Oursler, "Talih Neye Derler!" *Hafta* 2, no. 46 (August 11th 1950), p. 29.

[232] "*Kadın olsun erkek olsun bir kimsenin mesleğinde muvaffak olması için kabiliyet ve huylarının o işe uyması şarttır.*" "Mesleğinizden Memnun musunuz?" narrated by Sayhan Bilbaşar, *Hafta* 8, no. 198 (July 10th 1953), p. 30.

[233] "*Herkesin Karun kadar zengin olması hem imkansızdır, hem de lüzumsuz... Ama herkes kendi kuvvetlerini ve kabiliyetlerini hesaplı ve yerine sarf ederse, geçimine ferah ferah yetecek maddi imkana sahip olabilir.*" "Zengin Olmak İçin..." *Hafta* 11, no. 260 (September 17th 1954), p. 34.

Being aware of one's position in the society also guarantees happiness: "People who are able to make two ends meet and can save some *kuruş* while they do not belong to the class of the rich are really happy people. And most people are much happier while climbing the ladder of success than at the moment at which they reach its peak."[234] Similarly, the journal says, "those who learn to desire the thing that they can obtain become happy."[235] Thus, you better contend with your social position and not long for more. Conformity rather than the ability to question the social circumstances is advocated.

These constraints which limit the entrepreneur's ambitions are also observable in Adorno's analysis of the astrological columns in the popular culture magazines published during the 1950's. He claims that in these columns the personality of the individual is separated into two distinct parts: the desire for freedom and the conformity to adjust. The individual is not autonomous enough to do anything he wanted. He is still dependent on some external restraints. That is why Adorno infers that the astrological columns address vice-presidents rather than presidents. The readers are advised to be both strong and stubborn along with compliant, obedient, and adaptive. Success requires both to be individualist and to sacrifice individuality. Adjustment and individuality go hand in hand. Those who want to conform and comply with the rules of the competitive and, subsequently, hierarchical society have to adapt themselves through being

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[234] "*İki yakasını bir araya getirebilen ve zengin sınıfına dahil olmamakla beraber bir kenara birkaç kuruş atabilen insanlar, hakikaten mesut insanlardır. Ve birçok kimseler, muvaffakiyet merdivenini tırmandıkları sırada, muvaffakiyetin zirvesine eriştikleri andakinden çok daha fazla mesutturlar.*" "Hayatta Muvaffakiyet İhtimaliniz Ne Kadardır?" trans. S. Demirci, *Hafta* 10, no. 240 (April 30th 1954), p. 14.

[235] "*Elde edebileceği şeyi arzulamayı öğrenenler bahtiyar olur.*" *Hafta* 10, no. 237 (April 9th 1954), p. 31.

particularly individualist. In order to be recognized, they have to "adjust through non-adjustment." Adjustment requires individuality. In this sense, creativity and originality, two inseparable components of individualism, are needed to sell on the free market and adjust to the rules of market economy. In this picture, the individual is also asked to put the blame on herself and not the social conditions if something goes wrong, in other words, if she fails to succeed.

Adorno's other observations have parallels to this study as well. For example, he maintains how the insoluble contradiction of the dichotomy between "work" and "pleasure" can be overcome by reducing the former to the prerequisite of the latter. Similarly, the columns also defend that any concern with the past does no more than distract the individual from the facts of the day. Ethics that have been inherited over time have to be abandoned if it damages one's actions in the present. Hence, usefulness wins over loyalty to history.[236]

Having analyzed the discourse of *Hafta* and having showed its parallelism with Adorno's discussion about the astrological columns of the popular magazines published in the same decade, it is now time to step back into reality and question to what extent these discourses have a practical nature. Obviously, not all living in the 1950's were "lucky" enough to benefit from the recommendations of the journal. There were some 'losers' of the 1950's who failed to take advantage of the socio-economic changes. At this point, Barker's argument that "the media are only capable of exerting power over audiences to the extent that there is a 'contract' between texts and audiences, which

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[236] Theodor W. Adorno, *Adorno: The Stars Down to Earth and Other Essays on the Irrational in Culture*, ed. Stephen Crook (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 60, 80, 85, 94, 101, 105-106, 146.

relates to some specifiable aspect(s) of the audience's social lives"[237] becomes meaningful.

Similarly, Grossberg claims that popular culture's power stems from its correspondence to people's "affective" lives, from its potential to turn into "actualization" and "practice." He advocates that "affect is the missing term in an adequate understanding of ideology" because there is always the possibility that ideologies remain ineffective. "Affect" may both "internalize" and "naturalize" ideologies or let people "imagine and enact their own projects and possibilities," "struggle to make a difference" and "invest in new forms of meaning, pleasure and identity." Therefore, "popular culture offers the resources which may or may not be mobilized into forms of popular struggle, resistance and opposition."[238]

In this sense, people's experience is a good means to test the practicality of the media's discourse(s). In other words, practice may prove the relevancy of the discourse. This may also help to overcome Williams' criticism to those who aimed at understanding the mentality of the people through the products they read. He states:

> To the highly literate observer there is always a temptation to assume that reading plays as large a part in the lives of most people as it does in his own . . . [ellipsis in the original] To the degree that he acquires a substantial proportion of his ideas and feelings from what he reads he will assume, again wrongly, that the ideas and feelings of the majority will be similarly conditioned. But, for good or ill, the majority of people do not yet give reading this importance in their lives; their ideas and feelings are, to a large extent, still moulded by a wider and more complex pattern of social and family life. There is an evident danger of delusion, to the

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[237] Quoted from Strinati, p. 253.

[238] Grossberg, "Mapping Popular Culture," pp. 80-86.

> highly literate person, if he supposes that he can judge the quality of general living by primary reference to the reading artifacts.[239]

Therefore, rather than making merely a content analysis, the following pages will also attempt to use the texts as a means to get an idea of people's experiences and not just of their ideas and thoughts.

As for the reality of the 1950's, one context in which to observe people's experience concerns the mechanization of transportation. Parallel to the invasion of automobiles, sea transportation also underwent some modifications in Turkey during this decade. Subsequently, motorboats began to replace boats. Mustafa Pander was seventy years old then and carried passengers from one shore to another with his boat that was registered in Karaköy Port. He complains about the pejorative alterations in his working conditions as a result of the recent changes: "The prices of dye have tripled. Business has taken a downward turn... Motorboats have become abundant... Because of them, we cannot draw up alongside the landing place... There are no boathouses left, all of them have become bonded warehouses... The row boats that are exposed to the rain or the sun do not last any more the way they used to... Write these, these... The costs of living have increased. A row boat we bought for sixty to seventy Liras formerly costs 300 Liras today."[240] So, things were changing and there were those who could not keep pace with them. Even though developments gave birth to new opportunities in the appearance of

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[239] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1958, reprinted 1990 with a new forward by Williams), pp. 308-309, quoted from John Higgins, "Culture and Communication 1950-62," *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 60.

[240] "*Boya fiyatları 3 misline çıktı. Eski işler yok şimdi... Motorlar çoğaldı... İskeleye yanaşamıyoruz onların yüzünden... Kayıkhane kalmadı kayıkhanelerin hepsi antrepo oldu... Yağmurda, güneşte pişen sandallar eskisi kadar dayanmıyor, artık... Bunları yaz bunları... Hayat pahalandı. Eskiden 60 - 70 liraya*

motorboats, not all could benefit them. There were still some who failed to adjust to brand new conditions. In a sense, their merits of entrepreneurship were not sufficient enough to deal with the competition of the motorboats.

Alternatively, even if people had the entrepreneurial spirit, this was utilized not to become a millionaire overnight, but to earn a modest living. In the foregoing pages, the birth of Migros was mentioned and it was remarked that the Migros truck kept moving from one district to another throughout the day. Its punctuality was symbolically important, but others were inspired by another of its property: its mobility. Accordingly, some fisherman began to grill and sell fish on boat. These fishermen advertised themselves as the "Migros of the Sea." When the interviewer asks whose idea this was, the fisherman answers: "It is because of unemployment, mister. Since there are no jobs, we inevitably watched for a chance to get our share."[241] Creativity and originality, two indispensable traits of an entrepreneur, were there; but this time they were manipulated to survive and not to "make it."

The life stories of some other people also indicate the negative impacts of the individualistic ideology. The people in *Darülaceze* provide a good example that, in addition to the entrepreneurial ideal type of the 1950's, there were some real figures in life who somehow failed to fulfill the promises of this ideal type. These characters of reality enable the de-justification of the individualist worldview. Şahap Balcıoğlu, the

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aldığımız bir sandal bugün 300 liraya..." Mehmet Ataker, "Yüzme Bilmeyen Denizciler," *Hafta* 7, no. 165 (November 21st 1952), p. 28.

[241] " *'İşsizlikten bey' [diyor], 'İş güç olmayınca çaresiz bir dümen uydurduk kendimize.'* " Olcayto, "Deniz Migrosu," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 9 (March 2nd 1956), p. 23.

writer of an article about *Darülaceze*, qualifies this institution as the safety valve, or the life buoy, of the society:

> The institution *Darülaceze* is an important factor in our social life today, it functions as a small safety valve . . . This institution stands on the ridge that runs all the way from Hürriyeti Ebediye Hill to Kağıthane and Silahtarağa . . . like a life buoy . . . It has sheltered in its bosom thousands of people, from babies in swaddling clothes to grandfathers with round beards, and saved a lot of these from between the merciless wheels of the social mechanism.

The merciless wheels of the social mechanism... Here is a critique of the harsh circumstances of a society where rivalry compounds the mother lode of the intellectual milieu. Here, not the individuals themselves, but the conditions are blamed for the failure of these little babies or old men. In other words, the situation into which you are born matters. It is not an independent variable in life. This is obviously in contradiction to the world of an entrepreneur who is believed to reach the top whatever the adverse conditions may be. Reality may impose some disadvantages onto our lives and have an impact on the way we make decisions concerning the future.

The life stories of those who grew up in *Darülaceze* also de-scrutinize the work ethics of the industrious entrepreneur. Even though these people have tried hard and even changed many jobs, they still have not been able to become a Rockefeller. Neither tailor Hasan Engin, who was brought to this institution in 1900 when he was merely two years old, nor laborer Mehmet Bulur, who was brought to *Darülaceze* twenty-three years earlier when he was also two years old, prove the plausibility of the helpful hints of industrious work ethics. However, the most dramatic biography belongs to Fazıl Yüksel, who tested many possibilities and, in the end, turned out to be only a "small" entrepreneur who directs the canteen of this establishment.

Fazıl Yüksel's mother brought him to *Darülaceze* since she was not capable of rearing him. At ten, he was forced by his stepfather to work helping him sell water, while he was simultaneously attending school. While he was going to high school, he was selling cookies and seasonal fruit in order to support his family. After he graduated, he passed many exams for official posts, but was not employed because there were no vacant positions. Eventually, he was appointed as a teacher to a primary school in the Hüseyinli village of Beykoz. After a year, he was drafted. When he returned, he opened a shop in Feriköy with a debt of 1,600 Liras. However, since this business failed, he began to carry food on his back to *Darülaceze* in order to sell it there and earn a living. Finally, he opened a canteen there.[242] So, Fazıl Yüksek never gave up, no matter the adverse conditions or disadvantages, but still he must have made a mistake somehow and somewhere because, in the end, he turned out to be just a man running a small canteen for the "losers" of a society. Industriousness may be a good guide that does not work impartially or on even terms for anybody, however.

In addition to the article about *Darülaceze*, another article about those who spend the night in coffee houses gives rise to the critique of vulgar individualism, too: "Vagabonds and vagrants lie down and stand up in the coffeehouses of the early risers. Who cares that we are also responsible for their state of being... If there is a mass of unfortunate people who are called vagabonds and vagrants in a society, that society must

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[242] "*Darülaceze müessesesi bugün sosyal hayatımızda mühim bir faktör, küçük çapta bir emniyet supabı vazifesini görüyor . . . Bu müessese, Hürriyeti Ebediye tepesinden Kağıthane'ye ve Silahtarağaya bakan sırt üzerinde, . . . bir cankurtaran simidi gibi duruyor . . . Sinesinde kundaktaki yavrulardan tutun top sakallı dedelere kadar binlerce insan barındırmış ve bunlardan büyük bir kısmını sosyal mekanizmanın insafsız çarkları arasından kurtarmış bulunuyor.*" Şahap Balcıoğlu, "Düşkünler Evine Hiç Gittiniz Mi?" *Hafta* 6, no. 150 (August 8th 1952), pp. 10-11.

plead guilty for this in the first place."[243] In this picture, the society, not the individual, is accused of the failure of some of its members. If all cannot succeed, this is not their own fault; on the contrary, this situation implies just one thing, that there is something wrong with society. There must be a malfunction. It is not that people are not clever enough to achieve something, but that they are those unlucky who are destined to lose in a competitive society already from the start. Therefore, not single individuals, but society as a whole must have a responsibility to care for the welfare and well being of the people.

Escape from Civilization

Another parallel discourse of *Hafta* and *Bütün Dünya* concerns their focus on escape from the industrious identity, its work ethics, and its particular worldview. This argument will be developed along three basic lines. First of all, *Hafta* includes articles about some "primitive" tribes that follow a natural way of living different from that of civilized societies. Accordingly, Africa is depicted as the happiest continent on earth: "If somebody comes out and asks today 'who are the happiest people on earth?', the answer to be given seems extremely easy. The happiest people on earth are central Africa's backward tribes which did not behave in a hospitable manner and welcome the white man and his civilization and wanted nothing more than to live the way their forefathers

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[243] "*Berduşlar ve serseriler yatar kalkar sabahçı kahvelerinde. Onların bu halinde bizim de büyük payımız varmış kimin umuru... Eğer bir cemiyette; berduş ve serseri dediğimiz talihsiz bir yığın insan varsa*

did."[244] The journal pays no attention to whether people in Africa are starving or whether civil wars between these "primitive" tribes cause the death of thousands of people day after day. In the dream world of these texts, the peoples of Africa neither wage war nor pay taxes. They do nothing, but hunt, eat and enjoy.

In a similar picture, the natives of Oceania are depicted as non-ambitious people. They contend with producing just as much as they need to earn a living and do not have a fancy for more. Thus, the mentality of the industrious man, who needs to work more and more, is eliminated and replaced by an enthusiast: " 'A family joyously picks, chops, and desiccates three tones of coconuts in a month here!' There is no one who neither wants nor wishes to pick, chop, and desiccate more than this."[245]

An article about gypsies serves to depict a different and an alternative world as well. This may be sensed even in the title of the article, *Born To Be Free and Idle people: The Gypsies*. Their life is described as a way to transcend the current time and space in which we exist at the moment. It also de-validates the odd necessities and limitations modernity imposes on every day life: "There are no notions of place or time for the Gypsies. According to them, anything, but anything, can be done in any place."[246]

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bundan ilkin o cemiyet suçludur." Cengiz Tuncer, "Sabahçı Kahveleri," *Hafta* 11, no. 251 (July 16th 1954), p. 29.

[244] "*Bugün birisi çıksa da sorsa: 'Dünya yüzünün en mesut insanları kimlerdir?..' dese, verilecek cevap son derece basit görünüyor. Dünyanın en mesut insanları, orta Afrika'nın, beyaz adama ve medeniyetine güler yüz ve hüsnü kabul göstermeyerek dedelerinden gördükleri şekilde yaşamaktan başka bir şey istememiş olan geri kavimlerdir.*" "Vahşi Fakat Mes'ut," *Hafta* 5, no. 106 (October 5th 1951), p. 32.

[245] " *'Bizde bir aile, ayda, güle oynaya üç ton kopra yapar!..' Üç tondan fazla yapmayı ne isteyen, ne de emel edinen var.*" "Cennet ve Hurileri," *Hafta* 10, no. 234 (March 19th 1954), p. 27.

[246] "*Çingeneler için yer mefhumu, zaman mefhumu yoktur. Onlara göre her yerde, her ama, her şey yapılabilir.*" Olcayto, "Doğuştan hür ve avare insanlar: Çingeneler," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 22 (June 1st 1956), p. 17.

Second, those texts which advocate a natural way of life mention those residents of the West who want to go far away from modern civilization and get lost in the peaceful environment of nature. This escape into nature also paves the way to question the objective world of positivism and provides the opportunity to criticize 'the truth' - whatever it is: "They told us that we would lose the 'facts' by going that far away from civilization and life. On the contrary, we found the facts by going that far away from them . . . The heat of the firewood you have chopped with your own hands is the very self of the truth."[247]

Lastly, these texts engage in a direct critique of civilization. Particularly, they point out the oddities of every day life: "You suppose that current social life especially requires the denial of nature in the cities and to oppose it on purpose. Women wander and walk around with high heels. They wear very thin socks on a winter day. Men sweat in whirls in their neckties and jackets in the August heat."[248] More generally, they indicate the two-faced characteristic of modernity: while its technological advances render an easy way of living, they, simultaneously, transform life into something mechanical, which has no spirit of its own, and thereby encircle it with a fence of inevitability:

> Comfort has reached its own limits. But in order to provide all this ease, are the middle classes, which constitute the majority, not working so much that they have begun to lose their main ease?.. In spite of all his freedom, has

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[247] "*Bize, medeniyetten ve hayattan bu kadar uzaklaşmakla Hakikatleri kaybedeceğimizi söylemişlerdi. Bilakis, medeniyetten bu kadar uzaklaşmakla hakikatleri bulduk . . . Kendi elinizle kestiginiz odunun harareti hakikatin ta kendisidir.*" Edmund Ware Smith, "Hakikatle Başbaşa," trans. Nihal Yeğinobalı, *Hafta* 10, no. 236 (April 2nd 1954), p. 18.

[248] "*Bugünkü cemiyet hayatının icabatı, bilhassa şehirlerde tabiatı inkar etmek, tabiata mahsus karşı gelmek için bilhassa düşünülüp taşınılmıştır sanırsınız. Kadınlar yüksek topuklarla gezer dolaşırlar. Kış günü incecik çorap giyerler. Erkekler Ağustos sıcağında kravat ceketle buram buram ter dökerler.*" "Tabiata Karşı Gelinmez," *Hafta* 1, no. 22 (February 24th 1950), p. 31.

> not the civilized man become the slave of the clock that wakes him up at a determined time in the morning or the phone on the table that rings continuously? There is more to this... Has not civilized man become a kind of a captive of various blessings of civilization and comfort?.. Does not the current man get slowly the idea that he cannot live without cinema, radio, television, or refrigerator and does not this idea disconcert him?[249]

This is not merely a critique of modern civilization, but its work ethics as well. Modernity and the industrious identity are related to each other and the obsession to work ever harder in order to free yourself from working and arrive at the land of comfort eventually is almost mocked. It is crucial to note that such critique is not made only in the articles about "primitive" tribes or fugitives who escape from modernity.

Such a point of view directly fits to the context of "Turkish" conservatism as well. The aim of this study is not to claim that there is one particular type of "Turkish" conservatism that constitutes a whole in itself. Keeping this reservation in mind, still it can be argued that "Turkish" conservatists were reacting to the impact of modernization ever since the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, Peyami Safa, who wrote a series of articles entitled "The Conversation of the Week" (*Haftanın Sohbeti*) in *Hafta*, questions the materialist work ethics of the industrious identity: "We pass the times that comfort makes us gain by working again. The purpose of this excess of activity seems to be comfort. In fact, we save time in order to work more. Hence, we work not for our ease, but for work and think that we make ourselves comfortable." After this remark, Safa calls this situation a vicious circle and concludes that the solution to this problem must

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[249] "*Konfor, son haddine varmıştır. Lakin çoğunluğu teşkil eden orta halliler, bütün bu rahatlıkları temin edebilmek için asıl rahatlarını kaybedercesine çalışmakta değiller midir?.. Medeni insan, bütün hürriyetine rağmen sabahleyin kendisini muayyen vakitte kaldıran saatin, masa başında durmadan çalan telefonun kölesi haline gelmemiş midir?.. Dahası var... Medeni insan, türlü medeniyet nimetlerinin, konforun bir nevi esiri olmamış mıdır?.. Sinemasız, radyosuz, televizyonsuz, buz dolapsız yaşayamayacağı*

be a return to morale. Therefore, he does not condemn technology in itself and rejects technological determinism. He defines machinery as a means in the hands of man and continues, "the meaning and the value of man lies not in the means he uses, but in his ideals."[250]

The "escape" literature fits directly to the "peasantist" and "Anatolianist" discourse of the 1950's as well. Accordingly, the city is depicted as the space where the adverse effects of civilization are materialized and realized. Conversely, village life symbolizes the immunity of nature: "In the dictionary of the officials, they call the place where we are at the present a "hardship area"... Yes... Hardship area... Hardship area for those who do not love Anatolia, do not feel it necessary to share the destiny of the men of soil, and do not like the nature and pure beauties... What a pity... and how weird it is... We want to escape Anatolia without knowing Anatolia... We are afraid of the interior of the country without going into the country. But these places are not the hardship area... The hardship area is in fact the big cities in which those who hesitate to come here yearn to live."[251]

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fikri, yavaş yavaş bugünün insanının kafasına girmekte, onun rahatını kaçırmakta değil midir?" "Medeniyet Kaçakları," *Hafta* 11, no. 265 (October 22nd 1954), p. 9.

[250] "*Konforun bize kazandırdığı bu zamanları biz yine çalışmakla geçiriyoruz. Bu faaliyet ifratının gayesi konfor gibi görünüyor. Hakikatte daha fazla çalışmak için zamandan tasarruf ediyoruz. Böylece, rahatımız için değil, çalışmak için çalışmış oluyoruz ve rahata kavuştuğumuzu sanıyoruz.*" "*İnsanın manası ve değeri, kullandığı vasıtalarda değil, idealindedir.*" Peyami Safa, "Tekniğin Uyandırdığı Korku," *Hafta* 5, no. 117 (December 21st 1951), p. 6.

[251] "*Bulunduğumuz yerin adına memur diksiyonerinde 'Mahrumiyet Bölgesi' diyorlar... Evet... Mahrumiyet bölgesi... Anadolu'yu sevmeyenler toprak insanlarının kaderini bölüşmeye lüzum hissetmeyenler, tabiattan ve temiz güzelliklerden hoşlanmayanlar için mahrumiyet bölgesi... Ne yazık... ve ne garip... Anadolu'yu tanımadan Anadolu'dan kaçmak istiyoruz... Memleketin içine girmeden memleketin içinden korkuyoruz. Oysaki mahrumiyet bölgesi buraları değil... Mahrumiyet bölgesi asıl, buralara gelmekten çekinenlerin yaşamağa can attıkları büyük şehirler...*" Şemsi Belli, "Köy Akşamları," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 13 (April 1st 1955), p. 29.

Occultism: Fortune Telling and Vowing to Make an Offering

> In fact, all these people were living now that they had found a hole in order to transcend the wall that was called reality . . . The thing called "possibility" had no limits for them. They had a world in which everything was possible . . . Yes, they had no sins other than not believing in the things that they saw and touched and that were responding to their senses, unlike everybody.[252]

Supernatural phenomena like telepathy, hypnotism, and ghosts constitute another discourse *Hafta* takes in order to get away from modernity. First of all, such issues allow us to go beyond the current time and space to another realm defined by a different kind of morale rather than a strict separation between life and death or between dreams and reality: "Formerly, birth and death were not two quite separate things like they are now. Even if a spiritual life beyond space and time has lost its truth for us, there were ages when this was definitely not the case. Once, the second 'I' could be heard just like today's tangible and visible 'I'."[253]

Telepathy, the sixth sense, fortune telling, dreams and ghosts... All these are sources of information concerning the future or the past. They provide the quality of extra-sensory perception, which leads the mind to read and pre-inform what is going to

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[252] "*Hakikatte bütün bu insanlar hakikat denen duvarın ötesine geçmek için birer delik bulmuş yaşıyorlardı . . . Onlar için 'imkan' denen şeyin hududu yoktu. Her şeyin mümkün olduğu bir alemleri vardı . . . Evet onların gördükleri, elleriyle yokladıkları, duyularına cevap veren şeylere herkes gibi inanmamaktan başka hiçbir günahları yoktu.*" Tanpınar, p. 44.

[253] "*Vaktiyle doğum ve ölüm, şimdi olduğu gibi birbirinden gayet ayrı iki şey değildi. Mekan ve zamanın ötesinde bir manevi hayat, bizim için hakikiliğini tüketmiş olduğu halde, bunun kat'iyen böyle olmadığı çağlar da yok değildi. İkinci 'Ben' bir zamanlar, tıpkı bugün elle tutulur, gözle görülür 'Ben' gibi*

happen before it takes place: "The spirit does unthinkable things. It does things of which we are unaware and which are going to take place in the future. Foretelling the future in fortune telling and dreams has detained many people a long time."[254]

A similar idea prevailed among spiritualists from Turkey. The advertisement of a traveling theater reads "the master of fortune telling, Doctor Şahmat, says: 'you ask, I tell! Do not miss the opportunity to learn about your past and future!' "[255] The magazine mentions also a telepathist from Turkey, Turan Turanlı, who says, "the psychological characteristic called the sensation of happenings beforehand by the old and presentiment by the young provides that many strange occurrences are perceived in advance."[256] People appealed to him in order to learn about the health of their sick acquaintances or about the date of their marriage days. Thus, the thirst to know what is unknown about the past and the future are extinguished thanks to paranormal activities. The curiosity to explore the hidden yesterday and the non-ripe tomorrow become overwhelmed.

This link with the past and the future implies a different perception of time, according to which the person travels back and forth in time. This flexibility allows the imagination of a non-progressive flow to jump into yesterday or into tomorrow with a break in time. Hence, time moves ahead along many different lines: while the body

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duyuluyordu." Walter Spengler, "Dünyaya Bir Kere Geliyor Değiliz!" *Hafta* 4, no. 77 (March 16th 1951), p. 23.

[254] "*Ruh akla gelmeyecek şeyler yapar. Haberimiz olmayan ve istikbalde olacak şeyleri yapar. Falda istikbali söylemek veya rüyalar, birçok insanları uzun müddet meşgul etmiştir.*" "Ruh ve Beden," narrated by Cezmi Tarık, *Hafta* 9, no. 201 (July 31st 1953), p. 12.

[255] "*Fal üstadı Doktor Şahmat diyor ki: Sorunuz, söyleyelim! Mazi ve istikbalinizi öğrenmek fırsatını kaçırmayınız!*" Olcayto, "Anadolu Nasıl Eğleniyor?" *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 16 (April 20th 1956), p. 23.

[256] "*Eskilerin hissikablelvuku, yenilerin (Önsezi) dedikleri psikolojik hususiyet bir çok garip vak'aların önceden hissedilmesini sağlıyordu...*" Semsi Belli, "Turan Turanlı," *Hafta* 9, no. 225 (January 15th 1954), p. 37.

experiences the present, the mind and the spirit transcend into the past or the future. Such discontinuities enable one to get rid of a linear conception of time. Quite on the contrary, there is a plurality of layers of time where the past, the present, and the future meet, are mixed, and construct a hybrid form:

> Is knowing the future not identical with living in the future? We know the past because we have lived in the past. We know the present, too, because we live in the present. Definitely, those who know the future are people who live in the future. Those who are interested in these issues argue that the past is not lost and that the future has already arrived. And they say that if people who are 300 light years away from earth can look at the world and see the earth now, the events they see are views belonging to 300 years ago. If this is the case for them, why should it not be the case for us?.. Why should it not be the case that the things we say will come and take place are things that have already occurred and are now over?.. Do we not live the tomorrow already from today?.. Tomorrow lives in ourselves. We make decisions and plan projects concerning the future.[257]

The illogical feature of mythical occurrences also rouses a rejection of materialism: "Material power is nothing in the face of telepathy!"[258] So, the mind controls the material rather than vice versa and the former has the quality of separating itself from the body and being eternal. The subordination of materialism to idealism and to the mind leads to the criticism of positivism and objectivism as well. As a result, visibility and the five senses are not enough to reach the boundary of the possible: "It is

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[257] "*Geleceği bilmek, demek adeta gelecekte yaşamak demek değil midir? Öyle ya, biz maziyi biliriz. Çünkü mazide yaşamışızdır. Hali de biliriz. Çünkü hal içinde yaşıyoruz. Geleceği bilenler de şüphesiz gelecek içinde yaşamakta olan kimselerdir. Bu işlerle meşgul olanlar mazinin kaybolmadığını geleceğin de daha şimdiden gelmiş bulunduğunu iddia ederler. Ve derler, ki şu anda, dünyamızdan 300 ışık yılı uzakta bulunan kimseler, eğer dünyaya bakıp yeryüzünü görüyorlarsa henüz onların görmekte oldukları vakalar, 300 sene evveline ait manzaralardır. Onlar için bu böyle olunca, neden bizim için olmasın?.. Neden bizim gelecek ve olacak dediğimiz şeyler, çoktan olup bitmiş şeyler olmasınlar?.. Zaten biz yarını, bugünden yaşamıyor muyuz?.. Yarın içimizde yaşamaktadır. Yarına ait kararlar alır, teşebbüsler tasarlarız.*" Cemil Cahit Cem, "Öldükten Sonra Ne Olacağız?: Gelecekte Neler Olacağını Bilmek Mümkün müdür?" *Hafta* 1, no. 9 (November 25th 1949), p. 8.

[258] "*Telepatinin karşısında, madde kuvveti bir hiçtir!*" "Telepati Nedir?" *Hafta* 8, no. 186 (April 17th 1953), p. 26.

certain that the world does not consist of merely the material. The thing that dominates the world is not the material, but a dynamic and spiritual element. Otherwise, how are we going to explain the thing that dominates the mutation of a caterpillar to a butterfly? But we cannot see the spirit. Not seeing does not mean anything. We feel the impact of the spirit even if we cannot see it."[259]

This clearly makes sense for a journal published in the 1950's during the peak of the Cold War. Fantastic things, which prove the existence of other possibilities, gained special significance in front of the emphasis on facts of the materialist ideology. Therefore, belief, not practice, is counted as the reason beyond many miraculous and coincidental events: "Not only spiritualism, but a lot more occurrences which the human mind finds marvelous and miraculous are the work of inspiration and belief... vigorous belief."[260] In a similar fashion, the chance events which Hollywood stars, whom we admire so much, call explicitly "luck" or "good fortune" are in fact, the products of their prayers, which they utter implicitly: "The Hollywood stars work out internally with prayers the suitable 'chance events' they call explicitly 'luck' or 'the work of good fortune'."[261] Hence, one may do anything one believes in. Conviction makes everything possible, even demolishing the wall of the materialist world and reality.

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[259] "*Dünyanın yalnız maddeden ibaret olmadığı muhakkaktır. Dünyaya hakim olan şey madde değil, dinamik ve ruhi bir unsurdur. Yoksa bir tırtılın kelebek haline gelmesine hakim olan şeyi neyle izah edeceğiz? Ama biz ruhu göremiyoruz. Görmemek bir şey ifade etmez. Görmememize rağmen ruhun tesirlerini hissetmiyor değiliz.*" Cemil Cahit Cem, "Öldükten Sonra Ne Olacağız?" *Hafta* 1, no. 4 (October 21th 1949), p. 8.

[260] "*Yalnız ispritizma değil, daha bir sürü, insan aklının, harikulade ve mucizevi bulduğu vakalar, telkinin ve inanmanın... Kuvvetle inanmanın eserleridir.*" Cemil Cahit Cem, "Öldükten Sonra Ne Olacağız: Katilini Ele Veren ve Mezarını Gösteren Ruh!" *Hafta* 1, no. 7 (November 11th 1949), p. 8.

[261] "*Hollywood yıldızları haricen 'şans' 'talih işi' dedikleri iyi 'tesadüfleri' kendi içlerinden duaya hamlederler.*" "Yıldızlar ve Dua," *Hafta* 1, no. 15 (January 6th 1950), p. 24.

The predominance of religion in the 1950's makes sense also in the Cold War context: "Following an irreligious ideology, one half of the world has formed an unmerciful group opposed to religion."[262] Karl Marx was the one who characterized religion as the opium of the people and reduced the being of god to an illusion: "This state, this society, produce religion which is an *inverted world consciousness*, because they are an *inverted world*."[263] He argued that ideology and false consciousness worked like a retina in that they distorted and concealed reality. Thus, by using the analogy of the *camera obscura*, Marx discussed the inverted relationship between god and man. Consequently, people began to believe that god had created them whereas inversely, they were the ones who had created god in their own minds. Accordingly, Marxism supported atheism and therefore, the weight given to religion in the discourse of the popular culture magazines published in the 1950's makes perfect sense. As Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, the directorate of Religious Affairs, confessed on 25 August 1950, "Islam definitely rejects communism, its ideology, and all forms of its practice."[264]

Articles about tombs in *Hafta* provide a chance to see the emphasis on the importance of conviction. A text tells the story of an old woman called Grandmother Keziban (*Keziban Nine*), who voluntarily watches over a tomb along the asphalt road between Edirnekapı and Topkapı in Istanbul. The writer asserts: "Apparently, Grandmother Keziban did not know which saint lay here, either. But she believed in the man who, maybe two or three hundred years ago, fell asleep eternally under these stones

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[262] "*Dünyanın yarısı dinsizce bir ideoloji peşinde, dine karşı insafsız bir cephe almış bulunmaktadır.*" A. J. Cronin, "Allaha Niçin İnanıyorum?" *Hafta* 2, no. 49 (September 1st 1950), p. 14.

[263] Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," p. 43.

and even whose bones have already become soil, grass, and insect, now. Believing, being able to believe, but being able to believe as much as Grandmother Kezban does is a beautiful thing... Do not all of our distresses and depressions result from the excessive and cocky control of the mind over our feelings?"[265]

The degradation of the mind below feelings is exemplified when the writer describes the life of this old woman. For instance, the author asks her age. Grandmother Keziban answers by showing the last two remaining teeth in her mouth because she knows neither numerals nor how to count. She does not recognize the meanings of words like "freedom" and "democracy" or the political polemics between İnönü and Menderes, either. She lives in a world free of numbers and words, where only pure creed dominates.

Belief in general and fantastic phenomena in particular also enable us to overcome the visible and demystified character of material things: "But we must confess that not all the things that take place in the world are always explainable by human logic. Besides the usual and ordinary incidents, also such occurrences take place that we cannot explain."[266] Hence, there are spiritual cases which exceed the limits of the normal and enter the territory of the unknown that cannot be explained by current knowledge. The existence of abnormal things is accepted.

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[264] *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, p. 180.

[265] "*Anlaşılan Keziban Nine de, burada hangi evliyanın yattığını bilmiyordu. Ama o, bu taşlarin altında, belki iki üç yüz sene evvel sonsuz uykusuna dalan, şimdi kemikleri bile çoktan toprak, ot, haşere olmuş insana inanıyordu. İnanmak, inanabilmek, ama Kezban Nine kadar inanabilmek güzel şey... Bütün bu sıkıntılarımız, buhranlarımız, aklın duygularımızı fazla, ukalaca kontrolundan ileri gelmiyor mu?*" Olcayto, "Gönüllü Türbedar Keziban Nine," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 15 (April 15th 1955), p. 29.

[266] "*Fakat şurasını da itiraf etmeliyiz, ki dünyada olup biten şeyler, hep insan mantığının izah edebileceği şeyler değildir. Olağan, alışılmış hadiseler yanında öyle bir takım hadiseler de cereyan etmektedir, ki bunları izah edememekteyiz.*" Cemil Cahit Cem, "Öldükten Sonra Ne Olacağız: Gelecekte Neler Olacağını Bilmek Mümkün müdür?" *Hafta* 1, no. 9 (November 25th 1949), p. 8.

Apart from telepathy, hypnotism and ghosts, any other extraordinary form of events, like a monkey man in Africa, arouses a critique of materialism as well: "We live in the twentieth century. In the age of the atom. And we suppose that after we broke into the material and brought its hidden side to light, there is nothing left on earth that we do not know."[267] The memory of World War II and what happened in Japan were still alive during the 1950's. Hence, the developments in nuclear energy constitute a topic that gets mentioned quite often in the texts discussing the position and the role of the spirit in our lives as against to the presence of the material:

> It is not necessary to return to the classical struggle between the "material" and the "spirit." Possibly, the essence, the true nature of which is unknown and which we call the "spirit," is a quite delicate material that is called "perisprit" by famous spiritualists like Allan Cardek and that cannot be perceived by our five senses. And it is such a thing that remains after man dies. After modern physics smashed the atom and separated the energy from it, the old meanings of the notions "material" and "spirit" were discredited . . . We are in the boundless world of the unknown and it is impossible to explain everything by the vulgar substance like materialists do.[268]

A similar concern dominates an article written by Peyami Safa. He mentions the growing interest of man in fortune telling and relates this to the fact that mankind's fear of the future has intensified after the absolute knowledge of the nineteenth century has been de-scrutinized. He describes the nineteenth century as a period in which the exactness and knowability of materialism and positivism dominated over the

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[267] *"20nci yüzyılda yaşıyoruz. Atom asrında. Ve sanıyoruz, ki maddenin içine girip onun içyüzünü meydana çıkardıktan sonra dünya yüzünde artık bilmediğimiz şey kalmamıştır."* "Yarı İnsan Yarı Maymun," *Hafta* 5, no. 105 (September 28th 1951), p. 13.

[268] *"Klasik 'madde-ruh' kavgasına dönmek şart değildir. Olabilir ki 'ruh' denilen mahiyeti meçhul cevher, Allan Cardek gibi meşhur spiritlerin 'perisprit' adını verdikleri gayet nazik, beş duyumuzun idrak edemediği bir maddedir ve insan öldükten sonra kalan da böyle bir şeydir. Modern fizik atomu parçaladıktan ve enerjiyi ondan ayırdıktan sonra madde ve ruh mevhumlarının eski manaları itibardan*

indefiniteness and subjectivity of the twentieth century in which even physics has lost its objective and precise quality. The insufficiency of known facts is also observable in the moral realm where developments in technology and positive sciences led to the destruction of the humanity by the humanity itself thanks to the violence and massacre of the two world wars:

> Moral depressions, insanity, murders, and suicides increase. The twentieth century, which takes pride in its technical miracles, waged two world wars and witnessed the wildest massacres. It can be said that there is a moral and spiritual decline in disproportion to technical progress. And this disproportion indicates the insufficiency, even inaccuracy, of our knowledge concerning the human spirit, its society, and the relationship between the man and the universe. The man who feels suffocated in this obscurity becomes more and more interested in occurrences that inform about the distant and the future, like the dreams, telepathy, and metagnomy. We are no more in a world that supposes that it solved out all problems. We know that the being, the creation, the nature, the universe, and the man who gazes vacantly in front of these is not as simple as it was supposed to be in the last century. We avoid simple explanations. We appreciate that it is necessary to know everything in order to know something thoroughly. We respect all possibilities. Now, even the most precise sciences like mathematics, physics, and mechanics left their former jargon which said "this is so" and see fitter to the honor of thought to put a "maybe" or "I wonder" before each temporary decision they arrive at.[269]

The reality in which we live is next to another world of the unknown, the inexplicable and the mysterious. However, we cannot realize it because the supremacy of

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düşmüştür . . . Sonsuz bir meçhuller alemindeyiz ve materyalistler gibi her şeyi kaba madde ile izah edip çıkmak imkanı yoktur." "İnsan Ruhu Ölümsüz mü?" *Hafta* 5, no. 108 (October 19th 1951), p. 20.

[269] "*Ahlak buhranları, delilikler, cinayetler, intiharlar artıyor. Teknik mucizeleriyle öğünen yirminci yüzyıl, iki dünya harbine girip çıkmış ve tarihin en vahşi katliamlarına şahit olmuştur. Denebilir ki, teknik ilerleme nispetinde bir ahlaki ve manevi gerileme vardır. Bu nispetsizlik de, insan ruhuna, cemiyetine ve insanın kainatla münasebetine ait bilgilerimizin yetersizliğini, hatta yanlışlığını gösteriyor. Bu karanlık içinde bunalan insan, rüya, telepati ve metagnomi gibi uzağı ve geleceği haber veren vakalara karşı gittikçe artan bir ilgi duymaktadır. Artık bütün meseleleri hallettiğini sanan bir dünyada değiliz. Varlığın, yaratılışın, tabiatın, kainatın ve bunlar karşısında gözleri dalan insanın geçen asırda sanıldığı kadar basit olmadıklarını biliyoruz. Kolay izahlardan kaçıyoruz. Bir şeyi iyice bilmek için her şeyi bilmek lazım geldiğini anlıyoruz. Bütün ihtimallere karşı saygı besliyoruz. Artık, matematik, fizik ve mekanik gibi en kesin ilimlerimiz bile 'Bu böyledir' diyen eski ağızlarını bırakıp verdikleri her geçici hükmün başına bir*

the logical in civilized life hinders notice of its presence: "Many of our mind and logic impressions cover up our ability in our subconscious. The less civilized people are more advanced than the civilized regarding receiving information from the distant." Related to the critique of civilization, telepathy enables movement away from the isolation of modern life as well. Individualism blocks the capacity to communicate with others whereas extra-sensory perception implies the existence of a common life. In contrast to the solitude of the individualist worldview, people are in touch with each other in a mythical world: "Namely, each man does not have his own life of the subconscious. On the contrary, whereas everybody has her own life of consciousness, our life of subconscious is common with other people and there, we are constantly in touch with them."[270]

Apart from going away from the current time and space, modern civilization, materialism and individualism, preternatural incidents grant a chance to those who are discontent with their particular lives to escape from their problems as well: "Many people who do not find their present lives satisfactory at all run to a hypnotist in order to convince themselves that they were a great man once in the past and that they were spiritually a higher being, but that they live their current simple lives due to fate."[271]

'belki' ve 'acaba' koymayı fikir namusuna daha uygun buluyorlar." Peyami Safa, "Geleceğin Karanlığı Önünde İnsanlık," *Hafta* 5, no. 115 (December 7st 1951), p. 6.

[270] "*Birçok akıl ve mantık intibalarımız, bizim şuur altımızdaki kabiliyetimizi ört bas ediyorlarmış. Medeniyetçe geri olan insanlar, uzaktan haber almak hususunda, medenilerden daha ileri imişler...*" "*Yani her insanın kendine mahsus bir şuur altı hayatı yoktur. Bilakis herkesin kendine mahsus bir şuur üstü hayatı olduğu halde, şuur altı hayatımız diğer insanlarla müşterektir ve şuur altı hayatımız da diğer insanlarla daimi münasebet halindeyizdir.*" "Kayıptan Haber Verebilirsiniz!." *Hafta* 5, no. 101 (August 31st 1951), p. 16.

[271] "*Bugünkü basit hayatını hiç de tatmin edici bulmayan sürülerle insan, geçmişte bir defa büyük bir adam olarak yaşamış olmak ve ruhen yüksek bir mahluk olduğuna, fakat kaderin sevkiyle bugünkü basit*

Therefore, the belief in reincarnation relieves the disappointment that one has not been able to achieve a successful and happy life, which was supposed to be easily attained, as depicted above, by the resolution of the individual itself.

Similarly, sorcery provides an escape from the distress of every day life. Leon Irby, a magician who escapes from locked prison cells and rescues himself from tied ropes, comments that the reason behind people's interest in his show lies in the fact that, "a man who escapes attracts everybody. Therefore, we all escape from something all the time. If a professional fugitive dispels the obstacles that are hard to overcome and comes to a conclusion safe and sound, this encourages everybody. They think that they can do the same thing one day."[272]

Supernatural phenomena, which permit us to pass through the gates of the existing materiality to that of a fantastic world, have also another aspect, however, which keeps one side of this fantastic world in the very reality it tries to escape. In this sense, this-worldliness of the mythical phenomena needs to be expressed once more. Shorer defines myth as "the instruments by which we continually struggle to make our experience intelligible to ourselves. A myth is a large, controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life."[273]

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hayatını yaşamakta bulunduğuna kendini inandırmak için bir ipnotizmacıya koşuyor." "Evvelce Ne olarak Yaşadınız?" *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 22 (June 1st 1956), p. 14.

[272] "*Kaçmakta olan bir insan, bence herkesin sempatisini toplar. İşte onun içindir ki sabahtan akşama kadar hepimiz bir şeylerden kaçıyoruz. Profesyonel bir kaçak, aşılması güç engelleri yok ederek sağ salim neticeye ulaşırsa, bu, herkesin cesaretini arttırır. Onlar da günün birinde aynı şeyi yapabileceklerini düşünürler.*" "Leon Irby'nin Maceraları," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 22 (June 1st 1956), p. 20.

[273] Mark Shorer, "The Necessity of Myth" in *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. H. A. Murrey (Boston: Beacon, 1968), p. 355, quoted from Arthur Asa Berger, *Cultural Criticism: A Primer of Key Concepts* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 122.

Accordingly, the priority of the ideal and the mind over the material in the mythical occurrences mentioned in *Hafta* has a parallel to the industrious identity's voluntarism. Telepathy, which works through the concentration of the mind on somebody else's, helps to back up the will: "As a consequence of these experiences, you can also strengthen your will. Hence, your ability to concentrate on anything increases. All great men achieved great works by concentrating completely on that work."[274] So, the road to success passes through will power, which depends on you, not any other external circumstances, which are not in your control.

In a similar fashion, texts about hypnotism emphasize the might of the will frequently. Almost all of them end with a conclusion declaring the limits of hypnotic power because the will of the person hypnotized would not allow her to do something unsuitable to her character while she is not on her own. In other words, even if someone is hypnotized, this does not require her to lose all authority over her actions. Manners and habits prevent doing whatever is ordered or instructed under hypnotism if it is something immoral or indecent. The conscious blocks the sub-consciousness. Therefore, for example, you cannot make someone commit murder if he does not have the spirit of a homicide or make a stingy person distribute all the money in his pocket while he is hypnotized.[275]

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[274] "*Bu tecrübeler neticesi iradenizi de kuvvetlendirmiş olursunuz. Böylelikle aklınızı herhangi bir şeye tamamen verme kabiliyetiniz artar. Bütün büyük adamlar, büyük işleri, akıllarını tam manasıyla o işe vermekle temin etmişlerdir.*" John Charr, "Telepati," narrated by Betül Kazak, *Hafta* 9, no. 215 (November 6th 1953), p. 42.

[275] See "İpnotizmanın Tesirleri," *Hafta* 3, no. 74 (February 23th 1951), p. 29; "İpnotizma ve Cinayet," *Hafta* 9, no. 212 (October 16th 1953), p. 41; "İpnotizma," narrated by Emrehan, *Hafta* 10, no. 234 (March 19th 1954), p. 16; "İpnotize Edilince Ne Olur?" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 44 (November 2nd 1956), p. 20.

By the same token, the interpretation of dreams should not cause sluggishness or idleness. Even if oneiromancy gives information about the future, this ought not to bring in the acceptance of tomorrow as it is portrayed in a dream. Since nothing is predetermined, and since there are many possibilities concerning the future, one should keep trying to work things out: "Do not worry about a bad dream. Presume it as a warning sent to you in order to prevent an unpleasant incident and behave in a manner to hinder it, namely as the poet says, 'Be the sage of your own destiny and the captain of your own soul'."[276] Similarly, astrology and the prophecy of stars should not bar the individual from defining and determining her destination. Even if stars have an impact on our life, we should never give up if these effects cause adverse consequences, but try hard to get rid of those pejorative factors.[277]

Another aspect of paranormal phenomena which remains embedded in the present and in the reality concerns their utility. Most of the texts about telepathy or hypnotism provide many examples that indicate how and in which spheres of every day life these issues may serve a function. Accordingly, these metaphysical activities may be utilized to become rich, treat the sick, solve murder trials and find fugitives.[278] Thus,

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[276] "*Sakın 'fena' denilen bir rüya için üzüntüye kapılmayın. Onu fena hadiseye mani olabilmeniz için size gönderilmiş bir ihtar kabul edin ve onu önleyecek şekilde hareket edin, yani bir şairin dediği gibi 'Kendi kaderinizin hakimi ve ruhunuzun kaptanı siz olun'*." "Rüyalar," *Hafta* 2, no. 32 (May 5th 1950), p. 2.

[277] See Louis de Wahl, "Kaderimize Hakim Olan Esrarengiz Kuvvetler: Alberti'nin Tabloları," *Hafta* 5, no. 109 (October 26th 1951), p. 13; Louis de Wahl, "Kaderimize Hakim Olan Esrarengiz Kuvvetler:: İkizlerin Macerası," *Hafta* 5, no. 110 (November 2nd 1951), p. 12.

[278] See "İpnotizma," narrated by Emrehan, *Hafta* 10, no. 234 (March 19th 1954), p. 17; "İnsanüstü Kuvvetler," narrated by Betül Kazak, *Hafta* 10, no. 239 (April 23th 1954), p. 28; Bernard Redmond, "Radar Beyinli Adam," narrated by Betül Kazak, *Hafta* 10, no. 241 (May 7th 1954), p. 27; "İpnotize Edilince Ne Olur?" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 44 (November 2nd 1956), p. 20.

mystical powers do not remain stuck to the spiritual and unearthly realm, but fall in the official and scientific sphere.

Lastly, these texts about mystical powers also put a reservation on knowing what is going to happen in the future. Even though they mention the capacity to escape from the current time and space, they also talk about the costs of foretelling the morrow. The most important consequence would be unhappiness: "To know what is going to happen in the future in advance has constituted the main desire of men for ages. A pretty ridiculous wish!.. As if we would be happy if we knew what is going to take place in the future... On the contrary, not knowing must be better. If people knew the future, would they be able to enjoy a trivial happiness?.."[279] In contrast to reading other people's minds or prophesizing the after-time, the unknown has a mystifying and exciting property that keeps one alive.

In the foregoing pages, the discourse of *Hafta* on paranormal activities was analyzed. Now, it is time to compare and contrast this discourse with actual events and find out to what extent this discourse conformed the reality of the 1950's. To begin with, it has to be noted that law in Turkey forbade fortune telling. This legal ban was not merely uttered, but also applied practically. Olcayto states that gypsies did not tell fortunes with decks of cards or by throwing beans, but merely by reading palms because in this way it was easier to escape in case of detection by the police.[280] In spite of such

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[279] "*Gelecekte ne olacağını, evvelinden bilmek, insanların asırlar boyunca başlıca arzusunu teşkil etmiştir. Halbuki gayet saçma bir istek!.. Sanki ileride ne olacağını evvelinden bilirsek mes'ut mu olacağız?.. Asıl bunun aksinin, yani bilmemenin daha iyi olması lazım. Eğer insanlar geleceği bileydi, en ufak bir bahtiyarlığın tadını duyabilirler miydi?...*" Cemil Cahit Cem, "Öldükten Sonra Ne Olacağız?: Gelecekte Neler Olacağını Bilmek Mümkün müdür?" *Hafta* 1, no. 9 (November 25th 1949), p. 8.

[280] Olcayto, "Doğuştan Hür ve Avare İnsanlar: Çingeneler," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 22 (June 1st 1956), p. 17.

legal restrictions, however, female and gypsy fortunetellers were common in Gülhane Park, İnönü Promenade Park, Maçka Park, and in Mecidiyeköy, as Recep Bilginer suggested.[281]

Similarly, sorcery and magic were also forbidden. Newspapers regularly reported that people who performed such acts had been caught and punished. For example, İlyas Güven, who claimed to be able to cure sick people by breathing on them was caught in Beykoz on 4 April 1951; İyo Marinaki, who told fortunes for money was arrested in her house in Taksim on 12 July 1951; a man called Abdullah Celal was apprehended in Unkapanı on 9 January 1952 while receiving money and jewelry from a girl called Feriha Günay in exchange for a written charm. Similarly, a sixteen year old girl called Kadriye Demir was accused of writing charms in İzmit; a seventy year old man from Kastamonu was prosecuted because he had practiced sorcery on men who were cheating on their wives; another seventy year old man called Father Hazret was arrested in Ankara for sorcery; İhsan Fıstık was blamed for writing charms in İzmir; a man called Mustafa Göçmen was arrested when he was about to take 1,000 Liras from Pakize Öner in order to break a spell cast on her husband; another women called Sıdıka İkigün who was sixty-seven years old was caught red-handed while she was telling fortune.[282] Not only "common people", but politicians were involved in such activities as well. The chairman of a local branch of the Republican Nation Party in Antalya was accused of writing and

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[281] Recep Bilginer, "Falcılar," *Hafta* 1, no. 3 (October 14th 1949), p. 26.

[282] Respectively, *Cumhuriyet*, "Büyücülük ve Üfürükçülük Yapan Bir Şahıs Yakalandı," 5 April 1951; *Cumhuriyet*, "Bir Büyücü Kadın Yakalandı," 14 July 1951; *Cumhuriyet*, "Sabıkalı Bir Üfürükçü Yakalandı," 10 January 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, "Üfürükçü Bir Kız Yakalandı," 15 January 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, "Büyücülük Yapan Yetmişlik İhtiyar Yakalandı," 26 January 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, "Bir Büyücü Yakalandı," 28 February 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, "Şirinlik Muskası Yapan Bir Büyücü Yakalandı," 9 January 1953;

selling charms to peasants. The peasants of Pembelik village complained to the authorities about this man called Şükrü Kaya.[283]

Like fortune telling, vowing to make an offering was commonly practiced during the 1950's as well. Olcayto writes that there were approximately three hundred saints visited in Istanbul. According to her report, candles were burnt mostly on Tuesday evenings and she calculates that on an average, fifteen candles were burnt for each saint each day.[284] Besides the commonality of fortune telling and vowing to make an offering, another characteristic of these activities concerned their present-orientedness. Both of these were appealed to to solve current problems of their constituents. In other words, these activities were a part of every day life. Therefore, it would be misleading to interpret them as merely superstitious beliefs with a backward-looking quality. Quite on the contrary, they were embedded in the present and did not imply the ruins of a traditional culture that resisted being "overcome by modernity." For instance, vowing to make an offering was practiced to promise abundance, pay one's debts, have children, solve familial problems, unite lovers, find "good-natured" and "kindhearted" husbands, heal the ill, or pass exams.[285] All these difficulties are pretty much grounded in the

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Cumhuriyet, "1000 Lira Vizite Ücreti İsteyen Büyücü," 15 January 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Bir Falcı Kadın Suçüstü Yakalandı," 26 March 1955.

[283] *Cumhuriyet*, "Muska Yazan ve Fotomontaj Yapan Parti Başkanı," 13 April 1955.

[284] Olcayto, "İstanbul Evliyalarına Yılda 1.500.000 Mum Yakılıyor!" *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 7 (February 17th 1956), p. 25.

[285] For examples see Şemsi Belli, "Kızıma Büyü Yaptılar," *Hafta* 7, no. 173 (January 16th 1953), p. 7; Paradi Stüdyosu, "Eyüp Sultan," *Hafta* 11, no. 269 (November 19th 1954), p. 34; Olcayto, "İstanbul Evliyalarına Yılda 1.500.000 Mum Yakılıyor!" *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 7 (February 17th 1956), p. 25; Olcayto, "Bayramda ve Ramazanda Eyüp Sultan," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 20 (May 18th 1956), p. 23; Olcayto, "Modern Bir Türbedar," *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 38 (September 21st 1956), p. 17 .

contemporaneity. They are not concerned with reviving a golden age that has passed away, but with clearing up prevalent obstacles.

Jean and John L. Comaroff, who talk about "occult economies," report that they have two aspects. The first one concerns their material benefits, like making one hope to attain riches easily without effort and through magical ways, whereas the second one has an ethical dimension to construe meaning. They consider them as an integral part of an "alternative modernity" and as an effective "survival strategy." They add that these activities are not peculiar to rural areas or to the poor. Therefore, occult economies do not mark a return to the "traditional" -whatever it is supposed to mean. They are not part of a symbolic world. On the contrary, they are part of the real and tangible life that is material, solid, and physical. They are not abstract thoughts that have no effect on this world at all, but are a means of struggling to get by. [286]

Proving Comaroffs' analysis, the magical activities of the 1950's were embedded in the problems brought about by this decade. For example, the issue of housing constituted one major problem people faced in those years. This problem was especially concentrated in the big cities, which had become targets due to the migration process that had intensified in the 1950's. The mechanization of agriculture had caused the peasants to lose their lands that were not big enough to yield higher returns if tractors were used. Consequently, while a minority of the rural people who realized that they could no longer earn a living from agriculture became chauffeurs etc. on the big farms, the majority had no other choice, but to migrate to the cities hoping to find a job. As a

[286] Comaroff, pp. 310-318.

peasant confessed, "afterwards, no one who [did] not have enough land [could] live in Çukurova.[287],[288]

Similarly, Yaşar Kemal talks about the worsening situation of the sharecroppers who tilled the land of the landowners in Diyarbakır and received the half of the output. Worse, if the landowner provided them with ox and seed, the latter obtained only one third of the output. Moreover, the situation was even worse now that agriculture had begun to be mechanized thanks to the Marshall Plan. Accordingly, tractors were replacing sharecroppers who had no other choice but to migrate to the cities. For example, eighteen out of thirty houses were now vacant in just one village due to three tractors.[289]

Apart from migration, the general increase in the population, the construction of roads, and hence, the improvement of transportation facilities, and the replacement of big family structures by the nuclear family all contributed to the rapid increase in the urban population starting from the 1950's onwards.[290] This new situation immediately gave rise to a housing shortage. Numbers reflect this tragic increase: while the migrants totaled a number of 214,000 during 1945-1950, this number increased to 904,000 between 1950-1955.[291] The result was the emergence of squatter house: while architect Rebii Gorbon reports that there were 8,000 squatter houses in Istanbul on 3 April

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[287] One of the biggest and most productive plains of Turkey located in the south, around Adana region.

[288] "*Bundan sonra . . . yeterli toprağı olmayan hiçkimse Çukurova'da yaşayamaz.*" Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye*, pp. 140-141.

[289] *Cumhuriyet*, "Diyarbakır Ovasında Göç Var!" 20 July 1951.

[290] *Cumhuriyet*, "Kiralara Dair Tasarı ve Mesken Politikası," 19 January 1953.

[291] *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, p. 171.

1951,[292] this number totaled 50,000 for Turkey in general in 1955, with 250,000 residents. On 15 January 1958, the minister of interior declared that there were 40,000 squatter houses in Istanbul, 45,000 in Ankara, and 4,500 in İzmir.[293]

The housing shortage was mentioned also in *Hafta*. For example, Memduh Yükman complains: "Cement that is imported with how much foreign exchange in a year I do not know, how many ceremonies of laying foundation I do not know, how many construction sites I do not know and... the known shortage of housing."[294] Similarly, Oğuz Özdeş states "especially if the housing shortage that has emerged in our big cities is taken into consideration, I think space in the world is more important than belief in the hereafter."[295]

Consequently, praying for a house was common at the tomb of saints. For example, a woman is reported to have asked for a house three years earlier and tells that her request was somehow accepted after just two months. This situation gives opportunity to the author of the text to complain about the inefficiencies of the municipal facilities: "Poor Istanbul residents, they cannot find a person other than wishing wells to ask whether they are going to possess a house or not."[296]

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[292] *Cumhuriyet*, "İstanbul'da Mesken Buhranı," 3 April 1951.

[293] For these numbers see *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 172, 345.

[294] "*Senede bilmem ne kadar liralık dövizle ithal edilen çimento, bilmem ne kadar temel atma töreni, bilmem ne kadar inşaat sayısı ve... bilinen mesken sıkıntısı...*" Memduh Yükman, "Kara Evi, Hava Evi, Deniz Evi," *Hafta*, June 10th 1955, Cilt: 1955-I, Sayı: 23, 6

[295] "*Bilhassa büyük şehirlerimizde baş gösteren mesken sıkıntısı, göz önüne alınınca, galiba ahrette imandan evvel, dünyada mekan daha ehemmiyet kesbetmektedir.*" Oğuz Özdeş, "Mesken Davası," *Hafta*, July 8th 1955, Cilt: 1955-II, Sayı: 27, 5

[296] "*Zavallı İstanbullular, bir ev sahibi olup olmayacaklarını niyet kuyularından başka soracak kimse bulamıyorlar.*" Olcayto, "Merkez Efendi Türbesi," *Hafta* 1, no. 13 (March 30th 1956), p. 25.

Apart from the goals of vowing to make an offering, people were themselves a good indicator that this practice was not necessarily something conservative, but became incorporated into the process of modernity itself. Accordingly, "modern" ladies with cosmetics on their faces and dyed hair or girls with a chewing gum in their mouths were among the visitors to these tombs. The writer of an article calls the prayer of these girls the "prayer of the chewing gum generation" because they even did not care to stop chewing while they made their wishes.[297]

Similarly, fortune telling served to solve problems that were rooted in the present. For example, middle-aged women who wondered whether their husbands were cheating on them or girls of fourteen to fifteen ages who wondered whether their boyfriends really loved them were among the customers of fortunetellers. Apart from present-orientedness, another factor showing the non-conventional quality of fortune telling is a statement uttered by a fortuneteller herself. She says, "occasionally, we go to very distinguished houses." Thus, not just ignorant people who lived in an archaic age, but also courteous, noble, gentle, and distinguished persons had gypsies tell their fortunes.

Apparitions constitute another paranormal phenomenon that seems to be present-oriented even though it provides a connection with the dead and, hence, with the past. Kandemir reports that the issue of apparitions was growing increasingly in the 1950's, especially among women. One feature of this issue concerns the fact that ghosts tended to take possession of bodies that belonged to strangers, just like Finucane says that this was a typical attribute of nineteenth and twentieth century ghosts. Consequently, ghosts

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[297] Paradi Stüdyosu, "Eyüp Sultan," *Hafta* 11, no.269 (November 19th 1954), p. 34. Other writers also make similar interpretations about female visitors of tombs. See Olcayto, "Gönüllü Türbedar Keziban

seemed to fulfill tasks that were spontaneous rather than previously planned and programmed. For instance, Refika Uzdilek, the wife of Professor Salih Murat Uzdilek, who fell ill in the middle of a night, tells of how her body was captured by the soul of a doctor, who had been working in Haydarpaşa Hospital (*Haydarpaşa Numune Hastanesi*) and had died twenty years earlier. Thanks to the soul of this doctor, she was able to cure her husband.[298]

Present-orientedness flows through two different lines, however. Fortunetellers themselves confess that what they do is no more than lying. However, in spite of this, they still continued to do this job because they have to earn a living. Hence, while fortune telling is addressed because of the suspicions of the customers concerning their love affairs, the practitioners of fortune telling, the actors who are playing on the other side of the very same process, care only to survive.[299]

Predicting what is going to happen in the future also carries different meanings for different classes. While the middle and upper classes try to prophesy their future thanks to fortune-tellers, who belong usually to lower classes, fortune-tellers themselves already knew their morrow: "Ever since the day they learn speaking, girls know that they are going to marry either a pickpocket or a tinner and that they are going to earn money by selling lavender water or telling fortunes. Maybe one or two of them will learn histrionics (!) and appear on the stage. Similarly, men know extensively about the future,

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Nine," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 15 (April 15th 1955), p. 32; Olcayto, "Merkez Efendi Türbesi," *Hafta* 1, no. 13 (March 30th 1956), p. 24.

[298] Kandemir, "Dumlupınar Şehitleriyle Konuştum," *Hafta* 11, no.252 (July 23rd 1954), pp. 30-31.

[299] "*Arada sırada çok kibar evlere gideriz.*" Recep Bilginer, "Falcılar," *Hafta* 1, no. 3 (October 14th 1949), p. 26.

too. Sometimes we learn our future in advance as well, but this happens only thanks to fortune-telling."[300]

These sentences imply two things concerning the subject matter of this study. First of all, one may infer that regardless of whatever the residents of Sulukule (a neighborhood in Istanbul where the gypsies reside) do, they already know what they will be doing in the future from the day they are born. In other words, voluntarism does not matter; it is dysfunctional in this picture where external circumstances determine the limits of one's accomplishments.

Second, the very same activity, fortune telling, serves diverse functions for two different classes. For upper classes, it helps them to avoid the present and jump into the future. In other words, fortune telling is a future-oriented activity for those who wonder about what will happen. In contradiction to this, it is a matter of life and death for the fortunetellers themselves because they earn a living from this activity. In other words, fortune telling is very much embedded in the current time. It is a present-oriented activity for its practitioners, in contrast to its apprehension by their very customers.

Escape into Space?

> Human ideas are based on the scale of the planet we live in. They are based on the assumption that the technical potentialities, as

[300] *"Kızlar ya maşacı yahut da tenekeciyle evleneceklerini, lavanta satıp fal bakmakla para kazanacaklarını konuşmayı öğrendikleri günden itibaren biliyorlar. Belki aralarından bir iki tanesi artistçilik (!) öğrenip sahneye çıkacak. Erkeklerin de aynı şekilde istikbal hakkında geniş malumatları var. Bazen bizler de istikbalimizi evvelden öğreniyoruz ama bu ancak fal sayesinde oluyor."* Azize Erten, "Sulukule," *Hafta* 9, no. 206 (September 4th 1953), p. 41.

> they develop, will never overstep 'the earthly limit.' If we succeed in making contact with the other planets, all our philosophical, social and moral ideas will have to be revised, and in this event these potentialities will become limitless and will put an end to violence as a necessary means of progress.
>
> Lenin, Kremlin, 1920[301]

Travel to space concerns another discourse of the journal to escape from the current time and place and to jump into another dimension. Accordingly, a space trip provides a break in time. This discontinuity in time enables the travelers to acquire a different notion of time where the restrictions imposed by it are eliminated. Consequently, they begin to do anything any time they want: "Initially, the constant daytime of this place made me nervous. When was the dinner time; when should we go to bed?.. We had confused all of these. Then, we found a solution. Now, we are eating when we get hungry, we go to bed when we feel sleepy."[302]

However, this jump to another dimension does not guarantee an escape from the mentality of the 1950's as pictured in the discourse of *Hafta*. As Cowie puts forth, "the fantasy, Freud suggests, thus, hovers between three times: the present provides a context, the material elements of the fantasy; the past provides the wish, deriving from the earliest experiences; the dreamer then imagines a new situation, in the future, which

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[301] Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 42, quoted from Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, Mass.: London: MIT, 2002), p. 44.

[302] "*Önceleri, buranın daimi gündüzü asabımı bozmuştu. Yemek zamanı ne zamandır; ne vakit uykuya yatmak gerekecektir?.. Hepsini şaşırmıştık. Sonraları çaresini bulduk. Karnımız acıkınca yiyor, uykumuz gelince yatıyoruz.*" "Bir Venüs Seyahati," *Hafta* 4, no. 86 (May 18th 1951), p. 11.

represents a fulfillment of the wish."[303] Consequently, a parallel between the present and the future is established, first of all, as for the journal's emphasis on the issue of individualism. According to an article, there are basically two different reasons for the continuity of this aspect of life to the morrow. First, technology will make it possible to do everything at home so that people will follow a common life only in their family lives:

> At the end of century, humanity will hardly demand a social life. Since, thanks to the help of technology, everything will break into as far as the home and since all kinds of fun and sensation will be brought to man's presence, people will live mainly a family life. Big communities are going to be seen only in tremendous stadiums and at sports events that resemble typically the strange, mainly bloody, and crashing Gladiator games of the Roman period.[304]

In this description, collectivities are to be observed only in sport matches where they are supposed to merely sit and watch a game. In other words, their role is passive; there is no mention of any other kind of people's gathering in order to act and change something, positively or negatively. In this picture, there is no room for anti-globalization activists or collectivities that protest the war in the year 2000 and thereafter.

Second, the journal counts as the reason for individualism's presence in the new millennium the fact that people's characters will be much more nervous, angry, weak, naive, ashamed and even shy. The text does not answer the question of why this is going

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[303] Elizabeth Cowie, "Fantasia" in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1999), p. 365.

[304] "*Asrın sonunda insanlık, sosyete hayatına pek rağbet etmeyecektir. Tekniğin yardımiyle her şey eve kadar girdiği, her türlü eğlence ve sansasyon insanın ayağına getirildiği için, insanlar daha ziyade aile hayatı yaşar hale geleceklerdir. Büyük topluluklara ancak muazzam stadyumlarda garip, daha ziyade kanlı ve kazalı, tıpkı Romalılar çağının Gladyatör oyunlarına benzeyen spor gösterilerinde görülecektir.*" "2000 Yılında," *Hafta* 5, no. 104 (September 21st 1951), p. 11.

to be the case, but adds that such people do not like crowds and therefore, their typology requires them to be individualist.

Another aspect in which travel to space enhances the present to the future concerns new ways of making easy money. For example, the differing rates of gravity between Saturn's equator and its poles make huge profits possible for those who would trade between these two areas. Since a commodity weighing thirty-six kilograms in the former would weigh fifty kilograms in the latter, the merchants would make a profit over this extra fourteen kilograms.[305]

These texts about space also reflect the problems of the present that need to be solved. One of them concerns the extinction of mines. An article states that the more we dig mines the more we push humanity to disaster. In order to protect ourselves from and prevent this coming, the writer advises to find new mine areas, one of which is the moon.[306] However, unsurprisingly, the writer does not answer, or even not ask, the question of what is going to happen when the mines of the moon are extinguished. Without noticing it, the writer remains in a vicious circle that has no end in itself, but only offers temporary solutions to the problem of scarce resources. The reason for this insolubility is the writer's belief in the fact that "we must dig mines." He cannot imagine a different type of economy or an alternative way of living, which are not based on the consumption of scarce resources and the destruction of nature.

Apart from being a new area for mines, the moon becomes a new site for settlement as well. This opportunity presented by the moon serves to strengthen the

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[305] "Satürn," *Hafta* 3, no. 54 (October 6st 1950), p. 9.

[306] "Aya Giden Tünel," *Hafta* 1, no. 4 (October 21st 1949), p. 17.

journal's focus on the entrepreneurial mentality. For example, Baron de Touche–Skadding, who divides the moon's land into plots and sells it, defends himself: "It is historically proven that whoever proclaims her possession over an ownerless terrain in the first place takes the possession of that place."[307] In this sense, those who seize the opportunities of the time and take initiative immediately win whereas those who come after become "late-comers."

This mentality finds its reflection also in Turkey, where the United States' and England's dominance over this process of distributing the land on the moon gave rise to complaints. Consequently, three men, Cemil Sait Erdemli, Mesut Özdemir and Necdet Menteş, founded the Association of Those Who Want to Go to the Moon (*Aya Gitmek İsteyenler Cemiyeti*). The former was a sophomore in the Faculty of Electricity at Istanbul Technical University and the other two were freshmen in the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University. Erdemli states that there would be a "moon rush" if settlement on the earth's satellite were possible. He does not utter it explicitly, but certainly implies the "gold rush" when America was almost invaded in order to find gold: "Then the password (moon rush) will be uttered and the moon will become properly the satellite of earth." He also declares the initial objective of their policy as contacting the Americans and the English in order to reserve the allotted portion of Turkey on the moon and concludes, "the moon cannot be the property of just the Americans and the British."[308]

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[307] "*Tarihen sabittir, ki sahipsiz bir arazide kim ilk önce sahipliğini ilan ederse, orası onun olur.*" "Ayda Arazi Alır mısınız?" *Hafta* 9, no. 211 (October 9th 1953), p. 41.

[308] "*O zaman da (Aya hücum) parolası verilecek ve Ay, dünyanın tam manasiyle peyki olacaktır.*" "*Ay, yalnız Amerikalıların ve İngilizlerin malı olamaz.*" Şahap Balcıoğlu, "Aya Seyahat," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 13 (April 1st 1955), p. 30.

The association became so popular that a man called Ahmed wrote a letter to *Cumhuriyet* asking for the address of the association so that he could contact them.[309] Consequently, Cemil Said Erdemli, the founder of the association, answered in another letter that the association was still in the process of preparing its statute and would form a list of members only afterwards.[310] The establishment of the association gave rise to some critical letters as well. Accordingly, the letter written by a student pointed out the coexistence of two different temporalities experienced in different manners by different people. While the founders and supporters of the association sought to protect their property rights on the surface of the moon, the student, who wrote the letter, suggested to found the Association of Going to Villages in Anatolia (*Anadolu'da Köylere Gitme Cemiyeti*) which were in a state of despair.[311]

The matter of housing constitutes another link of those articles about the future with the present. In the foregoing pages, it was mentioned that the housing shortage constituted one of the biggest problems of the 1950's, which witnessed huge waves of migration from the rural areas to the cities. Unsurprisingly, this matter was reflected in some of the texts about the space. For example, this problem gave rise to interesting and imaginary housing advertisements: "Our building plots, which are on the most select spot on the moon, which is a hundred meters away from the (world) asphalt, facing the sea and the world with a wonderful view, are for sale. Gas lines, water pipes, and electricity will be installed very soon to the plots that will put an end to the housing

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[309] *Cumhuriyet*, "Aya Gitmek İstiyorum," 18 March 1955.

[310] *Cumhuriyet*, "Aya Gitmek İsteyenler Çoğalıyormuş," 25 March 1955.

[311] *Cumhuriyet*, "Ay'dan Evvel Köylere Gitseler," 16 March 1955.

crisis of the earth in a definite manner. Those who want to see our building plots that are submitted to the benefit of our esteemed customers on very long terms, like twenty years in a unique manner are requested to visit the Kandilli observatory."[312]

The concern to solve the problem of housing shortage constitutes one side of the coin, however. On the other side, the issue of settlement on the moon makes possible the reflection of the general complaint about land speculation and the difficulties of finding a shelter in which to take refuge. Here is one example:

> Since it is impossible to buy one in the world anymore, I would like to own a building plot, big enough at least for a house, on the moon. But I do not believe that this is possible at all, either because if there is a city council there as well, I cannot buy room even in order to construct a water closet, let alone a house. Respected people reserve the entire moon for themselves in a trice anyhow. Suppose that there is no city council. But it is still impossible because there are also land speculators. . . Suppose that I avoided them. But what about the officious bankers? . . . You see, in this era where there are so many competitors, we cannot own even land of a span size in the hereafter, let alone the moon . . . Anyway, suppose that we avoided the bankers as well. This time, there are the cooperatives . . . I swear, even if you go to the moon oneday, you will see the signboards erected on an iron stake by others before you.[313]

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[312] "*Ayın en mutena yerinde, (Dünya) asfaltına yüz metre mesafede, denize ve dünyaya nazır, fevkalade manzaralı arsalarımız satışa çıkarılmıştır. Yeryüzündeki mesken buhranına kat'i şekilde son verecek olan arsalarımıza havagazı, su ve elektrik tesisatı pek yakında gelecektir. Eşine rastlanmamış bir tarzda yirmi yıl gibi çok uzun bir vade ile sayın müşterilerimizin istifadesine arz edilen arsalarımızı görmek isteyenlerin kandilli rasathanesine teşrifleri rica olunur.*" Şahap Balcıoğlu, "Aya Seyahat," *Hafta* 1955-I, no. 13 (April 1st 1955), p. 32.

[313] "*Dünyada almağa artık imkan kalmadığına göre, Ayda hiç olmazsa bir evlik arsa sahibi olmak isterim. Ama buna da imkan olabileceğini hiç zannetmiyorum. Çünkü şayet orada da bir Şehir Meclisi varsa, değil bir evlik, bir hela yapmak için bile yer alamam. Zira zatı muhteremler, kaşla göz arasında bütün Ayı kendi namlarına kapatıverirler. Diyelim ki Şehir Meclisi yok. Ama gine imkansız. Çünkü daha geride arazi spekülatörleri var . . . Haydi diyelim ki arazi spekülatörlerini atlattım. Ama işgüzar bankacıları ne yapacağız . . . Görüyorsunuz ya rakiplerin bu kadar çok olduğu bu devirde değil Ayda, öbür Dünyada bile bir karış toprak sahibi olamayız . . . Neyse diyelim ki, bankacıları da atlattık. Fakat bu sefer kooperatifler var . . . Şayet bir gün, Aya gidecek olursanız, sizden çok evvel, demir kazıklar üzerinde levhaların dikilmiş olduğunu göreceğinize yemin ederim.*" Metin Onikinci, "Aybank İkramiye Evleri," *Hafta* 9, no. 214 (October 30th 1953), pp. 31, 41.

Thus, a difference between the translated texts and articles written by authors from Turkey is discovered. While settlement on new planets serves to strengthen the entrepreneurial spirit and emphasizes the importance of making use of every new opportunity in the discourse of the translated articles, originally "Turkish" texts provide the means to criticize the competitive society where a variety of actors, like the municipal assembly, land speculators, bankers, and lastly, cooperatives in this case, strive to beat each other. This indicates the different contexts in which the two different discourses were established. While one becomes a part of a certain kind of ideology that advocates industriousness, the other pays attention to the problems the very society, which gives birth to this discourse, faces at the moment. In the former, the chances are there waiting to be discovered by you, whereas in the latter, a picture is given in which you are doomed to fail even if you try hard and do your best to achieve something. In the former, everything depends on you and your subjective and internal forces, whereas in the latter there are objective and external conditions that control and rule over your will.

Another aspect of the present, which is reflected in those texts about the future, is a hierarchical society. There is mention of technological developments that do not allow the existence of an equal society. Even if technology enables the saving of time and concentration on more "womanly" issues, still there have to be some females who remain obliged to work in order to earn a living: "Of course, the houses of the next century will be different as well. All housework will be done by machines and buttons. Troubles about firewood, coal, stove, and radiator will disappear, houses will be heated by sun light. Thus, women will take pains over dolling up more and buy time in order to

wander abundantly. But since the cost of living will be high, some women will be obliged to work."[314]

This hierarchical structure of futuristic societies is reflected also in the architecture of the cities to come. Accordingly, the block cities, the towers of Babel of the twentieth century as the journal calls them, are constructed in such a way that the upper stories are reserved for middle class recreation areas like parks, stadiums, swimming pools, open air theaters, movies, and helicopter stations whereas factories, garages and repair-shops are located at the lowest story.[315]

As a last example, the commodification of flying saucers indicates that the unequal distribution of income will continue as its price would allow only the wealthy to buy them: "Since a flying saucer costs 1,400 dollars, buying a flying saucer will not seem difficult to the rich at all."[316] There is not even a mention of the poor in this picture.

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[314] *"Tabii, gelecek asrın evleri de değişik olacaktır. Bütün ev işleri makine ve düğme vasıtasiyle görülebilecektir. Odun, kömür, soba, kalorifer dertleri ortadan kalkacak, evler güneş şuaları ile ısıtılacaktır. Böylelikle kadınlar süslerine daha fazla düşecekler, gezmeğe bol bol vakit ayırabileceklerdir. Fakat hayat pahalı olacağına göre bir kısım kadınlar çalışmak zorunda kalacaklardır."* "Yarının Dünyası," trans. Betül Kazak, *Hafta* 11, no. 258 (September 3th 1954), p. 34.

[315] "Blok Şehir," *Hafta* 7, no. 163 (November 7th 1952), p. 33.

[316] *"Bir uçan daire 1400 dolara mal olduğuna göre uçan daire satın almak zenginlere hiç de güç gelmeyecek."* "Uçan Daire," *Hafta* 1955-II, no. 38 (September 23th 1955), p. 8.

Two Different Temporalities

In the preceding sections, it was claimed that while mystical occurrences or space trips allow one to avoid the current time and space, still this was not completely accomplished because they, at the same time, kept one foot in the very present reality they wanted to escape. Now in this section, it will be argued that there are two different discourses about the present in *Hafta*, one of/about the poor and the other of/about the rich. Accordingly, the journal describes two different perceptions or flows of time:

> While garbage collectors clear away the streets of the city or while workers go to factories and workshops in the morning, you see ladies in their furs and evening dresses ambling and taking their partner's arm beside them. Even though they are sleepless, they do not look sleepy-eyed at all. Most of them make their way home in cheer while they sing or murmur a song. Even if there is a tiny expression of sorrow on their faces, know that this is due to the fact that the night of delight and fun has ended. Now while everybody is at work or having a cheerful breakfast with their children in the morning, they are going to their beds, which are stuffed with down waiting for them. In their dark rooms with shutters closed down and curtains drawn, they try to rest their tired and exhausted bodies, unaware that real life has started outside or without paying attention to the flow of life.[317]

Thus, the experience of the non-rich constitutes "real" life whereas the rich's different perception of time leads the author of the article to conclude that they live somehow in a pseudo-reality. The very same moment when a new day launches for the

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[317] "*Sabahleyin, çöpçüler şehrin sokaklarını temizlerken, yahut işçiler fabrikalarına, atölyelerine giderlerken, kürklü, tuvaletli, hanımları, yanlarındaki kavalyesinin koluna girmiş sallana sallana giderken görürsünüz. Uykusuz olmalarına rağmen gözlerinde hiçbir mahmurluk yoktur. Çoğu neşe içinde, şarkı söyleyerek, yahut mırıldanarak evlerinin yolunu tutarlar. Eğer yüzlerinde azıcık olsun teessür ifadesi varsa, bilin ki bu da, zevk ve eğlence gecesinin bittiğindendir. Şimdi herkes işinin başındayken, yahut sabahleyin çoluğu çocuğu arasında neşe içinde kahvaltı yaparlarken, onlar, kendilerini bekleyen kuştüyü yataklarına gitmektedirler. Panjurları kapanmış, stor perdeleri inmiş olan karanlık odalarında, dışarıda asıl hayatın başladığından habersiz veya hayatın akışına kulak asmayarak yorgun ve bitkin vücutlarını dinlendirmeğe çalışırlar.*" Oğuz Özdeş, "Gece Yarısından Sonra İstanbul," *Hafta* 6, no. 143 (June 20th 1952), p. 29.

poor implies the end of the previous day for the affluent. In other words, the morning of the poor means the time to go to bed for the moneyed.

In a similar fashion, the different experiences of the poor and the rich are also observable in the Bosphorus boat. The different perception of time by the different strata in society are also symbolized by this boat: the first boat in the morning means the beginning of a new day for the poor whereas for the affluent, who return home after an entertaining night, it implies the end of the day and functions as the last boat: "The very first and the very last Bosphorus boats are properly opposite to each other in every respect, but they have one common quality: And that is the pockets of the passengers: Both those who go to earn money in the morning and those who return from fun in the evening are broke."[318]

Alternatively, the very same moment could hint at identical hours of a day, but still it would mean different things to different people: "Yes, on the one hand, Istanbul began to have fun. But, on the other hand, those who are hungry start to notice their hunger and those who are naked start to realize that they are cold."[319] The different sensations of the very same minute may be detected also in distinct experiences of amusement:

> I do not know whether you realize that the middle and poor classes are the ones who respect the natural flow of life the most? In contradiction to the rich, who have fun in the nights until the morning and sleep until the noon

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[318] "*Boğazın ilk ve son vapuru her bakımdan tam manasiyle birbirinin zıddı, fakat bir tek müşterek vasıfları var: O da yolcuların cepleri: Sabahleyin para kazanmaya gidenlerinki de, akşam eğlenceden dönenlerinki de delik...*" Azize Erten, "Boğazda İlk ve Son Vapur," *Hafta* 9, no. 209 (September 25th 1953), p. 41.

[319] "*Evet, bir tarafta İstanbul eğlenmeye başlamıştır. Fakat diğer tarafta, karınları acıkanlar açlığını hissetmeğe, üzerinde elbise olmayanlar üşüdüklerini farketmiye başlamışlardır.*" Oğuz Özdeş, "İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyor?" *Hafta* 6, no. 142 (June 13th 1952), p. 10.

> most of the time, people, who have work to do or rather are concerned to earn a living, work in the daytime, have fun in the evening if they have money, and sleep at night. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to differentiate Istanbul's entertainment areas into three. a) Places at which mainly people on evening duty and those who go to gardens and open air casinos in order to rest have fun. Such places are mainly open towards the evening and close down at ten o'clock most of the time. b) Entertainment areas that open at dinner and close down at bedtime. c) Places at which generally the rich have fun. Such entertainment areas open after midnight and close down in the morning.[320]

Different ways of amusement and, related to this, two different understandings of present-orientedness are also reflected in different New Year entertainment practices. While Zehra Sedef, a woman living in a squatter house in Şişli, hopes to acquire gas so that she and her family may have some dried nuts that night, Süheyla Arda, a young society woman, thinks about the moment when the lights will be turned out so that she and her fiancé will meet the new year in a very romantic atmosphere. Similarly, whereas Zehra dreams of buying a registered house in the coming year, Süheyla plans to entertain herself all the night so that the whole next year will be a source of fun for her.[321]

Thus, while the journal has a discourse with an emphasis on the present, it must be noted that there is not one single present experienced in the very same manner by all the members of the very same society. In this sense, a major difference is to be observed between *Bütün Dünya* and *Hafta*. *Bütün Dünya* has a perception of the present that

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[320] "*Bilmem hayatın tabii akışına en çok uyanların orta halli ve fakir tabakaların olduğunun farkında mısınız? Zenginlerin, geceleri sabaha kadar eğlenmelerine ve çok defa öğleye kadar uyku çekmelerine mukabil, işinde gücünde, daha doğrusu hayat kaygısında olan insanlar, gündüzleri çalışırlar, akşamları da eğlenecek paraları varsa eğlenirler, geceleri uyurlar. Buna bakarak İstanbulun eğlence yerlerini üç kısma ayırmak mümkündür. a) Daha ziyade akşamcıların ve gündüzkü yorgunluklarını çıkarmak için bahçelere, açık hava gazinolarına gidenlerin eğlendikleri yerler. Bu gibi yerler daha ziyade akşama doğru başlar ve çok defa saat onda nihayete erer. b) Akşam yemeğinde başlayıp, yatma zamanına kadar devam eden eğlence yerleri. c) Umumiyetle zenginlerin eğlendikleri yerler. Bu türlü eğlence yerleri de gece yarısından sonra başlayıp sabaha kadar devam eder.*" Oğuz Özdeş, "Şu İstanbul Nasıl Eğlenir?" *Hafta* 6, no. 141 (June 6th 1952), p. 10.

focuses on the merits of it for the entrepreneurial spirit. The journal advocates that the value and utility of the current time derives from the ever new and ever emerging opportunities it presents to those who are capable of realizing and taking advantage of them. In contrast to such a one-sided view, the discourse of *Hafta* indicates how the very same reality in which we all exist at the moment may be perceived and experienced in many different ways by many different constituents.

Another sphere where such contradictions may be observed is the urban life of Istanbul. Here, everdayness flows along two opposite lines: "Think about Şişli's apartment blocks and then Mecidiyeköy's, Şişli's neighbor, squatter houses. Then, the swamps beside the asphalt roads. In contradiction to the amplitude of light in one district of the city, reminding the old 'municipal ceremonies,' some quarters experience days of blackout as if each district of the city is governed by a different state. For example, fruit costs 100 *kuruş* in Eminönü, this price increases to 120 in Beyoğlu and 150 in Şişli as if different taxes are paid while passing through customs of these states."[322] In addition to these variances in prices or in the quality of roads in different neighborhoods of Istanbul, there is a disparity between transportation vehicles as well. Carriages and paddle steamer coexist with tramcar and helicopter in this city. In sum, while some quarters host fun and amusement, others are doomed to be the homeland of trouble and worry.

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[321] "Yılbaşı Hakkında Ne Söylüyorlar?" *Hafta* 1956-II, no. 52 (December 28th 1956), p. 8.

[322] "*Bir Şişlinin apartmanlarını bir de onun komşusu olan Mecidiyeköyünün gecekondularını düşünün. Sonra, asfalt yollar yanındaki bataklıkları. Şehrin bir semtinde, eski 'Şehri ayin' leri hatırlatan ışık bolluğuna karşı bazı mahalleler, pasif korunma günlerini yaşamaktadır. Şehrin her semti ayrı bir devletin idaresinde gibidir. Mesela, bir meyvayı, Eminönü'nde yüz kuruşa alıyorsunuz, bu fiyat Beyoğlu'nda 120 ye, Şişlide 150 ye çıkıyor. Sanki, bu devletlerin gümrüklerinden geçerken ayrı ayrı vergi verilmiştir.*" Recep Bilginer, "Bu Şehr-i Stanbul ki..." *Hafta* 2, no. 48 (August 25th 1950), p. 7.

The ideology of individualism that is so much promoted by the industrious work ethics was also experienced and perceived in diverse ways in diverse sections of the city:

> For example, there is such a life in Istanbul's apartment blocks that, most of the time, even the people who reside in the same story and opposite flats do not know each other. Especially very few of us know who resides above and under or who comes and goes. In contradiction to this, everybody knows each other very well . . in the houses of the districts where especially the middle and lower strata reside in Istanbul. Generally, quarrels between a husband and wife and privacy are almost made public during conversations. In the mean time, it is not rare that distasteful events take place and women who love each other's husbands begin to fight. But, people who live in the second Istanbul, namely in apartment blocks, are totally unaware of each other. Those who cheat on their husbands commit sin in other surroundings; husbands who keep a mistress turn into skirt-chasers in their bachelor's flats.

Secrecy versus sincerity. The former is an inevitable outcome of the isolated lives of the rich. They live in a world of hypocrisy where they not only deceive their companions, but themselves, too. However, in contrast to the world of the affluent, the domain of the poor is the kingdom of connection where fellows are tied to each other. This bond makes them share everything, even their feelings of envy of and malice toward each other.

The existence of two different realities and two different perceptions of the present are also reflected in the "game" world of children. First of all, the middle class way of child rearing is criticized because it leads children to live in an isolated and sterile world where they have no contact with their peers. This situation makes them both egoistic, because they do not learn how to share, and cold-hearted, because they do not know how to communicate with each other. Second, the opposite way through which children grow in poorer regions of the city paves the way to escape from the constraints imposed by civilized life. Nature constitutes the playground of poor children and its

challenging environment teaches them how to cope with life and, at the same time, fills them with a sense of freedom:

> The poor children are the ones who suffer the most in the life of the second Istanbul. There is no garden in the houses they reside in since it is an apartment block. And the children of the neighbors are definitely forbidden to him . . . He passes time by leaning his head against the windows until he gets cold in the winter and sweats in the summer. The freer life is in the house the more the poor child is deprived of freedom. But, on the contrary, children in the first Istanbul play with their friends in the streets the whole day. They grow by enjoying freedom. Therefore, children growing in small districts are more dashing and loquacious whereas children of the apartment blocks are more passive and timid.[323]

Such discrepancies may be observed in one of the major problems Istanbul and its inhabitants had to face as well, the housing shortage. One of the writers of *Cumhuriyet*, Mehmed Oluç, criticized the double-faced nature of this problem. While the upper classes were constructing summer houses at the sea shore, there still were people who lived in the same city and did not have a proper place to spend the night. Moreover, the demand for the construction material that would be used in the construction of these

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[323] "*Mesela İstanbul'da bir apartman hayatı vardır ki, çok defa aynı katta, karşılıklı dairelerde oturan insanlar bile birbirlerini tanımazlar. Hele, üstünde veya altında kimin oturduğunu, kimlerin girip çıktığını bilenlerimiz pek nadirdir. Bunun aksine, İstanbul'da, bilhassa orta ve alt tabakanın oturduğu semtlerin evlerinde . . . herkes, birbirinin içini dışını bilir. Karı-koca kavgaları ve mahremiyetleri, sohbet esnasında hemen hemen ekseriyetle ortaya dökülür . . . Bu arada nahoş hadiselerin zuhur ettiği, birbirlerinin kocalarını seven kadınların saçsaca baş başa kavga ettikleri de görülmemiş şeylerden değildir. Halbuki ikinci İstanbul'da, yani apartmanlarda yaşayan İstanbullular, birbirlerinden tamamen habersizdir. Kocalarını aldatanlar, günahlarını, başka muhitlerde; metres tutan kocalar, çapkınlıklarını garsoniyerlerinde işlerler.*" "*İkinci İstanbul hayatında en çok azap çeken, zavallı çocuklardır. Oturdukları ev, apartman olduğu için bahçesi yoktur. Komşu çocukları ise ona kat'iyetle yasak edilmiştir . . . Başını, kışın soğuktan üşüyünceye, yazın terleyinceye kadar pencerelere dayamakla zamanını geçirir. Evin içindeki hayat ne kadar serbestse, zavallı çocuk o nispette hürriyetten mahrumdur. Halbuki birinci İstanbul'daki çocuklar, bunun tamamen aksine, bütün günlerini mahalle arasında arkadaşlarıyla, oyunla geçer. Hürriyetin tadını çıkarta çıkarta büyür. Bundan dolayıdır ki, küçük semtlerde büyüyen çocuklar daha atılgan, daha cerbezeli, apartman çocukları ise, daha pasif ve çekingendirler.*" Oğuz Özdeş, "İki İstanbul," *Hafta* 1956-I, no. 11 (March 16th 1956), p. 6.

summer houses increased the prices of these materials and thus, made it even more difficult for the lower classes to build, or buy, and own their own homes.[324]

Not only Istanbul as a spatial domain, but the first half of the 1950's as a time period in itself meant different things to different people. While Ahmet Nasır Erdemoğlu, a merchant born in Aleppo in 1901, thinks that the democratic movement has a good impact on the commercial life, Ali Ulu, a shoe shiner born in Seloniki in 1907, says that due to his concerns to earn a living, he has neither the time nor energy to observe whether democratic changes have taken place in the country or not.[325]

Different classes attribute also different meanings to time. In the preceding chapter, *Bütün Dünya*'s particular notion of time was analyzed. Accordingly, the journal argued for present-orientedness. It advocated focusing on the present rather then mourning the mistakes we have made in the past or worry for the uncertainties of the future. Hence, the discourse of the journal recommended forgetting the past, disregarding the future, and concentrating on the current time. An article in *Hafta* shows the extent to which this view constituted just one part of the 1950's ideological environment. This kind of understanding fit merely the worldview of the affluent classes for which the afterward could easily symbolize hope and new chances. In contradiction to this, the poor had no choice, but to lament over the good old days. The future could bring forth just more and more trouble to those for whom surviving the day was becoming harder and harder with every minute that passed.

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[324] *Cumhuriyet*, "Kiralara Dair Tasarı ve Mesken Politikası," 19 January 1953.

[325] Ümit Deniz, "Demokrasi Karşısında Halkın Nabzı!." *Hafta* 4, no. 85 (May 11th 1951), pp. 11, 33.

In an article entitled "Are You Content With Your Life?" (*Hayatınızdan Memnun musunuz?*), the writer interviews people from different classes. Fevzi Bey, a friend of Namık Sezer, who was the general deputy of a German drug factory in Turkey, responds to this question "man always sees the past as if it were fine. In this sense, he looks for the past. If you rub up that mentality, I am pleased with my life. As a matter of fact, ambitious men who are not satisfied look so much for the past that even if they end up in jail, after a while, they yearn for it by saying 'oh, my good old days in the prison'." Thus, Fevzi Bey criticizes those who long to live in the past and who want to erase the recent changes and pretend as if they have never taken place. Instead of these wishes, Fevzi Bey suggests enjoying the present. Similarly, Hasan Muzaffer, who applied entrepreneurial tricks in his real life and changed sectors according to new circumstances, chooses not to look backwards in time. He was selling vegetables like parsley or mint only one week ago and now he was a traveling bootblack in Taksim. He answers the above question, "since shining shoes makes one earn more, I started to work as a shoeblack a week ago... I do not complain about my situation... I earn money, I do not look for the bygone." Quite in contradiction to these present-oriented men, Ahmet Ağa, the owner of a carriage registered in Kadıköy district, talks about the automobilization of transportation in Istanbul. He complains about the new problems brought about by the competition of automobiles. The incompetent driver who is unable to keep pace with the speed and profitability of the mechanized taxis says, "oh, where are the good old days, mister!"[326]

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[326] "*İnsan daima maziyi iyi gibi görür. O bakımdan maziyi arar. O zihniyeti silerseniz, hayatımdan memnunum. Esasen tatmin olmayan haris adamlar maziyi okadar ararlar ki hapishaneye bile girseler, bir müddet sonra ah hapishanedeki günler diye hasretini çekerler.*" "*Boyacılıkta daha iyi kazanç var, diye bir haftadır bu işe başladım. Halimden şikayetçi değilim... Para kazanıyorum, eskiyi aramıyorum.*" "*Ah o eski*

Many other minor instances of the 1950's grant a chance to see the different concerns of the poor and the moneyed and their different perceptions of the very same difficulties and events. The winter of 1954 was very harsh in Istanbul. The newspapers reported that the temperature was minus six degree Celsius on 4 February 1954.[327] Inevitably, the result was a shortage of coal due to hoarders who sold the coal on the black market at high prices.[328] While Istanbul dwellers had to face this problem, Aga Khan had himself weighed in terms of platinum. This gave an idea to Hasan Tanrıkurt from İzmit, who had himself weighed not in terms of platinum, but coal since it was a much more crucial material for his own country.[329]

Moreover, according to *Hafta*, the shortage of coal mattered less for the poorest paradoxically. They were spending the night in inns and coffee houses. If they could afford twenty-five *kuruş*, they deserved to sleep on a bed made of woven straw. The inhabitants of these "hotels," most of which were in and around Tophane, were usually laborers, porters, painters, bricklayers, and fishermen. Subsequently, as long as these people could find a roof to take refuge, they did not care whether they had wood to burn or not: "Even if everyone brawls for firewood or coal in this weather, no one has such a trouble in the beds made of woven straw. Everybody pays for the bed if he finds twenty-

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günler nerede beyim!" Mehmet Ataker, "Hayatınızdan Memnun musunuz?" *Hafta* 8, no. 179 (February 27th 1953), p. 27.

[327] *Cumhuriyet*, "Senelerdir Görülmemiş Bir Kış İstanbulu Sardı," 5 February 1954.

[328] *Cumhuriyet*, "Gizli Kömür Depoları," 4 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Dün Vilayette Şehrin Yakacak Durumu Görüşüldü," 4 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Vali, Şehir Halkından Yardım İstiyor," 5 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Yakacaksız Kalmak Tehlikesi Artık Yok," 6 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Halka Kilo İle Kok Kömürü De Satılacak," 7 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Şehrimizde Yakacak Sıkıntısı Önleniyor," 8 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "Kok Kömürü Bitenler Yeniden Alabilecekler," 9 February 1954.

[329] *Cumhuriyet*, "Ağa Han Platinle Tartıldı," 4 February 1954; *Cumhuriyet*, "İzmitte Ağa Hana Çıkan Rakib!" 15 February 1954

five *kuruş*, then who cares for firewood or coal? Apparently, cheapness, expensiveness, the shortage of firewood or coal are the concern of the moneyed more than the non-moneyed. There is no money to buy so that they do not think." The poor had their own versions of entrepreneurship and creativity as well: "Surely, journalists will shut up now. Even if the construction of the opera building has not been finished as a theater in one way or another, it is at people's disposal as a hotel at least."[330] So, it was cold, the poor needed a place to sleep, and the opportunity was there in the guise of the construction site of the Atatürk Culture Center (*Atatürk Kültür Merkezi*) in Taksim. Hence, they made use of this chance and turned the unfinished rooms of the building into the rooms of an "uncomfortable hotel."

The harshness of the winter and the cold allow us to notice the different considerations of different classes in another way as well. The presence of opposite concerns could be inspected also in fur shops. The same commodity could be consumed for various purposes by different classes: "The customers of the shops in the inn that sell furs in Mahmutpaşa were middle class families and residents of the cold cities of Anatolia. And the prices were twenty-five percent cheaper compared to Beyoğlu. Anatolia was wearing fur not for luxury, but in order to protect themselves from the cold."[331] The worry to look beautiful and charming constitutes one side of the coin

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[330] "*Bu havalarda, herkesin odun, kömür diye birbirine girdiği halde kimsenin böyle bir derdi yok hasır yataklarda. Herkes bir 25 kuruş buldu mu yatak parası veriyor, odun kömür kimin umurunda. Galiba ucuzluk, pahalılık, odun sıkıntısı, kömür darlığı parası olanlardan çok, olmayanların umurunda değil. Öyle ya alacak para yok ki, düşünsünler.*" "*Artık gazetecilerin de ağzı kapanır her halde. Öyle ya Opera binası tiyatro olarak bir türlü bitmemiş olsa bile, otel olarak halk hizmetindedir...*" Cengiz Tuncer, "Hasır Yatak: 25 Kuruş!" *Hafta* 10, no. 231 (February 26th 1954), pp. 38, 40.

[331] "*Mahmutpaşadaki Kürkçü Hanındaki mağazaların müşterileri ise orta halli aileler ve Anadolu'nun soğuk vilayetlerinde oturanlardı. Ve fiyatlar Beyoğlu'na nispeten % 25 daha ucuzdu. Anadolu kürkü lüks*

whereas the anxiety to spend the winter in a healthy manner constitutes the other. The same season, the very same present, could be experienced in distinct fashions. So, rather than being one particular flow of time, there were many of them each following its own process.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the discursive parallelisms and differences of the two magazines, *Bütün Dünya* and *Hafta*. These periodicals resembled each other in that both contained articles about industriousness, tropical islands, occultist practices, and space travel. They differed from each other only in the magnitude of the emphasis they put on them. For example, while *Bütün Dünya* talked about industriousness, pointing out its various implications concerning society, a certain perception of time, and religion, *Hafta* handled the same theme in a more simplistic manner without focusing on such details. Or, while *Bütün Dünya* published articles about apparition, telepathy, and hypnotism, *Hafta* focused more on fortune telling and vowing to make an offering, and other occultist practices that corresponded better to the context of Turkey. Hence, this magazine paralleled the occultist discourse of *Bütün Dünya*, but, paid more attention to the circumstances in which it was published.

Second, while the two magazines shared a common discourse about entrepreneurship simultaneously with a harsh critique of the contemporary civilization,

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için değil soğuktan korunmak için çekiyordu." Mehmet Ataker, "Kürkçüler," *Hafta* 7, no. 161 (October

Hafta differed from *Bütün Dünya* in that it indicated how its discourse was disproved by the very experiences of the real people. In that sense, this chapter provided the chance to go beyond a simple content analysis of *Bütün Dünya* and observe the reflections of that content in the very lives of the women and men living in Turkey in the 1950's. This observation is crucial in itself because it signifies the importance of the context in which the texts were written. While *Bütün Dünya* was composed of merely translated articles, and thus, did not pay attention to the circumstances of Turkey in the 1950's, the picture of these circumstances as they were depicted in *Hafta* was itself proof to indicate the meaninglessness of the discourse without paying attention to reality.

24th 1952), p. 7.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This study examined two popular culture magazines published during the 1950's, *Bütün Dünya* and *Hafta*. There were two major axis in the analysis, the one historical and the other more theoretically concerned. Historically speaking, this work attempted to trace the changing environment of the 1950's from the content of these two periodicals. Accordingly, these journals marked out the ideological reflections of the post-World War II years. The emphasis was on the individual ways of attaining a successful and happy life. Parallel to the prospering economy following the war, the pages of these two magazines were full of articles inculcating the merits of entrepreneurship. In the framework provided by this notion, lateral discourses focused on creativity, originality, voluntarism and determination. Consequently, many articles gave the message that collectivity was dead and objective determiners outside of the will of particular individuals were ineffective. All that mattered was the subjective workings and internal resolution of the individual.

This picture gave birth to a particular notion of time and religion as well. Accordingly, time was equated with and measured in terms of money and the alertness of the entrepreneur implied the reduction of the totality of time just to the present where the past and the future, and related to this, history and hopes did not matter. The meaning of religion was narrowed as well. It was fine-tuned in the hands of the so-called entrepreneur, who acted according to the rules of "instrumental rationality." This

particular understanding of religion had another connotation in the context of the 1950's as well. These were the Cold War years and hence, the emphasis on "instrumentalised" religion served to balance the materialist conception of Marxism.

All these points indicated just one phenomenon: becoming rich through the easiest way in which the source of wealth would remain a secret. However, the discourse of these journals had also a more or less realistic aspect in that it tried to limit the extent and feasibility of this ideological worldview. Accordingly, each individual was supposed to possess one particular "talent" which would draw the boundaries of the realm of her social mobility.

While this picture completely fits the textual map of *Bütün Dünya*, *Hafta* differed from it in one respect. *Bütün Dünya* seemed more or less ideological because most of the texts included in it were written to give a message in an explicit manner. However, *Hafta* paid more attention to the context of Turkey in the 1950's, and thus, rendered a possibility to disprove its very discourse via another discourse about the experiences of real people.

This more historical aspect of *Hafta* also paved the way to a theoretical discussion which is still currently at issue in academic circles. In this sense, this study, which is about history in the last instance, also attempted to refer to the present in its theoretical stand. As a counter-argument to the reader's response analysis, which may lead to an open-ended discussion if the text itself to which the reader is responding is not taken into consideration, this work attempted to emphasize also the importance of "coding." In order to fight postmodernism's turning the "differences" in people's way of cultural consumption into an empty signifier, this study aimed at giving the text its

"productive" quality back, not as something that is worth in itself, but as a cultural means to provide a common ground for different readers' activities. In other words, it is crucial to follow a different path than the two currently trendy tendencies, both of which are welcomed by postmodernists: either celebrating reader's total freedom in responding and interpreting texts or taking text as the only medium of analysis, working on its internal structure, and considering it as a whole which even reduces all the world and reality to a discourse. As opposed to such an understanding, it is crucial to recognize that texts do not come out of blue, that they have their own creators and authors who write them with certain intentions in mind, but who nevertheless have their own contradictions, which are reflected in their works as there is no such thing as a person who is consistent in herself.

Accordingly, apart from the experiences of those living in the 1950's as they were narrated in *Hafta*, the discourse of both magazines were contradictory in another respect as well. While on the one hand advocating an industrious work ethics, they simultaneously depicted via articles about remote islands, paranormal phenomena or space another picture in which the constraints imposed on every day life by civilization were criticized and a route to a different way of living was provided by notions of another time and space, or another dimension. However, this may be characterized only as a lateral discourse. It was not a total break from the main current in all of the senses of the word because these articles related their topics to individualism, voluntarism, entrepreneurial spirit, and so on. Thus, the conclusion is that these journals had an ideological framework which was not "closed" in itself. Their somehow contradictory nature provided a means for the readers to challenge the very massages they conveyed

and the type of an individual these messages presupposed and tried to create. Although this study did not cover the story of the readers, its theoretical stand has its own assumption about them. Readers of these journals should be taken into consideration neither as ignorant masses who are ready to absorb any ideas that are instilled by these periodicals nor as free and totally conscious "agents" who can respond in as many ways as their total numbers. While it must not be forgotten that the articles included in these magazines provided a common ground for the readers what to interpret, the contradictions inherent in them also made possible for different people to put an emphasis on different aspects of these journal's discourses.

The emphasis on differences constitutes an important part of this study. First of all, it enables us to see that popular culture is not a whole in itself and that, on the contrary, its products convey various messages to the readers. More significantly, this diversity paves the way for the readers not only to make their own choices between different texts and discourses, but also to draw different conclusions from and make different interpretations of the very same texts. Therefore, even though this study did not find the opportunity to observe the readers' responses, still it is crucial to record that the variety of discourses and even their contradictory nature with each other provided the readers to avoid being passive receivers and gave them the chance to be active interpreters and consumers of the texts in Chartierian sense. As he puts forward, "the restoration of historicity demands first of all that cultural or intellectual 'consumption' itself be taken as a form of production which, to be sure, manufactures no objects, but

which constitutes representations that are never identical to those that the producers (the authors or the artists) have introduced into their works."[332]

At this point, one has to be careful in overemphasizing and praising the merits of the heterogeneity of the popular culture products and their discourses. After all, popular culture cannot be discussed while separating it from the context of capitalism. In this sense, there was a literary market at hand the ways of whose functioning is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it has to be kept in mind that there are two different economies of culture here, the economy of use/consumption and the economy of exchange/production: "Capitalism produces commodities on the basis of their exchange value, whereas people tend to consume the commodities of capitalism on the basis of their use value."[333] Therefore, while concluding that there was a variety in the cultural realm, one should not forget that sometimes difference serves to sell.

Second, articles about the experiences of the real people in *Hafta* enabled us to see that discursive messages were only effective to the extent that they had some practical connotations in people's social lives. While people were suffering in rapid socio-economic changes and struggling to survive, the discourse of the very same magazine on the entrepreneurial mentality, which required struggling ambitiously in order to go higher in the social ranking, lost all meaning. Therefore, the different life experiences of the different people determined their attitudes to the texts rather than vice versa. The very practical reality of the 1950's, as depicted in those magazines, proved wrong the relevancy of the periodicals' own discourses to the lives of the women and

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[332] Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History / History of *Mentalities*," *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 40.

men living in that decade. At this point, it must be noted that this study could reach the experiences of the people only through the means of the magazines' discourses. Therefore, remembering Harootunian, one has to keep in mind that this study does not claim to reflect the practices of the 1950's as they were lived by the people since experiences cannot be "transparently" transmitted to the narrative of cultural history. The author of this study only dealt with how those experiences were "thought about and discussed."[334]

Last, but not least, it is possible to infer some more general thoughts about the decade from the way its picture was drawn in these magazines. First of all, it would be wrong to assume that there was a spirit of that time which was common to all its contemporaries. On the contrary, people reacted differently to the same developments. Though they were living in the same present, the ways they lived through it were different from each other. In this sense, resembling the efforts of Moretti in his analysis of *New York Times* obituaries, this study aimed at showing how "society is made of different worlds and temporalities."[335]

Second, many characteristics we retrospectively attribute to the 1950's were in fact the present-oriented struggles of the people living in those days. A common topic that was discussed quite often in those magazines concerns the occultist beliefs of people in supernatural powers. Whether the practitioners of these powers were saints who were vowed to make an offering or gypsies who foretold the future did not matter. These

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[333] Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, p. 224.

[334] Harootunian, xi.

[335] Franco Moretti, "*New York Times* Obituaries," *New Left Review* 2 (March-April 2000), p. 104.

beliefs of people, which we can easily characterize as superstitious, were in fact means of the people to cope with their current problems. In this sense, scholars who examine these magazines should hesitate before relating these issues to the break of the 1950's from the previous "modernist" era. Rather than carrying backward-looking, anti-modernist and religious meanings, such practices were in fact a part of the present modernity. As Benjamin suggests, one of the most important keys to modernity concerns the dialectic of the new and the ever-same juxtaposed in the dichotomies of modernity and antiquity or modernity and myth.[336] Harootunian makes a similar observation in that he emphasizes the contradictory nature of the modern life. He asserts how contradictions and the mix of the old and the new are embedded to modernity.[337] In this sense, by trying to extinguish through old means their current troubles that were embedded in modernity, people who vowed to make an offering and had the gypsies tell their fortunes were simultaneously living two different temporalities. Moreover, these were not developments peculiar to Turkey, either. They constituted the parallel discourse to that about telepathy, hypnotism, and apparition in the foreign periodicals that served to strengthen the role of the mind and the spirit in front of the material in the Cold War years.

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[336] Frisby, p. 212.

[337] Harootunian, p. xxiv.

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